THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORK OF
THREE IMPORTANT ARTISTS IN THEIR TERRITORY, 1821-1860

by

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B.A. University of British Columbia 1974
Diploma Art History, University of British Columbia 1977

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
FINE ARTS DEPARTMENT

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
August 1979

Susan Jane Hopkins Stewart
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ABSTRACT

... one hardly expects to find numbered among the friends of art a great trading company whose territory lies beyond the frontiers of civilization. It is a fact, however, that the Hudson's Bay Company has been consistent in its sympathetic regard for Art and Artists.


Through the study of archival documents and published source material this thesis addresses the relationships between the Hudson's Bay Company and three major artists of the Canadian frontier in the mid Nineteenth century. The objective was to enlarge our understanding of the forces which shaped the artistic records of what is now Western Canada by examining the assistance given to artists by the most influential institution in the region.

Three major artists were selected as case studies: Peter Rindisbacher, Henry Warre and Paul Kane. Each artist was dependent upon the Company in a different way. Past accounts have underestimated the importance of H.B.C. aid to the success of Kane's and Rindisbacher's work. Henry Warre's relationship to the Company was less successful than the dedication of his Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company would suggest.

The Company was a significant force in the frontier. Their contribution consisted mainly of providing transportation, guides, supplies and lodging to the artists as well as to scientific expeditions. Although the Company was first and foremost a fur trading institution, it was sincerely interested in art, and made major contributions to the advancement of knowledge about North America. Motivations for this assistance included a traditional interest in art, enhancement of the Company's image, the initiative of influential employees, and a desire to augment their museum collections with appropriate artworks from the Company territory.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The assistance given by the people mentioned below is especially valued. I wish to thank my advisor, Doreen Walker, who recognized that a study of the aid given to artists by the major Nineteenth Century institution in what is today Western Canada would contribute to our understanding of the forces which shaped frontier art.

Several persons took an interest in my study in the research phase, notably: Shirlee A. Smith, Archivist, Hudson's Bay Company Archives; Elizabeth Blight; Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Gilbert Gignac, Iconography Division, Public Archives of Canada; Ken Lister, Ethnology Division, Royal Ontario Museum; Bob Oleson, Public Relations Officer, History, Hudson's Bay Company; and Frances Woodward, Special Collections Division, U. B. C. My thanks are due to these persons, and to my husband, Bill Stewart, for his encouragement and critical comments.

I wish to thank the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to quote material from their Archives.
INTRODUCTION

The contribution made by the fur companies to the exploration of the American West in the Nineteenth Century has been reasonably well documented. In Canada, however, less research has been done, particularly in the area of the contributions made by artists who in this period acted both as documenters of the flora, fauna and inhabitants, and as recorders of their impressions of the landscape. Past studies of Canadian frontier art have tended to be catalogues of an individual artist's work, with emphasis on the artist's connections with Europe.

This thesis is intended as an initial exploration into one aspect of Frontier cultural history. Its object is to contribute to our understanding of the forces which shaped frontier art through an examination of the assistance provided to artists by a major patron of Frontier exploration, the fur trading company. It will help to provide a foundation for further comparative work between the United States and Canada in this period, since fur companies in both areas assisted explorers of all types, including artists. Secondly, it will provide greater understanding of the patronage milieu under which these artists worked. Knowledge of the circumstances in which the artworks were created will provide a context in which they may be examined and evaluated.

The amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies in 1821 resulted in a fur trade monopoly which produced an era of unprecedented stability and profitability. Considerable exploration was undertaken in this period, which seemed an appropriate focus for study. Research for this thesis was limited to the timespan from 1821 to 1860, the period of control by a single influential figure, Sir George Simpson. During this time came the decisive changes which led to the effective end of the Company monopoly in
1863, as increased interest in the Frontier led to the decline of the fur trade, increased settlement, and the railway era.

The thesis was further confined to a study of the written documents and published source material; an examination of the effects of Company assistance on the art produced remains to be done.

A lengthy list of artists, both amateur and professional, who were related to the Company has been compiled. This buttressed the conviction that the Hudson's Bay Company's role in this regard might be important. Since detailed sources on the Company's relationship to artists are lacking, three artists were chosen as case studies. Peter Rindisbacher, Henry Warre and Paul Kane were selected for several reasons. In each case there was a documented link between artist and Company. These were also among the most noted Canadian frontier artists. An important portion of the production of each artist was based on landscape views, ethnological subjects or aspects of daily life in Company territory.

Areas of the subject which are addressed include Company assistance to other explorers, providing a context for studying their aid to artists. The relationship of each artist to the Company is examined in detail through the study of printed literature and unpublished correspondence. An incidental result of this research has been to increase our knowledge of this period in each artist's career. The contribution made by the Company to each artist's presence or wellbeing while in their territory is established, as is the degree to which they acknowledged this help. Finally, the motivations which led the Hudson's Bay Company to approve of artists on the frontier are examined.
CHAPTER I

A CONTEXT FOR HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SUPPORT
OF ARTISTS ON THE FRONTIER
Was the Hudson's Bay Company a patron of art in the mid 19th century? There is no evidence indicating the existence of a written policy toward art at that time. Even in the case of Paul Kane, the artist most clearly assisted by the company, there was some inconsistency at the outset with one Company official (Bethune) discouraging Kane and another (Ballenden) taking up his case. This suggests the absence of a firm policy.

On the other hand, it will be shown that the Company did have significant influence on the artists painting in the West. This assistance is demonstrated in the three case studies which follow, and analyzed in the concluding chapter. To place the relationship between Company and artists in its proper perspective, we will first examine the Company's treatment of certain other groups whose undertakings were not directly connected to the firm's business dealings. These groups included scientific expeditions, frontier explorers, military officers and aristocrats on business or pleasure trips, church and missionary workers, and educators of settlers and Indians.

The major forms of Company assistance to such groups were the providing of transportation, supplies and provisions, food and lodging at Forts, and men. Less tangible but very important benefits were the measure of protection provided by the authority of the Company name, and the use of the Company routes, which were usually the quickest, safest and easiest.

One of the most significant favours granted by the Company was permission to travel with the fur brigades, since each traveller with his baggage meant that fewer furs could be carried. The brigades were the only regular means of transportation between Canada and Rupert's Land and to those areas further west and south (which became part of the Company's monopoly in 1821); consequently many groups requested permission to accompany them. I have chosen to investigate particularly the provision of passages, which was only one of
the many ways in which Company assistance manifested itself. Examples will be cited to show that: there was a written policy for passages, permission was not routinely granted and was usually paid for, certain groups were usually accepted but many people were turned down.

At least some Company employees knew one method through which one could obtain permission to visit the territories. A. H. Murray wrote to his brother James that the latter would not be able to visit York Factory without permission from Sir George Simpson, and suggested James appeal "to influential friends of the Company for permission to come and sketch forts in the country for the Hudson's Bay Company".2

A Minute of Council from 1848 recorded the policy toward passages:

It being observed that the Company's craft are frequently made the means of conveying strangers totally unconnected with the Company's business --it is--#80. Resolved that the Board of Mgmt. in the Columbia be instructed not to permit passages to be given in any of the Company's craft to any strangers, native families (unaccompanied by the heads of such families on duty) or persons unconnected with the fur trade of whatever rank of profession they may be to or from any part of the country or coast.

#81. That no passages be afforded to the West side of the Mountains to any person whatsoever, unless authorized by a special minute of council.

Numerous cases exist where persons were denied passage. An 1822 rule denied Chief Factors, Chief Traders and Clerks permission to use light canoes in preference to travelling with their cargo.4 In 1845, employee Wm. Sinclair's request for passage for his daughter to the Columbia was denied.5 Dr. A. J. Desriviers Beaulieu was not permitted to travel to the interior, "as we have no accommodation for strangers in our craft."6 Another indication that discretion was supposed to be exercised is Simpson's comment that the Mexican attache was "inconsiderately granted" a passage by Mr. Rae.7

There are many references to indicate the typical costs of passage and to show that payment was usually required. In 1825, David Henner paid £21 for passage for himself and family from Fort Douglas "to York Factory and from thence to England."8 Later in the period under study, passage costs had
escalated significantly. Col. Crofton, in one 1847 diary entry while at Red River, notes that "I hear it will cost me £40 to return to Canada by canoe", and mentions £60 as the charge to York Fort on Hudson's Bay. A year or two earlier, Henry Warre and Mervin Vavasour were charged £166 for passage from Lachine to Red River, and £110 from Red River back to Sault Ste. Marie.

An important advantage for the traveller sanctioned by the Hudson's Bay Company was information enabling him to follow established Company trade routes. Use of these routes was appreciated for the security and facilities provided. In addition, Company employees gave advice which helped travellers meet their objectives.

A comparison of the routes of many explorers and artists indicates marked similarities. This is not surprising, since anyone travelling with canoe brigades or using the facilities of Company posts would travel by convenient and established routes. Corbett, in his article on Paul Kane, explained the existence of standard Company routes:

[Exploration] ... had avoided the trackless wastes of the forest and prairie zones. The important trading posts were always strategically placed to facilitate the water shipment of supplies and of furs.

While Simpson's letter of authority to the explorer J. H. Lefroy indicated that

Mr. L. is to be at liberty to proceed to any part of the country he may desire, and to make such stay at the different posts as he may determine upon.

this arrangement was more flexible than most because of the nature of Lefroy's work.

Company officials also advised travellers of routes which would best suit their objectives. In a letter to Simpson, Lefroy noted that the route recommended by Simpson was proving successful. In other correspondence, Lefroy mentioned the great value of the information and advice received from
In the Warre-Vavasour expedition, Sir George's advice on matters of frontier travel and strategic locations was a condition of the mission.

The protection afforded to those travelling under Company sanction was illustrated by Henry Warre:

We passed two large camps of Indians en route and met several during our ride; they were invariably civil to a decent looking white man and the more so if they knew that he belonged to or was, in any way, connected with the Hudson's Bay Company.

This form of assistance had special implications for artists, and argues for the theory that the Hudson's Bay Company had a significant and noticeable influence on the art of the frontier. By providing transportation, advice and protection to many of the artists who travelled in Rupert's Land in any capacity at this time, the Company gave these men a common body of experience. As Lavollée pointed out,

...[Kane]...n'avait pas le choix de son itinéraire. Il n'existe qu'une route, même c'en est une, entre l'Atlantique et le Pacifique, et elle est marquée sur la carte par les forts que la compagnie d'Hudson a établis, comme autant d'étapes, à des distances à peu près égales par les besoins de son trafic.

Almost as surely as if they had travelled on the C.P.R. to document the opening of the West, the artists were exposed to the same sights, since each used the main transportation network prevailing at that time.

An examination of some art works from the period illustrates this relationship. Common subjects included Montmorency Falls, the Kaministiquoia Falls and Company forts. Warre's depiction of Fort Garry (figure 1) has much in common with that of Rindisbacher, and with those of earlier artists such as Lord Selkirk, John Halkett and Isobel Finlayson, and of later ones such as George Finlay.

Other choices of subject suggest Company influence. Dr. Harper wrote:

Hudson's Bay Co. officials apparently pointed out the 'tourist sights' to Warre as he passed through, just as they did for Kane and Stanley.

Both Kane and Warre painted the Indian tombs on the Cowlitz (figures 2 and 3).
Fig. 1. Fort Garry. Henry J. Warre.
Lithograph, in Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory.
They and Stanley visited the Whitman and Walker and Eells Missions. Les Dalles, Mount Hood and travelling by sled and dog (compare figures 19 and 4) were subjects treated by both Kane and Warre.

