PICTURING GRAND MANAN: NINETEENTH CENTURY PAINTING AND THE REPRESENTATION OF PLACE

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ABSTRACT

Picturing Grand Manan: Nineteenth Century Painting and the Representation of Place

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Taking as my case study the nineteenth century paintings of the island of Grand Manan, New Brunswick, this work addresses the relationship of painting to place. To explore this theme, the thesis opens with a problematizing of pictorial representation in terms of the concept of *displace.* Following the work of a number of cultural and visual art theorists, I suggest that these nineteenth century paintings, rather than depicting a place, "Grand Manan", in effect, constitute "Grand Manan" as various displaces that ultimately derive their meaning from the practise of painting: the making and viewing of pictures by historically situated subjects. Placed within the historical context of the clearing that the ambivalent space of the border has provided for projected meaning, the thesis identifies how the displaces of Grand Manan have been organized predominantly in the nineteenth century by a New England imaginary. It is this displace, I suggest, which influenced the work of the Canadian landscape painter Lucius O'Brien and his painting *Northern Head of Grand Manan.*

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Lastly, I am indebted to Jonathan Bordo for his ongoing conversation, intuition and unflagging enthusiasm for this work, and to Daniel and Rosamunde for true and cheerful stalwartness throughout the years of research.

A NOTE TO THE READER

Until the early twentieth century Americans continued to use the spelling *Grand Menan*. I have retained this usage in the text where it appears in the original sources.

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> Landscape is a natural scene mediated by culture. It is both a represented and presented space, both a signifier and a signified, both a frame and what a frame contains, both a real place and its simulacrum, both a package and the commodity inside the package.[1]

> The enjoyment of a work of art is anything but a passive attitude. The right understanding, and with it the highest enjoyment, consists much rather in a sort of intellectual reconstructing, and of ourselves creating anew that which is presented to us by the artist.[2]

§1.Place and Displace

In 1990, a major retrospective exhibition presenting the life and work of the nineteenth-century Canadian landscape painter, Lucius O'Brien (1832-1899) brought to the fore not only an important cultural agent in the early years of Canadian nationhood, but a painting which for decades had been hidden from public view in a private collection: *Northern Head of Grand Manan* [Plate 1]. The painting, from 1879, which in its size, subject and execution is said to mark a turning point in O'Brien's career, hung prominently near the entrance to the exhibition, occupied the cover of the accompanying catalogue (beneath the

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[1]W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," Landscape and Power, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) p. 5.

[2]"Music," The Atlantic Monthly (March 1874) p. 380.

subtitle *Visions of Victorian Canada*) and was printed as a souvenir post-card.[3] Befitting *Northern Head's* status in the exhibition (and accorded in O'Brien's oeuvre) it is not surprising that one reviewer should have given extended attention to the painting indicating its significance, for him, as emblematic of nation and empire:

> In *Northern Head,* the savage coast of North America is subdued by Victoria's loyal and skilful colonists, whose ships and works are here blessed by the golden imperial light penetrating the mists and north-Atlantic glooms. But if subdued, the Canadian land is not subjugated; it is made to seem even more magnificent under the Victorian noon-day sun. Here, then, is a picture of Canada both nationalist and imperial- as leading edge of royal illumination, and as vigorous altogether worthy bearer of this light.[4]

Could it be that this painting bears a relationship to the place referred to in such nineteenth-century paintings turning up at auction as Alfred Bricher's *Headlands and Breakers-Grand Manan, Maine* (c.1880), *Grand Manan, Maine* (c.1890), and William Hart's *Sunset on Grand Manan Island, Maine* (1861)?[5] [cat. 13, 14 and 59] Both A.T. Bricher (1837-1908) and William Hart (1823-1894) were artists whose work has been interpreted within the aesthetic of the "Hudson River School." Originally coined as a derogatory term in 1879 to express contempt for a mode of painting that was deemed old-fashioned, Hudson River

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[3]Dennis Reid, Lucius O'Brien: Visions of Victorian Canada (Toronto: Exhibition catalogue, Art Gallery of Ontario, 1990) pp. 36, 38.

[4]John Bentley Mays,"Exhalted Portrayals of Victorian Canada," The Globe and Mail [Toronto] September 29, 1990, p. C5.

[5]Vose Galleries (Boston, 1989); Sotheby's (New York, May 1989,#33); and Christie's (New York, May 26, 1993, #5). See also A.T. Bricher,***Grand Manan Island, off Maine***, n.d., Berry-Hill Galleries (New York, 1989); A.T. Bricher,***The Beach at Grand Manan, Maine***, 1885, The Old Print Shop (New York, 1970); G.D. Brewerton (1820-1901)***Sunset***

School paintings have been re-evaluated in this century and put forward as a style which focusses on the landscape as expressive of a religious nationalism.[6] A recent institutional confirmation of this view was the 1987 block-buster exhibition, *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[7]

On one level, the uncertainty of whether the paintings refer to two places, is easily solved. A quick inspection of the fine print under a painting by Alfred Bricher titled *Low Tide, Maine* (1893), offered by a Boston auction house establishes that it had originally been called *Low Tide, Hetherington Cove, Grand Manan.*[8] The change in title is also confirmed with respect to the other "Maine" pictures when one appeals to documentary sources -- sketches, newspaper clippings, maps -- which locate William Hart, Alfred Bricher and a host of other American artists on Grand Manan, New Brunswick, an island archipelago at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, in the second half of the nineteenth century.[9]

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at Grand Manan, Maine, n.d. Sotheby's (New York, January 24, 1989, #30).

[6]American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School ed. John K. Howat (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987) and the essays by Kevin J. Avery, "A Historiography of the Hudson River School," pp.3-20 and Doreen Bolger Burke and Catherine Hoover Voorsanger, "The Hudson River School in Eclipse," pp.71-90.

[7]Indeed, one of the organizers asserted that Hudson River School paintings "so diverse in their choice of scenery, so varied in their scale of scene and size of canvas, have a valid claim to be hailed as the finest landscape pictures yet produced in this country." John K. Howat, "Introduction,"American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School, p. xvii. Mark W. Sullivan's, The Hudson River School: An Annotated Bibliography (1991) indicates the popularity of studies in American nineteenth century landscape painting, particularly within the last thirty years.

[8]Driscoll and Walsh Fine Art (Boston, 1989).

[9]See for example L.L.Noble, After Icebergs with a Painter: A Summer Voyage to Labrador and Around Newfoundland, 2nd edition (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1862) p. 336; B.F. DeCosta, Rambles in Mount Desert with Sketches of Travel on the New England Coast from Isles of Shoals to Grand Menan (*sic*) (New York: A.D.F. Randolph and Co., 1871) and Edward

This ambiguity of what "Grand Manan" signifies points up the tenuous relationship that painting has to place. It belies any common sense notion inherent in what Norman Bryson calls the "natural attitude" that art is mimetic, a reflection of a pre-existing real.[10] The slippage of the title from a picture underlines the ease with which an image becomes unhinged from its original referent, indicating something perhaps quite different from that which the artist may have intended as well as what the original audience may have understood the image to signify. As Bal and Bryson write, the painting surface is encoded by a panoply of signs (including background, frame, colour) whose meanings are "not singular but *iterative*." They "are by definition repeatable":[11]

> [Signs] enter into a plurality of contexts; works of art are constituted by different viewers in different ways at different times and places.... Once launched into the world, the work of art is subject to all of the vicissitudes of reception; as a work involving the sign, it encounters from the beginning the ineradicable fact of semiotic play.[12]

Abbott, "Grand Manan and 'Quoddy Bay," Harper's New Monthly Magazine LVI, 334 (March 1878) pp. 541-556.

[10]Norman Bryson, Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983) See Chapter One. Bryson defines the doctrine of mimesis as that which consists "in a description of representation as a perceptual *correspondence* where the image is said to match...with varying degrees of success, a full established anterior reality. The model is one of *communication* from a site of origin, replete with perceptual material, across a channel troubled by various...levels of 'noise', towards a site of reception which will, in ideal conditions, reproduce and re-experience the prior material of perception. The model itself is untroubled by the question whether that prior material is constituted from unequivocally empirical sensory data or from non-empirical 'vision' without counterpart in the objective world: for as long as the original vision, of whatever nature, is *imparted*, the conditions of mimesis have been fulfilled. The mimetic doctrine can therefore be summed up in a single word: *recognition*..." p.38.

[11]Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," The Art Bulletin 73, 2 (June 1991) p.179. See also Roland Barthes' discussion of semiotics and images in Image-Music-Text (London: Fontana-Collins, 1975) and The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985).

[12]Bal and Bryson, p.179.

Since the meanings of signs are always determined in specific sites by subjects situated in a historical and material world, the possibilities of a picture generating meaning become endless: what we do know by empirical research is not only that the Grand Manan cliffs have been inscribed as Maine, and as a British colonialist landscape, but Grand Manan pictures also have been inscribed as the Labrador coast, and even simply the generic "Coast Scene", cancelling any reference to a specific place.[13] Thus the painting's inherent absence of the 'real', assigns to the title the role of naming an imaginary, of naming what is essentially invisible.[14]

My interest in thinking about painting and place, pictures and titles, and even going to the bother of retrieving a picture's original referent is to attempt to identify the role of painting itself in constituting "Grand Manan".[15] This must necessarily begin with the acknowledgement that every act of picturing and

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[13]See William Bradford's ***Off the Coast of Labrador***, Christie's (New York, 1986) #59, a painting which Richard Kugler (Director Emeritus of the New Bedford Whaling Museum) informed me was known to him also as ***View of Northern Head at Sunrise in the Bay of Fundy*** (1861) an attribution that was confirmed when I consulted Bradford's Grand Manan sketchbooks. In these sketchbooks the rock motif "The Bishop" is named and dated, and reappears in the center of ***View of Northern Head.*** See Microfilm #2674 which includes 5 sketchbooks from c.1856-1863 in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The original sketchbooks have recently been removed to the archives of The Whaling Museum, New Bedford, Massachusetts.

[14]W.J.T.Mitchell, Iconology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) pp.40-42. See W.J.T. Mitchell for a discussion of the "text in painting" and titles in Picture Theory (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) pp. 97-98 and Gerard Genette, "Structure and Function of the Title in Literature," Critical Inquiry 14, 4 (Summer 1988) pp. 692-720.

[15]As per Bal and Bryson, quotation marks indicate that the name "Grand Manan" is the object of methodological reflection. For a parallel and dense argument of how painting invented a place, see Jonathan Bordo's discussion of the work of Tom Thomson and Algonquin Park in "Jack Pine: The Wilderness Sublime or the Erasure of Aboriginal Presence from the Landscape," Journal of Canadian Studies 27, 4 (Winter 1992/93) pp. 98-128.

viewing is a framing,[16] a selection that necessarily involves deletions. This was explicitly acknowledged during the mid-nineteenth century in the art criticism of John Ruskin, whose Modern Painters was highly influential in the United States.[17] On the one hand, Ruskin held to the longstanding belief in a role for art that was mimetic; the "natural attitude" that for years had held up painting as more about the real than writing.[18] Ruskin therefore declared that the "representation of facts" was "the foundation of all art", and that "nothing can atone for the want of truth, not the most brilliant imagination."[19] Yet, in accordance with the Romantic period's tendency to think in terms of an expressive capacity of art, Ruskin outlined a method of composition that entailed capturing what he called "the spirit of a place."[20] This called for a sort of "dream image" in which the artist was to arrange his memories of the landscape on the canvas.[21] The artist must not rely upon convention but rather recollection,

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[16]On the subject of framing see especially the introduction in Paul Duro, ed., The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[17]Roger Stein, John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840-1900 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

[18]Wendy Steiner, The Colors of Rhetoric: Problems in the Relation Between Modern Literature and Art (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982) pp. xi, 14, and M.H.Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953) p. 50.

[19]John Ruskin, Modern Painters, in The Works of John Ruskin, eds.E.T.Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1903-1912) vol. 3, pp.137, 616, quoted in Lawrence Buell, The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995) p.90.

[20]For a discussion of aesthetic principles in the nineteenth century see Hazard Adams, The Philosophy of the Literary Symbolic (Talahasee: University of Florida Press, 1979) and Barbara Novak, "Some American Words: Basic Aesthetic Guidelines, 1825-1870," American Art Journal 1 (Spring 1969) pp. 78-91 and idem, Nature and Culture: American Landscape Painting, 1825-1875 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

[21]Lisa Fellows Andrus, Measure and Design in American Painting, 1760-1860 (New York:

which involved "a passive obedience to the first vision interwoven with past associations of similar places."[22] In essence, "the goal was an organic synthesis in one picture of important elements that would not appear in any single view, but which were indispensable in expressing the vital impression of the landscape."[23] The inability of painting to overcome the limits of representation, and to be in the end conventional, is essentially admitted in the remarks of William Hart who painted the aforementioned *Sunset on Grand Manan Island* in 1861:

> It was quite popular among artists to affect ignorance of theories and rules of art..., but it was nonetheless true that art, like everything else, was founded on theory and governed by rule, and there were few artists who could afford to dispense with these rules, however ignorant they might profess to be of their existence.[24]

Framing, however, occurs not only on the level of mentally reorganizing a perceived landscape, but in the artist's decision of what is worthy of being pictured in the first place. In the case of Grand Manan the established, recognizable topos is organized around the axis of the horizontal and the perpendicular: the conjunction of the sea in its various moods, and land, usually rugged, dramatically-lighted cliffs. The pervasiveness of the topos is striking when one considers subjects and motifs almost always excluded: women, children, the built environment, the interior of the island. Combining the title with the picture over time established the natural "look" of the place. In fact, one

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Garland, 1977) p. 265.

[22]John Ruskin quoted in Andrus, Measure and Design, p. 265.

[23]Ibid, p. 265-266.

[24]Hart is paraphrased in Henry T. Tuckerman, Book of the Artists (1867; rpt. New York:

can be quite certain that there are paintings which in all likelihood originally were not Grand Manan pictures but were called Grand Manan anyway because they fit the imagined topos.[25]

This process whereby painting invents what is understood as "Grand Manan" does not occur, of course, simply with those paintings which have Grand Manan in the title, as the example of the historical effect of John James Audubon's print *The Herring Gull* shows [cat. 1]. In a publication by the Grand Manan Historical Society recounting Audubon's sojourn on White Head, Grand Manan, in 1833, it is taken for granted that *The Herring Gull* was the result of this contact.[26] And why not? Audubon's description of the herring gull in the Ornithological Biography, a companion publication to the monumental Birds of America, is entirely located within the domain of his island visit, and includes recollections of the landscape and people met while on Grand Manan.[27] Thus

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James Carr, 1966) p. 549.

[25]This I believe to be the case with the painting by William Stanley Haseltine called *Sunrise at Grand Manan* and dated 1884 [catalogue #64] (Christie's, New York, December 1, 1989, #56). By all accounts, Haseltine never got closer to Grand Manan than Mount Desert Island, Maine, some sixty miles by sea south of Grand Manan. The picture bears remarkable similarities to his Mount Desert views which were produced in the 1850's and 1860's, much earlier than the date given for this picture. Thus the date for *Sunrise at Grand Manan* is also questionable. See Marc Simpson, et al., Expressions of Place: The Art of William Stanley Haseltine (San Francisco: The San Francisco Museum of Art, 1994) and compare with *Iron-Bound, Coast of Maine* (1864) plate 15.

[26]L. Keith Ingersoll, "The Herring Gull," in The Grand Manan Historian vol.20 (1979) p.4: "[Audubon's] visit to White Head Island...*resulted* in one of the classical records of the period and the first professional portrait of the herring gull." The Historian reprints Audubon's description of the habits and characteristics of the herring gull, but not the separate "delineation" of Grand Manan scenery. This can be found in John James Audubon, Selected Journals and Other Writings, ed. Ben Forkner (New York: Penguin Books, 1996) p.484.

[27]John James Audubon, Birds of America and Ornithological Biography, or an Account of the Habits of Birds of the United States of America, and Interspersed with Delineations of American Scenery and Manners,Vol.3 (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1839) p.588 and 594.

over time *The Herring Gull* became an icon for certain viewers that signified Audubon's 1833 visit, and, next in the chain, of Grand Manan, signifying a "naturalist's paradise".[28] Indeed this effect of the image cannot be denied even when one learns that Audubon actually painted the watercolour of *The Herring Gull* in Florida in 1831, two years before his Grand Manan visit.[29] In this case most obviously, but as with all visual art, a combination of the visual and the verbal is what invests an image with meaning. Sometimes verbal description takes precedence, takes over.[30]

To speak of the various figural-discursive descriptions that gather around the name, Grand Manan, is to suggest the idea of a symbolic space, a concept which goes some way towards effecting an appropriate division in meaning between the ideal and the empirical. Yet perhaps the concept of a symbolic space does not go far enough in terms of indicating the dispersals of meaning that come to gather around the name "Grand Manan". Another way of formulating

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[28]Audubon's observations from his Grand Manan trip were discussed or at least mentioned in numerous publications in the nineteenth century. See for instance, Moses Perley, Report on Fisheries of the Bay of Fundy (Fredericton: The Queen's Printer, 1852); B.F. DeCosta, Rambles in Mount Desert with Sketches of Travel on the New England Coast from Isles of Shoals to Grand Menan (*sic*) (New York: A.D.F. Randolph and Co., 1871) and J.G. Lorimer, History of the Islands and Islets of the Bay of the Fundy (St. Stephen: St. Croix Courier, 1876).

[29]See Taylor Clark and Lois Elmer Bannon, Handbook of Audubon Prints (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican, 1980) p.103. Clark and Bannon's entry on *The Herring Gull* also states that Audubon in fact only painted the bird in flight. The second gull underneath as well as the background scenery was painted by one of his assistants, George Lehman.

[30]On word and image relations see Wendy Steiner, The Colors of Rhetoric: Problems in the Relation Between Modern Literature and Art (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982) and W.J.T. Mitchell, Iconology (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985) and idem, Picture Theory (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994). "One polemical claim of Picture Theory is that the interaction of pictures and texts is constitutive of representation as such: all media are mixed media, and all representations are heterogeneous; there are no "purely" visual or verbal arts, though the impulse to purify media is one of the central utopian

this "Grand Manan" that I have put in quotation marks, is to think of it as a *displace.* Displace, as noun, loosely evokes Freud's theory of displacement (defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "the unconscious transfer of an emotion from its original object to something else") thus emphasizing movement, in the sense of a trajectory of transported significations, to land on a terminus point, specifically, in this context, "Grand Manan". The noun "displace" expands upon the idea of a symbolic space in the more explicit connotation of a meaning that is not originary, but travelling. Finally, a displace is, for me, a concise term for a conceptual site which is often distinct from *place*, place that is "by definition perceived or felt space, space humanized."[31] This displace is constituted according to the practise of painting: the work of "historically situated subjects, whether they be producers, consumers, or nonconsumers of those paintings."[32] Thus the effect of these internal shiftings within and around the painting on the alleged empirical referent is to transform the ordinary sense of place as indexed by representation into a displace created by representation.

In the following sections I will discuss the process by which meaning was projected onto "Grand Manan" by these different "historically situated subjects."

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gestures of modernism." p.5

[31]Lawrence Buell, The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p. 253. Buell writes that place is almost impossible to represent, but an environmentally responsive thinker will and ought to try. For a discussion of the idea of place see Edward Relph, Place and Placelessness (London: Pion Limited, 1976).

[32]David Lubin, Painting the Nation: Art and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) p.5. Louis Marin writes that the "practise of painting" refers "not only to the "making" of paintings, but also to the "seeing" of

This study is meant to contribute to an ongoing reassessment of the meaning of pictures, and the formation of myth, by focussing on how Grand Manan came to be given meaning, to be a displace. How was "Grand Manan" known? Aside from the instability of the image, what opens up this slippage between Grand Manan as a place in some always prior physical and geographical sense and Grand Manan as a displace constituted from somewhere else? Are not all representations of Grand Manan, "displaces"? What happens then to the sense of place? The Grand Manan of painting that is the primary datum for this study bears only a tangential relation to the Grand Manan of its "indigenous" inhabitants. Here theory gatekeeps the gap between unrelated networks of inscription for which there is neither a larger picture conferring unity nor a material substratum on which to attach it as if it were a multi-layered collage.

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paintings." Louis Marin, To Destroy Painting, trans. Mette Hjort (1977; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) p.104.

§2. The Vague Space of the Border

> [Grand Manan] is in shape an irregular oval, the extreme length being nearly 20 miles, and its greatest breadth about eight miles. Its general trend is from southwest to northeast, like the neighbouring coast of the mainland, from which it is separated by a passage about fourteen miles in width. The western shore of the Island, throughout nearly its entire length, presents a succession of lofty mural precipices, with a few and limited beaches, and deep water in immediate proximity- without shelter even for boats, except at Dark Harbour...From the western shore, the land has a gradual slope to the eastern side of the Island, which has many indentations, although destitute of harbours that are secure against easterly or southerly gales.
>
> *Moses Perley, Report Upon the Fisheries of the Bay of Fundy, 1850.*

> It's not like Canada here. It's like it's your own country.
>
> *An islander referring to life on Grand Manan, 1985.*[33]

As a recent description accompanying a Grand Manan painting in a Christie's auction catalogue stated: "Grand Manan, a small island in the Bay of Fundy, lies on the border between Maine and New Brunswick, just out of Passamaquoddy Bay."[34] (See map figure 1) While Christie's description may be geographically precise, the island's status is, nonetheless, nebulous. Grand Manan remains, as the novelist James De Mille put it, lost in the "fog mills of the Bay of Fundy" or

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[33]Quoted in Harry Thurston, "Grand Manan: The Glory and the Grit," Equinox 4 (Nov.-Dec. 1985) p.54.

[34]Christie's, New York (December 1, 1989) #56.

perhaps more to the point, lost "in the deeper mists of the imagination."[35] The word "between" points to Grand Manan, less on the edge of a border than occupying a vague space. As Jonathan Bordo explains in his conceptualization of the vague space, it is a void, and becomes a "territory to be occupied and possessed, a symbolic space, a topos being named."[36] The "between" of the border also invokes Homi Bhabha's conceptualization of the "inbetween" as a space of the hybrid where a new condition emerges from the mix of different and seemingly incommensurable traditions and cultural practices.[37] While I do not wish to pursue the hybridity of Grand Manan culture specifically in any detail, I do wish to suggest that the border as both vague, nebulous space and as hybrid space provides the clearings for Grand Manan pictures to be "read" in terms of the projections of two different political jurisdictions.

The nebulous status of Grand Manan (whereby the island was little known for centuries) is one that emerges with a brief review of the history of aboriginal presence and early settlement on the island. Anthropologists and archeologists have long pointed to middens and shell heaps at a number of locations in the Grand Manan archipelago as evidence of the presence of aboriginal people over the course of centuries.[38] Situated at the mouth of the Bay

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[35]James De Mille, Lost in the Fog (Boston: Lee and Shephard, 1871) pp. 30-31, 256-257, and Elihu Burritt, "The Canadian and American 'Down Easts'," The Canadian Monthly 11 (1877) p.590.

[36]Jonathan Bordo, "Jack Pine: Wilderness Sublime or the erasure of aboriginal presence from the landscape, " Journal of Canadian Studies 27, 4 (Winter 1992-93) p.102.

[37]Homi K. Bhabha,"The Commitment to Theory," in New Formations 5 (1988) pp. 5-23.

[38]Spenser F. Baird, in 1869, found a number of small shell heaps at Grand Harbour, Cheney's Island and Nantucket Island in the Grand Manan archipelago, but a much larger

of Fundy, the island's location made it an important stopover when en route across the Bay.[39] Grand Manan also formed part of the ancestral hunting territory of the Passamaquoddies, a territory that encompassed the area from Mount Desert Island, Maine, to the St. Croix River Valley. After spending the winter months hunting and trapping in the interior, the Passamaquoddies returned to the coast to their main encampment each spring. There they planted corn and gardens and paddled across the channel to Grand Manan to hunt porpoise and seals, collect shellfish and the eggs of seabirds, and harvest sweetgrass for basket making. This coastal orientation is reflected in the name "Passamaquoddy" which according to some means "place of the undertow people", a meaning that also alludes to the phenomenal tidal fall of the region.[40]

For many years following the colonization of Acadia, a strong relationship with the French that began with an auspicious encounter with Champlain and Pierre du Gua De Monts in 1604 kept Grand Manan and the surrounding region free of any substantial European settlement and within the domain of the

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shell heap discovered on the mainland at Oak Bay on the St. Croix River suggests that Grand Manan was not a main campsite. See his "Notes on Certain Aboriginal Shell Mounds on the Coast of New Brunswick and of New England," Miscellaneous Collections 22 (1882) Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[39]Marc Lescarbot mentions an encampment of four hundred warriors on Grand Manan in 1607 who had left Port Royal en route to war against a tribe living in the south-west of Maine. Marc Lescarbot, Rélations de la Nouvelle France, Vol. 4, ch.17 (1618 edition) cited in Buchanan Charles, ed.,"The Jesuits at Grand Manan," The Grand Manan Historian No. 6 (1941) p.18.

[40]Paul Brodeur, Restitution: The Land Claims of the Mashpee, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot Indians of New England (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985) p. 74. Vincent O. Erickson, "Maliseet-Passamaquoddy," The Northeast, ed. Bruce Trigger (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978) p. 126. The Northeast is Vol. 15 in Handbook of North American Indians, William Sturtevant, general editor.

Passamaquoddies.[41] As a result of early demonstrations of trust and friendship, as well as "to secure the friendship of the French for protection against enemies such as the Iroquois", many Passamaquoddies converted to Catholicism and had a Jesuit priest who travelled with them seasonally and lived among them.[42] By the eighteenth century, a few French also farmed alongside them. For the most part, however, they settled well clear of Passamaquoddy territory remaining in the five small scattered forts up the Saint John River or the Acadian settlements near Port Royal, the Minas Basin and Chignecto Bay.[43] Around the same time, the Passamaquoddy joined forces with the Maliceet and M'ikmaq, and together with the French during King George's War (1744-48) engaged in actions to thwart the designs of the English whom they believed to be encroaching upon their hunting territory and to be trading unfairly with them. In doing so they "served as couriers between Acadia and Quebec, disrupted the English dry fishery on

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[41]Judith Leader, "An Ethnohistory of the Passamaquoddy," Ph.d thesis, Boston University, 1995, p.43-44. A trace of an earlier contact of the Passamaquoddies with French migratory fishermen and traders is in the name Grand Manan itself. In 1583, the French merchant Etienne Bellenger on a trading and exploring expedition, used the name Bay of "Menan" for what is today the Bay of Fundy, a word he obtained from the Passamaquoddy who called their largest island "Munanook", meaning literally "the island". W.F. Ganong, "The Origin and History of the Name Grand Manan," in The Grand Manan Historian No.5 (1938) pp.43-47.

[42]"An Ethnohistory of the Passamaquoddy," pp.45, 48.

[43]See the excellent map of the distribution of population in 1750, in Jean Daigle, R. LeBlanc, "Acadian Deportation and Return," Plate 30 of R.C. Harris, ed. Historical Atlas of Canada: From the Beginning to 1800, Vol.1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987). See also "General Census of the Country of Acadie, 1687-1688," by Gargas, the Chief Clerk of Acadia, in William Inglis Morse, ed., Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779): New and Unpublished Documents and Other Data Relating to Acadia... Vol. 1 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1935) pp. 144-160. The volume also contains a brief description of "Grande Menane" by Gargas in 1687/88. Frontenac had granted Grand Manan to Paul Daillebousl, Sieur de Persigny in 1693, but no effort to settle the island was made and Daillebousl's title lapsed to the Crown in 1703. "Sieur de Persigny's Grant, 1693," The Grand Manan Historian Vol.5 (1938) p. 49-50.

Nova Scotia's east coast, fought under French command at Grand Pré...and scouted the frontier as far west as New York."[44] With the fall of Acadia in 1763, this alliance with the French worked against the Passamaquoddy and they were informed that all their lands now belonged to the British victors.[45]

Documents of the period indicate that the British initially showed very little interest in Grand Manan. For instance, with the increased pressure by New Englanders for new sources of fertile land, Governor Bernard of Massachusetts, in 1764, had Passamaquoddy Bay and the islands at the mouth of the St. Croix River surveyed. Governor Wilmot of the colony of Nova Scotia did the same the following year. Neither of these surveys, which were in the immediate vicinity of Grand Manan, included the island on their maps, leaving it shrouded in the impenetrable fogs of the Bay of Fundy.[46]

The situation changed somewhat when the climate of unrest in the Thirteen Colonies raised concern over the unresolved boundary between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. Thus, in 1773, the new Governor of Nova Scotia, William Campbell, travelled to Grand Manan and neighbouring Campobello to discuss boundary matters and, possibly, political sympathies with the Passamaquoddies who around the same time were being courted by the

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[44]Stephen E. Patterson, "1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples," The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History, ed. P.A. Buckner, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) p.127.

[45]"An Ethnohistory of the Passamaquoddy," p.50, 52.

[46]Jonas Howe, "Letters and Documents Relating to the History and Settlement of the Island of Grand Manan" Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society (1897) reprinted in Buchanan Charles, Grand Manan Historian No.5 (1938) p.18. The map made for Governor Bernard is reproduced in W. F. Ganong's, "Evolution of the Boundaries of New Brunswick,"

Americans as allies in a potential war.[47] While Governor Campbell's actions undoubtedly indicate he was aware that Grand Manan's situation "guarding" the entrance to the Bay of Fundy would be of strategic importance to Britain, his concern may well have been motivated as much by self-interest as by an interest in the greater good. Indeed, upon returning to Halifax, Governor Campbell requested for *himself* that "a Reservation of the Island [of] Grand Manan be made untill His Majesty's pleasure be known."*(sic)*[48] Whatever his motives may have been, and for whatever reason in Halifax, the Governor's petition was not granted.

The obliquity of Grand Manan in the British purview became apparent as well in a British project which, while fixing Grand Manan more squarely on the European colonizer's map, continued to obfuscate the issue of jurisdiction. To aid in settlement and improve the safety of navigation, the British Admiralty in

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Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. 7 (1901) Sec.2, p.229.

[47]In 1776, George Washington sent a chain of friendship to the Passamaquoddies requesting allegiance in the Revolutionary War, which he received. The Americans promoted the idea that the Passamaquoddies were "owners" of their land as long as it served their interests. When some Loyalists sought temporary refuge on Grand Manan after the British were repelled from Machias, the Americans were quick to notify the families in a poorly written correspondence by one Delesdernier, that Grand Manan was "*Left for the Benefit of the Indians*, who had no Concern in the Dispute and who had *the original right* , in this case it was Guaranteed to them by promise in Behalf of the United States, till a further Ditermanation of Congress or any other Sutable authority." (my emphasis) Unless they removed immediately, the letter continued "you will answer the Consiquence at your Peril [and]...That the Greatiest Threats is thrown out against you by said Indians, The Execution of which will not be in the power of the Superintendent & Agent to prevent." *(sic)* The subtext of the letter, that the Americans were interested in claiming possession of the island, became overtly apparent when at the conclusion of the war Delesdernier's friend, Jonathan Eddy petitioned the Massachusetts Legislature for possession of Grand Manan. See Jonas Howe, "Letters and Documents Relating to the History and Settlement of the Island of Grand Manan," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society (1897) reprinted in Buchanan Charles, ed., The Grand Manan Historian No. 5 (1938) p. 35 and G.O. Bent, "Jonathan Eddy on Grand Manan," Acadiensis 6, 3 (July 1906) pp. 165-171.

1764 chose J.F.W. Des Barres to survey and chart the Nova Scotia coastline, a project which quickly grew to include the Gulf of St. Lawrence including Cape Breton and St. John's (Prince Edward) Island, the south coast of New York and New England. Spurred on by the political troubles in the Thirteen Colonies which created a demand for accurate naval charts, Des Barres completed the survey in 1773 and rushed to publish his work. His output consisted of four series of charts which appeared between 1774 and 1784 as The Atlantic Neptune. The first to be published was the folio of the coastal charts of Nova Scotia. The topographic aquatint views and chart of Grand Manan, however, were not included in this folio. They did appear in 1781 (cat. 39), bound in a folio entitled the Charts of the Coast and Harbors of New England.[49] With this ambiguity, on the part of the Royal Navy itself, it is not surprising that at the end of the Revolutionary War a British observer would write: "it is not yet known whether it is to belong to Great Britain or to America."[50]

The end of the American Revolution, however, betokened a change in affairs as the vagueness of the boundary brought about by Britain's indifference was sufficient to allow not only a party of Massachusetts Loyalists but an American Patriot to petition the Nova Scotia and Massachusetts governments,

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[48]"Letters and Documents Relating to the History and Settlement of Grand Manan," p.19.

[49]J.F.W. Des Barres, Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966+) pp.192-197, esp.193. Public Archives of Canada, Images of Canada: Documentary Watercolours and Drawings from the Permanent Collection of the Public Archives of Canada, ed. Micheal Bell (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972) pp.17-18.

[50][S. Hollingsworth], An Account of the Present State of Nova Scotia (Edinburgh, 1786) and excerpted in The Grand Manan Historian No.5 (1938) p. 55.

respectively, for license to occupy the island archipelago.[51] The Americans maintained that Grand Manan had never been formally claimed by Britain. This was a pivotal argument because under the terms of the Treaty of Peace the United States was to acquire all the islands in the Passamaquoddy Bay region except "those that had been within the limits of Nova Scotia on or before the date of the treaty, September 3, 1783."[52] The American argument held weight, forcing the British negotiator privately to concede shaky ground in a letter to the British foreign secretary.[53] Nonetheless, in 1817, the dispute was finally settled over cocktails in New York, as the story goes, as "a matter of diplomatic expediency rather than legal right" to the benefit of Britain.[54]

The lack of diplomatic skill and the measure of the loss of Grand Manan came into clear focus to the Americans within the year. With the Fisheries Convention of 1818, no longer were American fishermen allowed to take, dry, or

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[51]At the same time that the party of Loyalists led by Moses Gerrish were on their way to take possession of Grand Manan, Col. Jonathan Eddy, a representative in the Massachusetts Legislature and a Nova Scotia refugee, petitioned the Legislature for the right to purchase the island. Initially the Massachusetts Legislature moved to support his claim but apparently failed to pursue the matter when it learned that the Nova Scotia government already had granted a licence to the Loyalists. See: G.O. Bent, "Jonathan Eddy and Grand Manan," Acadiensis 6, 3 (July 1906) pp.165-171.

[52]Buchanan Charles, "Grand Manan Assigned to Great Britain, 1817," The Grand Manan Historian No.5 (1938) p.63.

[53]"His Majesty's claim to those Islands [in Passamaquoddy Bay] is...in my opinion perfectly correct, and such as cannot be controverted. I am apprehensive it will be difficult for His Majesty's Agent to support with equal evidence His Majesty's claim to the Island of Grand Manan..." Correspondence of Thomas Barclay ed. G.L.Rives (New York, 1894) cited in Buchanan Charles The Grand Manan Historian No. 5 (1938) pp.64-65.

[54]Ibid, p. 63. "From thus standing in the middle of the Bay of Fundy, it is obviously of importance in a political view, commanding a sight of all that passes to and fro; and possessing places of natural strength, and harbours of perfect security for vessels of war, its retention in the hands of our government must be desirable." Anthony Lockwood, A Brief Description of Nova Scotia with Plates of the Principal Harbors; Including a Particular Account of the Island of Grand Manan (London: G.Hayden, 1818) pp. 87-94.

cure fish within three miles of "His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America", apart from the waters off Labrador, Newfoundland and the Magdalen Islands.[55] The open access to Grand Manan waters, considered to be the richest fishing grounds in North America, was over.[56] This situation caused much rancor with American fishermen and among concerned politicians, such as Daniel Webster, who wrote privately in his journal, "We think Grand Manan should have been assigned to us".[57] Indeed, in the face of the exclusion from Grand Manan waters, for example, American fishermen simply continued to fish, albeit illegally, hauling up anchor and sailing quickly away to the nearby coast of Maine with the first sign of detection.

While the white sails of fishing vessels from the coast of Maine, Nova Scotia and the New Brunswick mainland were reported to fill the waters surrounding the island, Grand Manan fishermen themselves failed to contribute significantly to their numbers. In fact, in the words of one contemporary observer, "of sixty-five vessels employed in the [Bay of Fundy] fishery belonging to New Brunswick, of from ten to thirty tons... (exclusive of the small boats that

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55 The Grand Manan Historian No. 9 (1965) p.12.

56 The Commissioners appointed to study the Grand Manan fisheries in 1836 reported: "It [is] useless to attempt to prove what no man denies- that Grand Manan is more happily situated for an extensive Fishery, than any other spot on the coast of America- the inhabitants of the Island and the Province proudly claim this preeminence, Nova Scotia admits it, and the American fishermen by their encroachments, prove it." Reports of the Commissioners Appointed by the House of Assembly to Procure Information Respecting the State of the Herring Fishery at Grand Manan, 1836 (Fredericton: Kings Printer, 1837).

57 Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster (Boston, 1857) Vol. 2, p.103, cited in The Grand Manan Historian No.5 (1938) p. 65. The sentiment is still reported as late as 1912 although it is not a view held by the author himself in Holman Day's, "Grim Grand Manan," Harper's Monthly 747 (May 1912) p. 347.

fish along the shore) ...there are only twenty fitted out from Grand Manan."[58] Fishing, for the roughly 1000 inhabitants living on the island in 1840, was indeed a limited activity. During this period, almost all the fishermen used basic fishing technology adapted from what were originally aboriginal practices: "torching" or "driving" and, beginning in the 1820's, weir fishing. Torching meant going out in small open boats at night with a torch light to attract the herring to the surface and then dip-netting them into the boat. Weir fishing involved building brush enclosures in the water near the shore and collecting the herring catch on the ocean floor at low tide. Rather than a singular pursuit, fishing was combined with farming which made the islanders very nearly self-sufficient. By mid-century, the census revealed that:

> Each family had its own milk cows and... Islanders made nearly 10, 000 pounds of butter. There were 424 "neat cattle", oxen and beef stock, and 15 horses. The sheep flocks numbered around 1,500 heads and wool from this source was made into 3,296 yards of "homespun" cloth on twenty-seven hand looms. Farm lots produced wheat, barley, oats, and buckwheat in reasonable quantities, and there were ample supplies of turnips, potatoes and "other roots".[59]

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[58] Report by Captain John Robb, R.N., on the State of the Fisheries...on the Bay of Fundy, 1840 (Fredericton: Queen's Printer, 1841) reprinted in The Grand Manan Historian No. 9 (1965) p.16. Another observed: "[Grand Manan] alone with the present population, could employ advantageously, one hundred, and the whole coast six hundred. The number of fishing vessels belonging to the United States, and fishing in the same waters, is as ten to one." Abraham Gesner, New Brunswick: with Notes for Emigrants (London: Simmonds and Ward, 1847) p.283.

[59] L.K. Ingersoll, "Introduction", The Grand Manan Historian No. 10 (1966) p.8. As T.H. Breen points out, self sufficient communities were uncommon in New England by the late eighteenth century. T.H. Breen, "The Meaning of 'Likeness': American portrait painting in an eighteenth-century consumer society," Word and Image 6, 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1990) pp.331-332.

Others were involved working in the five saw mills on the island or in shipbuilding. The tendency to maintain a level of self-sufficiency and remain by and large outside of a money economy, was reinforced by the isolated pattern of settlement; aside from access by boat, there was virtually no communication between the groups of dwellings scattered in isolated coves and harbours on the main island, as well as on the smaller outer islets. The residents were also incommunicado with the mainland for the most part until a weekly mail boat began in 1838 and then a post office opened in 1845.[60]

In the eyes of interested observers, this self sufficiency and self imposed isolation was considered to be a less than virtuous lifestyle. Indeed, when a group of Grand Manan fishermen, in the 1830's, petitioned authorities in Fredericton for regulations limiting access to the fisheries and for protection from "foreign fish rustlers,"[61] they were met with a critical appraisal of their motives. Rather than draw a strong condemnation of the practices of the fishermen from Saint John or Maine who used larger boats and crews, and the new gill-nets and seines, the fisheries commissioners who came to the island to investigate, claimed that Grand Manan fishermen underutilized the resource. Echoing Adam Smith's classical liberalism, the commissioners insisted that by being more competitive, they would improve not only their own condition but that of the province as a whole. Not using the advantages of their superior

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[60]Ibid.

[61]"...ten to twenty sail of American fishing vessels (are) continuously to be found at anchor, catching fish within one mile of the shores of Grand Manan." Grand Manan Historian No. 9 (1965) p.8.

fishing station, available credit, and good fish prices, indicated that "there must be some moral deficiency, in the absence of natural difficulties, which hangs over the inhabitants, and neutralizes those advantages."[62] They should be using gill-nets and seines themselves, the commissioners continued, and be building bigger boats. Finally, Grand Manan settlers ought to organize into villages because these "evils" were not peculiar to Grand Manan people *per se* but were "necessarily flowing from their insulated and retired situation..."[63] Nonetheless, these written documents of the Fisheries Commissioners (which comprise the main accounts and descriptions of the island at the time) were in the end buried as appendages to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly.[64] Grand Manan remained little known beyond local interests and those particularly concerned with the fishery or matters of territorial acquisition.

Despite a legal boundary that placed Grand Manan under the political jurisdiction of the British province of New Brunswick, the boundary was by no means, an impermeable divide. The historical geographer Graeme Wynn writes that the boundary dividing Maine and New Brunswick has been "remarkably

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62 Reports of the Commissioners Appointed by the House of Assembly to Procure Information Respecting the State of the Herring Fishery at Grand Manan, 1836 (Fredericton: Kings Printer, 1837) excerpted in The Grand Manan Historian No.8 (1964) pp. 16-17.

63 Ibid.

64 Reports of the Commissioners Appointed by the House of Assembly to Procure Information Respecting the State of the Herring Fishery at Grand Manan, 1836 (Fredericton: Kings Printer, 1837); Report by Captain John Robb, R.N., on the State of the Fisheries...on the Bay of Fundy,1840 (Fredericton: Queen's Printer, 1841) and Moses Perley, Report Upon the Fisheries of the Bay of Fundy (Fredericton: Queen's Printer, 1851). These reports are excerpted in The Grand Manan Historian, Volumes 8-10. Abraham Gesner, "First Report on the Geology of Grand Manan,"(1830's) The Grand Manan Historian No. 3 (1936) pp. 1-9 and Abraham Gesner, New Brunswick: with Notes for

porous" and that "we lose both clarity and nuance by closing our eyes to the complex ties between New England and the Maritime Provinces during the nineteenth century."[65] In discussing these ties, Wynn identifies what he calls a "Greater New England of the northeast,"[66] of which the "the eighteenth century's Boston-Bay of Fundy axis remained a critical determinant of interaction."[67] The features of this Greater New England were found in a common experience, an interconnected economy, shared attitudes and a similar material culture. Wade Reppert, a local historian, has noted the hybridity of border culture on Grand Manan in the spatial organization of the interior of the island's first church. Since the New Brunswick government provided funding to build only Anglican churches in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Grand Mananers devised their own method of resisting what they perceived to be the hierarchical organization of the church by setting the altar in the midst of the congregation which, he writes, reflected more "the congregationalist tradition of the American churches."[68] These island parishioners believed,

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Immigrants (London: Simmonds and Ward, 1847) pp.276-285.

[65]Ibid, p.66-67.

[66]Wynn recognizes "old-settled Massachusetts as hub of a New England *core*, southwestern Nova Scotia and southwestern New Brunswick together with Maine and Connecticut as New England's *domain*, and the lands in and of the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Prince Edward and Cape Breton islands, northeastern New Brunswick and the rest of Nova Scotia) as part of New England's far-reaching *sphere*." Graeme Wynn, "New England's Outpost in the Nineteenth Century," eds. Stephen J. Hornsby, et al. The Northeastern Borderlands: Four Centuries of Interaction (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989) p.67. See also, idem, "A Province Too Much Dependent on New England," The Canadian Geographer 31 (1987) pp. 98-113 and George Rawlyk, A People Highly Favoured of God (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972).

[67]Ibid, p.88.

[68]Wade Reppert, "The Pale of the Church: A Pastoral History of Grand Manan; Part I: The Struggle for Mores, 1784-1856," The Grand Manan Historian 21 (1979) p.4-5.

> that the members of a congregation were equal with their minister in the kingdom of God, in contrast to the orthodox English doctrine of the prerogatives of holy orders and would not even consider a floor plan that would place their clergyman (as they thought) in a remote and privileged contemplation of the Gospel mysteries. [69]

For those interested in seeing American characteristics in Grand Manan society, the hybrid condition of island life offered up ready cases of common outlook.

In sum, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the nebulous political status of the island in relation to competing jurisdictions, combined with its relative anonymity beyond those politicians and fishermen directly interested in the fishery, provided the clearing for Grand Manan to be "read" in terms of a New England regional landscape as well as, subsequently, in terms of a site on the map of Canadian landscape iconography.[70] In the following sections I will show how at one point in the early 1850's "Grand Manan" was cast within the net of picturing New England landscape and seascape themes as representative of "the nation" in the United States. While drawing upon a heroic past, this vision of the nation was positive and forward-looking, based upon a belief in millenial promise and in New England's role in the national mission. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, societal change led to a lack of confidence in this national project, prompting a shift away from concern with the national landscape to a nostalgic and retrospective attitude towards regional culture. Threatened by immigration and rapid economic and

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[69]Ibid.

[70]New Englanders persisted in using the American spelling Grand *Menan* well into the

societal change, the inclusion of Grand Manan within a New England imaginary can be seen in terms of the desire to find in New England fishing communities what remained of the original "pure-stock" of Pilgrim-Puritan settlers.[71]

By contrast, "Grand Manan" has been considered as a displace of a Canadian national landscape, yet one circumscribed by the British Empire. I argue that this is an interpretation of recent construction, surfacing with the re-evaluation of O'Brien's career. When placed in the context of "Grand Manan" as a displace of the New England imaginary, one begins to see the *sources* of the topos which come to represent O'Brien's "national" paintings of the early 1880's: the headland and coastal view. But for a national meaning to be understood and thus to be effective, I suggest, O'Brien displaces this topos from a coastal orientation to the river, specifically the St. Lawrence River.

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twentieth century.

[71]John Stilgoe, Alongshore (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Universtiy Press, 1994).

§3. Grand Manan, F.E. Church and the National Landscape: the American Example

> Our country *is* wild, and must be looked at by itself, and be painted as it is. We have not a country like England, filled with the tokens of past generations, and so made full of human interest. Ours is wilderness, or at least only half reclaimed, and untamed nature everywhere asserts her claim upon us, and the recognition of this claim represents an essential part of our Art.
>
> *"Sketchings," The Crayon [New York] 1855*[72]

> Church exhibits the New England mind pictorially developed.
>
> *Henry Tuckerman, Book of the Artists, 1867*

In the late summer of 1851, Frederic Edwin Church, arrived on Grand Manan Island. By this time Church, still only twenty five years old, was fast approaching the pinnacle of his profession. In the mid 1840's, he had been the only student of Thomas Cole, the revered "father of landscape painting" in the United States, and had firmly established a reputation for himself as "without doubt among our best landscape painters,"[73] with the sale of several paintings to the American Art Union, including *Hooker and Company Journeying through the Wilderness from Plymouth to Hartford in 1636* (1846) and *West Rock, New Haven* (1847).

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[72]Quoted in Franklin Kelly, Frederic Edwin Church and the National Landscape (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988) p.82.

[73]Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, vol.40 (May 3, 1849) no. 6822, cited in Christopher Kent Wilson, "The Landscape of Democracy: Frederic Church's *West Rock, New Haven*," American Art Journal 15, 3 (1986) p.21.

When his picture, *New England Scenery,* was sold at the Art Union in 1852, Church commanded the highest price yet paid for an American painting.

Church's early success as a painter signalled a change in what had been deemed suitable subjects for the purposes of a fostering a "National School of Art."[74] Indeed, in the first half of the nineteenth century it was not uncommon to hear the view of those who still adhered to eighteenth century classicism as espoused, for instance, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, that landscape was insufficiently intellectual as a basis for a national art. An indication of this view is in the fact that the Art Union tended to choose paintings other than landscapes to engrave as premiums for its subscribers. For instance, of 23 Art Union engravings, from 1839 until the AAU's demise in 1852, just five were of landscapes, among them Church's *New England Scenery.*[75] The other engravings consisted of "classical allegories... episodes from American history or other events with a high moral tone... or genre scenes, recommended for their homely American values."[76] As an essayist in the *Bulletin* of the American Art Union stated in 1847, landscape was, on the whole, less edifying than "certain other branches [of art] which demand higher powers of mind and hand, and upon which the fame of the country... alone can rest."[77]

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74 Gerald Carr, Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonné, p.203.

75 Rachel N. Klein, "Art and Authority in Antebellum New York City: The Rise and Fall of the American Art Union," Journal of American History (March 1995) p.1542.

76 Carol Troyon, "Retreat to Arcadia: American Landscape and the American Art-Union," American Art Journal 23, 1 (1992) p.30.

77 Transactions of the American Art Union, 1847, p.26, as quoted in Carol Troyon, "Retreat to Arcadia: American Landscape and the American Art-Union," p.30. See also Lillian Miller, "Paintings, Sculpture, and the National Character, 1815-1860," Journal of

The change in attitude towards what constituted appropriate subjects for a national art that the reception of *New England Scenery* signalled, was propelled in large part by the new cult of scenery. Influenced by the romantic poets and British aesthetics, northeastern elites came to demonstrate their appreciation of scenery and their ability to compose a view as a means of distinguishing themselves from their perceived social inferiors,[78] as a "badge of status."[79] The cultivation of landscape prompted the development of the fashionable tour in which people travelled beyond urban centres, the traditional destination of travellers, to behold and to compose the raw materials of nature into the picturesque view, much in the way that the Englishman, Henry Tudor, had done in his travel book when, in sailing past the archipelago in 1831, he staged Grand Manan and the surrounding islands into an ordered aesthetic whole:

> We sailed past various clusters of pretty islands, especially those called the Wolves... forming, with the Grand Menan, Campobello, and some others, a complete ampitheatre of verdant islands, and presenting a most beautiful and splendid ensemble.[80]

The rapid growth in the popularity of 'scenery' among northeastern elites can be gauged by the successive ever expanding editions of the first guide in North

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American History 53 (March 1967) pp.696-707.

[78]For the average person, landscape description was utilitarian and matter-of-fact. Kenneth Myers, "On the Cultural Construction of Landscape Experience: Contact to 1830," American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth Century Art and Literature, ed. D. Miller (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993) p.73.

[79]Robert Bredeson, "Landscape Description in Nineteenth-Century Travel Literature," American Quarterly 20 (1968) p. 89.

[80]Henry Tudor, Narrative of a Tour in North America: Comprising Mexico, the Mines of Réal del Monte, the United States, and the British Colonies with an Excursion to the Island of Cuba (London: Duncan, 1834) Vol.1, p.349.

America for the fashionable tourist, Gideon M. Davison's The Fashionable Tour or, a Trip to the Springs, Niagara, Quebeck, and Boston, in the Summer of 1821. When it was published in 1822, The Fashionable Tour noted a few scenic locations but with each new edition as Dona Brown points out, it expanded "to include such scenic locations as Nahant and Mount Holyoke in Massachusetts, and even the distant White Mountains, until by 1830, the guide featured page after page of 'lofty cataracts,' 'sublime scenes,' and 'romantic solitudes.'"[81] Indeed, when Thomas Cole turned to paint the American landscape, it was very often the established views such as *View From the Top of Kaaterskill Falls* (1826) mentioned in the fashionable tour that he depicted.[82]

While serving the needs of the socially conscious, landscape appreciation also admirably served those who wished to advance the arts as a means of edifying national character. Tapping an ancient tendency to see race and culture as determined by the environment and combining it with the new interest in scenery, such arbiters of culture wished to find and identify in American scenery a superiority over and a distinctiveness from Europe. In an 1852 essay titled "Scenery and Mind," Elias Magoon wrote that "the diversified landscapes of our country exert no slight influence in creating our character as individuals, and in

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81 Dona Brown, Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century (Washinton, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995) pp.28, 33. Davison's Fashionable Tour almost doubled in size in the 1828 edition by including new routes through New England mountain scenery. Brown, p.222, n.45.

82 Kenneth Myers, The Catskills: Painters, Writers, and Tourists in the Mountains 1820-1895 (Hanover, N.H.: The Hudson River Museum of Westchester, University Press of New England, 1987) pp.37-46.

confirming our destiny as a nation."[83] The way this superiority was to be manifested was to be specific, local and vernacular: "The physical aspect and moral traits of nations are in a great measure influenced by their local position, circumstances of climate, popular traditions, and the scenery in the midst of which they arise."[84] For many painters hailing from the American northeast, and particularly Frederic Church, the "moral traits" of the nation emanated from New England.[85]

While he had established himself in New York, the centre of American artistic activity, Church was foremost a New Englander, the son of a wealthy New Haven family who claimed Pilgrim-Puritan ancestry. An identification with this heritage is clear in paintings such as *Hooker and Company Journeying Through the Wilderness from Plymouth to Hartford, in 1636,* which illustrated not only a significant historical event in the settlement of the New England colonies, but family history as well: his ancestor was in Hooker's group.[86] This

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[83]E. L. Magoon, "Scenery and Mind," in The Home Book of the Picturesque: Or American Scenery, Art, and Literature. (1852; Gainesville, Florida: Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints, 1967) p. 3. The fact that landscapes could be easily understood also appealed to the leading proponents of a national art, Carol Troyon, p.30.

[84]Ibid, p.26.

[85]A true appreciation of nature, however, that one could be morally instructed, was understood to be the domain of only those properly placed in society. It was those who were educated who would be able to properly read nature's text. "What is most exalted, is most influential on the *best* minds," Magoon wrote in the Home Book of the Picturesque. Frederic Law Olmsted, a childhood schoolmate of the artist Frederic Church in Hartford, Connecticut wrote that the "power of scenery to affect men is, in a large way, proportionate to the degree of their civilization and the degree to which their taste has been cultivated." Cited in Nash Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968)p.4. The relationship of Olmsted to Church is mentioned in Charles Dudley Warner, "An Unfinished Biography of the Artist." The transcript appears as the appendix to Franklin Kelly, ed., Frederic Edwin Church (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989) pp.174-199.

[86]David Huntington, "Church and Luminism: Light for America's Elect," American Light:

tendency to draw upon his Pilgrim-Puritan heritage was also tapped in other works such as *The Charter Oak at Hartford* (1846) and *West Rock, New Haven* (1849).[87] Thus the "Grand Manan" of Frederic Church's painting's *The Wreck* (1852) and *Grand Manan Island, Bay of Fundy* (1853), must be seen in terms of his adherence to a New England imaginary which he sought to project as representative of the nation.[88]

The image of New England was most vigorously developed in the first half of the nineteenth century when the region's position in the Union was eroding, challenged from within by the economic chaos of an agricultural depression and from without by the competition from the South.[89] To bolster the region on the national stage, New England apologists such as Daniel Webster promoted New England as the progenitor of the nation, the region from which

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The Luminist Movement, 1850-1875, pp. 160, 156.

[87]Hooker and his party are portrayed as the new Israelites on their way to the promised land; the Charter Oak refers to the successful protection of the new democratic charter of the New Haven colony from its seizure by English authorities-(divinely protected); and West Rock, New Haven prompts a memory of the protection of two regicides by the people of New Haven in 1661, who hid them in a cave in West Rock.