The similar vantage points used by Kane and Warre in depicting Oregon City (see figures 5 and 6) provide yet another example to suggest that the "H.B.C. Tour" visited the main scenic attractions. Through Company influence, certain scenes appear disproportionately often, testifying to the Company's pervasive presence on the Frontier.

As noted above, artists were only one group among several who received assistance from the Hudson's Bay Company. Before delving further into the cases of Rindisbacher, Warre and Kane, it is useful for comparative purposes to record briefly some of these groups, and to speculate on the motives behind Company assistance.

The available evidence provides the inescapable conclusion that the Company had a long historical tradition in the support of the Natural Sciences. The motivation for this seems to have been largely philanthropic. Thomas Fraser quoted Sir George Simpson on the subject of collections for the Royal Scottish Museum:

The Governor and Committee are anxious at all times to afford facilities for the collection of materials for the extension of our knowledge of natural history, and they direct me to say that it will give them pleasure to learn that the Company's officers transmit such objects as they think may throw light upon science...

Numerous letters in the H.B.C. archives bear out this statement. The significance of the Company's contribution was lauded by many who benefitted from it.
Fig. 2. Chinook Grave on the Cowlitz River.
Paul Kane. Watercolour on Paper, 13.3 x 22.5 cm.
Courtesy Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas.
Fig. 3. Indian Chief Tomb on the Cowlitz River, Oregon. Henry J. Warre. Watercolour. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. C-26342.
Fig. 4. Winter Travelling in Dog Sleds.
Paul Kane. Oil on Canvas, 19" x 29",
Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada.
Fig. 5. An Old Western Village [Oregon City]
Henry J. Warre. Lithograph in Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory, Dickinson and Co. [London].
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. C-41446.
Fig. 6. Oregon City.
Paul Kane. Pencil, 5 1/2'' x 9''.
Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada.
The Hudson's Bay Company was equally interested in, and usually supportive of, exploration. A major difference, however, was that the motivation for this interest was primarily economic rather than philanthropic. Caswell summarized the Company's contribution:

In a little over a century between 1668 and 1789 the shores of Hudson Bay had been explored, two rivers traced to the Arctic, and the theory of a Northwest Passage in temperate latitudes disproved. Only one expedition, Middleton's, had been carried out by speculators organized for the purpose. The remainder had been carried out as incidental to the fur trade and, with the exception of Mackenzie's exploration, by a single firm, the Hudson's Bay Company.  

The list of expeditions sponsored, provisioned and otherwise encouraged by the company in the period 1821 to 1860 is lengthy. The stated policy was that the company would assist expeditions provided that it would not be to the detriment of Company business. Letters in the H.B.C. archives, when compared with similar correspondence concerning Paul Kane and other artist-travellers, suggest that a precedent for assistance to artists can be found in that offered to scientists and explorers -- the tone of these letters and the terms under which assistance was given are very similar.

A third group to whose requests for assistance the company responded was composed of military officers and gentlemen on pleasure excursions. Many such travellers were personally recommended by Board members. The motivation here, of course, reflected the personal objectives of those providing the recommendations, rather than any Company policy. Typical of this group were Captain Charnley and his companions, the Earl of Mulgrave and Lord Southesk.

Numerous sources indicate that Company assistance to religious groups was considerable. This aid took the form of supplies, passages, land or salaries in various cases, and later became a controversial issue when in 1857, the Select Committee examined the Company. Testimony at that time
revealed

The Co. have been accustomed to give a free passage in their annual ships to the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society proceeding to their territory, and in various other ways they have countenanced the labours of the missionaries.29

Company officials were well aware of the need to assist the missionaries, for this demonstrated that the Company had a 'social conscience' and thus strengthened the firm's position relative to the maintenance of the monopoly granted in the Charter. The cooperation which existed is indicated in the writings of both sides. 30

Those involved in the education of settlers and Indians represented another group receiving H.B.C. assistance. Toombs has noted that the Company was at this time "assisting secular education by erecting schools and otherwise providing school accommodation, and by grants-in-aid", as well as providing aid to the missions.31 Toombs stressed the humanitarian aspects of the Company's involvement in education (encouragement of fair play in trade, educating half-breed children in white men's ways, etc.).32

Chalmers has also studied this subject, and adds that the Company took an interest so that it could point to the encouragement of education and religion when asked, as it frequently was, to justify the existence of its Charter.33 This seems to be the correct interpretation, as the following intracompany correspondence bears out:

The Fur Trade ought to contribute £250 for the salary of a missionary and the £260 for the building of a schoolhouse as the exclusive license to the H.B.C. requires that provision be made for the moral and religious instruction of the natives.34

The Company's assistance to all the groups mentioned manifested itself in similar ways - provision of food, lodging, transportation and other necessities for the frontier way of life. Although this type of assistance was not typical of traditional "patronage", it was admirably suited to the prevailing Frontier conditions. These findings indicate the
breadth of the Company's philanthropic interests on the frontier, and suggest that an implied, if not stated, policy towards artists existed.

As a large dynamic fur trade monopoly throughout the entire Northwest, the Hudson's Bay Company was the logical source of assistance for artists, explorers and travellers who wished to visit this vast territory. In the United States, on the other hand, no such monopoly existed and a number of fur companies held regional control. In terms of the encouragement of artists and assistance to exploration teams which included artists, the American Fur Company was the most notable of these.

The A.F.C. assisted some of the foremost frontier artists, including George Catlin who met A.F.C. Director of Company Affairs, Pierre Chocteau at St. Louis in 1830. Chocteau later invited Catlin to voyage from St. Louis to Fort Union on the new Company steamer, the Yellowstone which left March 26, 1832 with the artist aboard. Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, accompanied by artist Charles Bodmer, boarded the Yellowstone for its third trip on April 10, 1833, visiting Forts Leavenworth, Clark, Union and MacKenzie. He requested and received permission from the American Fur Company to spend the winter at Fort Clark, enabling Bodmer to produce his drawings of the Mandan tribe. Alfred Jacob Miller was engaged by Capt. Wm. Drummond Stewart as artist for his journey; Stewart and his party accompanied an A.F.C. expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1837. An earlier guest of the same company was Prince Paul of Württemberg, "a skilled draughtsman", who visited the Missouri territory in 1823. This company was very comparable to the Hudson's Bay Company in its activities, as it also assisted scientists such as John James Audubon and explorers including J. C. Fremont.

The H.B.C. rendered assistance to many of those whose primary aim was to investigate American territory but whose travels brought them into Company
areas. Among these was Stephen Harriman Long who in 1823 was unable to obtain provisions from an American Fur Company post, but "fared better at the nearby Hudson's Bay Co. post" (near Rainy Lake) where he repaired his canoes. "Earlier at Fort Douglas he had been offered aid by H.B.C. factor Douglas Mackenzie "even before reading the letter of introduction from Stratford Canning, the British Minister to the United States." Long was accompanied by artist Samuel Seymour. In 1847 artist John Mix Stanley visited the west coast, where he received considerable assistance from Peter Skene Ogden of the H.B.C.

Many other examples could be included, but the foregoing are sufficient to indicate that the fur companies were a significant factor in encouraging artistic depiction of the West. As a monopoly, the Hudson's Bay Company was placed in a unique position in the development of the Canadian Frontier. Through its assistance to exploration teams, military personnel, independent artists and others, it seems to have risen well to the demands made upon its resources.
CHAPTER II

PETER RINDISBACHER
The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the dependence of Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834) on the Hudson's Bay Company in his development as an artist while at the Red River settlement. In analyzing Rindisbacher's life at the settlement and his relationship with the Company during this period (1821 - 1826), it becomes apparent that the firm and its employees played a crucial role in his success. This chapter also deals with certain new facts and interpretations which came to light in the course of my study of the Rindisbacher literature.

Rindisbacher, like all the Red River settlers, came to the Colony because of the Hudson's Bay Company. Once there, the settlers became completely dependent on the Company primarily because of the divergence between their expectations and the reality of conditions at the Colony. A brief examination of the settlement's origin and the settlers' circumstances gives some indication of the conditions under which the artist worked.

E. E. Rich has pointed out the intimate connection between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Colony:

This project of settlement under the Charter of a fur trading company was perhaps the most curious innovation in the history of the Hudson's Bay Co. As an official policy it came to an end with the tragic death of its founder, but the single decade of Selkirk's work in Assiniboia may fairly be said to have saved the Charter...

...How far the Co. itself was coerced into the project by the technique of the board room; it would not be easy to determine.\(^1\) No doubt the directorate shared the hope that the settlement would vindicate the Charter; that the personnel of the fur trade could be recruited in the process of colonization, that the trading posts of the Co. could be supplied with provisions from the strategic centre of Ruperts' Land, and that the retiring servants of the Co. at Red River would automatically reinforce the authority of the Co.\(^2\)

Selkirk's agent, Captain Rudolph du May, proceeded to Bern in 1820 to recruit settlers for Red River; among those recruited was the Rindisbacher family.\(^3\) There is little doubt that du May misled the settlers about the conditions awaiting them, as indicated by this excerpt from a letter written
by Governor Bulger:

From the printed prospectus...circulated through the Swiss Cantons by Mr. de May, it is but too apparent that these wretched people have not been fairly dealt with. This is not the country, which Mr. de May has, in that prospectus, represented it to be.4

Similarly, a farewell letter written by the settlers while en route contains an undertone of optimism which contrasts markedly to their subsequent reaction to the reality of frontier life:

Since our English Commissioner is himself a settler from the Red River, he has told us many good and nice things about our new fatherland. It seems that this enterprise should, under all circumstances turn out well.

...We...wish you all the very best of luck. This is especially true for Captain Von May, authorized Commissioner of our colony, to whom we extend herewith our expressions of contentment and thanks.5

The settlers were, however, unsuited to the new venture. While apparently of good character -- according to Ross, "An acquisition to any community, being a quiet, orderly and moral people" -- they were neither experienced in farming nor prepared for the hardships awaiting them.6 Contemporary accounts described them as "watch and clock makers, pastry cooks and musicians."7 Rev. John West, travelling to Red River to act as Chaplain, observed the colonists as they journeyed from York Factory down Lake Winnipeg to the settlement:

...We overtook the 2nd division of boats with the Swiss emigrants on the 20th, slowly proceeding, and greatly harassed with the difficulties of the navigation.8

The Rindisbacher family appears to have done better than most at the settlement. Peter's father and brother-in-law, as veterinarian and doctor respectively, were better suited to the work available than many and, as will be shown, Peter worked for the Company at least part of the time and realized income from his artwork. There is also evidence to suggest the family was involved in farming.9 Account books in the H.B.C. Archives seem to bear out the family's "success" relative to the other settlers.10 Rindisbacher Sr.'s account balance with the Company to 31 May, 1824 was $267/15/9;
while large, it was much less than that of many colonists, especially considering the size of the Rindisbacher family.  

Nevertheless, a recently published letter from Peter Rindisbacher Sr. addressed to a Herrn Herrn Steiger at the Harmonite Colony below Pittsburg shows that the Rindisbacher family was dissatisfied with life at the Red River settlement. This letter, dated 20 Oct., 1825, further illuminates the problems suffered by the settlers. It contracts sharply with the optimism of the colonists' 1821 letter and indicates the despair felt by the family even before the flood of 1826.

Did Peter Rindisbacher Jr. share these feelings? I believe he did. The Company account books indicate that he had been paying his own bills, at least for some items, since 1823. He is recorded in the letter as an artist-painter, suggesting that he had somewhat established himself and achieved a degree of independence. Despite this, he chose to leave Red River with the remainder of his family, and we may safely assume that his sentiments concerning the Colony were similar to those expressed by his father in the Steiger letter.

It is generally believed that Rindisbacher worked as a clerk for the Hudson's Bay Company for four years at Fort Garry (Red River). The source of this belief appears to be an article in Neue Zurcher Zeitung #189, April 14, 1870. The original article is believed by Michel Benisovich to have been

...probably translated or reprinted from an English or German newspaper published in St. Louis, since they contain references to members of that city's German colony and to art collectors among them....The original articles seem to have appeared long after Rindisbacher's death.

The translation by Heilmaier reads:

Rindisbacher...was employed as a clerk by the fur company, and while he received a very small salary, the work gave him excellent opportunities to discover new subjects for his restless brush and particularly to become familiar with the manners and customs of the Indians.
This theory has been repeated by others writing on Rindisbacher, notably Clifford Wilson, Dr. Karl Meuli and Alvin M. Josephy. It seems quite possible, however, that this is incorrect -- I have been unable to find any evidence in the H.B.C. Archives to support the reported employment as clerk.

The position of clerk was one of some responsibility, and those so employed normally signed a contract and were subject to approval at annual Company District Council meetings. E. H. Oliver has printed a memorandum, dated January 1823, with instructions to Captain R. Pelly regarding men and clerks for Red River. Similarly, F. Merk has printed Council Resolutions from 1824 which mention Francis Heron and James Hargrave as clerks for Fort Garry and Colony Shop. Rindisbacher's name is never mentioned, but this does not mean he was not employed in a lesser capacity for part of his stay at Red River.

There is no doubt that Peter did work for the Company on occasion, though not in the capacity of clerk. The Account Book Record Red River 1823 - 1824 lists:

182 - Peter Rindisbacher Jr. for his services as Swiss Interpreter & from 1 June to the 3rd inst. inclusive at £20 per annum ...
6.16.11 1/2.

In the extant servants and settlers account books I examined, this was the only passage indicating that Peter worked for the Hudson's Bay Company. It is obvious that his duties included more than translation, but it is equally likely that this entry precludes his having worked as a clerk for four years.

During his stay at Red River, Peter Rindisbacher was dependant for his livelihood as an artist upon the patronage of numerous individuals associated with the Company. The most important of his relationships with these men was that with James Hargrave.

Hargrave was a former Northwest Company employee who was a Hudson's
Bay Company clerk at Fort Garry from 1821. He acted as the accountant at the
time Rindisbacher was working for the Company. While we have no record of
any personal relationship between the two men, relations were undoubtedly
cordial inasmuch as Hargrave acted as an agent between the artist and others
within the Company who wished to purchase his work.

Several factors could account for Hargrave's assisting Rindisbacher
in this way. In the first place, there are indications that Peter was an
amiable youth. He was described in the report of Colony leader De Houser to
Governor Andrew Bulger as "Rindisbacher Sr.'s son, Pierre, age 15, a draughts-
man, considered to be of good character."20

Hargrave likely acted as agent as much to oblige fellow H.B.C.
employees as to help the young artist. Peter was an able artist whose work
appealed to a number of people in the organization, and Company employees
frequently undertook private commissions for one another. This is under-
standable in view of their remoteness and the relative scarcity of luxuries.
As the following letters indicate, Hargrave himself took advantage of this
system; the items he requested indicate a broad interest in cultural subjects,
which could also account for his interest in Rindisbacher. In an excerpt
from his Unfinished Journal, we find:

....to Mr. Jones I have given a commission to purchase for me in
Britain a collection of Books to the value of about Thirty Pounds, and
from his good taste and sound judgement I expect a choice assortment.
I have hitherto had no opportunity of procuring a proper collection.21

Another reference from about this time occurs in a letter to R. Grant:

Should you have a chance of procuring any thing in the way of Indian
bows and arrows, pipes & without difficulty of expense pray think of
your old friend.22

Included in the group of Company employees who obtained Rindisbacher's
watercolours with Hargrave's assistance were George Barnston, Henry Boulton
and William Smith. Written evidence of transactions regarding paintings
exists in some cases, and Barnston's correspondence with Hargrave provides
one example.

The first known letter referring to Rindisbacher from George Barnston at York Factory to James Hargrave at Fort Garry is most informative. It indicates that Barnston was aware of Hargrave's relationship to Rindisbacher, and that the artist was in the habit of copying one view several times. It further illuminates the subject matter of some of his works and provides an indication of the prices he obtained at this early stage. Barnston wrote:

Do not forget if you please my commission about the Drawings. The ones I should like to have in particular are -- the Plain Indian on Horseback shooting at an enemy -- the group of Indians where the scalp is introduced. Captain Bulger's Palaver - the death of the Buffalo and two or three Buffalo Pieces in which I think the lad excels -- as also travelling in winter with an Indian Guide before the sled -- of all these I have seen several different copies, so that I conclude he keeps one copy to take another from as occasion may require -- A subject at which I have not as yet seen any attempt of his, and which I should like much to have is -- Assiniboines stealing Horses -- perhaps you might propose it to him. If care were taken upon it, I would willingly double the usual price -- You may go to the length of 3 in making purchases of this kind for me, but I beg you may be as liberal if not more so, than what others have been -- I have a small drawing box with a few Cakes of Paint, which is at the Young man's service if he is in want of anything of the kind, and which can be easily forwarded to him by the Boats in Summer. By offering it as coming from yourself he may make less difficulty in accepting of it than if it were coming from a stranger. Barnston's generosity regarding price and his willingness to supply the drawing box indicate a sympathetic attitude toward the artist.

Some authors have assumed from this source that Rindisbacher typically obtained £3 per drawing. I think that is the wrong interpretation. It appears that Barnston was asking for whatever drawings could be obtained up to the total value of £6, to be purchased at a generous price, with one new subject to be included at double the standard price if carefully executed.

Although MacLeod printed the preceding letter from 1824, she omitted the next known letter on this subject from Barnston to Hargrave. This letter, the first of three in early 1826, clouds the issue of the number of commissions for Rindisbacher paintings and the intended purchaser. Barnston, then at Fort
Alexander, wrote:

Pray do not think me troublesome in requesting you to receive and take care of the drawings that young Rindispacher may deliver for me; I shall try to get notes from Mr. Simpson in the Spring to balance his account.25

It is difficult to decide how to interpret this letter, especially considering the correspondence of April 26, 1826 which also refers to Mr. Simpson (see below). There is no doubt that this refers to a second order, and it is possible that Barnston was executing a commission for George Simpson in this transaction. Many senior Company officers purchased Rindisbacher's work, and Simpson was frequently in Red River at this time. It is certainly possible that he purchased some of the artist's drawings, but whether these letters are evidence of this is unclear.

A subsequent letter dated April 14, 1826 sent to Hargrave from Barnston mentions the drawings but makes no reference to Simpson.26 The final letter from Barnston to Hargrave of which I am aware, dated 26 April, 1826, is also printed by MacLeod:

Peter Rindisbacher will put his own price on the Drawings for he is a conscientious lad, I believe -- but the account must not exceed £15.00 nor the drawings be fewer than will cost me £12.00. I do not wish to ask favours at present from Mr. Simpson, nor to be laid under obligation to him, so if it do not inconvenience you I shall consider it a favour of you to manage the transaction as you think best. Your kind offer shews me you have always a sneezing ready for a friend in need.27

The exact nature of "the transaction" is impossible to ascertain from the material at hand, and this letter does not clarify whether any of the drawings were intended for Simpson himself. I believe additional correspondence may be found to settle this.

In any event, Barnston did receive some of these drawings in due course, and also acquired a set of the H. Jones lithographs discussed below. Letters from his descendants, in the Margaret Arnett MacLeod papers, record their existence and destruction in the fire which burned his granddaughter's
Henry Boulton was another Company employee who requested assistance from Hargrave in the acquisition of Rindisbacher drawings. The extant correspondence shows that Hargrave acted as agent for Rindisbacher even when not well acquainted with the prospective purchaser. The first known letter applicable to these dealings, dated 6 Sept., 1826, reads:

Aggreably to your request I have procured from the Swiss lad in Red River a quantity of drawings descriptive of Scenes in the Indian Country, and which I have entrusted to the care of Mr. Chief Trader Brown (who visits England this season) with instructions that they be left at Hudson's Bay House to your address...you will perceive that the amount of your Bill for £10 has not been entirely expended...the unfortunate calamities which visited Red River Colony last spring...prevented me from procuring all that I could have wished for you. I have consequently cancelled the Bill and debited your account with the amt. paid say £6.19. - The young lad together with his father and the whole of the family has left the River for the United States so that these which you received are the last by that young Artist which will be procured in this country.

This letter explains the belief that the "H.B.Co. books recorded a payment of six pounds nineteen shillings sterling for paintings of the Colony by Rindisbacher." Mrs. MacLeod does not cite a source of this information in her working papers, but she was aware of the letter, which she printed in The Beaver in 1945. It seems likely from this letter, however, that the sum appeared on the Company books as an amount to be collected subsequently from Boulton. As this is the only evidence of this precise sum that I have been able to locate pertaining to paintings, I do not believe that the company made any purchase for £6.19. - on their own. The only Rindisbacher material we can be certain the Company acquired was that given by Robert Pelly in 1827 and the six watercolours given by the descendants of William Kempt in 1934.

The correspondence reveals that Boulton's commission caused some difficulty. Hargrave's letter from York Factory to Duncan Finlayson, dated
3 Dec., 1827, reads:

Please to recollect that Draft of Boulton's which I mentioned last fall. I was a good deal galled by the fellow's mean underhand enquiries, and I would wish to have it filed in the Office here. A hint to me, by the bye, how I again undertake commissions for one whose bottom I am unacquainted with.31

Finlayson's reply of 10 Dec., 1827, when considered in its entirety, gives us a clearer picture of what actually occurred:

I have searched all over the old files of papers but could not fall in with Boulton's dft. which makes me suppose the affair must have been communicated to you in a private letter, I have however found the statement of the articles you supplied Rundeshecker [Rindisbacher] which is enclosed herewith. If you thought it necessary I would draw out a kind of declaration signed by Mr. Heron and myself certifying that only six pounds nineteen shillings sterling were charged to Boulton's account for the paintings, which I think should set the matter at rest forever. Joe Bird has not been here since fall,32 neither have I heard a syllable about Thomas' draft to him, nor could I find, tho' I searched very diligently, the smallest trace of it either on books or on files, which strongly confirms your own conjecture, that it had strayed in Joe's trunks or otherwise and he all the time thinking it was presented for payment. I shall give him a lecture upon the subject when I see him.33

In 1826, Hargrave sent some original Rindisbacher paintings to Company Secretary William Smith in London, England. Both Margaret MacLeod and Alvin Josephy concur in their uncertainty as to whether this represented a private or Company purchase.34 There is no doubt, however, that these paintings were a private commission and not intended for H.B.C. While we are hampered once again by having only part of the correspondence, two letters regarding this commission are known.

The first letter does not enlighten us about the actual purchaser, but it does provide additional evidence that Hargrave acted to Rindisbacher's advantage in filling orders from distant company officials. It also indicates the complex process required to obtain the drawings. Hargrave wrote to Smith:

Mr. F, Heron forwarded under cover to me last summer a parcel of drawings to your address with a request that I should transmit them by the safest conveyance I could procure. These I have placed in the hands of Mr. Miles in order that they may be placed in the Coys packet.35
The reply, dated 4 Feb., 1827 appears to be a personal letter from Smith to Hargrave, quite different in tone from Smith's business correspondence. In addition, the sentiments expressed appear to be Smith's own, and no mention is made of the Committee. These points argue for the conclusion that this was a private commission:

I have likewise to own yours of the 10th Sept...mentioning that you had put into Mr. Miles' charge some of the Swiss Youth's Drawings forwarded by Mr. Heron. I have the pleasure to say that they have come safe to hand and that I feel much gratified with them, with many thanks for the trouble you have taken in the business.37

Not all H.B.C. people used James Hargrave to obtain Rindisbacher's work. A number of Company officials acquired drawings through direct contact with the artist, including three governors of Red River Colony - Andrew Bulger, William Kempt and Robert Parker Pelly -- and Rev. John West, Chaplain. There is less documentation available for these transactions, and we are forced to rely on the works themselves and known provenance for source material.