[88]Studies of Church's career have proliferated in recent years. Among those addressing the New England landscapes of his early career see David Huntington, "Church and Luminism: Light for America's Elect," American Light: The Luminist Movement, 1850-1875, ed. J. Wilmerding (Washington: National Gallery of Art andHarper and Row, 1980), Franklin Kelly and Gerald Carr, The Early Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church, 1845-1854 (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1987), Franklin Kelly, Frederic Edwin Church and the National Landscape (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), idem, "Lane and Church in Maine," Paintings by Fitz Hugh Lane, ed. J. Wilmerding (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1988), Carol Troyon, "Retreat to Arcadia: American Landscape and the American Art-Union," American Art Journal 23, 1 (1992) pp.21-37, Angela Miller's chapter "Nationalism as Place and Process: Frederic Church's *New England Scenery*" in Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) and Gerald Carr, Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonné of Works of Art at Olana State Historic Site Vol.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[89]Angela Miller, Empire of the Eye, pp.177-178.

the nation's sustaining values emanated.[90] Orators and writers associated with New England civil liberty and Protestant piety, and identified "enterprise, frugality, order and intelligence" as New England traits.[91] As Lawrence Buell has written, they also liked to emphasize the fact that the majority of New Englanders were of Pilgrim-Puritan stock and that the principles upon which the nation was governed could be directly linked to the founding settlers at Plymouth Rock.[92] Regional apologists established outlets in such institutions as The Atlantic Monthly whose writers, claimed an early editor, were:

> teachers, educators, and bringers of the light with a deep and affectionate feeling of obligation towards the young republic their fathers had brought into being. That New England was appointed to guide the nation, to civilize it, to humanize it, none of them doubted."[93]

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[90]Ibid. Harlow W. Sheidly, "The Webster-Hayne Debate: Recasting New England's Sectionalism," New England Quarterly (1994) pp.13, 19-20. Webster's speech became a national best seller with 40,000 printed by one press alone, and was pirated by others. As one contemporary remarked, "it may be said to have been carried to every fireside in the land," p. 24. See also: Richard Power, "A Crusade to Extend Yankee Culture, 1820-1865," New England Quarterly (December 1940), pp.638-653; C. Carroll Hollis, "Brownson on Native New England", New England Quarterly 40, 2 (June 1967) pp.212-226; Irving H. Bartlett, "Daniel Webster as a Symbolic Hero," New England Quarterly 45 (December 1972): 484-507, and Harlow Shiedly, "Sectional Nationalism: The Culture and Politics of the Massachusetts Conservative Elites, 1825-1836," Ph.d. diss. Univ. of Connecticut, 1990. This mythicization was of course contested by the west and the south, see for instance: Angela Miller, "The Mechanisms of the Market and the Invention of Western Regionalism: The Example of George Caleb Bingham," American Iconology, ed. D. Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) pp.112-134.

[91]James Fenimore Cooper,The Travelling Bachelor, or, Notions of the Americans (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855)p.91.

[92]Lawrence Buell, New England Literary Culture: From Revolution Through Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p.199.

[93]Thomas Wentworth Higginson quoted in Ellery Sedgwick,"Atlantic Monthly," American Literary Magazines: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries ed. Edward E. Chielens (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986) p.50.

Given Frederic Church's preoccupation with New England themes and the growing interest in rugged, wild scenery, it is not surprising that he would turn to the sea for new subject matter. In turning to the coast Church was tapping a cultural memory of early contact and the foundations of the colony.[94] Embedded in this memory was the experience of the ocean as the first wilderness which the Pilgrims encountered in their physical and spiritual journey. Travelling to what Thoreau called "the barely settled shores," Church was recalling an experience of the wilderness analogous to that of the early Puritan settlers, indeed, as his paintings suggest, it involved a "looking back" to that experience.[95] On one level, the ocean represented the original Biblical meaning of the wilderness-as-void.[96] It was vast, illimitable, and beyond the scope of human control or measure; hence it was also terrifying. It is with the experience of the ocean as wilderness that William Bradford recorded his relief in arriving on *terra firma* in 1620:

> Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye perils and miseries thereof, again

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[94]Roger Stein, "Seascape and the American Imagination: The Puritan Seventeenth Century," Early American Literature 7 (1972) p.34. See also John Stilgoe, "A New England Coastal Wilderness," Geographical Review 71 (January 1981) pp.33-50.

[95]Henry David Thoreau, The Maine Woods, (1846), quoted in John Wilmerding, The Artist's Mount Desert: American Artists on the Maine Coast (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) p. 30.

[96]On wilderness as void see Jonathan Bordo, "Jack Pine," Journal of Canadian Studies, 27, 4 (Winter 1992-93) p.102, and idem, "The *Terra Nullius* of Wilderness- Colonialist Landscape Art (Canada and Australia) and the So-Called Claim to American Exception," International Journal of Canadian Studies 15 (Spring 1997) pp.1-24.

> to set their feet on ye firme and stable earth, their proper element...[97]

It has been argued that this memory of ocean passage had a profound impact on the social identity of the Pilgrims and their descendents in the first decades of settlement.[98] Sermons commonly used oceanic metaphors to reinforce a sense of exclusivity (the Elect survived the passage) or to warn against the dangers of religious error. For instance, shortly after "Thomas Hooker and Company" settled Hartford, Connecticut, Hooker preached that heretical thinking would mean a terrible fate. "As a ship that is foundered in the midst of the main Ocean without the sight of any succor, or hope of Relief." [99] In fact, the force of the ocean in the collective memory was so important that "Samuel Danforth admonished his listeners to remember that New England was unique *not* because of 'our transportation over the Atlantick Ocean,' but only as a result of 'the fruition of ... holy Ordinances' there." [100]

For Church and his contemporaries, the ocean continued to be a potent symbol within the orbit of memory of New Englanders. Roger Stein writes that for nineteenth century novelists and writers of American sea fiction, the ocean

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[97]Alan Heimert and Andrew Delbanco, eds. The Puritans in America: A Narrative Anthology. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[98]Peter N. Carroll, Puritanism and the Wilderness (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969) pp.27-44; and David Cressy, Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) pp.144-177. In a similar vein Robert Pogue Harrison writes that "forests have the psychological effect of evoking memories of the past; indeed that they become figures for memory itself," in Forests: The Shadow of Civilization (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992) p.156.

[99]Peter N. Carroll, Puritanism and the Wilderness , p.39.

[100]Ibid, p.43.

was a powerful emblem in "the search for a lost coherence, a lost cosmology" that had been "the center of the Puritan seascape aesthetic."[101] Consider most obviously *Moby Dick* (1851) a novel centering on the "motif of the journey, the voyage into the vortex."[102] The emblem was also to be found in the nineteenth-century poems, composed on the occasion of a town's centennial, which typically began with lines such as the following:

> Here, on this storied shore, within the sound/ Of these old voiceful waters, have we met/ To spend a profitable hour...[103]

In *Beacon Off Mount Desert,* (Figure 2) a painting of 1851, these associations of the "storied shore" in New England history are skilfully and simply harnessed in a work which is pared down to an image of sea and sky. On a small outcropping of rocks stands a small beacon. Here Church combines a naturalistic image with his tendency to render representative and spiritual meaning. Thus the beacon, an emblem of safety, and the rock, a traditional reference to the foundations of the Church, evokes the "post-Puritan rhetoric of New World redemption,"[104] a meaning suggested in an early nineteenth century tribute to the nation:

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[101]Roger Stein, "Seascape and the American Imagination: the Puritan Seventeenth Century," Early American Literature 7(1972) p.34. Stein identified typology as the Puritan's aesthetic strategy and writes: "By giving aesthetic shape to their experience seascape helped to accommodate men's fears and to invest the raw data of their infinitely increasing 'stock of experience' with meaning." p.21.

[102]Ibid.

[103]Josiah Canning, "Poem Delivered at the Field Meeting, Bicentennial Celebration of the Turner Falls Fight," in Connecticut River Weeds (Boston: Cupples, 1892)pp.24-5, cited in Lawrence Buell, New England Literary Culture, p.288.

[104]Angela Miller, 1993, p.176.

> [These were] the means, and these the men, through which not New Plymouth only was to be planted, not New England only to be founded, not our whole country only to be formed and molded, but the whole Hemisphere to be shaped and the whole world shaken...it was the bright and shining wake they left upon the waves, *it was the clear and brilliant beacon they lighted upon the shores,* that caused them to have any followers.[105]

This theme was further explored in *The Wreck,* (Plate 2) included in the National Academy exhibition of 1852.[106] Like Beacon, *The Wreck,* which is based upon sketches of the Grand Manan brig, the *Joseph Ham,* is an image of predominantly sky and water.[107] To the right, a wrecked brigantine rests on a ledge, and in the distance a few schooners dot an otherwise uninterrupted horizon line. According to one critic, *The Wreck* was considered to be "one of the most popular pictures in the exhibition" and placed Church at the forefront of marine painters.[108] "[T]hrough and above all the fine detail of Mr. Church, which no one surpasses," wrote one critic, "his pictures have a broad and grave

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[105]Cited in ibid.

[106]The theme of the wreck was also explored by William Bradford on Grand Manan between 1854 and 1861. In Bradford's Grand Manan sketchbooks there are a number of drawings of wrecked ships, one of which depicts a ship lodged between a rock formation known as the "Southern Cross", with the cross echoed in the mast of the ship. Lemuel Eldred, a fellow artist from new Bedford, reoported that Bradford actually purchased a wrecked vessel on Grand Manan "for a small consideration, for the sole purpose of making [a] pictorial study." Lemuel Eldred, "Picturesque Grand Menan and its Artist Visitors," The New Bedford Sunday Standard (October 24, 1920) p.25.

[107]The *Joseph Ham* was built on Grand Manan in 1833. The full entry by Keith Ingersoll and Albert Barnes, in "Initial List of Ships Built at Grand Manan," reads: "Brigantine, 2 masts, 74-4 x 20-9, 136 tons; Builder, Owner and Master, Andrew Merrill, Kempt, N.S. Registered at Halifax, October 31, 1833. Re-registered Windsor, N.S. in 1849; lost same year in Bay of Fundy." The Grand Manan Historian no.16 (1972) p.25.

[108]G.W. Curtis, "The Fine Arts; Exhibition of the National Academy," New York Daily Tribune (8 May 1852) p.5 quoted in Franklin Kelly, Frederic Edwin Church and the National Landscape, p.61.

character—a meaning—a thought which elevates them from sea-pieces into works of art."[109] When turning to the painting, the appeal is made clear.

While shipwreck emerged in eighteenth century European iconography as an image of an imperilled ship of state, a corporate enterprise "threatened by the collapse of traditional beliefs" and "impelled into a world of intellectual, moral, emotional uncertainty,"[110] Church's painting, in keeping with his faith, suggests, not despair, but hope. Despite the ominous title, the vessel appears to have sustained little damage. The sun has broken through the clouds illuminating the sea and sky with refracted light like that in medieval votive pictures, and clearly in view is the cross in the mast. In the background, the vessels are in full sail suggesting that life goes on. As Henry Ward Beecher wrote, "We stand upon [the] shore as if a new life were opening upon us, and we were in the act of forgetting the things that are behind, and reaching forth unto those which are before and beyond."[111] One's contemplation turns to the continuance of life.

The optimism evident in *The Wreck* is telling in the context of its exhibition. Church's painting emerges from such a period of uncertainty and near conflagration, culminating in the Compromise of 1850 with the south, which established the fugitive slave law, and provided for the annexation of Texas and California. In American political rhetoric surrounding this crisis, the

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[109]Ibid, p.62.

[110]David Miller, "The Iconology of Wrecked or Stranded Boats in Mid to Late Nineteenth Century Painting," American Iconology, p. 188.

[111]Henry Ward Beecher, Star Papers: Experiences of Art and Nature (New York: J.C. Derby, 1855) p.203-204.

American Ship of State was a favourite metaphor.[112] Indeed, in his study of the iconology of the wrecked or stranded boat in nineteenth century American painting, David Miller observes that this motif reverberates with prophetic history, with the idea of America as Redeemer nation. In the motif of the wrecked or stranded boat, symbol emerges from typology, where "persons and places, situations and things" are given "representative and spiritual meaning".[113] In this context, *The Wreck* is suggestive of the affirmation of the future of the Pilgrim-Puritan project in the New World that was grounded in a rhetorical mode—the jeremiad, which "simultaneously expressed disappointment and hope, lament and celebration, in a ritual affirmation of the national mission that remained current through the first half of the nineteenth century."[114]

Kelly speculates that *Home by the Lake* is a pendant to *The Wreck.* This reading of *The Wreck* would seem to be supported by a pairing of the painting with *Home by the Lake,* which was exhibited at the same time. (Indeed the

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[112]"It is not to be denied that we live in the midst of strong agitations, and are surrounded by very considerable dangers to our institutions and government. The imprisoned winds are let loose. The East, the North, and the Stormy South combine to throw the whole sea into commotion, to toss its billows to the skies, and disclose its profoundest depths....I have a part to act not for my own security or safety, for I am looking out for no fragment upon which to float away from the wreck, if wreck there must be, but for the good of the whole, and the preservation of all. "The Constitution and the Union," The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster, 18 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1903) 10:57 quoted in David C. Miller, "The Iconology of Wrecked or Stranded Boats in Mid to Late Nineteenth-Century American Culture," p.188. Bercovitch notes that the ship of state had "as its counterpart in Puritan New England writing the world-redeeming ark of Christ." Sacvan Bercovitch, Puritan Origins of the American Self (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975) p.91.

[113]David Miller, "The Iconology of Wrecked or Stranded Boats in Mid to Late Nineteenth Century Painting," p. 202. See also Ernest Tuveson, Redeemer Nation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

practise of pairing paintings seems to have been more common than scholars have heretofore assumed.[115]) If *The Wreck* and *Home by the Lake* are pendants, then the survivors of the shipwreck are now pictured in *Home by the Lake* as having established an abode in the wilderness, approaching that middle, pastoral state and on the route to receiving God's full promise.[116]

The following year, in 1853, Church exhibited *Grand Manan Island, Bay of Fundy* (Plate 3). While working within the same seascape mode, this painting portrays a struggle to find a compositional method suited to his aims of advancing New England nature and history as representative of the nation. The picture works from a Claudean harbor formula, a semi-circular coastline, with a jagged wedge of cliffs thrust midway across the picture plane. In the lower third of the picture there is a rocky, shelving beach, strewn with the detritus of the ocean and occupied by a lone figure in mid-stride who gazes out from the picture, carrying an oar propped over his shoulder. Bathing all is the reddish glow of a molten sun suspended just above the horizon line.

These jagged, basalt columns of cliffs evoke an association with architectural ruins, associations that improved upon the sort of landscape pictures that would be acceptable as "high art". As one critic had earlier

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[114]Ibid, p.189.

[115]Franklin Kelly, Frederic Edwin Church and the National Landscape, p.65.

[116]Ibid. *Home by the Lake* appears to have been composed in part with sketches from Church's Grand Manan trips. Gerald Carr notes that the cabin in the painting "is similar to a building he saw and sketched at Dark Harbor, on Grand Manan Island, in September 1851." The drawing is at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York (1917-4-396A) along with almost all of Church's graphite drawings and oil sketches of Grand Manan. Gerald Carr, Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonné, p.202.

suggested "the most beautiful composition of American scenery is inferior in interest to an Italian landscape; one is a thing of mere natural beauty, while the other combines a high degree of that with objects of other, and more intellectual pleasure" such as ruins.[117] Church, however, believed that the moral influence of nature was best achieved through the representation of native scenery. With his didactic fervour Church perhaps sought to emphasize that these cliff columns were not man-made but divinely created-- and thus superior to the Old World. Indeed, the cliffs, particularly those in the center of the picture could be seen as natural cathedrals, for those under the sway of the moral picturesque and whose Puritan background instilled in them the tendency to see evidence of God in nature. This vision of millenial promise is clear in the familiar passage from the Knickerbocker, in which the natural environment is described as a temple, the cliffs of the Bay of Fundy forming part of its walls:[118]

> God has promised a renowned existence, if we will but deserve it. He speaks this promise in the sublimity of Nature. It resounds all along the crags of the Alleghanies. It is uttered in the thunder of Niagara. It is heard in the roar of two oceans, from the great Pacific to *the rocky ramparts of the Bay of Fundy*. His finger has written it in the broad expanse of our Inland Seas, and traced it out by the mighty Father of Waters! The august TEMPLE in which we dwell was built for lofty purposes. Oh! that we may consecrate it to LIBERTY and

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117"Exhibition of Pictures at the Athenaeum Gallery. Remarks upon the Athenaeum Gallery of Paintings for 1831," North American Review 33 (October 1831) p. 514 quoted in William Gerdts, "American Landscape Painting: Critical Judgments, 1730-1845," American Art Journal (Winter 1985) p.54.

118Painters commonally referred to Grand Manan in the same breath as the Bay of Fundy. See R. Swain Gifford, *Cliff Scene on Grand Manan Island, Bay of Fundy* (1867) Simply Bay of Fundy pictures include William Bradford's *View of Northern Head at Sunrise in the Bay of Fundy* (1861) and Sanford R. Gifford, *On the Bay of Fundy* (1859).

CONCORD and be found fit worshippers within its holy wall![119]

David Huntington identifies this as a tendency toward the "Puritan baroque, or better in reference to the nineteenth century, the 'natural baroque'."[120]

However, while the painting is suggestive of these national and spiritual associations, its Claudean composition "with its distancing internal frame and unifying, tension-resolving light" ill-suited his purposes. The Claudean view, rather than allowing for a forward looking, active image of the country in time, functions as "the structure of nostalgia."[121] While the cliffs are painted from oil sketches of astonishing immediacy[122] [cat. 34-36] and the figure in the foreground gazes outwards, engaging the spectator, the scene itself does not invite entry. One is left outside the image. The idealizing Claudean structure leaves the painting outside of time, in which nature remains static and never emerges as a dynamic world governed by the organic laws of nature. Indeed any reference to history as process is eliminated. For the picture to exhibit the vital role of New England, nature must appear as an actor, and history must be seen to move through time.

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[119]Quoted in Perry Miller, "Nature and the National Ego," Errand into the Wilderness (New York: Harper and Row, 1964) p.210. The italics are my emphasis.

[120]David Huntington, "Church and Luminism: Light for America's Elect," American Light: The Luminist Movement, 1850-1875, p.172.

[121]Brigitte Bailey, "The Protected Witness: Cole, Cooper, and the Tourist's View of the Italian Landscape," American Iconology, p.98.

[122]Theodore Stebbins, Close Observations: Selected Oil Sketches by Frederic E. Church (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978) p.17

While indebted to Cole as demonstrated in the style and elevated subject matter of his paintings,[123] Church, in his life and his work, departed from his teacher's conservative, republican worldview of the nation's prospects. Cole pessimistically assumed that historical time was cyclic and believed that too much progress and growth would ultimately mean the downfall of the Republic. These concerns Cole displayed magisterially in the series of four paintings called *The Course of Empire* (1833-36) which recounted the stages of the republic through *The Savage State, The Pastoral State, The Consummation of Empire,* and, finally, *Destruction.*[124] Church had a prophetic sense of time and adhered to the belief in millenial promise. As Bercovitch points out, this view, which was held by many Americans, was not nostalgic[125] but one which united the past, present, and future in a natural progression that was linear in time and space, and that moved from east to west.[126] In the words of Elias Magoon in Westward Empire; or, the Great Drama of Human Progress (1856):

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[123]Such as the biblical-allegorical canvases *The Deluge* (1846), *Christian on the Borders of the "Valley of the Shadow of Death"* (1847) and *Christian and His Companion by the River of the Water of Life* (1848).

[124]Louis L. Noble, The Course of Empire, Voyage of Life and Other Pictures of Thomas Cole, N.A. (New York: Cornish, Lamport and Co., 1853). Angela Miller points out that many Americans, with their sense of millenial destiny, did not wish to interpret this series as an allegory of the *American* republic. Empire of the Eye, pp.33-34.

[125]Sacvan Bercovitch, The Rites of Assent: Cultural Symbology (London: Routledge, 1992)

[126]Empire of the Eye, p. 33 and idem "American Expansionism and Universal Allegory: William Allen Wall's *Nativity of Truth*:," New England Quarterly 63 (Fall 1990) pp. 446-467. David Miller, "The Iconology of Wrecked or Stranded Boats in Mid to Late Nineteenth-Century American Culture," pp. 186-208. See Dorothy Ross for how the writing of American history shifted in the late nineteenth century to historicism--a more secular understanding of history where "all events in historical time can be explained by prior events in historical time." Dorothy Ross, "Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America," American Historical Review (October 1984) pp.910, 912.

> Without an intelligent faith in the divine purpose to incite and control perpetual progess toward the perfection of mankind, history is an insoluble enigma, a huge pile of detached fragments, and the great drama of humanity must forever remain devoid of all proper results.[127]

Church's optimism and sense of historical time inspired faith that the United States would transcend the "historical cycles that had guaranteed the cultural defeat of all previous republics."[128]

By 1853, however, the same year that Church exhibited *Grand Manan Island, Bay of Fundy*, he began to look beyond the New England landscape as a means of articulating his concerns. The political tensions between the north and south in the mid-1850's made it necessary to give serious consideration to the pre-occupation with regional imagery as a means of exploring a national vision.[129] To transcend this difficulty, Church, followed by artists such as William Bradford, travelled far afield to destinations in South America, and in the late 1850's, to Labrador.[130] From these trips he painted landscapes that

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[127]Quoted in Dorothy Ross, "Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America," p.912.

[128]A. Miller, Empire of the Eye, p.109.

[129] Ibid, p.203.

[130]William Bradford first travelled to Grand Manan in 1854 at an early stage in his career when he was still known as a painter of harbour scenes and ship portraits in his native New Bedford, Massachusetts. The sepia painting, ***Off Grand Manan***, (catalogue 2) is characteristic of his early paintings of the New Bedford fishery and commercial harbour activity. The first painting he submitted to the National Academy of Design in 1861 was ***View of Northern Head at Sunrise in the Bay of Fundy*** based upon Grand Manan sketches. However it was this same year that he redirected his attention

addressed the issue of American exceptionalism in terms that spoke to all Americans of the "New World" -- in both the Northern and Southern Hemispheres.[131] He moved from intensifying a place as the point of emanation

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towards Labrador and established his reputation as the "Artist of the Arctic," a reputation that became international with the publication of his book The Arctic Regions (London, 1873). The suggestion that paintings of regions such as Labrador drew thoughts away from the sectional strife of American society is explicit in the New England poet, John Greenleaf Whittier's poem "Amy Wentworth," which was dedicated to William Bradford and which was inspired by one of Bradford's paintings of Labrador during the time of the Civil War. It reads:

To W.B.

And while, with hearts of thankfulness, we bear
Of the great common burden our full share,
Let none upbraid us that the waves entice,
Thy sea-dipped pencil, or some quaint device,
Rhythmic and sweet, beguiles my pen away
from the sharp strifes and sorrows of today.
Thus, while the east wind keen from Labrador
Sings in the leafless elms, and from the shore
Of the great sea comes the monotonous roar
Of the long-breaking surf, and all the sky
Is gray with cloud, home-bound and dull, I try
To time a simple legend to the sounds
Of winds in the woods, and waves on pebbled bounds-
A song of breeze and billow, such as might
Be sung by tired sea-painters, who at night
Look from their hemlock camps, by quiet cove
Or beach, moonlighted, on the waves they love.
(So hast thou looked, when level sunset lay
On the calm bosom of some eastern bay,
And all the spray-moist rocks and waves that rolled
Up the white sand-slopes flashed with ruddy gold.)
Something it has--a flavor of the sea,
And the sea's freedom--which reminds of thee.
Its faded picture, dimly smiling down
From the blurred fresco of the ancient town,
I have not touched with warmer tints in vain,
If, in this dark, sad year, it steals one thought from pain.

The poem appears in Henry Tuckerman, Book of the Artists: American Artist Life,1867 (rpt. New York James F. Carr, 1966) p.556.

[131]A. Miller, ibid. Church's Labrador trip was documented at the time in a book by his travelling companion, the Rev. L.L. Noble, After Icebergs with a Painter: A Summer Voyage to Labrador and Around Newfoundland. (2nd edition. New York: D.Appleton, 1862). For a recent account see, Peter Neary, "American Argonauts: Frederic Edwin Church and Louis Legrand Noble in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1859," The Sea and Culture of Atlantic Canada ed. Larry McCann (Sackville: Centre for Canadian Studies, Mount Allison University, 1992) pp.15-46. For his South American landscapes see Katherine Manthorne,

for a larger corporate vision to a wider, global, imperial extension into which America could be understood to perform a manifestly greater role. The Grand Manan paintings, thus, were a point of transition toward a more hemispheric vision of the American nation.

Creation and Renewal: Views of Cotopaxi by Frederic Edwin Church (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985).

§4. From Landscape to Figure: Grand Manan Fisherfolk and New England Regionalism

> For a number of years [Grand Manan] has been a favorite haunt of [American] artists, as the walls of the Academy bear witness. The albums of the young ladies hereabouts are full of their photographs, all the prominent artists of the country being represented.
>
> *Rev. Benjamin Franklin DeCosta, 1868*[132]

> Travel is a means of escape, a defiance of all that distorts our lives.
>
> *Sigmund Freud*[133]

> Now that I'm off the boat and have time to myself, I've thought of buying a camera and travelling up to the city, and snapping town folk right and left. If any of the city freaks said anything to me I'd tell them I was looking for picturesqueness and local color. Then, I suppose, they would have me arrested. We don't have policemen out here.
>
> *Grand Manan fisherman quoted in Harper's Monthly, 1912*[134]

At the same time that Frederic Church's attention turned away from Grand Manan and towards more distant destinations, his paintings and association

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[132]Benjamin F. DeCosta, "Grand Manan, A Summer Reminiscence," Grand Manan Historian 4 (1937) p.26.

[133]Freud is paraphrased in Nicholas Howe, "Reading Places," Yale Review 81, 3 (July 1993) p. 64.

[134]Holman Day, "Grim Grand Manan," Harper's Monthly CXXV,747 (May 1912):347-356.

with the island began to attract other artists and tourists to the island. Within the next two decades, William Bradford, William Hart, M.F.H. De Haas, R. Swain Gifford, Alfred Bricher and other professional artists associated with the National Academy of Design proliferated pictures of "Grand Manan".[135] These paintings regularly began to appear in exhibitions along the northeastern seaboard and as reproductions in illustrated travel guides such as the wood engraving after a painting by Frederic Church of a scene of coastal rocks at Grand Manan that was published in Appleton's Illustrated Hand-Book of American Travel in 1857.[136] The comment by a steamboat captain from Maine that he knew of Grand Manan "from the work of its artistic visitors" underscores the growing awareness of Grand Manan as an "artist's haunt" and the extent to which successive artists contributed to consolidating the topos of Grand Manan that was initiated by Church.[137]

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[135]Often Grand Manan pictures proliferated by dint of the sheer number of paintings turned out by individual artists. The art writer, G.W. Sheldon, noted that William Hart "never was a copyist- of anybody but himself...If you go into his studio you will see ten or a dozen of them in various states of incompleteness, but very similar in subject, in composition, and in treatment." G.W. Sheldon, American Painters (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1879) p.86. Indeed, Hart's ***Sunset at Grand Manan*** was repainted identically as ***Sunrise at Grand Manan*** (Catalogue 59 and 60). Hart's abundant production of Grand Manan pictures is noted as well in a review in The Art Journal: "[Hart's] paintings in illustration of sunset effects on the coast, particularly those drawn on the Island of Grand Menan, *several of which he has sent from his easel during the past ten years*, for exquisite treatment of detail, unity of sentiment, and fidelity, give a good idea of his poetic fancy, and have been recognized as among his strongest works." Anonymous, "William Hart, N.A." The Art Journal (New York) 1 (August 1875) p.247.

[136]T. Addison Richards, Appleton's Illustrated Hand-Book of American Travel (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1857) p.47. Subsequent reproductions of Grand Manan paintings appeared sporadically in periodicals and books such as The Albion, Harper's Weekly, and Harper's Monthly and G.W. Sheldon's Hours with Art and Artists (New York: D. Appleton, 1882).

[137] 'Quoddy', "Grand Manan," The Eastport Sentinel (13 August, 1879) p.1 and reprinted from The Boston Daily Advertiser. Lemuel Eldred, an artist from New Bedford, declared

By the mid 1870's, the mythicization of New England led not only to a repetition of the topos of cliff and sea, but to a subject that was, in the words of an art writer at the time, "at once new and exciting."[138] This new focus was on the figure -- specifically, the fishermen -- as represented in the Grand Manan paintings of Milton J. Burns (1853-1933) and his teacher, one of the most successful genre artists of the late nineteenth century, J.G. Brown (1831-1913). Following two fruitful sketching trips to Grand Manan in 1877 and 1878, J.G. Brown exhibited some of that production including, *The Coming Squall* (cat. 21), *A Series of Six Studies made on the Island of Grand Menan* (see cat. 22-25) and *Pull for the Shore* (Plate 4), in the annual exhibitions in Brooklyn and New York.[139]

The emergence of the fisherman as a desirable subject for Grand Manan paintings coincided with a period of rapid industrialization and proletarianization of the American northeast and high immigration from southern and eastern Europe. These events gave many Americans, in the words of Laurence Levine, a sense of "anarchic change, of looming chaos, of fragmentation, which seemed to imperil the very basis of the traditional

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that artists were the pioneers of Grand Manan's "subsequent popularity to visitors." Lemuel Eldred made the first of many sketching trips to Grand Manan in 1868, accompanied by another New Bedford artist, Charles Henry Gifford. See his "Picturesque Grand Menan (sic) and its Artist Visitors," The New Bedford Sunday Standard (October 24, 1920) p.25. Another account of this sketching trip can be found in the 'autobiography' of C. H. Gifford which was written by his daughter, Helen GiffordJames. This autobiography is on microfilm roll 482 in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

[138]S.G.W. Benjamin, "A Painter of the Streets," The Magazine of Art 5 (1882) p.267.