Andrew Bulger was one of Rindisbacher's earliest Red River patrons. As will be seen from the discussion which follows, however, it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of the extent to which Bulger assisted the artist and influenced Rindisbacher's subject matter through private commissions.

The earliest known source concerning the relationship between the two men is the article which appeared in the Neue Zurcher Zeitung in 1870. The Heilmaier translation reads:

He [Rindisbacher] spent much of the first part with the Governor, who felt very kindly toward him. Indeed the Governor, Captain Bulscher [Bulger] later went so far as to outfit a hunting party of trusted Indians and halfbreeds for the young painter's benefit, thus giving him the very best opportunity to observe closely the bison hunt, in which he was especially interested, and so enabling him to picture it in good drawings.38

It is possible, but not likely, that Bulger did organize a hunting party on Rindisbacher's behalf. These trips occurred not infrequently, and a special
trip would not have been necessary. Rindisbacher was probably able to go into the prairies himself; among the accounting entries for 25 April, 1823 is listed a bridle, which suggests that the family owned or had access to a horse. Furthermore, one of the entries most frequently charged to Rindisbacher's personal account is for ball, shot or powder, so it seems likely that Peter often went hunting and would therefore have had the opportunity to witness the events he depicted without the need for a special trip.

Andrew Bulger arrived in the Colony in 1822 as successor to John Halkett. Writing of Bulger, Morton explains that

".....as a soldier he had distinguished himself at Michilimackinac in the South-West during the war of 1812. He had shown special aptitude in handling the Indian tribes. His soldierly qualities - courage, love of discipline, and sense of duty - were somewhat marred by a sharpness of tone, amounting even to irascibility, and by his love of wine.

Bulger apparently wished to have a record of some of his more important accomplishments, for he commissioned Rindisbacher to paint a view of "Captain W. Andrew Bulger saying farewell at Fort MacKay, Prairie du Chien" (one version of this subject, an untitled pen and w/c sketch, is illustrated in Figure 7). The artist was in the habit of making a number of copies of some subjects, each with some variation. This has caused much confusion over this Bulger commission. According to Alvin Josephy,

Bulger had Peter adapt his view of the reception of the Red Lake Chippewa Indians outside Fort Douglas to a scene of Bulger saying farewell to his Indian allies when he abandoned Fort McKay at the close of the War of 1812.

Clifford Wilson is less precise about which version came first. His articles in *The Beaver* and *Canadian Art* trace the known versions of the painting including watercolours, a crayon sketch, lithographs and two large oil paintings (Figure 8 shows a watercolour in the H.B.C. collection which belonged to Governor Wm. Kempt). The authenticity of the oils is disputed; as Josephy states;
Fig. 7. Captain W. Andrew Bulger Saying Farewell at Fort Mackay, Prairie du Chien...
Two oil paintings, copies of the scenes of Bulger greeting the Red Lake Chippewas outside Fort Douglas and meeting with them inside the fort, were revealed among the possessions of W. A. Bulger of Biggar, Saskatchewan, a descendant of the Governor, in 1945, but it is not known whether Rindisbacher or a later artist made the oil copies....

Finally, it is possible that Bulger prompted other drawings in which he was featured:

He conceivably commissioned Rindisbacher to paint a number of watercolours in which he was the central figure—driving in his horse cariole, riding in a canoe, meeting the Indians...

Of those who obtained Rindisbacher originals during the artist's stay in Red River, Robert P. Pelly's contribution ranks among the most important because he subsequently had them reproduced and distributed. Pelly, who was Governor at the Colony following Bulger and William Kempt, apparently obtained six Rindisbacher drawings which were likely the original sources for the series of lithographs by H. Jones, produced under Pelly's auspices by W. Day, 59 Great Queen Street, London. In the lithographs which are similar to the scenes by Rindisbacher featuring Bulger, Pelly's head replaces Bulger's and the artist's name does not appear.

The fate of the originals is today unclear. There is evidence in the H.B.C. Archives that Pelly sent either the original drawings or a set of the lithographs to the Company. An entry in the Company Minutes of June 20, 1827 reads:

Read a letter from R. P. Pelly dated Hyde Court 6th inst. Ordered the receipt to be acknowledged and the thanks of the Committee returned for the enclosure.

A letter was duly sent by Company Secretary William Smith, and it is more enlightening regarding the nature of the "enclosure". Dated 20 June, 1827, London, and addressed to R. P. Pelly Esq., Hyde Court nr. Hampton, Gloucestershire, it reads:
Fig. 8. Red Lake Chief Visiting the Governor of Red River, Peter Rindisbacher. Watercolour, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$, c. 1821-26. Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg.
Your letter of the 8th instant with the accompanying drawings illustrative of the Customs &c, of some of the tribes of Indians in the territory of the Company, has this day been submitted to the Governor and Committee, with which they are much pleased, and I am to return you their thanks for the same.47

Unfortunately we cannot be certain whether these were the original Rindisbacher drawings, Jones' copies or the lithographs.

According to Mary Allodi, the lithographs were produced in London in 1824.48 Clifford Wilson does not suggest a date, but says "when Pelly returned to the Old Country in 1825, he asked an artist H. Jones, R.I.A. to make copies...."; this statement is accepted by Josephy.44 Karl Meuli, however, has devoted more attention to the subject and argues that Pelly's having had himself inserted in two lithographs in place of Bulger "would also explain why the only two dated lithographs carry the dates '1824' and '1825', the time when Pelly was governor.50 This seems a likely explanation for the dates appearing on these two lithographs (see figures 9 and 10); they are not to be taken as indications of when the lithographs were made, but of when the supposed "event" took place. The lithographs were most likely produced some time between Pelly's return to England in 1825 and the receipt of the material by the Company in June, 1827. There is presently no evidence that copies of Pelly's Picture Book existed in North American prior to 1829, when they were sold on this continent by Company employees.

Correspondence between James Hargrave and J. G. MacTavish provides insight into the distribution of the lithographs in North America. While there is no known correspondence covering the actual transactions between MacTavish and the various purchasers, letters pertaining to problems arising from the transactions suggest that the purchases were likely direct. MacTavish evidently acted as Pelly's main agent in the sale of the prints. On Jan. 29, 1831 he wrote to Hargrave at York Factory, saying:
Fig. 9. The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay, Voyaging in a Light Canoe, 1824.
After Peter Rindisbacher. Colored Lithograph, 9¼" x 13¼".
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. C-1944.
Fig. 10. The Red Lake Chief, making a speech to the Governor of Red River at Fort Douglas in 1825. W. Day Co. after H. Jones (after Peter Rindisbacher) Hand Colored Lithograph. 10 1/8" x 13 1/8", 1826. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. C-1939.
I sold some copies of Mr. Pelly's pictures the last summer I was at York (1829) but to whom I do not exactly recollect - I believe however Alex Stewart, John Clark and John Stuart were the gentlemen please enquire of them and if you can make it out please charge 20/- ea. and give me credit as I pay Mr. Pelly.  

Both Alvin Josephy and Clifford Wilson point out that the lithographs were made into books and sold for one pound each at York Factory and Red River. This amount is substantiated by the foregoing letter and by a subsequent letter from MacTavish to Hargrave dated Jan. 25, 1833 (see Appendix 3). It seems apparent from the letter above and the remaining correspondence which continued until 1837 that these prints were sold primarily in 1829, three years after Peter Rindisbacher left the Colony.

There is no question that the publication of Rindisbacher's lithographs resulted from the 19th Century interest in exploration. The title of the series, "View in Hudson's Bay. Taken by a Gentleman on the Spot in the Years 1823 and 1824. Illustrative of the Customs Manners and Costumes of those tribes of North American Indians Amongst Whom Captain Franklin has passed in his present and former arduous undertaking", suggests that the prospective purchaser was expected to be familiar with Franklin, and that the connection with his voyages would aid in selling Pelly's book.

Two others who dealt directly with Peter Rindisbacher were William Kempt and Rev. John West. Kempt was the Sherriff at Red River from 1822 - 1824 and was the acting Governor of the Colony following Bulger. Kempt apparently took six Rindisbacher watercolours to England on his return in 1824. These were given to the Hudson's Bay Company by his descendents in 1934, and are now in Canada (the works illustrated in figures 8 and 11 are two formerly owned by Kempt). The subjects include a hunter shooting a bison, a scalp dance, an Indian camp on a river bank, sled dogs attacking a bison bull and two Fort Douglas scenes. These works provide additional evidence that
Fig. 11. Scalp Dance. Peter Rindisbacher, Pen and Watercolour, 8 3/4" x 10 3/4", c. 1821-26. Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg.
the artist was prone to producing more than one version of the same subject.

Rev. John West was the first Church of England clergyman in Ruperts Land. He was brought to the Colony by the H.B.C. in 1820, and built the first Protestant church at Red River. Rev. West was in York Factory in 1821 and recorded the arrival of the Swiss settlers in his private journal.

It is understood that Rev. West obtained paintings directly from Peter Rindisbacher while at Red River. As Harry Shave has pointed out, five small watercolours found in the possession of a West descendent in England are clearly Rindisbacher's work. One of the drawings bears the initials "P.R." in one corner. Although untitled, they illustrate Indian and Eskimo subjects (see for example figure 12) and one portrays a buffalo. West apparently took these with him on his return to England in 1823. They were given to St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg by Canon L. P. Field in 1954, and are now in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

Another connection between Rindisbacher and West concerns two illustrations for West's book, published in London in 1824. The frontispiece drawing *Visit to an Encampment of Indians*, as well as *Indians Scalping An Enemy*, facing page 85, could well be from Rindisbacher originals. According to Meuli, West is illustrated in the watercolour drawing by Rindisbacher entitled *Shipwreck and Halt on the Great Winnipesi Lake*, Oct. 23, 1821 now in the Public Archives of Canada (see figure 13). In addition the artist painted *View of the English Minister's house on the Red River. Drawn from nature in the summer of 1822*, also now in the Public Archives of Canada.

In my study of Rindisbacher's relationship to the Hudson's Bay Company, I examined the Company account books for the years in question seeking evidence of the value placed on the artist's early work, the nature of the
compensation he received for his drawings and the degree to which the Company or individuals assisted him by providing supplies. Unfortunately, the indications are scanty and inconclusive. Entries in the account books tend to support Margaret MacLeod's assertion that the "market for his pictures was Fort Garry, where orders for them were taken and where he received goods and provisions in exchange.\textsuperscript{60} Josephy has suggested that Rindisbacher may have given away copies at first.\textsuperscript{61}

No reference was found in the account books to prove that the artist received goods or money in exchange for his paintings. There are, however, indications of financial transactions which are supportive of this theory. As indicated in the letter from Peter's father to Herrn Steiger, it was typical for financial agreements between private parties to be recorded on Company books because of the scarcity of "hard money" (but unfortunately details of the transaction were seldom included):

...in the colony there is only paper money and it is very difficult to exchange it for hard money, not to speak of letters of exchange. Therefore, one might be forced to bring along merchandise.\textsuperscript{62}

Rindisbacher Jr.'s accounts were often on the credit side - it was unusual to have a credit rather than debit standing with the Company - and included some statements of credit marked "per order." These facts suggest that some art transactions were recorded in the Company ledgers.

The account books do not record a payment for the paintings obtained from Rindisbacher by Governor Bulger. One entry for 1823 (the appropriate Year) reads:

\textbf{#118, Andrew Bulger, 1 qt. spirits given to Peter Rindisbacher p. order ...\textsuperscript{a} 3.9}\textsuperscript{63}

but it is not clear whether this refers to Peter or his father. The conclusion that the artist received goods in exchange for his work in some cases is enhanced by a letter from Duncan Finlayson to James Hargrave which
Fig. 12. Eskimo Family.
Peter Rindisbacher, watercolour 6" x 4 3/8", c. 1821.
Manitoba Archives, Winnipeg.
includes the following:

I have however found the statement of the articles you supplied Rindesbacher which is enclosed herewith.64

As indicated above, Company officials assisted Rindisbacher in obtaining supplies (see also the letter from Barnston to Hargrave Nov. 14, 1824). It is likely that the Company was also his source of drawing paper, as the firm or its employees were virtually the only source of supply, but whether or not he paid for it is unknown.65 I was unable to find conclusive evidence in the accounts; one entry records the purchase for cash of "one drawing knife and 70 sheets paper", but no name is included.66

Included in the account books are two "book looking glasses", purchased by Rindisbacher Jr. on Aug. 26 and Sept. 8, 1823. These may have been for reading, or for another member of his family. On the other hand, given the meticulous and detailed quality of his work, it is quite possible he used them while painting. I have examined some of his work, mainly early paintings, in an attempt to verify this point. Even though the detail remains accurate when examined under a magnifying glass, I feel the evidence is inconclusive inasmuch as the work could have been done painstakingly with a fine brush and the naked eye.

Why did Rindisbacher receive such widespread patronage at Red River? There is no question that his work was in much demand, as we have seen evidence of the interest expressed, in tangible form, in both his original works and Pelly's series of lithographs. The variety and range of his art provides one explanation. Rindisbacher's works likely appealed to various prospective customers because of the accordance with European iconographic traditions, the portrayal of the everyday life of the white inhabitants of Red River, or the documentation of the dress and manners of native frontier
peoples. However, one rarely finds all these features in a single work.

The romantic ideals of the noble savage and of picturesque nature were prevalent in Europe at that time. The extent to which Rindisbacher or the H.B.C. buyers of his artwork saw the Indian and the isolation of frontier life as the embodiment of these ideals has not yet been established. It seems probable that most Company employees tended to discard this view as they gained experience with the Indians and the hardships of frontier life. Many were interested, however, in Rindisbacher's ability to portray Colony life in a meticulous and positive way. In his works showing the civilian residents of Red River in daily activities, Rindisbacher showed neither the distress of the settlers nor the more tawdry aspects of life in the Colony, nor did he take the role of moralizer. Company officials were thus able to take home pictures which were both artistically acceptable and sufficiently "realistic" depictions of their experiences.

Another group of his paintings testify to his interest in the customs and traditions of the native people, and in the wildlife of the region. These works, such as Eskimo Family (figure 12), would have answered the intellectual curiosity of Europeans about the behaviour of the unknown North American tribes. This was the type of work chosen by Rev. West, and also the type received from Pelly by the Company.

In addition, Rindisbacher's works undoubtedly appealed to many because they were painted in a European manner familiar to the fur traders. His awareness of European artistic traditions was probably the result of his training with Weibel in Switzerland and his exposure to pictures and engravings in books at Red River. Company officials were by no means uninformed about these traditions.

There are many examples in Rindisbacher's work to indicate his dependence on the European artistic vocabulary. As noted by Rena Coen:
Fig. 14. The Murder of David Tally and Family by the Sissatoons, A Sioux Tribe.
Peter Rindisbacher. Watercolour 6½" x 11".
West Point Museum Collections, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.
When we turn, however, to an artist who did paint the western Indians as noble savages from an antique mold, we come to the work of Peter Rindisbacher. ...Rindisbacher's drawings and watercolours are of considerable interest because they are an early example of the combination of accurate observation with the conventions of classical academic aesthetics. ... Even when depicting the Indians in a degraded and far from noble state Rindisbacher posed them according to the traditions of European iconography and cast them in classical molds.

A particularly striking example of his use of these conventions is The Murder of David Tally and Family by the Sissatoons, a Sioux Tribe (figure 14). This dramatic carefully composed scene from Rindisbacher's imagination is based on an actual incident. These Indians are not the dignified noble specimens that one associates with the detailed, classical anatomical rendering - they are instead wild, impulsive and threatening. The triangular figure group of mother and children is clearly derived from Madonna and Child imagery; the tent accentuates this and forms a protective niche. The attention to drapery reinforces this notion, as does the mother's expression, not one of terror but of unspecified concern.

These features force us to consider the meaning of Rindisbacher's painting. One wonders if part of his intention was to consider the insignificance of humans confronted by nature, in view of the impending death of this family at the hands of the savage. This view is reinforced by the anguish in the children's faces and the smoke curling around the bare gnarled tree.

Further, the work can be examined in a more "hopeful" context, as a religious subject which laments the untutored Indian who has not yet been redeemed by Christianity. In this way it accords much more closely with a well known work by John Mix Stanley, *Osage Scalp Dance*, 1845, in which the mother with child has her hand outstretched in a plea for her life, which is being protected by the action of a central figure behind her. Here the Indians are more at peace, almost trace-like, and the danger seems less
Works of art and literature which described the ways of natives in allegorical terms were extremely popular in Europe, and probably no less so in North America. People were interested not only in observing Indian customs but also in trying to explain their actions in accordance with contemporary views of the "noble savage".

It is noteworthy that Rindisbacher's work was purchased mainly by, and by most of, the senior officials in the Colony. Karl Meuli has gone so far as to suggest that he could be termed "court painter" to the Hudson's Bay Company:

He painted official occasions, visits of Indians, pow wows with Indians, events for which Rindisbacher, presumably as court painter, received special invitations.\(^7\)

I am not convinced that Meuli could correctly call the artist a "court painter", or verify that he was able to witness special occasions because of his profession, but this is not a serious overstatement. Certainly one can agree with Chalmers:

So wide was the artistic net which the young painter cast that he almost might be taken as the commissioned illustrator for many authors who wrote about Red River in the 1820's. Among these were Nicholas Garry, John West and Alexander Ross...

all of whom were affiliated with the Company.\(^2\)

Peter Rindisbacher and the Hudson's Bay Company developed a relationship which was strongly interdependent, working to the advantage of both. It has provided us with an unparalleled record of many aspects of early life on the frontier.
CHAPTER III
HENRY J. WARRE
Lieutenant Henry Warre's (1819 - 1898) relationship to the Hudson's Bay Company was more complex than that of Peter Rindisbacher or Paul Kane. Warre was not a professional artist, but travelled through Rupert's Land in 1845-6 under British Government auspices as a result of the sensitive political situation involving the Oregon Boundary dispute. One might, therefore, be inclined to overlook him as an appropriate example of the artists assisted by the Company in the mid-19th Century.

There are, however, several reasons why Warre's connection with the Company should not be neglected. In the first place, his trip was sparked by the Company lobby; the H.B.C. was very much an interested party in the issue. Secondly, Warre made use of Company men, routes and facilities in his travels, and this provides us with a comparison to the treatment accorded to Paul Kane, who travelled in the like manner. The third reason for his inclusion is that the documentary nature of his work forms a record of Company installations that is virtually unparalleled. Since the actual purpose of his mission was kept secret, the Company's record of assistance to gentlemen and military officers on excursions provided a plausible explanation for the journey and for the pictorial and written records Warre maintained throughout. Finally, the fact that Warre dedicated his published lithograph series *Sketches in North America* and the *Oregon Territory* to the Company suggests to the casual observer that he not only received assistance from the H.B.C. but also appreciated their contribution to his work.

After examining the political context of Warre's travels and the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company in the issue, this chapter goes on to consider the conditions under which he proceeded and his reactions to them. Evidence is presented to show that Company assistance was considerable, but that Warre was largely unsuccessful in his mission. Furthermore, Warre's
unfavourable views of Company policies, facilities and personnel are inconsistent with his subsequent dedication of the lithograph series, and this issue is examined in some detail.

The Oregon Boundary issue and the relationship between Britain and the United States at that time has been dealt with at length in the literature. It will be discussed here, as it related to the Hudson's Bay Company, because it provided the motivation for Warre's journey.

The Company was a knowledgeable, influential and interested party in any border dispute in the frontier territory. Sir George Simpson's interest is evident in intracompany correspondence long before he travelled to England in late 1844 to discuss the Oregon question with the H.B.C. Board. He subsequently prepared a memorandum on the matter dated March 29, 1845, which was forwarded to the Earl of Aberdeen, Foreign Secretary in the government of Sir Robert Peel. This contained a proposal for British defense of the border regions; preparations in case of war, it was suggested, should include the stationing of troops at Red River and of four ships on the Oregon coast. As a consequence of the memorandum, Simpson met with Peel and Aberdeen on the 2nd of April. The result was the Warre/Vavasour expedition, which thus came about directly from Hudson's Bay Company approaches to the Foreign Office.

There is little doubt that the Company stood to gain from the expedition. Galbraith explained the position succinctly:

The Company gained a considerable advantage, not in Oregon but at Red River. As a result of Simpson's representations and Warre's and Vavasour's support, the British government sent a detachment... to garrison Fort Garry, and during the two years from 1846 to 1848 that they were stationed there, the settlement was quiet. Simpson clearly set out, with H.B.C. approval, to obtain a garrison at Red River at government expense to solve internal problems and he manipulated
Warre and Vavasour to that end. His opportunity for this came as he travelled with the party as far as the Red River Settlement.

The terms of reference under which Henry Warre and Mervin Vavasour were to journey to the Oregon territory were set out in a letter from H. V. Addington to James Stephen dated April 3, 1845. The letter stipulated that one or two officers should be sent as private travellers to the territory. Their duties were to

...examine the important parts of the country, in order to obtain as accurate a knowledge of it as may be requisite for the future and efficient prosecution of military operations in it, should such operations become necessary.

Sir George Simpson was to assist the officers with the benefits of his practical knowledge. Expenses for the expedition were to be defrayed by the Foreign or Colonial Offices. Complete secrecy as to the object of the mission was to be maintained.

While the Hudson's Bay Company was instrumental in instigating the expedition, it was not involved in the selection of the two officers. This was accomplished by Sir Richard Jackson and Captain Holloway of the Royal Engineers.

It is difficult to attribute Warre's selection to his artistic skills, for while there is evidence that the requirements of the officers chosen included drawing and topographical ability, these skills were expected of military officers and formed part of their training. Vavasour, who prepared the majority of the surveys taken, was told:

To save time and trouble much pains need not be spent in the preparation of drawings, outline sketches will suffice for illustrating your views, but the scale compass bearings and peculiarities of site must be particularly shown.

Warre and Vavasour mentioned this limitation in a letter to Metcalfe:
We regret not being able to accompany our report with more numerous sketches or surveys....It would be quite incompatible with the time allowed....to give detailed plans of the separate points.\(^{13}\)

Although Warre's interpretive abilities as an artist may not have been a requirement for the job, his descriptive talents were. His records of the various Company forts could have been useful in the event of military action; I believe his journals, with their close attention to detail, show he was aware of this potential use of his work. His descriptions of and comments on the forts usually reflected the military point of view. Carleton House was, for example

...miserable as a defensive building -- octagonal and built of wood at every angle two large Blunderbuss are mounted and kept ready loaded to intimidate the enemy.\(^{14}\)

Warre frequently depicted the forts in his sketchbooks in small pencil sketches similar to, and often more detailed than, figure 15. In addition, scale drawings and plans were prepared.