[139]See Catalogue 26 for another version of Brown's *Pull for the Shore*. Maria K. Naylor, ed. The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900 (New York: Kennedy

order."[140] As a number of historians have discussed, these societal changes prompted the middle classes and elites in the urban centres to look to the "Folk" in order to find an escape from the distressing conditions of modern industrial life.[141] In the recent study of the invention of the Folk in twentieth-century Nova Scotia, Ian McKay writes that the Folk were identified as a certain subset of people in the society who

> ...bore witness, in the eloquent simplicity of their lives and in the anonymous warmth of their common culture to...that ideal type of society bound together by tradition, custom, and faith and permanently rooted over generations in small, uncommercialized communities. The Folk were the living antithesis of the class divisions, secularism, and "progress" of the urban, industrial world.[142]

It is clear that the interest in the Folk was instrumental in casting the artist's and the tourist's gaze toward 'New England' coastal communities.[143] New England

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Galleries, Inc., 1973) and Clark Marlor, A History of the Brooklyn Art Association with an Index of Exhibitions (New York: J. F. Carr, 1970).

[140]Laurence Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988) p.176.

[141]T.J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). Laurence Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), David Miller, Dark Eden: The Swamp in Nineteenth Century Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Micheal Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture (New York: Knopf, 1991), Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia (Montreal and Kingston: Queen's University Press, 1994), James Lindgren, Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism and the Remaking of Memory. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[142]Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk, pp. 12-13.

[143] Tourist operators understood the appeal of the mythicization of New England. In the recent study, Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century, Dona Brown writes that designating sites as 'New England' was in part, a marketing ploy to

fisherfolk, long characterized as backward, poverty stricken, and ignorant (as in the earlier fishery reports on Grand Manan) now came to epitomize the core values of an imagined New England community; they represented what was unchanging, solid and true.[144]

Identifying the true with the constant implied that discussion of the fisherfolk "stressed such essentialist questions as those of *origin* and authenticity."[145] In the nostalgic quest to rediscover and reconnect with an imagined past that was racially homogenous and culturally stable, regional writers such as Harriet Beecher Stowe and later, Sarah Orne Jewett, turned to the inhabitants of New England fishing communities to locate the original "pure-stock", who were seen to embody the essential qualities of the early Pilgrim-Puritan settlers.[146] In The Pearl of Orr's Island: A Story of the Coast of Maine

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enhance tourist attractions. It was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, she writes, that tourist operaters and travel guides attributed "any special 'New England' qualities...to northern beaches." Dona Brown, Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century (Washinton, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995) p.10.

144 Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk,p.13.

145Ibid, pp.13-14. Identifying the true with the constant also appealed to those Common Sense assumptions taught as part of the curriculum in New England colleges that meaning was stable, and that regarded change as dangerous and deviant. David Miller writes, "The common sense perspective...was the underpinning of the dominant mode of moral philosophy in early nineteenth-century America. The notion that signification should avoid ambiguity by being tethered to the sensible world and the conviction that agency should derive from the dictates of conscience were embedded in the ideology of the cultural establishment. A course in moral philosophy, required of all college seniors, was regarded as the capstone of the American educational experience." David Miller, Dark Eden, pp.186-187.

146It was not uncommon to read that new immigrants were inferior stock, "drunken", or "shiftless", while the "authentic" New England Folk were described as healthy, honest, industrious and virtuous. According to culture critics, it was after all, owing to the purity of bloodlines that the ancestors of the Folk had been of stern moral fiber and the social fabric, hence, made strong. Sarah Burns, Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth Century American Art and Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989) p.271. An anonymous writer in the Atlantic Monthly wrote that "it is not a pleasant thing for

(1862), a novel nostalgic for the primitive Puritan community and faith, for instance, Stowe wrote:

> The state of society in Maine coastal communities such as Orr's Island much resembled in its spirit that which Moses labored to produce...entirely democratic, simple, grave, hearty, and sincere,--solemn and religious in its daily tone, and yet...full of wholesome thrift and prosperity.[147]

Even the Puritan Sabbath was not merely "a weary endurance"; rather, Stowe emphasized, "it brought with it all the sweetness that belongs to rest, all the sacredness that hallows home, all the memories of sober order, of chastened yet intense family feeling, of calmness, purity and self-respecting dignity which distinguish the Puritan household."[148] For those interested in Puritan memorializing, like Stowe, islands were conveniently analogous, indeed, to the ideal of the early Puritan settlements — self contained protected communities surrounded by the wilderness (here supplied by the chaotic sea).[149]

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anyone who has seen the wonderful influence of New England in this country, to think of its yeoman class being swept away by any other stock in the world..." See "The Summer Journey of a Naturalist," Atlantic Monthly (June 1873) p.713. See also H. Bishop, "Fish and Men in the Maine Islands," Harper's Monthly 61 (August 1880) pp.336-352 and Harper's Monthly 64 (1880) pp. 496-511, esp. p.505: "The population of the islands generally was of genuine Yankee stock, only beginning to be mixed a little where the quarries brought in a new element."

147 Harriet Beecher Stowe, The Pearl of Orr's Island: A Story of the Coast of Maine (1862. rpt. Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1967) p.74-75. Stowe saw her characters typologically, as the new Chosen People. Of the fisherman Zephaniah Pennel, she writes he was "what might be called a Hebrew of the Hebrews." In fact, "in [New England's] earlier days" she "bred better Jews than Moses could."p.120

148 Ibid.

149 The idea that insularity keeps people pure is specifically imaged in *A Morning View of Blue Hill Village* (1824), by the Congregationalist minister of Blue Hill, Jonathan Fisher. In the foregound of the topographical panorama of Blue Hill (a village near Mount Desert Island, Maine) is a stone wall enclosing the village, while outside these walls a man beats a serpent away. See John Wilmerding, The Artist's Mount Desert: American Painters on the Maine Coast (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994) pp.14-15.

While not as powerful as Stowe's novel Uncle Tom's Cabin, which dealt with the blight of slavery, The Pearl of Orr's Island was very successful. The New England poet John Greenleaf Whittier identified Pearl as his favourite book by the author.[150] Another, the Rev. Benjamin Franklin DeCosta, in anticipation of his trip up the Maine coast, invokes the story in his travel book, Rambles in Mount Desert with Sketches of Travel on the New England Coast from the Isles of Shoals to Grand Menan.[151] Indeed, the nostalgic appeal of isolated fishing communities, and apparently, island communities, was one which underpinned descriptions of Grand Manan in these years such as the following by Alice Brown, who went on to establish a career for herself as a novelist of New England local colour:

> Grand Manan is apparently one of those places so rare now, but common enough fifty years ago, where there remains a primitive type of people unspoiled by the inroads of visitors or the acquired smartness resulting from constant intercourse with city boarders... The fishermen have that lordly indifference to the outside world which is only found among folk by the sea.[152]

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[150]Whittier added: "It is the most charming New Engand idyl ever written." Quoted in Charles H. Foster, The Rungless Ladder: Harriet Beecher Stowe and New England Puritanism (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1970) p.145.

[151]DeCosta first published the account of his sojourn to Grand Manan during the summer of 1868 as "Grand Menan, A Summer Reminiscence," in Hours at Home (July 1870). The article was revised and enlarged in his book, Rambles in Mount Desert with Sketches of Travel on the New England Coast from Isles of Shoals to Grand Menan (New York: A.D.F. Randolph and Co., 1871). It was reprinted again in DeCosta's Atlantic Coast Guide: A Companion for the Tourist between Newfoundland and Cape May (New York: E.P Dutton; Boston: A. Williams, 1873). My references to DeCosta are from "Grand Manan, A Summer Reminiscence," Grand Manan Historian 4 (1937), which is a reprint of the essay that appeared in Rambles. DeCosta mentions that he stayed in a boarding house "to which I had been recommended by an artist of New York, who had spent three summers here." p.4.

[152]Alice Brown, "At Grand Manan," The Eastport Sentinel (August 29, 1883) p.1. Another

Similar to these local colour writers, artists such as Eastman Johnson who painted the fisherfolk on Nantucket Island, emphasized the primitiveness of the Folk and their "lordly indifference to the outside world" in paintings which focussed on obsolete or old fashioned farm tasks or which drew upon the memory of the old Nantucket whaling days. In Johnson's, *Nantucket School of Philosophy,* for instance, a a haze of nostalgic light permeates a portrait of old whaling men gathered around a stove, emphasizing their advanced age, and their connection to a distant past.[153]

In the hands of other artists such as Winslow Homer, however, the idealization of New England fisherfolk was represented somewhat differently. In his paintings, the New England of artists such as Eastman Johnson -- "archaic, nostalgic, bucolic, and domestic" -- was appropriated and, as Sarah Burns has recently argued, "refashioned along distinctly masculine lines."[154] Instead of focussing on picturesque decay, masculine imagery such as Homer's, *The*

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writer observed that on Grand Manan there were "thriving villages of hardy fishermen and farmers, with all the virtues and few of the vices of the mainland." See "Grand Manan-It's History and Combined Attractions for Tourists," The Eastport Sentinel (July 23, 1879) p.1. See also Dona Brown, Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century (Washinton, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995) pp.107-109, 118-126.

153See the chapter "Manufactured for the Trade: Nostalgia on Nantucket, 1870-1890," in Dona Brown, Inventing New England, p.119 and Patricia Hills, Eastman Johnson (New York: Clarkson N. Potter and Whitney Museum of American Art, 1972).

154 Sarah Burns, "Revitalizing the 'Painted Out' North: Winslow Homer, Manly Health, and New England Regionalism in Turn of the Century America," American Art Journal (Summer 1995) p.23.

Herring Net (figure 3) and *Canoe in the Rapids* presented an image of the fisherman and outdoorsman as heroic characters.[155]

Indeed for the beleagured men of modernity, in the late nineteenth century, the New England coast came to be a place of renewal for masculine energies through a return to nature -- institutionalized both informally and formally in wilderness and seaside adventuring, and in the rising popularity of summer cottages. As Burns writes,

> Most in need were the businessmen or "brain workers" of every kind, who according to Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, one of America's most prominent authorities on neurasthenia, were most liable to wear themselves down from nervous exhaustion. Manufacturers, railway officials, merchants and brokers were susceptible to the effects of stress, as were physicists, clergymen and lawyers.[156]

For these "overcivilized and denatured men of the modern city", contact with the Folk (who were seen as close to nature) would enable them to "recover some of their own essence".[157] As well, the outdoor lifestyle of the fisherfolk was an example "for such men who ran the institutional and cultural structures supporting the complex new machinery of corporate America" who increasingly looked for physical and mental renewal in the therapeutic, life-enhancing air of the New England coast "to ensure continuing vitality."[158] In fact, not only did

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[155]Ibid, p.28; Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk, p.252, Jeffrey Weeks, Sex,Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800 (London and New York: Longman, 1981), Paul Raymond Provost, "Winslow Homer's *The Fog Warning*: The Fisherman as Heroic Character," American Art Journal 22, 1 (1985): 21-27.

[156]Sarah Burns, "Revitalizing the 'Painted Out' North," p.28.

[157]Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk, p.252.

[158] Sarah Burns, "Revitalizing the 'Painted Out' North," p.30.

these outdoor experiences harden the individual through rough living, but they reinforced "the male bonding so crucial to the smooth operation of the world of corporate bureaucracy" and created "a sense of elite class solidarity in the face of an increasingly heterogeneous and threatening population of immigrant and working classes."[159]

These views, the New England coast as a place of reinvigoration and renewal, and the fisherfolk as embodying the benefits of an isolated and physically vigorous lifestyle, informed the way some viewers responded to paintings of the Grand Manan fishermen in the late nineteenth century. After J.G. Brown's paintings were exhibited at the National Academy in 1878 and 1879, for instance, a profile of Brown in The Magazine of Art described his Grand Manan subjects as "fishermen whose every feature, look, and action were intensely powerful with originality and force of character -- men who know little of the world, but are within their sphere manful, daring, and independent as Vikings."[160] The profile continued:

> Whatever *motif* [Brown] selects, it is at once recognizable as being wholly American in subject and treatment...[such as] his studies and paintings of the hardy "down east" fishermen... At the entrance to the Bay of Fundy, off the coast of Maine, lies the Isle of Grand Menan. It is... a long narrow tableland elevated hundreds of feet above the sea, and surrounded by a wall of precipices. It lies within one of the most tempestuous parts of North America. In winter it is

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[159] Ibid, p.30. Numerous articles in the 1870's and 1880's emphasize the health benefits of the Grand Manan atmosphere. The artist Milton J. Burns, a native of Ohio, first travelled to the New England coast on the advice of his doctor as a remedial cure for his poor eyesight. Peter Hastings Falk, "Milton J. Burns, Marine Artist," The Log of Mystic Seaport 36, 1 (Spring 1984) p.15.

[160] S.G.W. Benjamin, "A Painter of the Streets, The Magazine of Art 5 (1882) pp.267-268.

> beaten by tremendous surges, and in summer it is often shut out from the world by dense fogs. It is only reached by sailing craft which are accustomed to cross the strait in almost all weathers, being manned by a sturdy class of seadogs, who are born amid the roar of breakers and are never out of sight of the ocean. Their vocation is fishing; they plough and reap their crops "from the farm that pays no fee." Even as the early Puritan worked in his field with the musket ever at hand, lest a stealthy Indian tomahawk should suddenly crash through his brain, so the fisherman of Grand Menan, in his little jigger, fished with one eye on his line and another on the waves that may at an unexpected moment mount over his bark and overwhelm it. [161]

The extent to which Brown's fishermen personify a masculine ideal is further acknowledged in the comments of the art critic, George Sheldon in Hours with Art and Artists. Referring in particular to the painting, *Cleaning the Catch* (cat. 22) which was reproduced in the volume, Sheldon wrote:

> All visitors to that region will remember the local fame of Captain Stanley, of Stanley Beach—"Old Stanley," as he is affectionately called by the inhabitants—who now, in his sixtieth year, can row longer and faster than any of the lusty young fishermen: can brave bare-breasted, the coldest storms of winter; can clean more fish in an hour than the most adept and agile of his peers; and can outwalk, outrun, outwork, the most virile of them.[162]

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161 Ibid.

162 Ibid. Capt. Stanley was a favourite subject of Brown's and appeared in a number of his oil sketches. See for example Catalogue 22, 24 and 25. Sheldon's choice of words, "lusty" and "virile", points to the idea that fisherfolk were closer to their natural essence and thus closer to their masculine sexuality than urban men. McKay writes that this emphasis on primitive sexuality was likely a "utopian longing for a less inhibited society." Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk, pp.251, 254. See also Gustav Kobbe's story about a Grand Manan fisherman in, "Captain Jack: A Sketch of the Bay of Fundy," Harper's Christmas (1882) reprinted in The Eastport Sentinel (December 20, 1882) p. 1, col. 6,7,8, for a similar characterization of a heroic older figure.

In fact, J. G. Brown's own experience on Grand Manan suggests that he identified both with this image of the New England coast as a place for the renewal of masculine energies and the fishermen as symbolic of a heroic ideal. This experience was recorded by Lemuel Eldred, an artist from New Bedford, Massachusetts, in a reminiscence of his "artist days" on Grand Manan.[163] Leaving his family at home, Eldred wrote, Brown joined with Eldred and five other male artists who spent their time "in a group, as congenial fellows," hiking, or taking a boat "to some locality we had previously discovered."[164] These outings included a vigorous, ten day camping trip to Bradford's Cove, one of the few breaks in the cliff face on the uninhabited western side of the island.[165] J. G. Brown, Eldred recalls, was the natural leader of the group, and humbled the other artists by agreeing to return to the northeastern side of the island in a fisherman's skiff that the others had deemed unfit to float. Eldred's account is full of details of the adventure: the curious shark following an artist in a dinghy that trailed behind their boat, roughing it with their meagre fare, and, above all, the camraderie.

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[163]Lemuel Eldred, "Picturesque Grand Menan and its Artist Visitors," The New Bedford Sunday Standard (October 24, 1920) p.25 and (October 31, 1920) p.25.

[164] Ibid.

[165] A few years earlier, Harrison B. Brown painted ***Camping on Grand Manan with the W.H. Pratt Off-Shore*** 1870 (catalogue 18), which is also a view of the western side of the island. In this painting, a tent at the base of rugged cliffs withstands the strong winds buffeting the vessel off-shore. That this is a record of the artist's encampment would seem to be suggested by the fact that the boat was named after Harrison Brown's patron. "Recent Accession: Painting by Harrison Bird Brown," Portland Museum of Art Bulletin (1988).

This story, in my view, effectively blurs the subject of Brown's 1877 painting, *Pull for the Shore* (Plate 4) leaving open the possibility that it might be considered a kind of group portrait of the artists. The painting -- of which there are two extant versions -- is essentially a close-up view of seven men in a dory. Six row in unison and one in the stern steers the rudder, while a boy perches on the bow.

On the one hand, the association with Grand Manan fishermen has been made occasionally explicit: a comment in Brown's obituary acknowledged that *Grand Menan Fishermen Pulling for the Shore* was "among the best known" of his pictures.[166] Brown also declared in an interview that "I desired to paint some Grand Menan fishermen and I went to Grand Menan and painted them from the life—their fish, their clothes, their boats."[167] In 1879, six of his oil sketches of Grand Manan fishermen were shown to the public. Yet, on the other hand, in *Pull for the Shore,* there is no evidence of fishing activity in the boat at all. Furthermore, Brown's style diminishes the ruggedly heroic aspect of the fishermen's vocation. The men's features are rendered with soft edges, and appear fresh and well scrubbed. In this context, the subtle blending of subjects -- the possibility that the painting could be either a portrait of the group of artists as outdoorsmen or a group of fishermen -- would seem to reinforce the idea that fishermen represented an ideal of the strenuous, pure lifestyle and one that was to be emulated.

166"J.G. Brown, Painter of Street Boys, dies," New York Times (February 9, 1913).
167G.W. Sheldon, American Painters (New York: D. Appleton, 1879) p.143.

While both interpretations of *Pull for the Shore* suggest the appeal of a heroic New England regionalism, the descriptions by George Sheldon and S. G. W. Benjamin are better applied to the paintings and illustrations of Brown's student, Milton Burns, who had been one of the artists on Grand Manan with Brown in 1877.[168] One need only look at Burns,' *Waiting for the Fish to School* (c. 1878) (Plate 5), a painting with compositional similarities to *Pull for the Shore* and executed about the same time, to see the difference in handling. That Burns' picture represents fishermen is unambiguous -- it is named by the title and pictoriallt confirmed in the details, for example in the seine gathered in the bow of the boat.[169]

At the time, Brown acknowledged that his pictures of fishermen were a difficult sell: "The critics spoke in praise of my sketches when the latter were on exhibition, but I have yet to receive a commission to paint a picture from one of those sketches."[170] Two years later Sheldon could still write:

> It is an interesting if not curious fact that, of all fishermen studies made by Mr. Brown at Grand Menan, not one has ever been wrought out into a picture in his studio... they are now stored in a corner of his studio. Mr. Brown himself would enjoy nothing more than to carry out upon canvas the

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168 The Mystic Seaport Museum in Mystic, Connecticut has sketches by Milton Burns dated August 1877. A sketch by J.G. Brown of Bradford's Cove that recently appeared at auction is also dated August 1877.

169 In fact, S.G.W. Benjamin and Milton Burns collaberated on articles for illustrated magazines which portrayed the perils of the sea. In The Century Magazine Benjamin's essay and Burns' illustrations told of a harrowing excursion in a pilot boat, a vessel which rescued other ships in distress; while for Harper's they described an adventure to the Gulf of St. Lawrence in a fifty-nine foot schooner. See Peter Falk, "Milton J. Burns, Marine Artist," The Log of Mystic Seaport 36, 1 (Spring 1984) pp. 20-21.

170 "John G. Brown," Harper's Weekly XIV (June 12, 1880) p.373.

> ideas and facts which they contain or suggest, but he has too much successful work underway to waste his strength upon that for which there would seem to be no demand.[171]

But the pairing of Brown's *Pull for the Shore* with Homer's *The Herring Net* (figure 3) at the Chicago Columbian Exhibition in 1893 suggests that it was not the subject matter but the style and handling which inhibited the sale of Brown's paintings of fishermen. In a scathing criticism of the "unfathomable" rationale for the hanging of the American pictures at the fair, the Chicago critic Lucy Monroe wrote that "one finds the most extraordinary combinations" on the walls.[172] "One finds a cut-and-dried boat-load of J. G. Brown's puppets actually forced into juxtaposition with a fine sea thing by Winslow Homer."[173] Rather, the high praise given to Homer's 1880's Prout's Neck paintings of the Maine fishermen point to the strong appeal and evocativeness of these heroic images. It was not that the public did not want to buy paintings of fishermen but J. G. Brown was unable to render them in a manner that appealed to the public taste for pictures that were "dramatically impressive" in their "simple, forceful suggestion of the battle for life between man and the sea."[174] It was the sentimental and perhaps ambiguous rendering of Brown's *Pull for the Shore* as well as the prosaic representation of the Grand Manan fishermen in his oil

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171 G.W. Sheldon, Hours with Art and Artists (New York: Appleton and Co., 1882) p.152.

172 The White City: The Chicago Columbian Exhibition of 1893 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) p.96.

173 Ibid.

174 Unidentified newspaper clipping, scrapbook, Bowdoin. Cited in Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. and Franklin Kelly, Winslow Homer (New Haven: Yale University Press, and the National Gallery of Art, 1995) p.226.

sketches of 1879 (cat. 22-25) that hindered their saleability. In fact, the intensity of the visitor's gaze upon the fishermen, first painted by these American artists in the 1870's, only continued to grow in the succeeding years and on Grand Manan as a displace of New England regionalism.

§5. Lucius O'Brien and *Northern Head of Grand Manan*: the Canadian Example

> ...there is occasionally a Canadian artist. But the visitors are nearly all Americans. The people of the Maritimes as well as the upper provinces do not seem to have discerned what a charming resort is the beautiful island which lies so near the American border.
>
> *"Grand Manan Notes,"* The Eastport Sentinel *(August 18, 1880)*

> ..neither a national spirit nor an imperial spirit can be secured by mere resolutions or meaningless recommendations. It must grow, not by individuals every now and then saying to themselves 'we must be national,' but by the people of a land generally feeling that they have a country, a history, and a destiny in common...
>
> *Editorial in* The Globe, *1874*[175]

In 1878, the arrival of Lucius O'Brien on Grand Manan represented the first incursion by a professional Canadian artist into this space which up to now had fallen within the domain of the New England imaginary. At this point in his career, O'Brien, the native born son of a genteel Anglo-Irish immigrant family, was at the forefront of artistic life in Canada: vice-president of the Ontario Society of Artists, one of the most active artist's organizations in the country, a key figure in establishing an art school and exhibition spaces in Toronto, and a painter of consistently high quality that represented the standard by which others would be

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[175]Quoted in J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe: Statesman of Confederation, 1860-1880, vol.2 (Toronto: MacMillan, 1963) p.326.

judged.[176] As a result of his sojourn to the sea-side, O'Brien exhibited in Toronto the following year a number of Grand Manan views including the commanding *Northern Head of Grand Manan,* **(Plate 1)** which one reviewer claimed was "his largest and most important work; in fact it may safely be said to be one of the most valuable productions of Canadian art so far."[177] The painting was bought by George Brown, a former Liberal politician and father of Confederation and the current proprietor and editor of The Globe. A year later, in 1880, Brown lent *Northern Head* to the first exhibition of the newly formed Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in Ottawa.

Because he was known as a master of the poetic, subdued water-colour, the large oil painting represented a significant departure for O'Brien. It delivered what O'Brien did not normally offer: a "coarseness," a dramatic, sullen grandeur.[178] Perhaps he was responding to a review that appeared around the time he went to Grand Manan, in May 1878. The review remarked that his efforts at rugged scenery were "more attractive than his pictures of Arcadian

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[176]Dennis Reid, Lucius O'Brien: Visions of Victorian Canada, p.2.

[177]"The Art Exhibition," The Mail (19 May 1879). The paintings identified as Grand Manan subjects at the OSA exhibition included the oil painting ***Moonrise at Bishop's Rock, Grand Manan*** [catalogue #75] which is now unlocated but was reproduced in The Canadian Illustrated News (May 29, 1880) p.348 and the watercolours ***The Meeting of the Waters (at Grand Manan)***, most likely the same painting that is in the Musee du Quebec as ***Seascape (une source a Grand Manan), Seal Cove, Grand Manan, Under the Cliffs, Grand Manan*** and ***The Grand Cross, Gull Cliffs (Grand Manan).*** An O'Brien painting of this same rock formation known as the Grand or Southern Cross (as well as the Old Maid) recently appeared at auction as *Coastal Scene*, w/c, 14" x 20", Sotheby's, Toronto (May 19, 1993) #65.

[178]Canadian Monthly and National Review 6 (1874) p. 88.

simplicity."[179] The appeal of *Northern Head of Grand Manan* is apparent in the lengthy description the work elicited, which reads in part:

> It is a large picture, sufficiently striking to catch the eye of the visitor on entering the gallery, and yet made up almost entirely of quiet, subdued colours. The left of the foreground is closed in by towering cliffs, whose rugged outlines are softened by the subdued light in which they are thrown, their dark sides showing an exquisite blending of dark brown, purple and grey, here and there enlivened by the rich verdure of bright creepers straying over the sombre face of the precipice. Beyond this there is a break in the shoreline, and a bright bolt of sunshine streaming through it lights up the edges of the rocks, and reaching the cove, rests full upon the white sails of a fishing boat at anchor there, lighting them up and casting their reflection in the shining flood below...[180]

Even though *Northern Head of Grand Manan* was well received with a lengthy review and given a prominent place by the hanging committee, one still might wonder whether O'Brien's "Grand Manan" is an effective image of an imagined national identity. Does the exhibition setting of the painting in Toronto give the painting a national significance? Is the word "north" in the title a cue for seeing the work within the rhetorical frame of those associated with the Canada First movement (who included among their numbers the Ontario Society of Artist's President, W.H. Howland)? For the Canada First movement the source of Canadian distinctiveness and character was that they were a northern people, shaped by the northern climate and geography.[181] Is it, in short, "a picture of

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[179]"Ontario Society of Artists: Sixth Annual Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings," Globe (May 22, 1878).

[180]"Ontario Society of Artists; Seventh Annual Exhibition," The Daily Globe (May 16, 1879).

[181]In a published speech of 1869, Robert G. Haliburton appealed: "Let us then should we ever become a nation, never forget the land that we live in and the race from which we have

Canada both nationalist and imperial," as the reviewer at the outset of this paper claims?[182]

From the outset, I have developed the notion of the displace of painting as constituting an "intellectual reconstruction" of images informed by a visual community of historically situated subjects who remain oblique to the place which is the site for picturing. At the same time, the displace has been retrieved by me, by the act of a historical reconstruction. To be sure, the writer participates in the construction of the displace even when done with a critical eye because writing of any sort, including historiography, is involved in weaving together a narrative, telling a story from a particular point of view.[183] The challenge is thus to avoid blatant historiographical fictions, to have one's narrative hold up to the scrutiny of alternative, interpreting eyes and to garner more than partial agreement.

One historiographical fiction I am challenging is the claim that *Northern Head of Grand Manan* is a national picture. Rather, I argue, it is a displace constructed with the re-evaluation of O'Brien's career and one that participates in taking at face-value the claims of the day that the work of landscape painters

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sprung. Let us revive the grand old name of Norland, "the land of the North;" *We are the Northmen of the New World*. We must claim the name and render ouselves worthy of it." R. G. Haliburton, The Men of the North and Their Place in History: A Lecture delivered before the Montreal Literary Club, March 31st, 1869. (Montreal, 1869).

[182]John Bentley Mays,"Exhalted Portrayals of Victorian Canada," The Globe and Mail [Toronto] September 29, 1990, p. C5.

[183]There is now a wide literature on the practise of historiography. See for instance, Hayden White, Tropics of Discourse (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) and for reflections on writing from the point of view of cultural geographers see Trevor J. Barnes and James Duncan, eds. Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text, Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

associated with the Ontario Society of Artists and later the Royal Canadian Academy of Art was "thoroughly national."[184] By asserting the national significance of the painting, essentially on the basis of O'Brien painting a Canadian locale, one of course overlooks the dilemmas posed of picturing such an abstract idea as the nation (as opposed to a landscape within national boundaries) and the strategies artists used to deal with these problems.[185]

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[184]Eager to claim a national art, reviewers at times declared that Canadians were inventing an art inspired entirely by the Canadian environment: "Mr. Howland... referred to the fact that the work of our artists shows distinct and characteristic features, that in fact we have already developed the germs of a national school. When we reflect that Canadian scenery has its own characteristics, and that the chief merit of our best artists is that they reproduce these with striking fidelity, we must admit that the President is making no unfounded or extravagant claim. And while people lament the absence of great galleries and great pictures as models for our artists, they should weigh against this loss the gain to the painter of being compelled to rely entirely upon nature herself as a study. This, of course, applies specially to landscape painting...We hope that no worthy people will be suspicious of the Ontario Art Union because it is a thoroughly national institution." The Nation, 3 (23 June 1876) p. 294. For an overview of commentary in Toronto newspapers concerning the calls for a national art in the late nineteenth century, see Karen Davison-Wood, "A Philisitine Culture? Literature, Painting and the Newspapers in Late Victorian Toronto," Ph.d dissertation, Concordia, 1982, pp.245-261.

[185]The exhibition, *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School*, at the Metropolitan Museum in New York was criticized for over-generalizing the meaning of the national landscape, and hence, diverting attention away from other possibly more relevent insights into ways of understanding the meaning of nineteenth century landscape images. As Elizabeth Johns put it: "The installation of the exhibition naively implied that in the American nineteenth-century there were no such stimulants to art-making as political events...population movements, economic change, regional competitiveness, tourism, or varied audience investments." Elizabeth Johns, "Art, History, and Curatorial Responsibility," American Quarterly 41,1 (March 1989) p.148. Among the studies which have taken up this new approach include David Lubin's excellent book, Picturing a Nation: Art and Social Change in Nineteenth Century America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), Angela Miller, The Empire of the Eye: The Cultural Politics of Landscape Representation (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), the collection of essays in David Miller, ed. American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth Century Art and Literature (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), Sarah Burns, Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth Century American Art and Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989) and David Bjelajac, Millenial Desire and the Apocalyptic Vision of Washington Allston (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

THE NATIONAL LANDSCAPE

Following Confederation, the concern for fostering a national art based upon the indigenous landscape became a growing preoccupation with Canadian artists, just as it had been in the United States a generation earlier .[186] However, as has been shown with respect to A merican painting, the national landscape meant more than a topographical view of place.[187] Nationalist aesthetics required that the nineteenth-century artist's pursuit of synthesizing parts into a unified whole — the emphasis on close observation of the particular within an overall unity of composition — be extended to attempt to resolve the dilemma of how to picture a nation based upon the politically imposed unification of diverse geographical and cultural regions. To achieve this synthesis the artist was required to take his "place-specific materials" and find a way of investing them with the symbolic power to stand for a shared experience.[188] At the same time, artists required an educated audience capable of the level of abstraction necessary to see a landscape as more than a view of a particular place.[189]

186Dennis Reid, Own Country Canada: Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto, 1860-1890 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1980) and American Paradise:The World of the Hudson River School (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987).

187Angela Miller, "Everywhere and Nowhere: The Making of the National Landscape," American Literary History 4 (Summer 1992) pp.207-229. The construction of the national landscape is also discussed in detail in idem, Empire of the Eye, see especially Chapter Two.

188Ibid, 1992, p.207.

189For an analysis of the class and social backgrounds of patrons of the early art institutions in the United States see Rachel Klein, "Art and Authority in Antebellum New York City: The Rise and Fall of the American Art Union," Journal of American History (March 1995) pp.1534- and Neil Harris, The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860 (New York: Braziller, 1966).

A primary device of the aesthetics of nationalism for those disposed to make the leap beyond the literal, was associationist theory.[190] By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, this had become highly influential with the popularization of the associational psychology of Archibald Alison as set out in his Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste published in 1790.[191] Alison's theories claimed that aesthetic beauty derived less from the harmonies of colour, form and composition than "from the things that the human mind related to memory... to the object seen, the emotional, intellectual (and hence historical) associations with which the mind from its experiences" invested the image.[192] This emphasis on the ideas attached to images rather than their inherent qualities assisted nationalist ideology, allowing for landscape to be tied to specific national narratives.[193]

Artists, moreover, had different strategies for picturing the national landscape. In the 1840's and 1850's, allegory was a means often employed. Such was the approach Frederic Church took in *The Wreck* and *Beacon off Mount Desert*, as I have shown. Or artists could give shape to an imagined national

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190A. Miller, Empire of the Eye, pp. 79-82, D. Miller, Dark Eden, pp.133-136, Robert C. Bredeson, "Landscape Description in Nineteenth-Century Travel Literature," American Quarterly 20 (1968) pp.89-90, Roger Stein, John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) pp. 19, 23, 35-7. A.B. McKillop has also shown the persistence of Common Sense philosophy and associationism in Canadian universities and intellectual thought in the nineteenth century. James McCosh, a leading exponent of these ideas at Princeton University, published regularly in the Christian Guardian, a Canadian publication. See in particular, McCosh, "The Association of Ideas," Christian Guardian XLV (18 Feb. 1874) p.49. A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979) Chapter Two.

191Roger Stein, John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, p.19.

192Ibid, p.35.

destiny by means of, as Stephen Daniel's writes, "the symbolic activation of time and space."[194] This was achieved, above all, by what has been called the "sequential landscape," a mode in which "specific temporal correlates were assigned to the organizing planes within the image, embedding historical meaning in the very structure of natural space itself."[195] Derived from the classical landscape conventions of Salvator Rosa and Claude Lorrain, this mode typically moved the viewer from the foreground, located in the present, to the middle ground, with the future represented off in the background distance. The sequential landscape was based upon an idea of progress from a pre-industrial or wilderness condition, to a state of technological and societal advancement where progress was depicted as benign, its negative aspects diminished and controlled within the pictorial order of the composition.[196] Similarly, Albert Boime has identified this picturing of American destiny in terms of what he calls, following Foucault, the "magisterial gaze." This gaze, he writes, "embodied the exaltation

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193A. Miller, Empire of the Eye, p.79.

194Stephen Daniels, Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) p.5.

195Miller, Empire of the Eye, p.5. Another means of picturing historical time was by painting a series of pictures such as Thomas Cole's four part *Course of Empire*. In Canada, at the turn of the century, George Reid saw the historical mural as means of representing the "progress" of the nation over time, thereby instilling national sentiment. George A. Reid, "Mural Decoration," Canadian Magazine (April 1898) pp.501-508. For a recent study on this subject see: Marilyn MacKay, "Canadian Historical Murals, 1895-1939: Material Progress, Morality and the 'Disappearance' of Native People," Journal of Canadian Art History 15, 1 (1992) pp. 63-81.

196See Roger Stein, Susquehanna: Images of the Settled Landscape (Binghamton, N.Y.: Robertson Centre for the Arts and Sciences, 1981) p.40. On the "middle landscape" see Leo Marx, The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) especially pp.220-226 and Sarah Burns, Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth Century Art and Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

of a cultured American elite before the illimitable horizon that they identified with the destiny of the nation":[197]

> The characteristic viewpoint of ...American landscapists traced a visual trajectory from the uplands to a scenic panorama below. Almost invariably the compositions were arranged with the spectator in mind, either assuming the elevated viewpoint of the onlooker or including a staffage figure seen from behind that functioned as a surrogate onlooker. This Olympian bearing metonymically embraced past, present and future, synchronically plotting the course of empire.[198]

The pre-eminent example of this ideological vision in American painting is Asher Durand's *Progress (The Advance of Civilization)* (1853) [figure 4]. To the left of the painting in the foreground, the view is framed by rough terrain and large trees complete with the traditional picturesque devices of blasted tree and Indians, which function as emblems of the past. On the right, cattle and small figures traverse a road carved out of the woods, passing a log house and several telegraph poles. The road winds into the middle distance, paralleling a canal; just beyond a vaporous trail signals the advance of a train. The inoffensiveness of these signs of the transportation revolution is affirmed by the transcendent light which bathes the industrial activity barely discernible in the distance. With these smooth spatio-temporal transitions, *Progress,* benignly pictures the

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[197]Boime's book is interesting in that he shows how nationalist ideology informed the structure and content of pictures, but he too, like the American Paradise exhibition, casts his net too widely and claims that even those pictures which have been called "luminist" embody the structure and assumptions of the "magisterial gaze". Albert Boime, The Magisterial Gaze: Manifest Destiny and American Landscape Painting, c. 1830-1865 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) pp.35-38. An expansion of Boime's argument encompassing the twentieth century and the built environment can be found in David E. Nye's, American Technological Sublime (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994) pp.38-39, 87-108.

advances in transportation that were necessary to overcome the obstacle of vast distances, advances that were essential for national integration.[199]

While the ideological motivations of Canadian artists may not have been inspired by manifest destiny, American painting offered up a precedent for how to deal with the challenges of painting the nation based upon the new world landscape. "Let our artists put forth their powers in endeavouring *as their American brethern are doing,*" declared the Toronto Mail in 1880, "to produce works which have a distinct character and native face."[200] In fact, Canadian artists had been gaining a familiarity with American art by viewing paintings at loan exhibitions in Toronto and Montreal or by travelling to the United States to sketch or see exhibitions such as the impressive Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876.[201] O'Brien, himself, exhibited six watercolours at the Exposition and occasionally visited New York during the 1870's where he submitted pictures to the annual exhibition of the National Academy of Design.[202] Indeed, if O'Brien visited New York in 1877, as Dennis Reid speculates, it is entirely possible that he would have seen a number of Grand Manan and

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198Albert Boime, The Magisterial Gaze, p.1.

199For one of the many interpretations of this painting see Kenneth Maddox, "Asher B. Durand's *Progress*: The Advance Civilization and the Vanishing American," in Susan Danly and Leo Marx, eds., The Railroad in American Art: Representations of Technological Change (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988) pp.51-69.

200"The Art Exhibition," The Mail (24 May 1880).

201Allan Pringle, "Robert Duncanson in Montreal, 1863-1865," American Art Journal (Autumn 1985) pp.29-50, and idem "Albert Bierstadt in Canada," American Art Journal (Winter 1985) pp.2-27; Pringle writes that the Governer General, Lord Dufferin, began to promote the idea of landscape art as "an essential element of national life" in Canada during a period from 1874 to 1878 when he was developing a friendship with Albert Bierstadt, whom he had met at a dinner party in New York in 1874.

202Reid, Lucius O'Brien, p.5.

Bay of Fundy pictures exhibited in the same north room of the National Academy: Alfred T. Bricher's *Off the North Head, Grand Manan,* James Nicolls' *Sunset on the Bay of Fundy,* and Milton Burns' *Off Grand Manan* and *Swallow-Tail Light, Grand Manan.*[203] Reid has noted that Alfred Bricher, in particular, appears to have played a "crucial role" in O'Brien's development, as a comparison of Bricher's *Morning at Grand Manan* [Plate 5] would seem to suggest.[204] Just prior to O'Brien's trip to the east coast, in fact, the article "Grand Manan and 'Quoddy Bay", liberally illustrated by Alfred T. Bricher, appeared in Harper's Monthly. Leading the article was an illustration of Eel Brook Point, the subject of O'Brien's *Northern Head of Grand Manan.*[205]

Despite the affinities of O'Brien's *Northern Head of Grand Manan* with Bricher's *Morning at Grand Manan* and other American, Grand Manan paintings, Bricher, himself, proved to be no model for addressing the national landscape. During his lifetime he was seen as one who departed from a concern for "the ideal" in his art, and who strove instead to paint pleasing pictures that were straightforward, spontaneous and pared down to the bare minimum of

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[203]Ibid, p.36. Both the painting's of Bricher and Nicolls were illustrated in the Academy's 1877 exhibition catalogue. The previous year the National Academy showed Bricher's *A Lift in the Fog, Grand Manan,* James Nicolls', *On Grand Manan Island,* and Joseph Lyman's, *Rocks, Grand Manan.* In 1876, The Aldine: the Art Journal of America published a Grand Manan view by Bricher.

[204]Ibid.

[205]Edward Abbot, "Grand Manan and 'Quoddy Bay," Harper's Monthly LVI, 334 (March 1878) pp.541-556. Two years later it was also the subject of O'Brien's watercolour, *Eel Brook Bay, Grand Manan* [catalogue#73] now in the National Gallery of Canada.

rocks and sea, such as in *The Coast of Grand Manan* (1875) and *Headlands and Breakers, Grand Manan* (1880's) [cat. #8 and #13]. [206]

Thus, while *Northern Head of Grand Manan* shows an awareness of American art, a closer observation of the painting renders apparent O'Brien's failure to deploy the pictorial strategies that had served the ideological and nationalistic needs of those American artists involved in constructing the national landscape. Like Church's *Grand Manan Island, Bay of Fundy,* O'Brien's painting follows the convention of the picturesque semi-circular coastline, albeit a contemporary version of the Claudean harbour; the large boulders in the foreground framing the view give the painting an immediacy, grounding the image in the present. From the right of the canvas, the sun highlights the figures in the small vessels, emphasizing, in the words of the Harper's Monthly article describing the locale, "a sailor's snug harbour [wearing] an aspect of secure shelter and supreme repose":[207]

> The waters infolded within the cove's protecting arms lay hushed and still. The faintest ripple enlivened and only a single sail illumined the distant bay beyond. Under the hills to the left nestled a cottage or two. [208]

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[206]See also numbers 14-17 in the Catalogue. An account which stresses Bricher's concern for the literal or the "real" is Jeffrey Brown, Alfred Thompson Bricher 1837-1908 (Indianapolis, Ind.: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1974). Brown notes that "unlike...*A Lift in the Fog, Grand Manan,* in which *pentimenti* reveal Bricher's struggle to express an idea, *Morning at Grand Manan* is direct and spontaneous." p.23. See also James Duncan Preston, "Alfred Thompson Bricher, 1837-1908, The Art Quarterly 25, 2 (Summer 1962).

[207]Edward Abbot, "Grand Manan and 'Quoddy Bay," Harper's Monthly LVI, 334 (March 1878) p. 543.

[208]Ibid.

The "aspect of secure shelter" that *Northern Head* pictures is reinforced by the dominating presence of the looming headland which cuts across nearly the width of the picture plane, interrupting the eye's visual journey. By closing down the distant horizon, the expression of the future, the image remains contained in time and space.

It is tempting to speculate that O'Brien understood the limitations of the painting himself, and to overcome this lack of narrative, that it was he who supplied the story which accompanied the Toronto Globe's review of *Northern Head.*[209] As the story was retold by the reviewer, *Northern Head of Grand Manan* depicted a view remembered locally as the site of the legendary wreck of the *Lord Ashburton,* a wreck which had occurred over twenty years earlier in January of 1857. Buffeted by freezing wind and snow and pounded by the waves, the ship was dashed to pieces within half an hour of striking the headland in the middle of the night, and the survivors were forced to scale the cliffs of Eel Brook Point. The two survivors who reached the summit collapsed in an abandoned shed and were found near death the following day. Although the story refers to a local event, the account of the human drama evokes associations which are universal—and, hence, by extension national—associations in which, in the context of the young Canadian nation, *Northern Head of Grand Manan* could be seen to picture the ability of Canadians to overcome the difficulties, indeed violence, of New World nature, suggesting that they were well suited to their

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209"Ontario Society of Artists, Seventh Annual Exhibition," The Globe (May 16, 1879). A version of the story also appeared in Edward Abbot's, "Grand Manan and "Quoddy Bay,"

northern environment—a sentiment compatible with the rhetoric of the Canada Firsters.

An indication that O'Brien was aware of the inability of *Northern Head of Grand Manan* to effectively convey a national narrative (without the narrative cues of a supplementary story) is cast into relief when O'Brien moves onto the national stage in 1880 as the newly appointed President of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, an institution founded to foster a national art. In his effort to construct a more effective means of picturing the nation, O'Brien executed a number of views over the next three years in which he essentially repainted the topos in *Northern Head of Grand Manan*—the motif of the cliff and the sea—that only shortly before had marked a significant advance in style for him. This topos, however, O'Brien shifted from a location on the Bay of Fundy to Quebec and the St. Lawrence River. His most effective pictures, *Quebec from Point Levis* and *Quebec from the King's Bastion,* rework the original Grand Manan topos so that it speaks to an idea of the nation that a central Canadian, urban, middle class, literate and English-speaking public could readily comprehend.

Hence, I suggest, while the topos that O'Brien paints *via* the displace "Grand Manan" does not effectively image the nation, it can be seen as a source for what are later his national pictures. In other words, there are two separate (but related) linkages with respect to "Grand Manan" as constituted by painting: the displace of Grand Manan as a relay from south to north (the extension of the

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Harper's Monthly LVI, 334 (March 1878) p.542.

New England imaginary) and the displace of Grand Manan as a relay from east to west, or alternatively, from margin to centre.

In terms of attempting to harness iconography traditionally associated with nations, the displacement from the sea to the river was an understandable move. Since ancient times, rivers have been an enduring metaphor for the arterial blood-stream of a people, the basis for which we refer to the river as a *body* of water; a pulsing, connecting element. In the words of a mid-nineteenth century writer, the river "suggests a nation... existing not as an aggregate of fragments, but as an organic unit, the vital spirit of the whole prevailing in each of its parts."[210] It is this body which dictates and organizes the commerce of nations suggesting "large systems of action."[211] Thus in a country seeking a national identity, rivers represented the "geographical symbol of public spirit" and "common interests."[212]

In Canada, it is the St. Lawrence River that has had a special significance for national unity in both actual and metaphorical terms.[213] In The Empire of the St. Lawrence, Donald Creighton writes that the St. Lawrence River system was

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210Anonymous,"The New World and the New Man," Atlantic Monthly 2, 12 (October 1858) pp.518-519.

211Ibid.

212Ibid.

213"The St. Lawrence is the type as it is the embodiment of all Canadian rivers." Picturesque Canada (Toronto,1882-84. Rpt. Secausus, N.J.: The Wellfeet Press, 1988) p.697.

the unifying principle, "the fact of all facts in the history of the northern half of the continent," forming, historically, the basis of commercial integration.[214]

> [The St. Lawrence] was the one great river which led from the eastern shore into the heart of the continent. It possessed a geographical monopoly; and it shouted its uniqueness to adventurers. The river meant mobility and distance; it invited journeyings; it promised immense expanses, unfolding, flowing away into remote and changing horizons. The whole west, with all its riches, was the dominion of the river. To the unfettered and ambitious, it offered a pathway to the central mysteries of the continent. The river meant movement, transport, a ceaseless passage west and east, the long procession of river-craft- canoes, *bateaux*, timber rafts and steamboats—which followed each other into history.[215]

The act of Confederation itself, it has been argued, was an acknowledgement of the natural unity imposed by the river, a unity which Prime Minister John A. Macdonald defended and attempted to enlarge through his national policies.[216]

The symbolic importance of the river and the Quebec location must have informed O'Brien's decision to submit *Sunrise on the Saguenay* [figure 5] as his diploma painting to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. Despite the suggestiveness of the river, however, *Sunrise on the Saguenay*, was in essence, a repainting of *Northern Head of Grand Manan*, and as such, embodied similar limitations.[217] It was not, in fact, until Lord Lorne (the Governor-General and

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[214]Donald Creighton, The Empire of the St. Lawrence,1760-1850. (1937; Rpt. Toronto: MacMillan, 1956) pp.6-7.

[215]Ibid.

[216]Carl Berger, The Sense of Power, p.217, 224.

[217]Thus my point of view departs from Elizabeth Mulley's discussion of *Sunrise on the Saguenay* in which framing vegetation is seen to "locat[e] the scene in place" thus imbuing the painting with *"a specific nationalistic aura."* (my emphasis) Elizabeth Mulley, "Lucius O'Brien: A Victorian in North America," The Journal of Canadian Art

consort of Princess Louise, Queen Victoria's daughter) commissioned O'Brien to paint two pictures for the Queen that the river takes its place in compositions which in their structure and content symbolically imaged the nation: *Quebec from Point Levis* and *Quebec from the King's Bastion* [figures 6 and 7]. O'Brien gave more time to his royal commissions than any previous work, spending a year labouring on the pictures. The first to be completed was *Quebec from Point Levis,* which upon its public display received an enthusiastic response in a Toronto Globe review titled "Mr. O'Brien's Commission from her Majesty":

> The time is late in a warm autumn afternoon. Away to the westward on the extreme left, the river (whose smooth surface is just stirred by the faintest of ripples, and dotted with a scattered fleet of vessels) is sleeping in the shade of the towering south shore which terminates in Cape Diamond, while every outline is softened and faintly coloured by [a] thin, sub-transparent purple haze... Farther towards the right and near the center of the picture rises the abrupt south face of Cape Diamond with the citadel upon its crest just catching upon its topmost peaks and edges the golden sunlight from the opposite side. Then comes the city, with Dufferin Terrace, Laval University, [and] the Grand Battery,... but the most striking part of the whole scene is on the right, where the sunlight, bursting out from behind Cape Diamond, falls upon the eastern portion of Lower Town... and the harbour. It is a bright blaze of light that completely envelops every object that lies in its path... [In] the blending and harmonizing of colours throughout the whole picture Mr. O'Brien has completely surpassed himself.[218]

Compositionally, *Quebec from Point Levis,* like *Northern Head of Grand Manan* looks to the topos of the cliff and the sea, but the motifs have been

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History 14, 2 (1991) p.79.

218"Pictures of Quebec. Mr. O'Brien's Commission from Her Majesty," The Globe, (2 May 1881) cited in Reid, Our Own Country Canada, (1980) pp.321-322.

rearranged so that the bluff is shifted from the left of the canvas to the center, drawing the eye up and back towards the massive rock. The familiar semi-circular coastline is repeated, instead, by the curve of the wharf in the foreground. In the middle ground, the river, rather than serving as the means to connect the spatial divisions of the painting, flows laterally and unobstructed across the horizontal breadth of the image with vessels of various shapes and sizes plying the water.

Read parallel to the picture plane, the busy harbour activity is oriented in two directions: on the left of the picture a tugboat pulling a boom advances towards the north-west; on the right, larger ships make their way towards the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the Imperial centre.[219] It is an unambiguous portrayal of imperial prosperity, technological and commercial progress.

Anchoring all, however, is the "rock of Quebec". On the one hand, this rock had historical associations which brought together a community of viewers from different cultural backgrounds. In his essay on Quebec City in Picturesque Canada, George Monro Grant wrote that all of consequence in Canada's past "from Jacques Cartier's day clusters round that cannon-girt promontory."[220] On the other hand, he continued, "We have a future and with it that great red rock and the red-cross flag that floats over it are inseparably bound up."[221] The citadel

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[219]On the possibilities of the North-west see Charles Mair, "The New Canada: Its Natural Features and Climate," Canadian Monthly and National Review 8, 1 (July 1875) pp.1-8.

[220]G. M. Grant, "Quebec-Historical Review," in Picturesque Canada: The Country as it Was and Is (Toronto, 1882-1884;reprinted Secausus, N.J.: The Wellfleet Press, 1988) p.1.

[221]Ibid. Another writer in Picturesque Canada stated simply, "no French or ancient associations attach to the Citadel..." p. 45.

of Quebec, built in the 1780's following the fall of New France and Acadia, suggests a specifically English view of national origins.[222] *Quebec from Point Levis* pictured the peculiar unity of part and whole required by nationalist aesthetics in Canada and, of supreme importance to O'Brien, a nationalism circumscribed by the British Empire.[223] Both the past and the future was thus evoked in the highly symbolic rock of Quebec.

The suggestion of an Imperial hierarchy in *Quebec from Point Levis* is even more explicitly rendered in *Quebec from the King's Bastion.* As Dennis Reid writes, the perspective O'Brien adopted was a popular view and one which is essentially a diagram of the class divisions of Victorian society, "with all of the workers far below, at the river's edge, the bourgeoisie relaxing on a wonderfully airy Dufferin Terrace, part way up, and at the highest point, topping the fortifications, state power, embodied in the Royal Standard."[224] The structure of the painting reflects the sense of hierarchy, order and restraint that informed Lucius O'Brien's life and work.[225]

222"The old citadel, with its frowning battlements, ever recalling to mind the glorious deeds of the heroic Wolfe and Montcalm, stands as a sentinel to protect the commerce of the St. Lawrence." Stated in a commentary of a painting by Robert Duncanson, exhibited in Montreal in 1863, "'R.S. Duncanson's City and Harbour of Quebec' Photographic Selections by William Notman (Montreal, 1863) n.p., quoted in Allan Pringle, "Robert Duncanson in Montreal, 1863-1865," American Art Journal (Autumn 1985) p.33.

223Even "Canada Firsters had come to identify national greatness with an 'imperialistic' image." Carl Berger, The Sense of Power, p.85. See also Douglas Cole, "Canada's 'Nationalistic' Imperialists," Journal of Canadian Studies (1970) pp.44-49. Dennis Reid, Lucius O'Brien: Visions of Victorian Canada, p.43-69; Elizabeth Mulley, "Lucius O'Brien: A Victorian in North America," Journal of Canadian Art History pp.74-81.

224 Dennis Reid, Lucius O'Brien, p.48

225For recent work on the relation between style and political preference see A.Miller, "The Mechanisms of the Market and the Invention of Western Regionalism: The Example of George Caleb Bingham," American Iconology, pp.123-125.

The symbolic import of O'Brien's paintings is further clarified in Picturesque Canada -- published serially from 1882-1884, and the means whereby most would have been made familiar with O'Brien's Quebec pictures. Essentially an armchair tour of the country's most scenic views and economic prospects, the essays and wood-cut illustrations in Picturesque Canada were organized around the St. Lawrence River, which followed a narrative from "historic Quebec" to Montreal through the lock system of the Ottawa River to the great inland lakes and, via its tributaries, to the land of opportunity: the North West. Located at the very end of the volumes, almost as an afterthought to the central narrative, are the chapters on the Maritimes. Indeed the author of the Cape Breton chapter, while defensively citing the merits of the island, essentially admits where the symbolic center of Canada lies and where its destiny is seen to unfold:

> in every sense, Cape Breton is worthy to stand as a sentinel in the great gate of the St. Lawrence. It has riches in coal and minerals complementary to the bountiful harvests of the fertile West. Its cliffs and capes and the Bras d'Or are germane to Niagara and the St. Lawrence; and the traditions of Louisburg should kindle the imagination of the Canadian to as bright a heat as those which glorify Quebec.[226]

O'Brien himself was the art editor of the project and for the frontispiece to Picturesque Canada selected his painting, *Quebec from Point Levis*, indicating his acknowledgement of the painting's effectiveness as an image that would

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226Picturesque Canada, p.106. By the turn of the century, Wilfred Campbell would write that "the Maritime Provinces have done much for Canada, but the road of progress and population seems to be ever westward; and, in this sense, our eastern provinces are already more of the past than the present." Wilfred Campbell, Canada (London: A and C

speak to a particular vision of nationalism.[227] By the same token, given the formation of national identity is predicated upon exclusions,[228]the absence of *Northern Head of Grand Manan* -- indeed the absence of any image or reference whatsoever to the island -- surely suggests the *in*effectiveness of the painting as one which carried national significance for O'Brien.

Ultimately, however, the Quebec pictures exemplify the difficulty of composing an image that would carry national meaning for all Canadians. A national landscape predicated upon the hierarchy of the British Empire and that emanated from region and looked to the west would be limited in its ability to speak to the sympathies and ideals of Québécois or easterners. The lack of success and the futility of creating a national landscape that would speak to all Canadians was admitted by one exasperated reviewer in the 1880's:

> Canadian Art...suffers like the other Canadian productions of the highest class from narrowness of area. A province is attempting to do and to support that which can only be done and supported by a nation. Canada is a political expression. For the purposes of art, as for those of literature, commerce, and society, the country is really Ontario with the British part of Montreal... It is not a reason against doing what we can, but is a reason for moderating our expectations and criticizing what is little more than a Provincial Exhibition as though it contained the art of a nation.[229]

Black, 1907) p.48.