Warre's personal interest in reproducing the landscape may have been a factor in his selection, for this would have corroborated his "disguise" as a private traveller. The journals contain many examples showing his awareness of the pictorial aspects of scenes, weather and mood.

In view of Henry Warre's negative on-the-spot reactions to his journey and to Company assistance and personnel, which will be examined below, it is interesting to note both his optimistic outlook toward the expedition and the evidence which suggests that the company provided a high level of cooperation. In his "Memoirs", Warre wrote:

...an application was made from the Colonial Office, for two officers to be sent overland from Montreal to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River... The officers so employed would find one or more of Her Majesty's Ships with the Commanders of which they were to communicate. There were naturally many applications for so delightful and, at the same time so adventurous a journey.\(^{15}\)
Fig. 15. Fort Victoria.
Henry J. Warre, Pencil, 1845.
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. C-34088.
There is ample written evidence to indicate the close co-operation required between the two officers and the Company. The need to work closely with Simpson, whose knowledge of the territory and the issue at hand was comprehensive, was emphasized, as Metcalfe made clear in his letter of May 2, 1845 to Jackson:

It is scarcely necessary to add that cordial co-operation with Sir George Simpson with reference to the objects of the mission, will be an essential part of the duties of the officers employed.16

Similarly, Holloway pointed out to Vavasour the importance of unanimity with his fellow officer and with Simpson.17

Judging from the correspondence which emanated from Simpson to others within the firm, there is little doubt that the H.B.C. entered into this spirit of cooperation. At Lac La Pluie on May 30, 1845 Simpson wrote the circular letters of introduction which dictated the terms under which the two travellers were known in the West. The first letter, carried by Warre, ran as follows:

To the Gentlemen conducting the H.B.Co.'s affairs at all their settlements and posts situated between Red River Colony and the Pacific Ocean. Gentlemen. This will be handed to you by Messrs. Warre and Vavasour, two British Officers who now proceed to the shores of the Pacific, in order to enjoy the pleasures of field sports and for scientific pursuits, with the intention of returning to Red River settlement in company with the spring express of 1846, and I have to request that, every facility be afforded to enable them to carry out the objects of their journey, and that they be received at all the establishments they may visit with the kindest attentions and hospitalities, and that their pleasure, comfort and convenience be consulted in as far as circumstances may admit.18

Simpson's letter for Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Factor of the Columbia District who accompanied the two officers from Red River west, was more specific:

This will be handed you by Chief Factor Ogden, who is hereby authorized to take from any of the companies establishments such supplies stores implements provisions horses and cattle belonging to the Company, likewise such clerks and servants as he may have occasion for, in furtherance of a mission upon which he is at present employed. ....I have to request that, such orders be promptly complied with, charging the supplies of every description
...at the usual sale prices to strangers and the wages of such people he may have occasion to employ at the rate credited them in the Co.'s books.\textsuperscript{19}

The treatment accorded Warre and Vavasour appears similar, if not superior, to that received by other travellers. This is borne out by a later letter to John MacKenzie wherein Simpson directed the return of the two officers...

...to the Sault de St. Marie, providing them with every luxury and comfort, besides necessaries that may be at your disposal.\textsuperscript{20}

An examination of Warre's journey to the Oregon territory, based on the material in his journals and the correspondence of Company officers, serves two purposes. In the first place, it will contribute to our somewhat limited knowledge of the man himself. It will also reveal his negative reactions to many facets of the expedition and demonstrate that his performance was less than successful in many ways, both of which are important in the context of subsequent events.

Warre's journals document his travels in the frontier, but, more importantly for our purposes, they illuminate aspects of his character and describe the conditions under which his art was created. Those journals written while in the territory provide a daily record of his experiences, including detailed and frequently enthusiastic descriptions of the scenery. Few personal comments about individuals were included; and many of those that were have since been obliterated.\textsuperscript{21}

Based on the journals, Warre found many things to complain about on the trip, and the Hudson's Bay Company came in for much of the criticism. Although Warre had travelled on the frontier previously, the officers apparently had unrealistic expectations about the mission, and were less than fully prepared for the long distances, arduous means of transportation, harsh weather and inelegant supplies. It should be noted, however, that
Warre's comments apparently reflected his mood on a given day, for everything tends to have been described either quite darkly or quite positively. He occasionally recorded completely opposite opinions about the same event or place.

Warre's complaints against the Company were directed to the lack of organization, the difficult journey, the food, the facilities and the personnel. His report on the situation at Fort Garry, where Simpson handed the two officers over to Ogden, shows his opinion of Company efficiency:

I had heard so much of the H.B. Company, their extensive territory, their numerous dependants, their immense resources that I felt pretty disappointed at the preparations made at Fort Garry Red River (their Headquarters) for our long land journey. I of course felt diffident about making enquiries relative to their preparations presuming that with full power to draw from their resources we should want for nothing -- I afterwards found that everything had been left to the last minute.22

This apparently indicates that Warre felt the Company was at least partly to blame for the fact that the trip to Oregon took three to four weeks longer than expected. Simpson had informed the officers that the journey west would take "40 to 50 days having been performed by me in the year 1841 in 47 days".23 He instructed Ogden that the party should leave Red River before June 12, in order to precede the Fremont expedition to the coast. Ogden's group did not depart, however, until the 16th of June, and finally reached Fort Vancouver 71 days later, on August 26th.24

Another of Warre's comments on Company organization stemmed from an incident while he was at the Pacific coast:

We had arranged to start early this morning in one of the Company's boats for Cape Disappointment, - but owing to the miserable arrangements of everything connected with this Establishment we found our boat required "gumming" ....Such is the carelessness on the part of the Gentlemen in charge to have things properly arranged.25

There are also references to horses "lean and wretched in the extreme", delays in Fort Carleton to obtain fresh horses, and situations where if horses
The following three quotations indicate Warre's reaction to the rigours of the outward journey — it is clear that he was not impressed by travel in the Company manner (see figure 16):

...our daily journeys commenced with the early morn...and ended where a sufficient supply of wood and water could be obtained to prepare our frugal meal — a tent our only covering.

...for our own personal comfort and convenience little attention was paid. We had but one small tent, for our baggage was restricted much within even the limits required for cleanliness, and the edibles were of the commonest and coarsest description.

We found J. W. Fraser in charge of this fort who certainly does not keep a very good table, from the appearance of supper.

Despite the fact that cooperation between the two officers and H.B.C. personnel could only have benefitted the mission, Warre's relationships with Company officers was not particularly good. James Anderson (a H.B.C. officer who met the men after their trip) wrote to his brother ... "These gents seem to be partial to the Dr. McLoughlin and Worth but dislike Douglas, Ogden and Sir George."

While Warre and Vavasour were at the coast, "enjoying the hospitality" of the Company, they also had access to the officers of the 'Modeste' and other British ships. It is very apparent that Warre found these officers more congenial companions than the H.B.C. men; references to the former appear more frequently and are more positive. This excerpt from his journals, together with the letter from Ogden which follows, illustrate the gap between the Company men and their guests. Warre wrote:

What pleasure it is to us having the officers of the Modeste here. Formerly we were thrown completely on our own resources, and now we have congenial companions to relieve the dull monotony.

Ogden, writing to Simpson on April 4, 1846, noted:
Fig. 16. Our Camp and Party.
Henry J. Warre, Pencil, 1845.
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, C-55334.
...with the arrival of the British ship he [Warre] ...considered it highly important to assume an air of importance and self, his uncle Sir Richard and the latter's cook at five hundred a year was the constant topic of conversation. However, like all men who assume a character they cannot support or entitled to, the Naval gentry soon discovered him as well as Vavasour and held them both in very low estimation.33

Warre's positive comments about H.B.C. personnel, where they do appear, seem forced -- almost an afterthought or a matter of form. Of interest, however, is this observation about a group of Company men:

I think there is a overstrained politeness to each other which sounds curious to us, as officers, the constant repetition of Mr. and Sir grates constantly upon my Ears and looks as if they were rather afraid of each other...34

One of the more important relationships for Warre was that with Peter Skene Ogden, for Ogden was deputized to take the two officers west from Fort Garry and was actively involved with Warre in the Cape Disappointment affair. At first, the two men were able to get along. Warre initially found Ogden a novel, entertaining companion (see figure 17) describing him as

...a fat jolly good fellow...clever with a good knowledge of French and most of the Indian languages...strongly prejudiced in favor of all the Indian customs, and cannot imagine that anyone who has not had the same advantages can possibly know anything about the Country ...On the whole he is a very good and companionable fellow, full of information...but most difficult to obtain information from his partiality for joking and 'selling' rendering it nearly impossible to know when he is in earnest or not.35

Over time, however, their relationship became acrimonious, because of personal differences and arguments over the Cape. Thus we find Ogden writing to Simpson:

I had certainly two most disagreeable companions...but...I...was silent to their constant grumbling and complaining not only about their food which was as good and abundant as any Man could wish for or desire but also in regard to promises made by you...suffice it to say I would rather for ever forego the pleasure of seeing my Friends than submit to travel over the same road with the same companions.36

Cape Disappointment became an issue between the two men because of the high priority attached by Simpson to its acquisition. The Cape, guarding
Fig. 17. Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Co., and Unidentified Portrait labelled 'Bowman'.
Henry J. Warre. Pencil.
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. C-27147.
the mouth of the Columbia, was strategically very important. Simpson made this clear to Ogden, to Warre and Vavasour, to the H.B.C. board and to the British Government. From November 1845 until February 1846, however, Warre and Ogden argued over whether the latter had sufficient authorization to purchase the Cape. Ogden quoted from correspondence from Simpson:

'You will distinctly understand, however, that neither Cape Disappointment, Tongue Point, nor any other place is to be taken possession of by the Honble. H.B. company, if either possessed or occupied by the United States government or its Citizens.'

While Warre apparently disagreed, he was not prepared to act on his own in providing authorization. Finally, on Feb. 14, 1846 Ogden informed Warre that he had purchased the Cape. (During this period, the Cape was the subject of scale drawings and, as figure 18 shows, of informal studies as well.)

We are fortunate in that, while both men were in Fort Vancouver at this time, they communicated by correspondence to maintain an official record. Although couched in polite terms the letters were terse, and the debate was definitely a source of bitterness between them. At the same time, Warre and Vavasour covered the matter fully in their reports, enclosing copies of the Ogden/Warre correspondence.

Warre's and Vavasour's conduct on the mission must have been disappointing to both the superiors and Company officers. Certainly the reports of the two men did not affect the outcome of the Oregon question. We have already seen that Warre failed to foster the appropriate spirit of cooperation with the H.B.C. people in a position to assist him, and it seems reasonable to assume that this was at least partly responsible for the delays on the outward journey and over the acquisition of the Cape. In addition, the secrecy of the mission was breached, and Warre managed to stir up internal Company problems with his reports.
Fig. 18. Cape Disappointment.
Henry J. Warre. Lithograph in Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory. Dickinson and Co. [London].
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. C-41427.
Warre was, of course, fully aware of the need for complete secrecy. On the trip west, however, on August 17, 1845, the party met Father De Smet, a Jesuit missionary (figure 19 illustrates a later meeting with De Smet). That same day, the missionary wrote to Bishop Hughes:

...the Oregon question appeared to me somewhat alarming. It was neither curiosity nor pleasure that induced these two officers to cross so many desolate regions and hasten their course toward the mouth of the Columbia. They were invested with orders from their government to take possession of Cape Disappointment, to hoist the English standard, and erect a fortress for the purpose of securing the entrance of the river, in case of war. It is possible that it was Ogden who disclosed more than he should have, but he too was aware of the need for secrecy. Warre's journal entry, on the other hand, it suggestive:

I remained an hour or two after my party had left talking with him De Smet, looking at his drawings and likenesses of Indians. He is the most intelligent man I have met in the Country.