[227]Following its publication, *Quebec from Point Levis* inspired other versions, such as Frank H. Shapleigh's *Quebec from Point Levis* (1883) [figure 8].

[228]Stephen Daniels, Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) p. 6.

[229]'Mahlstick', "The Royal Academy," Week (2 May 1885) p.390-391, cited in Karen M. Davison-Wood, "A Philistine Culture? Literature, Painting and the Newspapers in Late-Victorian Toronto," Ph.D dissertation, Concordia University, 1982, p.261.

* * *

Dennis Reid writes in his recent study of Lucius O'Brien's career that he is "a key link in the development of a theme that is Canada's major contribution to the history of painting: the idea that self is necessarily located in its relationship to place."[230] As I have argued in this thesis, however, place is a construction; a construction of reality that owes much to its invention by painting. Thus, as my study has shown, the Grand Manan that O'Brien painted in *Northern Head of Grand Manan* was less the actual place, Grand Manan, than the displace of the New England imaginary. That O'Brien's painting must be considered within the context of the New England imaginary is indicated by the fact that Grand Manan was an already established site of this imaginary and by the fact that O'Brien's painting did not effectively function as a national picture. Instead Lucius O'Brien occupied the New England displace, appropriated it and displaced it so that it came to perform a central iconological role in the articulation and advancement of an emerging national, and imperial, ideological vision. Hence, the marginal place of the Maritimes in this centralist Canadian economic and political vision was fully expressed representationally in the role assigned to *Northern Head of Grand Manan* in the iconographic program of Lucius O'Brien. That the nineteenth century painterly displace of Grand Manan has continued to have an

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230Dennis Reid, Lucius O'Brien: Visions of Victorian Canada (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1990) p. xi.

afterlife throughout the twentieth century, long after the painters departed, and how that displace of painting came to turn the island itself into a "heritage site" in conformity with its idealizations will have to be a story for another writing.

ILLUSTRATIONS

(Plate 1) Lucius O'Brien, *Northern Head of Grand Manan*, 1879

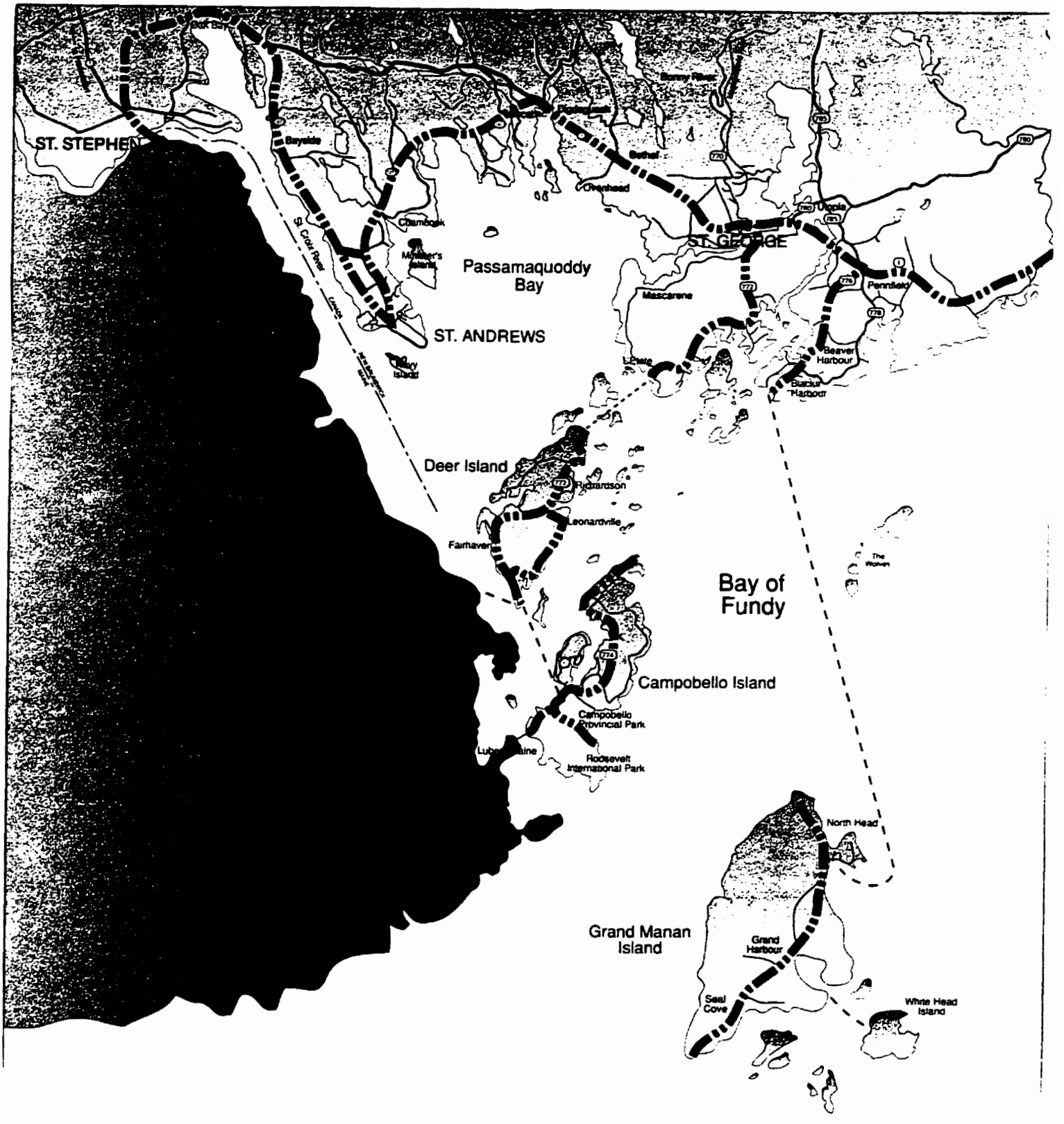
(Plate 2) Frederic E. Church, *The Wreck*, 1852

(Plate 3) Frederic E. Church, *Grand Manan Island, Bay of Fundy*, 1853

(Plate 4) J.G. Brown, *Pull for the Shore*, 1878
(Plate 5) M. J. Burns, *Waiting for the Fish to School*, c.1878

(Plate 6) Harrison B. Brown, *Camping on Grand Manan with the W.H. Pratt Off-Shore*, 1870

(Plate 7) Alfred T. Bricher, *Morning at Grand Manan*, 1878

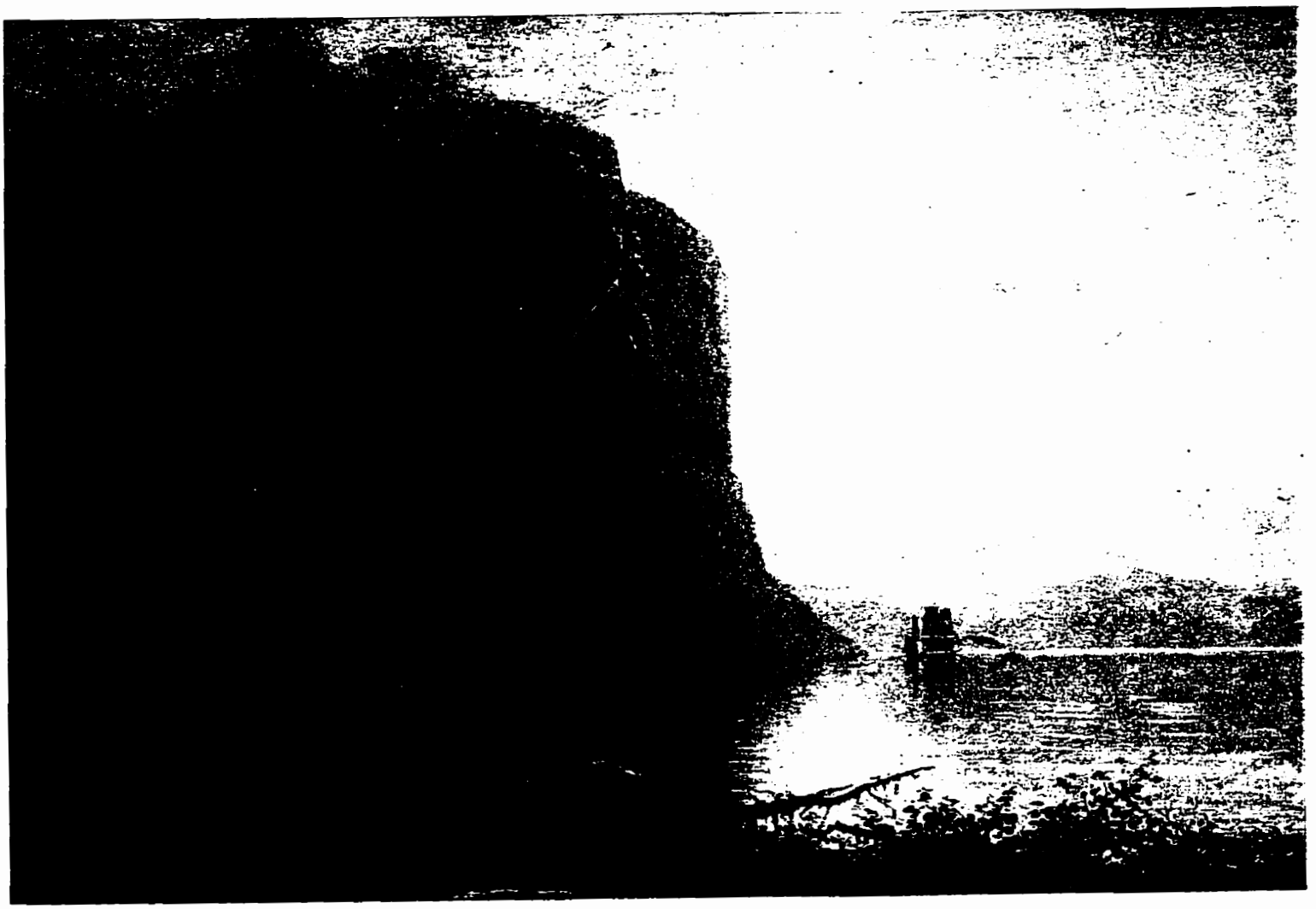


(Figure 1) Map of Grand Manan

(Figure 2) Frederic E. Church, *Beacon off Mount Desert*, 1851

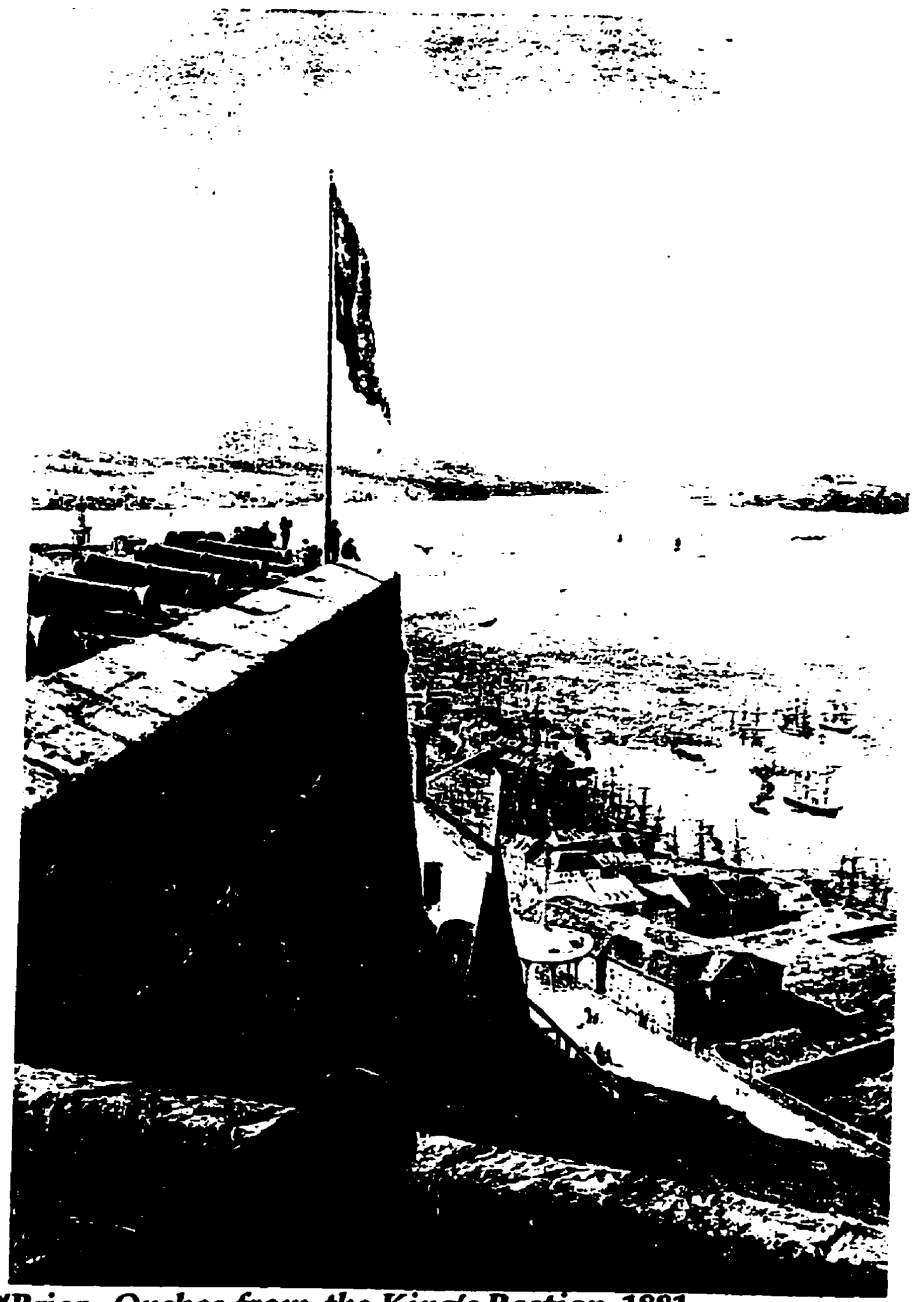
(Figure 3) Winslow Homer, *The Herring Net*, 1885

(Figure 4) Asher Durand, *Progress (The Advance of Civilization)*, 1853

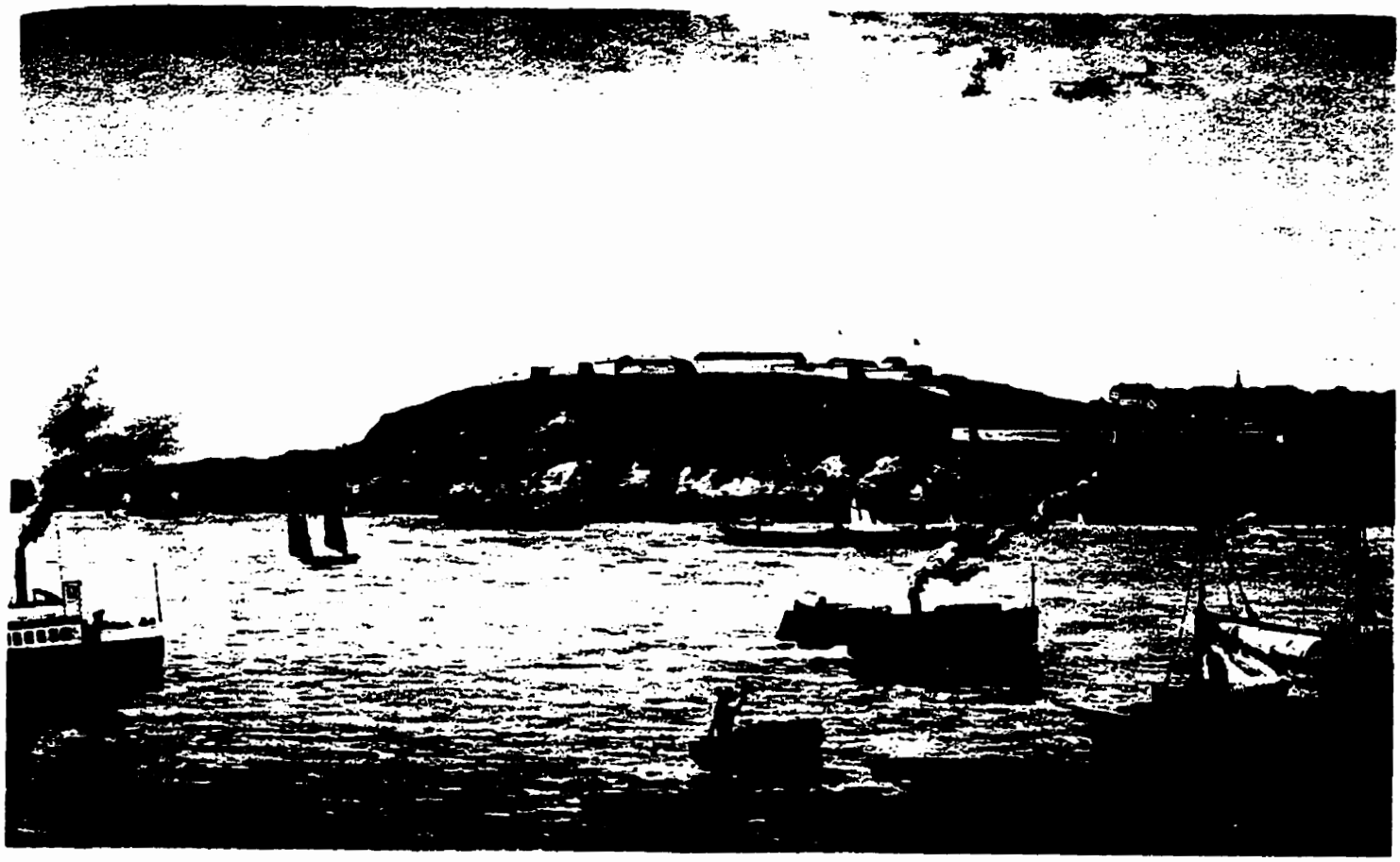


(Figure 5) Lucius O'Brien, *Sunrise on the Saguenay*, 1880

(Figure 6) Lucius O'Brien, *Quebec from Point Levis*, 1881



(Figure 7) Lucius O'Brien, *Quebec from the King's Bastion*, 1881



(Figure 8) Frank Shapleigh, *Quebec from Point Levis*, 1883

A CATALOGUE OF NINETEENTH CENTURY PAINTINGS OF GRAND MANAN

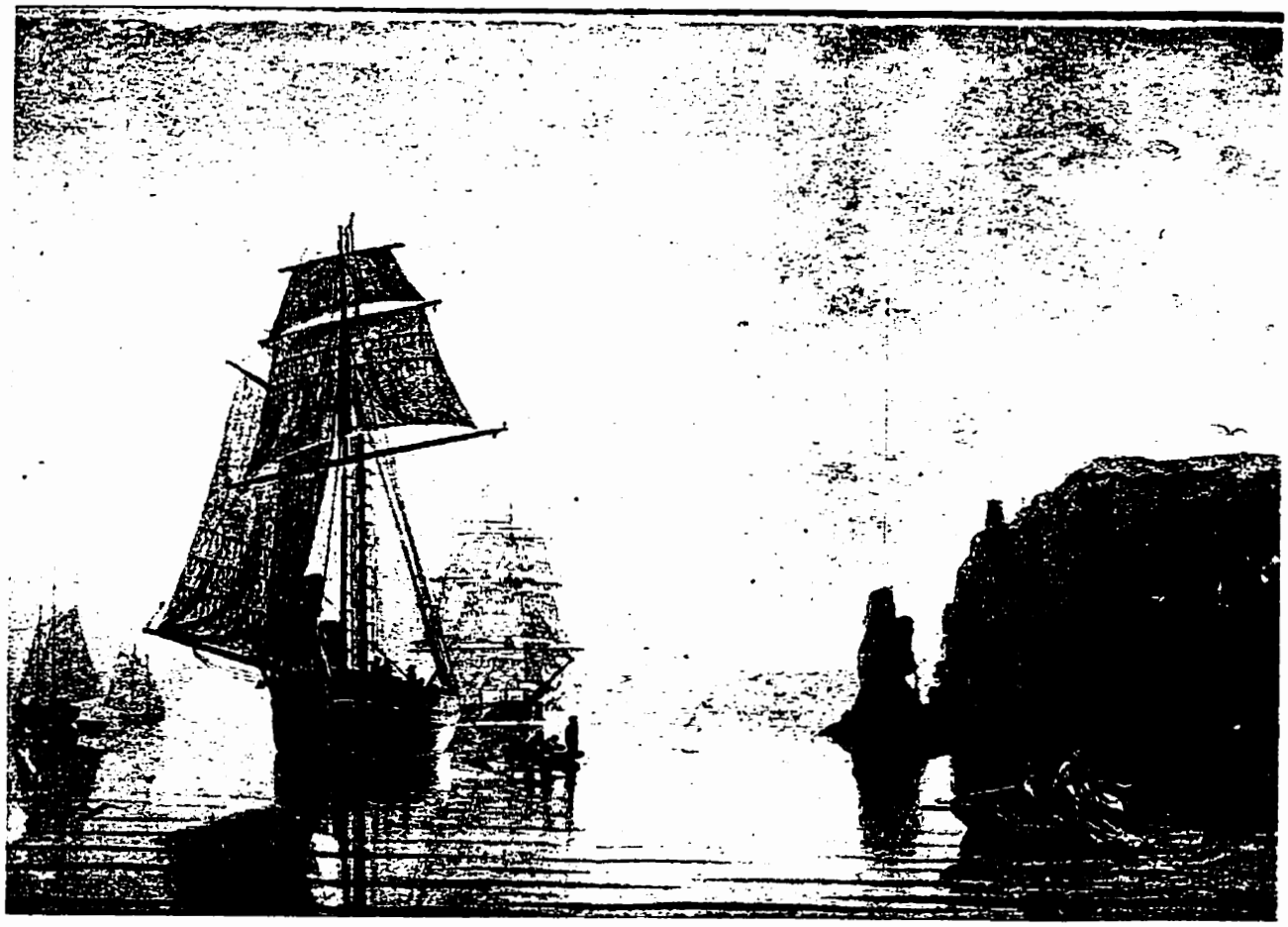
The artist entries are listed alphabetically by artist's name. The paintings are ordered by date of execution and when this is not known, by the date of the painting's first exhibition. An asterisk indicates what is known to be the original title. Height precedes width in the measurements.

Standard exhibition indexes consulted include: Janice Chadbourne, et al. The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record, 1873-1909 (Boston: Sound View Press, 1991); Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860, 2 vols (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1943); William J. Gavin III and Robert F. Perkins, The Boston Athenaeum Index, 1827-1874 (Boston: The Library of the Boston Atheneum, 1980); Clark Marlor, A History of the Brooklyn Art Association with an Index of Exhibitions (New York: J. F. Carr, 1970); Evelyn de R. McMann, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts/ Academie royale des arts du Canada: Exhibitions and Members, 1880-1979 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Maria K. Naylor, The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900, 2 vols (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., 1973).

AUDUBON, John James
(1785-1851)

1. ***Herring Gull,**** 1831
from The Birds of America:
Plate CCXCI,
hand-coloured engraving
with aquatint,
97.2 cm x 66 cm,
National Gallery of Art,
Washington

Select Bibliography: Excerpts from The Ornithological Biography pertaining to Grand Manan are reprinted in "The Herring Gull," The Grand Manan Historian 20 (1978): 8-17, introduction by L. Keith Ingersoll. The Bay of Fundy episode is included in John James Audubon, Selected Journals and Other Writings, ed. Ben Forkner (New York: Penguin Books, 1996) pp. 483-484.



BRADFORD, William
(1832-1892)

2. ***Off Grand Manan***, c.1856
sepia on paper,
The Whaling Museum,
New Bedford, Massachusetts

3. ***Fishing Boat in the Bay of Fundy,*** c. 1860's,
o/c, 20" x 30",
Gerold Wunderlich, New York

4. ***View of Northern Head at Sunrise in the Bay of Fundy,**** c. 1861,
o/c, 59 cm x 88 cm,
Christie's, New York

5. ***New England Sea Coast,*** n.d.
oil on paper laid down on board,
38.6cm x 54 cm
Christie's, New York

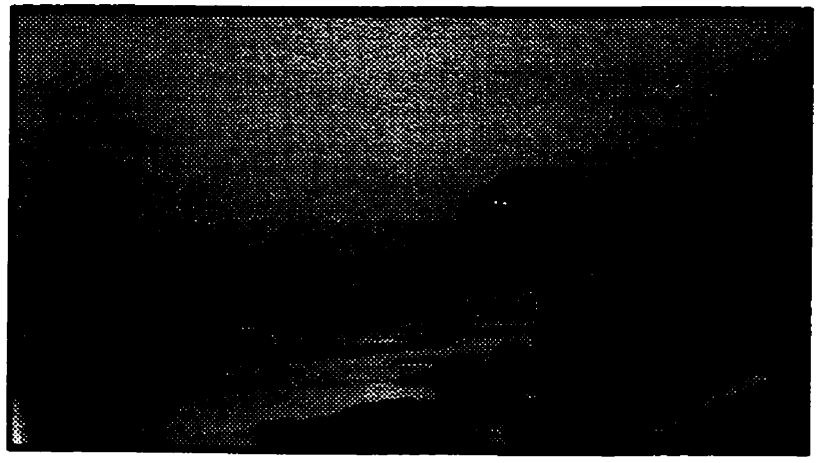
Select Bibliography: Henry Tuckerman, Book of the Artists: American Artist Life. 1867. (Rpt. New York: James F. Carr, 1966) pp.552-556; John Wilmerding, "William Bradford: Artist of the Arctic" in American Views (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) pp. 99-122; The Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., sketches of Grand Manan are included in Microfilm Roll 2674, 5 sketchbooks, c. 1854-1863 and Microfilm Roll 3002: Gordon Hendricks Research Files 1963-64.

BREWERTON, George Douglas
(1820-1901)

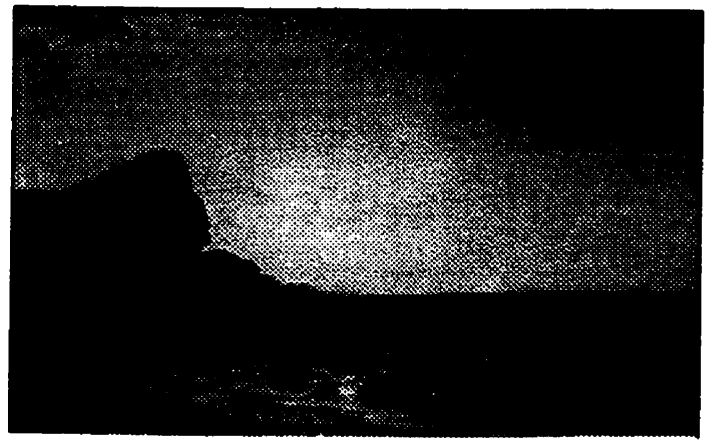
6. ***Sunset at Grand Manan, Maine,*** n.d.
pastel on board, arched top,
23 1/8" x 9.5",
Sotheby's, New York

George Brewerton, "A Ride with Kit Carson," Harper's Monthly 39, 7 (Aug. 1853);306-334; Peggy and Harold Samuels, Illustrated Biographical Encyclopedia of Artists of the American West, 1976.