The internal Company problems alluded to above concerned the degree to which the H.B.C. in Oregon, under Dr. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, was assisting American settlers. In view of the sensitive political situation, any significant degree of assistance would have been regarded most unfavourably by the British government. In their initial report, Warre and Vavasour placed the Company men in fairly good light. Eight months later, however, they concluded that "the Gentlemen in charge of the Hudsons Bay Company's posts" had adopted policies which tended to encourage settlement by Americans. When Simpson learned of this, he requested from Ogden and Douglas a report which would "relieve the concern from the grave imputations brought against the Company". In their reply, they enclosed McLoughlin's report, which they maintained

...furnishes so full and complete a refutation of the absurd and unfounded statements made by Messrs. Warre and Vavasour, that we deem it superfluous to make any further remarks on the subject. Simpson, in his reply, felt constrained to justify why Chief Factor McLoughlin
Fig. 19. Meeting with Pere de Smed, in the Rocky Mountains. Henry J. Warre, Pen and Ink. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. G58154.
had not been informed of the officers' real mission.\(^{49}\) No doubt this did not
endear Warre and Vavasour to Simpson.

Despite all those problems, Warre apparently believed that he had
handled matters commendably for his superiors, and he felt that his rewards
were not commensurate with his efforts. This be blamed on the untimely death
of his uncle, Sir Richard Jackson:

In Canada - the unfortunate death of my General and Uncle, by whom
I had been employed - prevented my reaping the benefit to which I
was clearly entitled after 14 month exposure and extreme toil and
danger in carrying out [the Oregon expedition].\(^{50}\)

It seems reasonable, however, that any "benefit" he received reflected a more
objective assessment of his performance.

We turn now to the rather surprising fact that Warre's opinions of
the company and of his experiences on the expedition mellowed significantly
in his later writings.\(^{51}\) Even more unexpected, in light of his early
reactions, was the dedication of his "Sketches in North America and the Oregon
Territory" to the Company.

We have already seen that the earlier journals contain complaints
against the Company on matters relating to the expedition. Warre occasionally
took the opportunity to editorialize on Company policies as well, and some of
the early comments were openly critical.\(^{52}\) In one such instance, we find that
he felt no sense of obligation to the firm, despite the assistance he had
received:

...[I] have as little to consider myself under obligation to the
Company at large that I cannot help enlarging on a policy that encour­
gages Foreigners...\(^{53}\)

Similarly, he reacted negatively to the Company's hiring practices:

The Contracts under which they engage are really curiosities and
bind a Man so completely on the meshes and tec(h)nicalities of law
that he can call neither time, money, nor any thing his own. - Slavery
is nothing to it.\(^{54}\)
In his later writings, however, the earlier negative comments have been toned down or omitted. Three examples should suffice to illustrate this point, the first of which deals with Warre's opinion of the Company monopoly on the fur trade. In his "Journal of Travels between Montreal and the Red River Settlement, May 1845", he noted that the H.B.C. was in the practice of

...receiving Skins and Peltries from the Indians and half breeds at a regulated price which is such, as to afford them larger returns on their imports...I fear the Settlement can never flourish [sic] as long as the Company have so completely the sway and regulation of everything.55

In the later writing, "Journal of an Overland Journey from Montreal," we find:

They [the Company] form also the only market [for the furs], which must naturally vary with the demand, and according to the supply they may require.56

Secondly, in his later work Warre subordinated his enthusiasms about meeting the officers of the 'Modeste' and adds passages about H.B.C. hospitality. In the manuscript of his Memoirs, for example he noted:

...the Officers and men belonging to the Hudson's Bay Co.--stationed at Fort Vancouver - and its immediate neighbourhood under the control of fine specimens of Western life, in Mr. Macclocklan [sic] and Mr. Ogden, enabled us to make the best use of our time and see a large extent of very wild but very beautiful country...57

Even his more philosophical passages have been edited. He first wrote:

Notwithstanding many serious drawbacks...there is a charm about the sort of life we have lately been living that is very captivating - ... the kindness and attention shown by the inhabitants of the Country...have rendered my Residence in Oregon much more agreeable than I could possibly have expected, from the class of people with whom we have been associating. Their Gaïeté du coeur & honest hospitality atones much roughness and want of polish in manner.58

This passage was subsequently edited, with the references to "the class of people..." and "much roughness and want..." deleted.59 (Warre expressed similar sentiments pictorially in Grand Ball at Fort Victoria, figure 20,
Fig. 20. Grand Ball at Fort Victoria, Oct. 6, 1845.
Henry J. Warre. Pencil, 1845.
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, C-58113.
which captures the rough hospitality of the frontier admirably.)

There were at least two possible motivations behind Warre's editing and rewriting his journals, showing the Hudson's Bay Company to greater advantage. He may have truly felt more positive toward his experiences in the West when considering them from afar (both in time and place). This could be explained by his dissatisfaction with life at the time of the later writings, due to what he perceived as insufficient advancement (recall the bitter comment on the "unfortunate death" of his uncle), with the past looking better in retrospect.

Secondly, Warre apparently felt that it was important to have a dedication of his published lithographs to a suitably imposing person or institution. The nature of his mission somewhat precluded his choosing a political "patron", and the Hudson's Bay Company was a logical alternative. In that case it would have been natural for him to emphasize the positive aspects of his relationship with the Company. It is this second alternative, suggested by Warre's correspondence with and references to Sir George Simpson, that is examined below.

Warre may have conceived the idea of a publication some time prior to March, 1847; in March and April he wrote certain letters which might be construed as attempts to keep communication channels open to highly placed individuals. His motivation could have been to gain support for a publication, particularly since one of the letters went to Earl Grey from whom he subsequently requested permission to publish the material. This letter, in recognition of the payment finally sent Warre for his work in Oregon, seems somewhat unnecessary and overdone; dated March 15, 1847 and addressed to aide B. Hawes, part of it reads:
...you will have the kindness to convey the gratification I feel at his Lordship's approbation of my humble services and assure his Lordship that I shall at all times, be ready and anxious to fulfill with the utmost zeal and attention any Duty, that his Lordship or Her Majesty's Government may be pleased to entrust to my charge.  

Warre wrote a similar letter to Simpson one month later. In this letter, the second of two personal letters from Warre to Simpson known to me (both are printed in Appendix 7), he generally played up to Simpson - thanking him for his hospitality, reminiscing over the "pleasures" of the expedition, and making much of Simpson's forthcoming book.  

The second letter to Earl Grey (also printed in Appendix 7) requested permission to publish the lithographs together with a short account of the journey, and noted that "your Lordship was pleased to express so flattering an approval" of Warre's report. The April 17th letter to Simpson noted above also made reference to Lord Grey's "most flattering marks of approbation". We have no concrete evidence of this "flattery", and indeed Earl Grey's comments on receiving the request included a note to the effect that "I was not aware of the State of the Case", referring to the choice of officers and the secrecy of the mission. He had the matter passed on to Lord Palmerston, who eventually granted Warre's request with the restriction that "there is nothing in it that can be objectionable upon political grounds". Warre may have overstated his case in the approach to Earl Grey; the tone of his letter suggests he was hoping for an enthusiastic personal response from Grey to his proposal.  

Warre's relationship with Simpson provides additional evidence for the conclusions that the editing of earlier writing was related to the dedication of Warre's publication to the Company, and that the dedication cannot be accepted at face value. At the time of the expedition, their dealings were cordial but businesslike. They corresponded officially on the matters of
the Oregon mission and the Red River garrison, with Warre and Vavasour providing information on protection and accommodation of troops, etc., and reporting to London that they had done so. At this time there was virtually no evidence of any intimate friendship between the two, with Simpson's name appearing only infrequently in Warre's journals. A number of the references deal with Simpson's legendary speed of travel across the Frontier, which Warre experienced first hand travelling west to Red River. Given Warre's social pretensions, he likely considered himself at least the equal of Simpson socially, but his admiration for performance would suggest that he was slightly in awe of the Governor's ability.

The only evidence of anything beyond business dealings in the relationship is found in the two personal letters Warre wrote to Simpson, referred to above. One was written toward the end of the return trip from the West, and the second nine months later. Simpson, however, apparently considered the relationship to be "business only", for he replied to neither of these more personal overtures.

Warre seems to have been attempting to influence Simpson with flattery by this time, as indicated by his rather obsequious references to the Governor's forthcoming book in the second letter. Subsequently, Warre made reference to Simpson's published accounts of Red River in very complimentary fashion, in both his own published sketches and in his memoirs.

What was Warre's motivation for all this? Again, he may have been seeking Simpson's personal interest, for the sponsorship of his not yet published lithographs by a known authority on the Frontier would certainly have benefitted Warre. If this was the reason, then Warre must surely have been disappointed by the complete absence of a response. A similar alternative would have been a dedication to the Board of the H.B.C. In either case I suggest that he would have felt obliged to edit his earlier comments to
reflect a more positive image of the firm. It is in this context that his dedication to the Company must be evaluated.

In conclusion, although Henry Warre received assistance from the Hudson's Bay Company as did Peter Rindisbacher and Paul Kane, the indebtedness he acknowledges with his dedication seems to have been a matter of convenience. The early records indicate no such gratitude. There was virtually no relationship between Warre and the Company on artistic grounds. The special opportunities for recording the landscape of the West, afforded by his association with the Company, resulted in many paintings representing what Warre considered to be the most romantic and picturesque scenes he encountered. The documentary aspect of his work, easily differentiated from the former paintings, provides a record of H.B.C. installations that is virtually unparalleled.
CHAPTER IV

PAUL KANE
Contrary opinions have been offered regarding the importance of the Hudson's Bay Company to Paul Kane (1810-1871) in his lifework, the pictorial documentation of the Indians of North America. In 1946, Dr. Kenneth Kidd wrote:

It is hard to see how Kane could have completed his undertaking without the aid of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹

Dr. Lawrence J. Burpee, however, minimized the assistance of the Company and Sir George Simpson, its Governor, saying:

Indeed it would not be too much to say that it was largely because of Mr. Allan's generous and large-minded support that the artist found it possible to carry out his memorable expedition to the Pacific Coast.²

Speaking of Simpson, Burpee noted that the Governor

...was willing to help Kane, but only so far as it did not interfere in any way with his own plans or those of the Company... Altogether it does not seem necessary to stress too much the generosity of Sir George Simpson in helping the father of Canadian Art to carry out his most notable achievement.³

Dr. Burpee's analysis indicates a lack of awareness of the facts of Simpson's connection to Kane, and of the Company's business methods. There is no doubt that the contribution made by the Hudson's Bay Company to Kane's project accords closely to that described by Dr. Kidd, and that Simpson was very much involved.

This chapter considers Paul Kane's relationship with the Company, and also addresses the multi-faceted relationship between the artist and Sir George Simpson. The sequencing is chronological, and special attention is given to the following main points: Kane's relationship with various Company officials, Simpson's personal patronage of the artist, Kane's contribution to the Company, and the significance of Kane as documenter of the Frontier.

For each of the three cases we are studying, the initiative of one individual played a large part in the relationship between the artist and
the Company. For Paul Kane, Simpson was the primary individual, but initially a strong impetus was provided by the interest of John Ballenden. Kane met Ballenden in August, 1845 while on his excursion to paint the Indians of the Great Lakes area and the Interior of North America. As indicated by this passage from *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America*, Kane modified his plans after meeting with Ballenden:

At the Sault Ste. Marie I made the acquaintance of Mr. Ballantyne [sic], the gentleman in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's Post, who was exceedingly kind. He strongly advised me against attempting to penetrate into the interior, except under the auspices of the Company, representing it as almost impossible and certainly very dangerous; but urged me to apply to Sir George Simpson...who, he thought when aware of the object I had in view, would send me forward with the spring brigade of canoes next year. Hoping that, by following this advice, I should be able to travel further, and see more of the wilder tribes, I determined upon confining my travels for the present to a mere summer campaign.