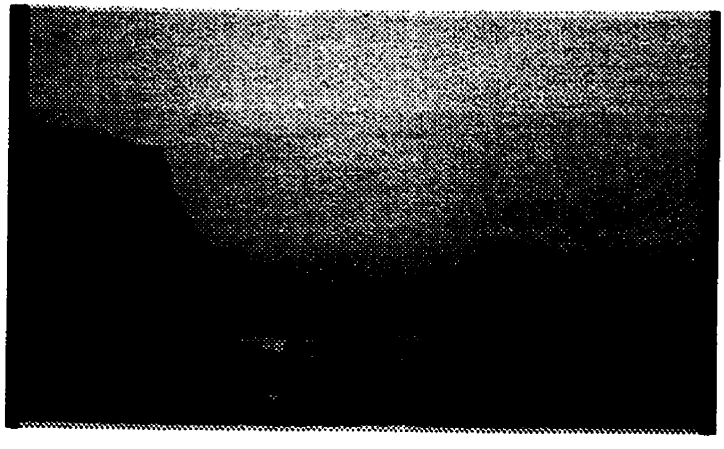
BRICHER, Alfred Thompson
(1837-1908)



7. ***Morning at Grand Manan,*** 1875
w/c,
Sotheby's, New York



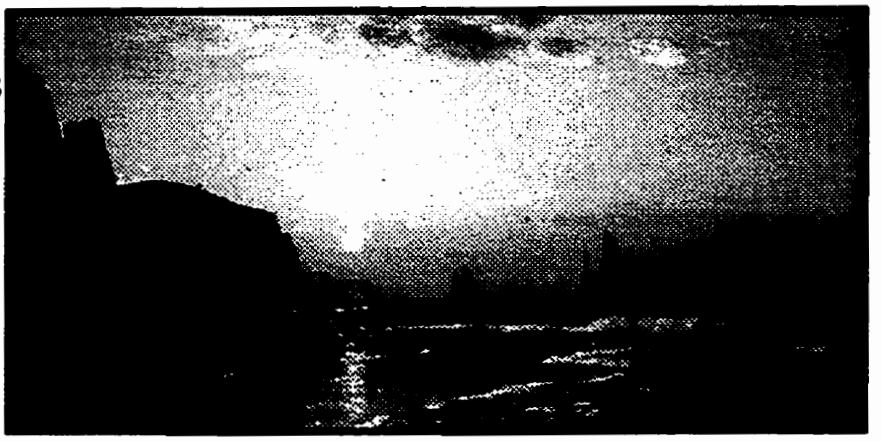
8. ***The Coast of Grand Manan,*** c.1875
o/c, 18" x 30"
Armbruster Fine Arts, Chicago, Illinois



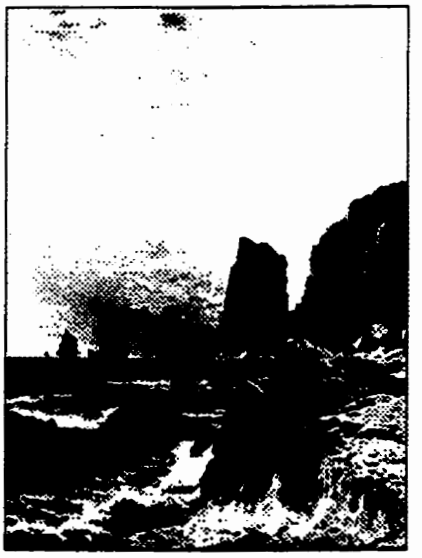
9. ***A Lift in the Fog, Grand Menan,****1876
o/c, 26"x 50",
Newport Fine Arts Investment Co.,
Rhode Island

10. *Off the North Head, Grand Menan,** 1877
o/c, 31"x 60",
Reproduced in the exhibition catalogue,
NAD, 1877 #185. p.5. (unlocated)
(not illustrated)

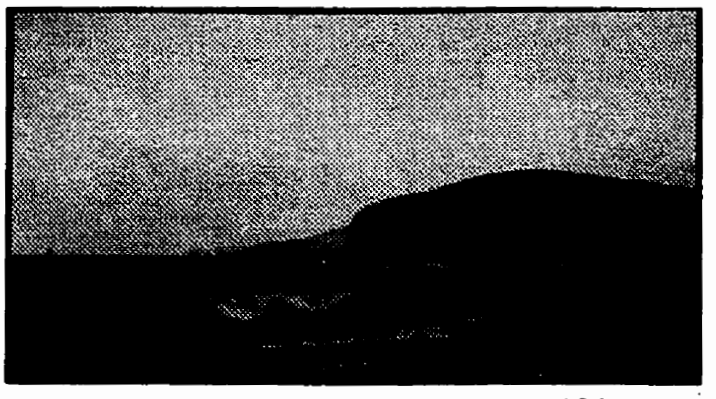
11.*Morning at Grand Manan,*1878
o/c, 25" x 52",
The Martha Delzell Memorial
Fund, Indianapolis Museum
of Art, Indianapolis, Indiana



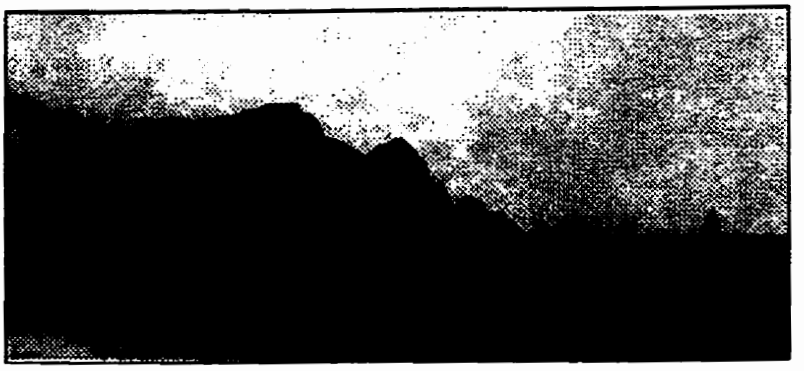
12. *The Bishop, Grand Manan,* c.1882
o/c, 38"x28",
private collection



13. *Headlands and Breaker's-Grand Manan, Maine,* 1880s
o/c, 71.1 x 134.6 cm,
Sotheby's, New York



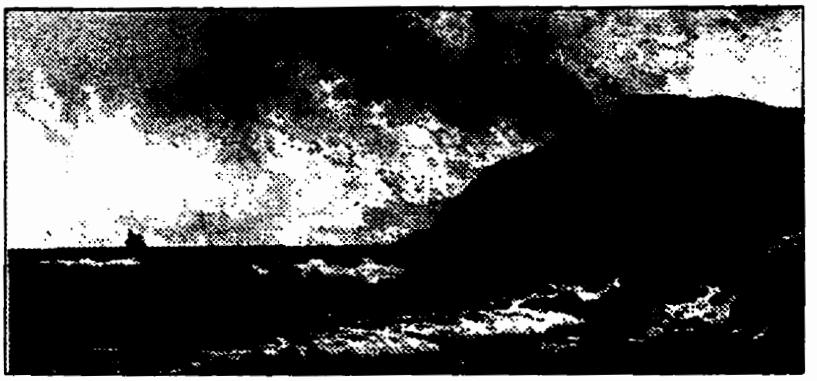
14. ***Grand Manan, Maine,*** c.1890
o/c, 18 x 39"
Vose Galleries, Boston



15. ***Low Tide, Maine, [Low Tide , Hetherington Cove, Grand Menan****] 1898
o/c, 25 1/4"x 52 1/2"
Driscoll and Walsh Fine Art, Boston
(not illustrated)

16. ***Grand Manan Island, off Maine,*** n.d.
o/c, 25 x 52",
Berry-Hill Galleries, New York

17. ***Grand Manan Island,*** n.d.
o/c, 18" x 39",
Schwarz, Philadelphia



Select Bibliography: "'American Painters- Alfred T. Bricher" Art Journal 1, 11 (November 1875): 340-341; J.D. Preston, "Alfred T. Bricher, 1837-1908," Art Quarterly 25, 2 (Summer 1962)pp. 149-157; Jeffrey Brown, Alfred Thompson Bricher, 1837-1908. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1974).

BROWN, Harrison Bird (1831-1915)

18. ***Camping on Grand Manan with the W.H. Pratt Offshore,*** 1870
o/c, 20" x 36",
Portland Museum of Art,
Portland, Maine

19. ***Climbing the Cliffs, Grand Manan,*** 1876
o/c, 30" x 58",
Vose Galleries, Boston, Mass.

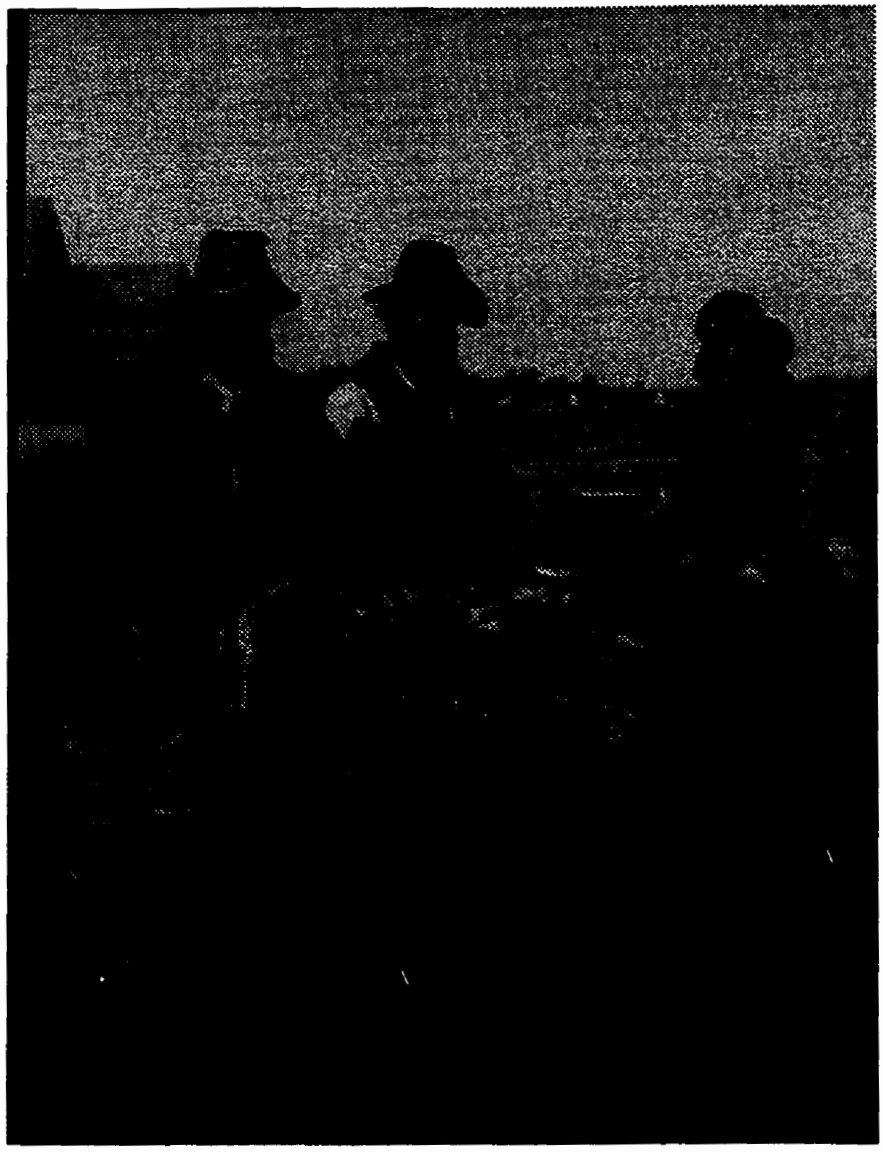
20. ***Indian Encampment on Grand Manan,*** 1878, o/c,
private collection

Detail

Select Bibliography:
"Recent Accession: Harrison Bird Brown," Portland Museum of Art Bulletin (1988) p.1.

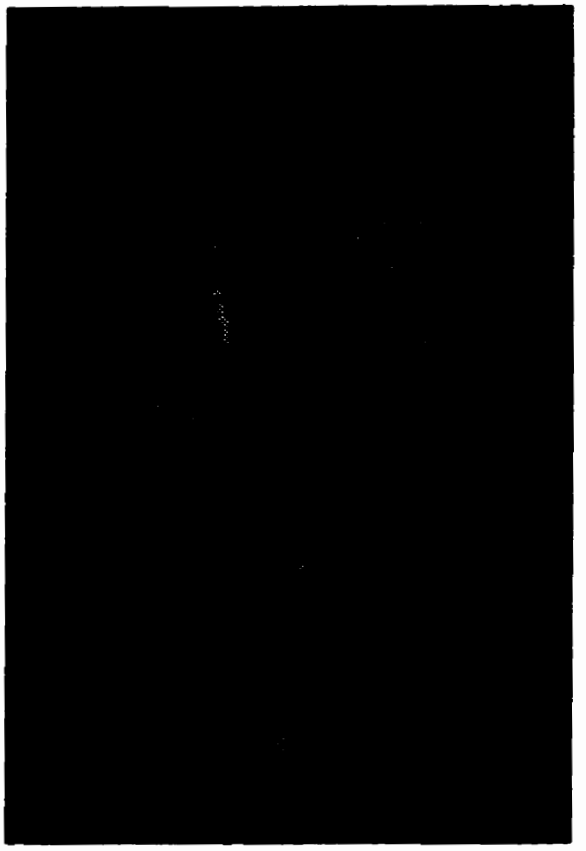
BROWN, John George (1831-1913)

21. ***The Coming Squall,**** 1877
oil en grisaille on canvas, 76.2 x 50.8 cm,
Christie's, New York

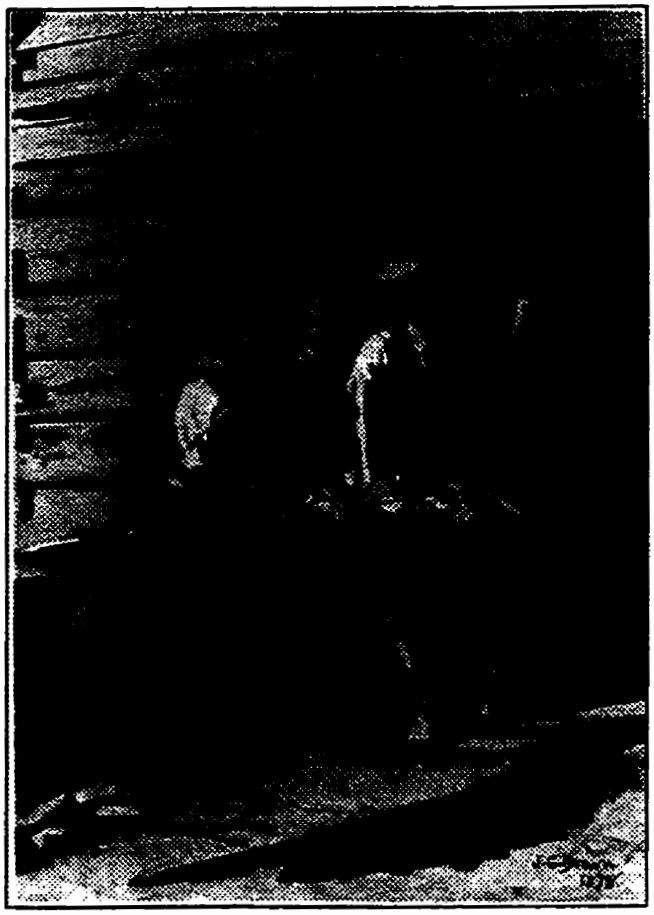


22. ***Cleaning the Catch,*** 1877
o/c , 63 x 51 cm,
Christie's, South Kensington, England

23. ***Grand Menan Fisherman Bringing Home His Oars**** 1877
o/c, 76.5 x. 52.5 cm,
Christie's, New York



24. ***Grand Manan Fisherman,*** 1877
o/c,
Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Virginia



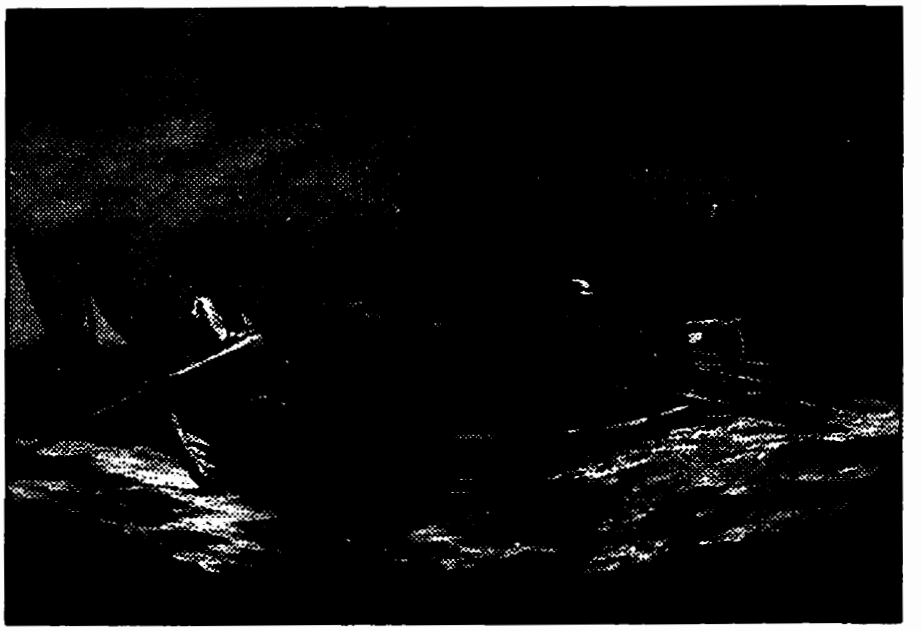
25. ***Weighing Fish,*** 1878
o/c, 76.2 x 52 cm
The Daniel B. Grossman Galleries,
New York, New York

26. ***Pull for the Shore,**** 1878
o/c, 61 x 101 cm,
Santa Barbara Museum of Art,
Santa Barbara, California

27. ***Pull for the Shore,*** 1878
o/c, 87 cm x 142.56 cm,
The Chrysler Museum,
Norfolk, Virginia
Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.

Select Bibliography: George W. Sheldon, Hours with Art and Artists (New York: Appleton, 1882); S.G.W. Benjamin, "A Painter of the Streets," The Magazine of Art 5 (1882): 265-270; Lemuel Eldred, "Picturesque Grand Menan and its Artist Visitors," New Bedford Sunday Standard (October 24, 1920): 25 and (October 31, 1920): 25; Linda Ferber, "J.G. Brown," in The Preston Morton Collection of American Art, K.H. Mead, ed. (Santa Barabara: Santa Barabara Museum of Art, 1981); Martha Hoppin, Country Paths and City Sidewalks: The Art of J.G. Brown (Springfield, Mass.: George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum, 1989).

BURNS, Milton John (1853-1933)



28. ***Waiting for the Fish to School,*** c.1878
o/c, 35"x 55",
Beacon Hill Fine Art, New York

29. ***Grand Menan Fishing Boat,*** 1878
engraving by W.J. Linton after Burns,
8 1/2" x 13 3/8",
Harper's Weekly (June 15, 1878): 468.

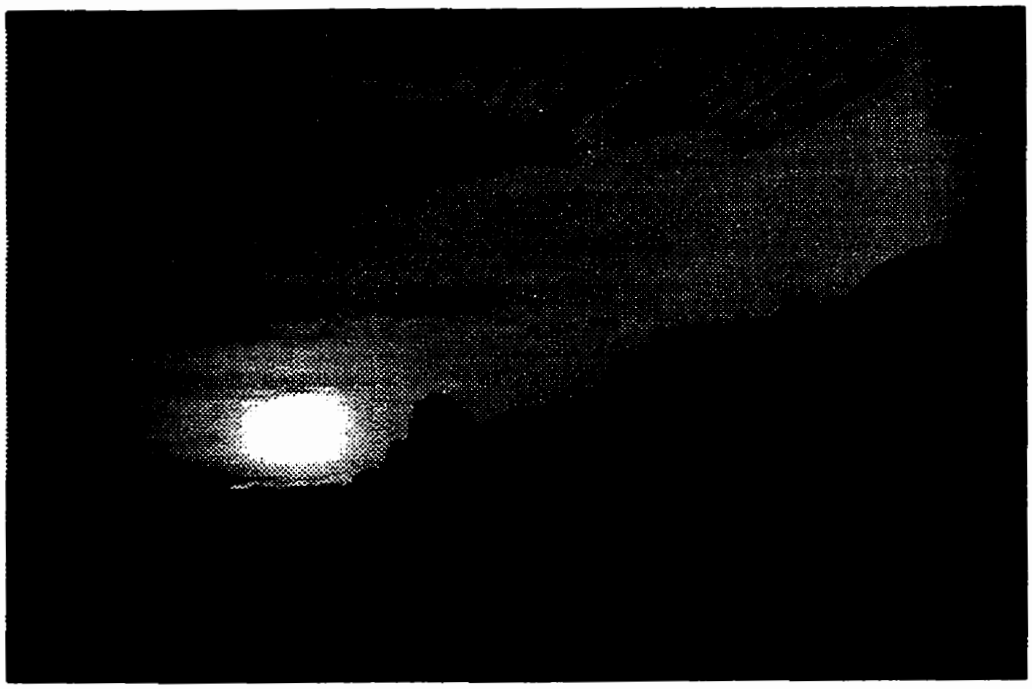
30. *Grand Manan,* 1877
pencil and whitewash on green paper,
10.5" x 14 3/4"
Mystic Seaport Museum,
Mystic, Connecticut
(not illustrated)

31. *Off Grand Manan,*
exhibited NAD 1878 (unlocated)

Select Bibiography: Peter Hastings Falk, "Milton J. Burns, Marine Artist," The Log of Mystic Seaport 36, 1 (Spring 1984):15-30.

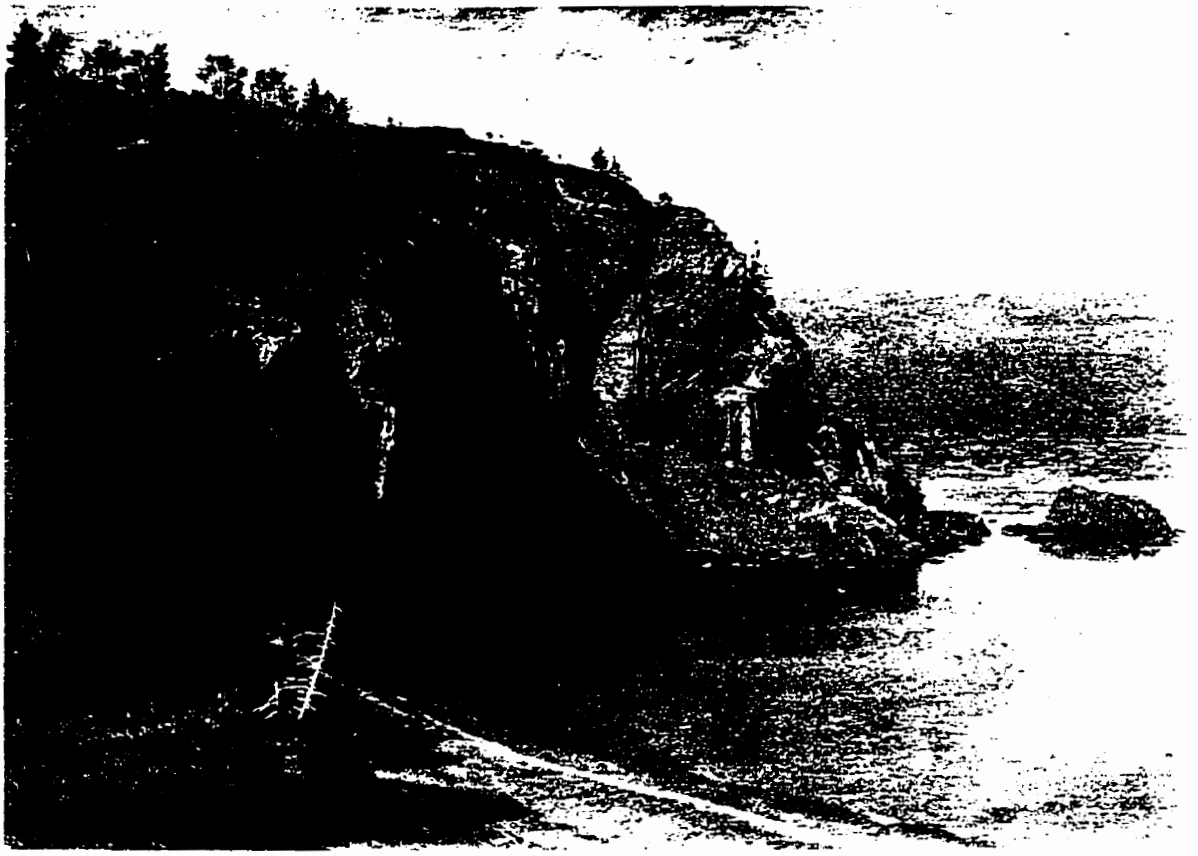
CHURCH, Frederic Edwin
(1826-1900)

32. *The Wreck,** 1851
o/c, 30' x 46",
The Parthenon, Nashville, Tennessee



33. ***Grand Manan Island, Bay of Fundy**** 1852
o/c, 21" x 31",
The Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford,
Connecticut

34. ***Cliffs at Grand Manan,*** c.1851-1852
oil with pencil on board,
28.3 x 40.6cm,
The Cooper-Hewitt Museum,
New York



35. ***Rocks along the Coast (Eel Brook Point)*** c. 1851,
oil with pencil on board,
25 cm x 40.7 cm
The Cooper-Hewitt Museum,
New York

36. ***Indian Encampment Grand Menan,*** Sept. 1851,
pencil on paper,
The Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York

Select Bibliography: Theodore Stebbins, Close Observations: Selected Oil Sketches by Frederic E. Church (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978); Franklin Kelly and Gerald Carr, The Early Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church, 1845-1854 (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1987); Franklin Kelly, Frederic Edwin Church and the National Landscape (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988); Gerald Carr, Frederic Edwin Church: Catalogue Raisonné of Works of Art at Olana State Historic Site. Vol 1 Text. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); John Wilmerding, The Artists Mount Desert: American Painters on the Maine Coast (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

CRESSWELL, William Nicoll
(1818-1888)

37. ***Bishop's Rock, Grand Manan,*** 1881
w/c over graphite on wove paper, 32.2 x 35cm,
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

38. ***Amethyst Cove, Grand Manan, New Brunswick,*** 1886
w/c over graphite on paper, 36.9 x 53cm,
University of Western Ontario, London
(not illustrated)

Select Bibliography: Christopher Varley, William Nicoll Cresswell: Man from Seaforth (London: London Regional Art Gallery, 1986).

DES BARRES, Col. J.F.W.
(1722-1824)

39. ***The North Point of Grandmanan (sic) Island in the Bay of Fundy bearing E.N.E. distant two leagues,****
1770-1781
aquatint, 28.55cm x 38.7cm,
Public Archives of Canada,
National Map Collection, Ottawa

Select Bibliography: Public Archives of Canada. Images of Canada: Documentary Watercolours and Drawings from the Permanent Collection of the Public Archives of Canada. Intro., Micheal Bell (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972).

DE HAAS, Mauritz Frederik Hendrik
(1823-1895)

40. ***Sunset off Grand Manan,***
1872, o/c,
Skinner, Bolton, Mass.

41.***Coastal View,Grand Manan,***
1873, o/c, 24" x 40 1/4",
C.G. Sloan and Co.,
N. Bethesda, Maryland

Select Bibliography: S.G.W. Benjamin, "Fifty Years of American Art, 1828-1878: II," Harper's 59 (Sept. 1879): 487-492.

DE HAAS, William F. (1830-1880)

42. ***Gannet Rock, off Grand Manan,*** c.1870
12" x 20"
Doyles, New York
(not illustrated)

Select Bibliography: C. E. Clement and Laurence Hutton, Artists of the Nineteenth Century and their Works: A Handbook. 2 vols. 1880. (Rpt. New York:Arno Press, 1969).

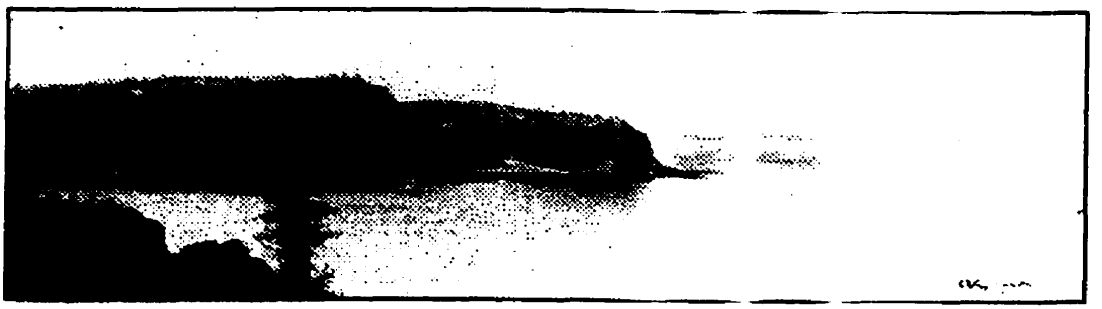
FREITAG, Conrad

43. ***Coast Study, Grand Manan, New Brunswick***
exh. Brooklyn, December 1877
(unlocated)

44. ***Swallow Tail Light, Grand Manan, New Brunswick***
exh. National Academy of Design 1878
(unlocated)

GIFFORD, Charles Henry
(1840-1904)

45. ***Grand Manan, Bay of Fundy,*** c. 1872
oil on board, 5" x 18",
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport,
Rhode Island



47. ***Coast of Grand Manan,*** 1890
o/c, 26' x 42",
The Whaling Museum,
New Bedford, Massachusetts,
gift of Mrs. Dorothy B. Plumb

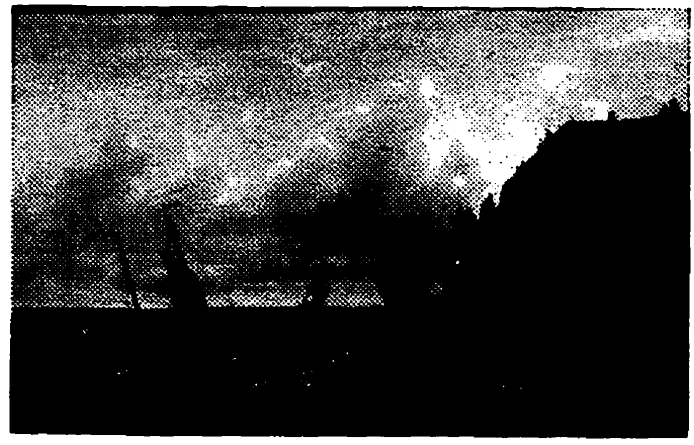
46. ***Fishing on the Bay,*** 1869
o/c, 8 1/2" x 13 1/2",
William Vareika Fine Arts,
Newport, Rhode Island
(not illustrated)

48. ***Wreck off Grand Manan,*** 1873
private collection
(not illustrated)

49. ***Off the Old Bishop, Grand Manan,*** 1878
o/c, (unlocated)

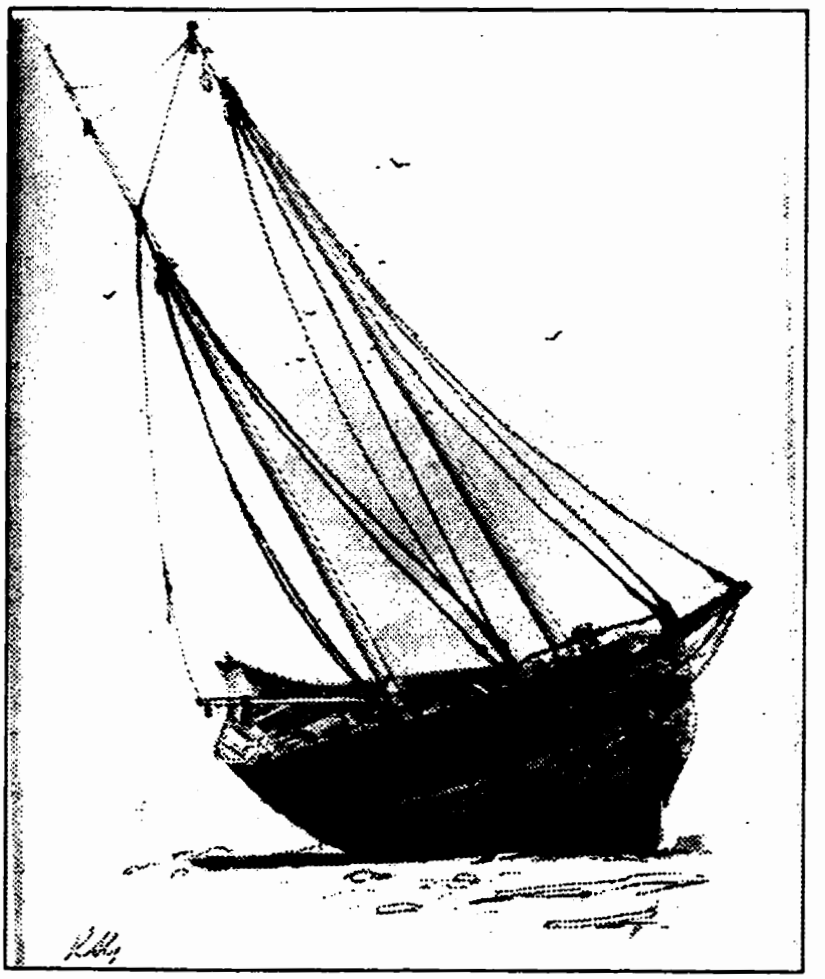
Select Bibliography: Manuscript of the "autobiography" of Gifford by his daughter Helen James Gifford, Microfilm roll 482, The Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; John I.H. Baur, "The Little Gems of Charles Henry Gifford," Antiques (November 1986): 1024-1035; An American Luminist: Charles Henry Gifford exh. cat.(New Bedford: New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1986); Lemeul Eldred, "Picturesque Grand Manan and its Artist Visitors," The New Bedford Sunday Standard (Oct.24, 1920): 25.

GIFFORD, Robert Swain (1840-1905)



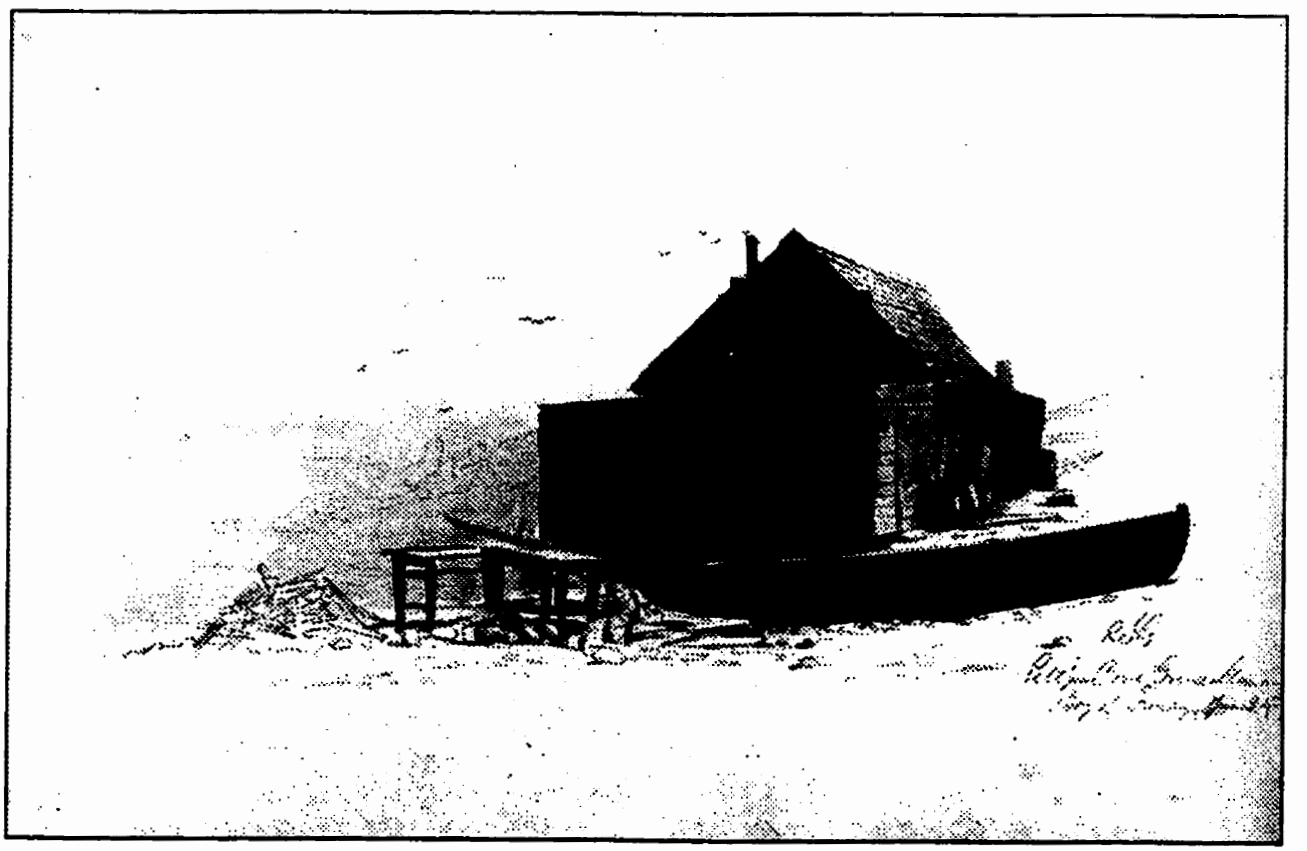
50. ***Off Grand Manan,*** 1864
o/c, 17" x 21",
The Whaling Museum,
New Bedford, Massachusetts

51. ***Fishing Boat on Coast of GrandManan,***1864
o/c, 26" x 42 1/2",
TheWhaling Museum,
New Bedford, Massachusetts.



52. ***At Drake's Dock,**** 28 June 1864
pencil and wash, 14" x 10",
TheWhaling Museum,
New Bedford, Massachusetts
(sketch)

53. ***Pettes' Cove, Grand Manan, Bay of Fundy,**** 24 June 1864
pencil and wash, 6 1/2" x 15 1/2",
The Whaling Museum,
New Bedford, Massachusetts
(sketch)



54. ***Cliff on Grand Manan Island,*** 1868
o/c, 30 1/4" x 24 1/4",
New Bedford Free Public Library,
New Bedford, Massachusetts
(not illustrated)

55. ***Pinky off Grand Manan,*** 1864
o/c, 13" x 23",
Private collection

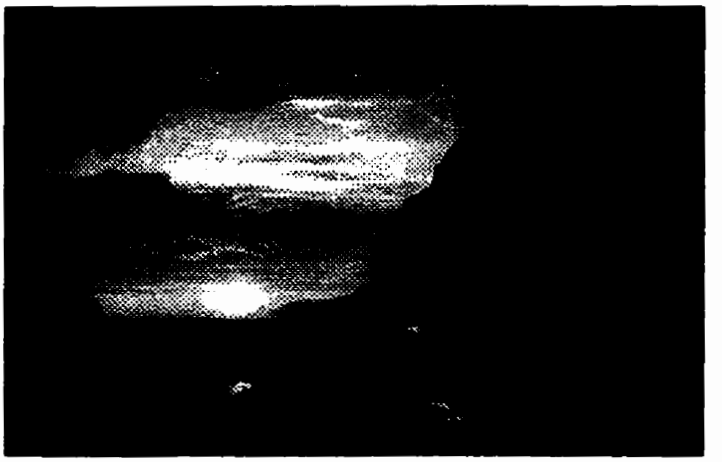
56. ***Scene at Grand Manan, Bay of Fundy,***
exhib. at the National Academy of Design , New York 1865
(unlocated)

57. ***Cliff Scene on Grand Manan Island, Bay of Fundy***
exhib. at the National Academy of Design, New York 1867
(unlocated)

58. ***Foggy Weather at Grand Manan,***
exhib. at the National Academy of Design, New York 1874
(unlocated)

Select Bibliography: G.W. Sheldon, American Painters (New York: D. Appleton, 1879);C. E. Clement and Laurence Hutton, Artists of the Nineteenth Century and their Works: A Handbook. 2 vols. 1880. (Rpt. New York:Arno Press, 1969);Walter Montgomery, ed. American Art and American Art Collections (Boston, 1889); R. Swain Gifford, 1840-1905 exh. cat. (New Bedford: New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1974).

HART, William (1822- 1894)



59. ***Sunset on Grand Manan Island, Maine,*** 1861
o/c, 81.3cm x 122cm
Christie's, New York

60. ***Coastal Sunrise (Sunrise on Grand Manan)*** 1861
o/c, 30.4cm x 50.9cm
Christie's, New York

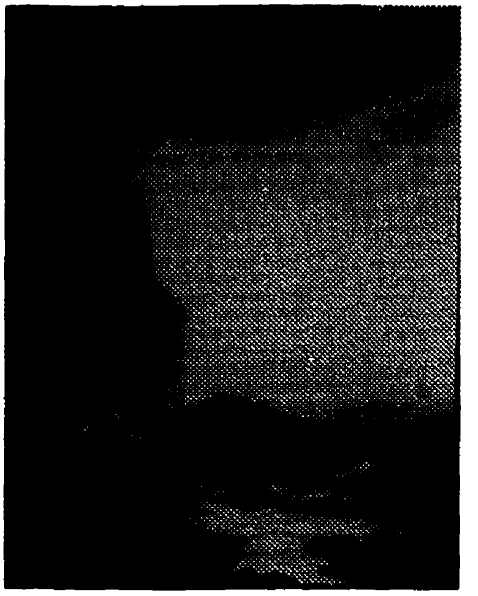
61. ***Grand Manan at Sunrise,*** n.d.
oil on panel, 6 1/4" x 5 1/4",
private collection
(not illustrated)

62. *On Grand Manan, New Brunswick,* 1867
w/c, (unlocated)

63. *Sunset Near Dark Harbour, Grand Manan,* 1866
exh. at the Brooklyn Art Association, 1867
owned by Wm. Vanderbilt
(unlocated)

Select Bibliography: "Artists of America,"The Crayon 7 (February 1860): 40-51; Henry Tuckerman, Book of the Artist's: American Artist Life 1867 (rpt. New York: James F. Carr, 1966); "American Painter's- William Hart," The Art Journal 1 (August 1875):246-247; G.W. Sheldon, American Painters (New York: D. Appleton, 1879);C. E. Clement and Laurence Hutton, Artists of the Nineteenth Century and their Works: A Handbook. 2 vols. 1880. (Rpt. New York:Arno Press, 1969).

HASELTINE, William Stanley
(1835-1900)



64. *Sunrise at Grand Manan,* 1884
o/c,
Christie's, New York

Select Bibliography: Marc Simpson, et al. Expressions of Place: The Art of William Stanley Haseltine (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Art, 1994); John Wilmerding, The Artist's Mount Desert: American Painters on the Maine Coast (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

NICOLL, James C.
(1846-1918)

65. ***Sunset on the Bay of Fundy,***
o/c, 24" x 40"
illustrated in the 1877 National Academy of Design catalogue, # 208

66. ***On Grand Manan Island.,***
exh. at the National Academy of Design, 1876.

67. ***Showery Weather, Grand Manan***
exh. at the National Academy of Design, 1880

Bibliography: J.D. Champlin, et al. Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings New York, 1886-87. (Rpt. New York, 1927).

NORTON, William
(1843-1916)

68. ***Wreck off Grand Manan*** , n.d.
o/c, 28" x 44", 71 x 112cm
James Bakker Inc, Cambridge, England
(not illustrated)

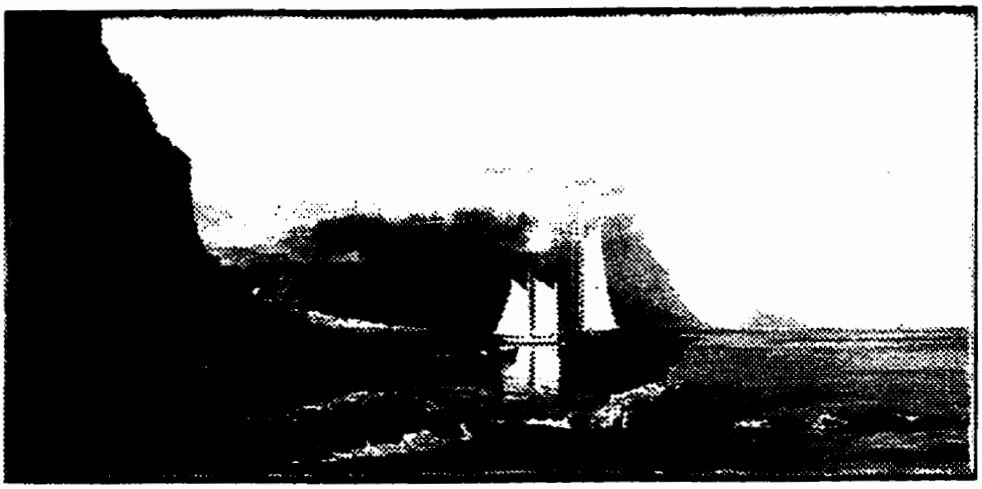
69. ***North Head, Grand Manan, N.B.***, 1865
o/c, 16 1/4" x 27 1/2"
Richard A. Bourne Inc., Hyannis Port, Mass.
(not illustrated)

70. ***Whale Cove, Grand Manan,*** n.d.
22" x 30"
American Art Association, Carlisle, May 23, 1939
(not illustrated)

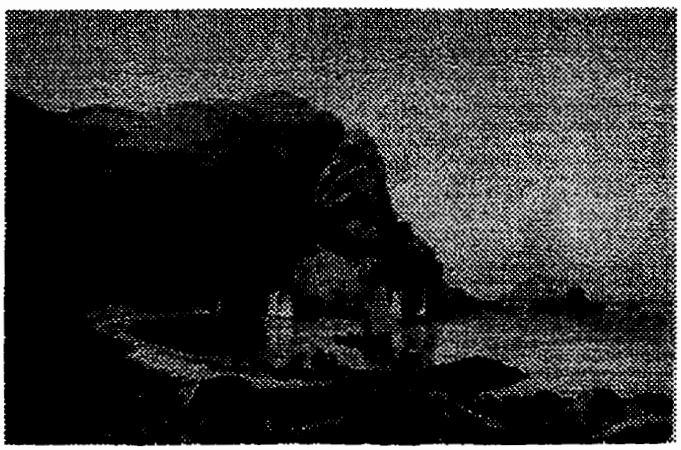
71. ***Whale Cove, Grand Manan,*** n.d
o/c, 77 x 108cm- 30 x 43",
Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, Nov 26, 1984
(not illustrated)

Select Bibliography: newspaper clipping in the artist's file in the New York Public Library, c.1890's; S.G.W. Benjamin, American Painters, (New York, 1880) p.110; Sketches in the Grand Manan Museum, New Brunswick.

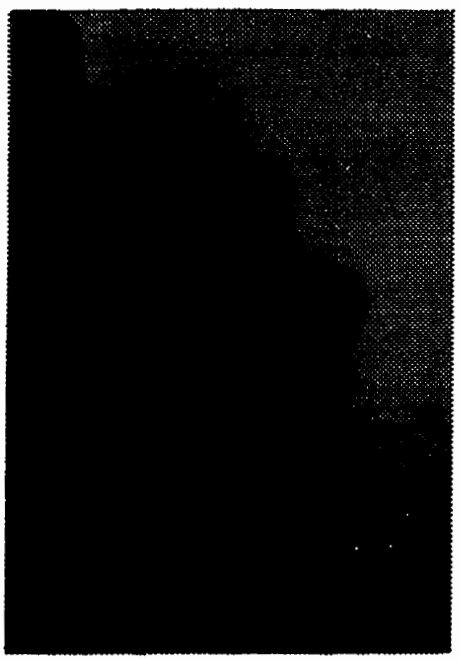
O'BRIEN, Lucius (1832-1899)



72. ***Northern Head of Grand Manan,**** 1879
o/c, 60.2cm x 121.9cm,
Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto



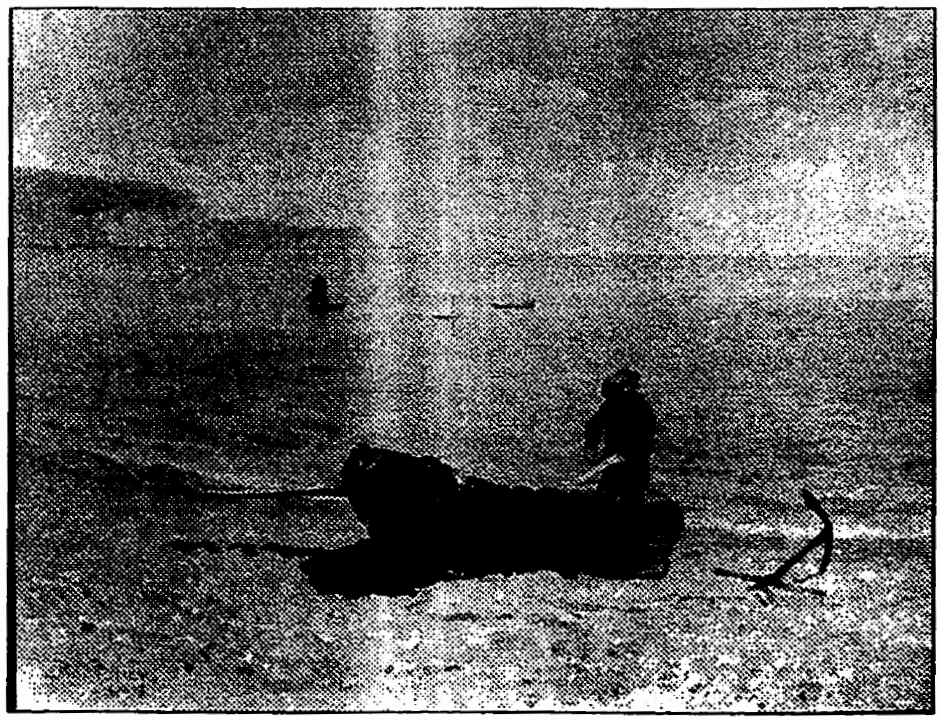
73. ***Eel Brook Bay, Grand Manan,**** 1880
w/c over graphite on paper, 51.9cm x 76.8cm,
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa



74. ***A Watering Place***
[une source a Grand Manan],1878
w/c on paper, 52.5 x 35.5 cm,
Musee du Quebec, Quebec City

75. ***Moonlight, Bishop's Rock, Grand Manan,*** 1879
o/c
Canadian Illustrated News
(May 29, 1880) p.348
original painting unlocated

76. ***Seascape (Whale Cove),*** 1895
w/c on paper, 25.4 x 33cm.
Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto



Select Bibliography: Dennis Reid, Our Own Country Canada (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1980); Dennis Reid, Lucius O'Brien: Visions of Victorian Canada (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1990); Elizabeth Mulley, "Lucius O'Brien: A Victorian in North America," Journal of Canadian Art History 14, 2 (1991): 74-81.

WEBER, C. Phillip (1849-

77. ***The Grand Cross, Grand Manan,*** 1879
exhibited, International Exhibition,
Sydney, Australia, 1879

Select Bibliography: "Mr. C. Phillip Weber of Philadelphia, ... is now spending his third summer [on Grand Manan]. His *Grand Cross*, a large picture of Grand Manan scenery, has recently taken a prize at the International exhibition in Australia. Those who have availed themselves of his kindness in affording them admission to his temporary studio, speak with great enthusiasm of the large view of the Ashburton cliff, which he is just finishing. Nothing heretofore exhibited gives such a deep impression of the grandeur and beauty of this bold scenery. And he has other bits of landscape not less beautiful though on smaller canvas." The Eastport Sentinel (Aug. 18, 1880)p.1.

WEBBER, Wesley (1839-1914)

78. ***Near North Head, Grand Manan,***
o/c, 76cm x 127cm,
Christie's, New York

79. ***Afternoon Along Southern Head, Grand Manan, Bay of Fundy,*** n.d.
o/c, 26" x 36",
Liros Gallery, Blue Hill, Maine

Select Bibliography: Sherwood Bain, "Elbridge Wesley Weber," The Magazine Antiques, 113 (February 1978): 432-439.

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-Grand Manan column in The Eastport Sentinel (1872-1895).

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-Lucius O'Brien and William Cresswell artist files.

Ottawa, Ontario. National Gallery of Canada Library.
-Lucius O'Brien file.

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-Alfred T. Bricher, Microfilm D32.
-William Bradford, Microfilm 2674, 5 sketchbooks, c. 1854-1863; Microfilm 3002, Gordon Hendricks research files 1963-64.
-J.G. Brown, Microfilm NY59-19, press clippings, sketch of fisherman.
-C.H. Gifford, Microfilm 482, diary 1870; personal letters; manuscript of the "autobiography" of Gifford by his daughter Helen Gifford James.

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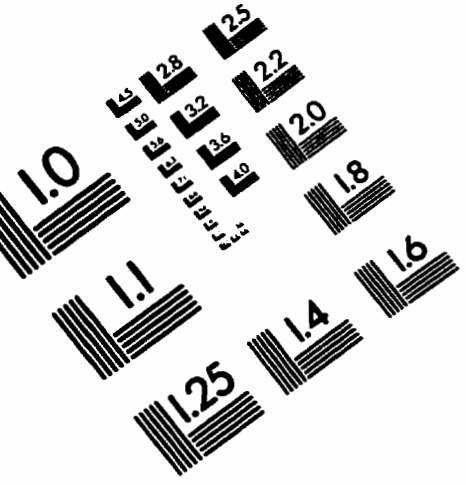

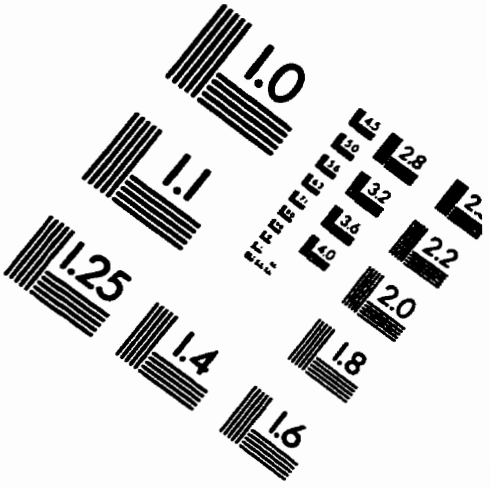

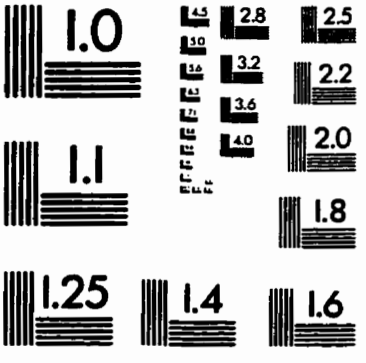

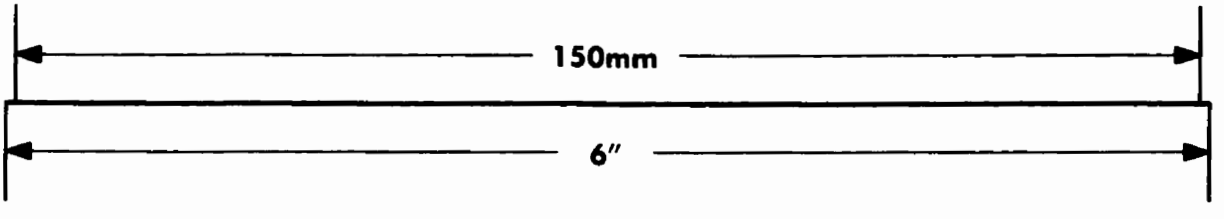

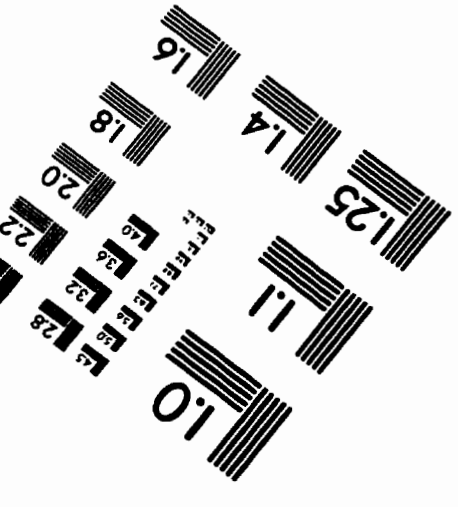

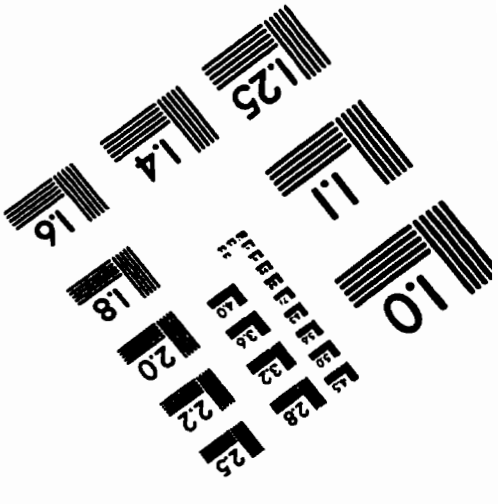

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