Ballenden subsequently wrote to Simpson, opening the way for correspondence between the artist and the Governor:

Mr. Kane, an artist, who...was employed during the summer taking sketches, portraits and, illustrations of Indian manners and costumes, intends proceeding northward next summer...with the same object and wanted to know from me if any [apertions] would be afforded to him at the Company Posts. I told him he would have to apply to you. -- ...Angus Bethune...gave such an account of the inhospitality of the Company's officers as almost deterred him from the undertaking. His sketches are really beautiful and his portraits very correct. - He coasted the Southern shore of Lake Huron to Manitowening in a bark canoe with only one man... He has travelled much, appears to be enthusiastically fond of his profession, and to attain his object will undergo any fatigue or privation. -- I told him I would write to you and that he would hear further in Course of the Winter.

Whether intentionally or not, Ballenden mentioned aspects of Kane's work and character which were exactly those that would have appealed to Sir George. As we will see below, Simpson's preference was for art of a documentary nature. Furthermore, the Governor was well aware of the difficulties of travel in North America, and was undoubtedly favourably impressed by Kane's willingness to endure hard conditions. Ballenden's letter was
sufficiently persuasive that Simpson agreed in principle to assist Kane before even meeting him, replying to Ballenden:

You do not say whether Mr. Kane the artist is a British subject. I shall have much pleasure in facilitating his projected visit to the interior, and if he requires introductions from me he will of course address me and I shall be glad to meet his views.7

Dr. Harper has pointed out that..."Negotiations between Simpson and Kane continued throughout the ensuing winter after the Artist's return to Toronto."8 I have been unable to find extant evidence of any direct communication between the two prior to their meeting in Montreal late in March, 1846. Two letters from J. H. Lefroy to Sir George, however, show that Kane went to Montreal "well introduced" and that his meeting with Simpson was a success.

The first letter, written shortly before the meeting, is self explanatory:

My dear Sir, Mr. Paul Kane, a native Canadian artist of great talent, who has devoted much of his attention to Indian subjects, is under the impression that his objects in visiting Lachine and taking the favour of an interview will be facilitated by an introduction from me, and I have great pleasure in availing myself of this occasion, and meeting his wishes, because I am sure that you will be pleased and interested in the contents of his portfolio. Mr. Kane is very desirous of going over the untrodden ground (artistically speaking), of the interior, and from what I have had the opportunity of seeing of himself and his works for some months past, in Toronto, will, I am sure produce not only vivid but faithful sketches of all its novelties, and prove a very interesting visitor to the gentlemen with whom he may sojourn there. Believe me, my dear sir, Yours very truly - J. H. Lefroy.9

Lefroy was well known to Simpson, and the two men had developed a very good relationship, so Sir George undoubtedly valued Lefroy's opinion of the artist.10

Kane gave a brief account of his meeting with Simpson.11 He explained that "Sir George entered cordially into my plans; and, in order to facilitate them, ordered a passage in the spring brigade of canoes."12 Lefroy's second letter elaborates on this somewhat:

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 20th a few days ago, and of hearing from Mr. Kane personally today the successful result of his visit to Montreal. ...I am glad to learn that his
sketches gave you pleasure, and have not the least doubt that he will return with a portfolio not much inferior to Catlin's in variety and greatly superior to his in truth. I believe that personally Mr. Kane is a modest and respectable person....and he has made his way entirely by his own industry and perservance...13

The information in Ballenden's and Lefroy's letters, together with Simpson's own impressions of Kane from the March meeting, led the Governor to authorize the artist's passage with the brigade. As we shall see, subsequent events led him to extend the degree of assistance provided.

Travel with the fur brigade, even for those able to pay, was something Simpson tried to control closely, with mixed success. In a letter to John Mackenzie at Red River dated June 17, 1846, Sir George wrote... "No passages are to be afforded to or from this settlement or the interior generally without special authority...". Kane was privileged to be permitted to travel by this means, for, as I have noted in Chapter I, many were denied permission.

One of the most dramatic episodes of Kane's entire trip is the story of his efforts to catch the spring brigades. Having accompanied Simpson on the 9th of May from Toronto, he then missed the steamer which left Mackinaw bound for Sault Ste. Marie. He was forced to travel all night in a skiff, using a blanket for a sail to catch up. Having been unable to leave with Simpson in the canoes bound for Fort William, he again missed seeing Sir George, but was provided with transportation which enabled him to catch up by May 27th. It is likely that Kane's overcoming these misfortunes had a more positive influence on his future relationship with the Governor than any other single factor. Kane noted that at Sault Ste. Marie...

Sir George Simpson was astonished at seeing me; and his amazement was not lessened when he learned the mode of my conveyance. The voyage on no former occasion had been performed in so short a time under corresponding circumstances. 15

The artist also reported this reaction:
Sir George only stopped a few minutes to congratulate me on having overcome the difficulties of my starting: he seemed to think that the perserverance and determination I had shown augured well for my future success.16

Since Simpson prided himself on the speed of his journeys, Kane's accomplishment would have weighed heavily with him. I believe it was the artist's demonstration of these qualities of "perseverance and determination" which impressed Sir George sufficiently that the circular letter introducing Kane to H.B.C. posts included the provision of "passages from post to post in the Company's craft - free of charge."17 To my knowledge this was an unprecedented action, the value of which Kane may not have recognized.

In similar letters of introduction to the Company posts, Simpson often included details of accounts to be kept, goods to be provided and the rate of exchange to be charged. For "gentlemen travellers" and scientific expeditions, the bills for supplies and for manpower diverted from Company work were always presented.18 This is not surprising, given Simpson's concern for economy and the fact that H.B.C. profits depended on maximizing the transportation of furs by the canoe brigade in the warm months. It is very significant that in Kane's case these bills were not presented.

The assistance given the artist in this regard, through Simpson's auspices, was both unusual and considerable. The actual cost to Kane for his years in Company territory bears little relation to the costs incurred by other travellers at this time. Mary Benham has pointed out that:

The Hudson's Bay Company had provided his |Kane's| transportation, board and room for almost three years. All he owned the Company was for such items as shirts, tobacco and rum, a Scotch bonnet, a pair of blankets, combs, gifts for the Indians, a raincoat of seal intestines and a painted buffalo robe. He was able to pay off most of this with buffalo and moose skins from the animals he had shot. His net bill was £14/6/9, which he paid to Sir George Simpson when he got to Toronto.19

In contrast, the charges for the Lefroy and Warre/Vavasour expeditions amounted to several hundred pounds (see Appendix 6). This contribution by
The Company was crucial to Kane's journey. Lefroy's second letter to Simpson makes it clear that the artist did not come from a wealthy background, and Kane himself pointed out before his first journey that he "possessed neither influence nor means for such an undertaking."  

Dr. Harper has noted:

Simpson's powers were enormous, and no one could travel easily in Company territory if he willed otherwise. On the other hand, his help could make all things possible for visitors to regions under his control.

The first documentary evidence indicating Simpson's support of Kane is found in two letters of introduction, one a covering letter to the artist and the second the circular letter to Company posts referred to above. These were written at Lac la Pluie on May 31, 1846, four days after Simpson had congratulated Kane on his travelling accomplishments, and picked up by the artist on the 4th of June. There may have been an earlier, similar letter, for Kane mentioned "delivering my letter of introduction to Mr. Mackenzie, the gentleman in charge" at Fort William on May 24th, 1846. At the same time, Kane was apparently concerned about overtaking Sir George; if this earlier letter were found, we could determine whether the terms of the artist's passage were changed from Simpson's original intent.

In the covering letter, Simpson recommended that Kane observe the Falls on the Winnipeg River and that he travel to the Red River Settlement, where the Governor "might be able to put you in the way of being a spectator of the grand Buffalo hunts made in the plains in that vicinity." As a result, we have Kane's description and numerous paintings of the last major buffalo hunt, of which figure 21 is one example.
Fig. 21. "Half Breeds Running Buffalo."
Paul Kane, attributed. Oil on Canvas, 12 1/8" x 18 1/4".
Coe Collection, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
Kane established many friendships with H.B.C. men while in Company territory, partly as a result of his acceptance of the hardships of frontier life and his ability to relate to these men as an equal. Kane's personal relationships with numerous Company employees contributed to the success of his mission. Other outsiders were not so lucky; Warre, Vavasour and Poore were only some who were not highly regarded. (Appendix 9 contains material on Kane's involvement with the Poore expedition).

There are many letters indicating this rapport between the artist and the fur traders, many of which date from years after Kane's return to Toronto. Dr. Harper has printed some of this correspondence, which is very much in the character of the personal communications among Company employees. Kane was particularly close to Peter Skene Ogden and Hector Mackenzie, and Mr. Christie at Fort Garry is mentioned in the artist's book in this vein—"...many acts of kindness and attention I must ever remember with feelings of grateful respect." 27

In the same way that Company men helped one another with the execution of various commissions, many of Kane's associates were requested to assist the artist with his collection of Indian curiosities. These are mentioned in letters from Mackenzie who wrote from Lesser Slave Lake.... "I will remember the promise I made you of getting a Bow & c when I get to McKenzie River." Ogden was enlisted to send the artifacts which John Work was collecting for Kane. James Douglas sent a Kodiak dress to the artist. 28 Kane amassed a large collection of artifacts, some of which he purchased while others were given to him by Indians. These he sold to Sir George Allan—perhaps in 1853, when Allan purchased a number of Kane's paintings. 29

One of the most interesting aspects of Kane's relationships with Company officers was his requesting testimonials from John Lee Lewes, James Douglas and William McBean. 30 These date from the summer of 1847, from three
forts West of the Rockies. They were solicited by Kane, who apparently gave some direction regarding what to include; he was at the appropriate fort on the date each was written. Kane was always concerned about how his work would be received, and he believed that testimonials from respected longtime residents of the area authenticating his sketches would be beneficial.

Despite the artist's close rapport with a number of H.B.C. men, he apparently painted very few portraits of Company personnel. This is not really surprising, however, given Kane's firm objective of documenting the Indians and the frontier scenery. He did paint a portrait of Donald Ross at Norway House at the latter's request on August 13, 1846, according to a note written by a Ross descendant in 1920. A small pencil drawing at the Royal Ontario Museum, tentatively identified as a sketch of Sir George Simpson, clearly represents not Simpson but a voyageur (as Dr. Harper has noted).

Paul Kane's relationship with Sir George Simpson, Hudson's Bay Company Governor of Rupert's Land, is complex and puzzling, but it was instrumental in the success of the artist's journey into the interior. This important relationship will be examined here in as much detail as the available material permits. Unfortunately, some items of correspondence which would further illuminate this matter are missing.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which Simpson's deployment of Company resources on Kane's behalf was motivated by the Governor's personal interest in the artist. The evidence suggests that the personal aspect played an important role initially, and that benefits accruing to the Company became relevant at a later date. There is no doubt that Simpson must be considered a patron of Kane, along with the Company; the Governor supported the artist's travels in H.B.C. territory, commissioned a number of works, wrote letters on Kane's behalf, and offered to sponsor an exhibition of his work.
Simpson's commission of Paul Kane paintings remains a source of speculation and confusion. Sir George requested a dozen sketches from the artist in an undated letter now in the Kane family papers; the letter was almost undoubtedly written in the summer of 1847. Simpson wrote:

I am disappointed in not hearing from you by the Spring express but was glad to learn that you were well and hope to hear that you have passed an agreeable time of it across the mountains.

I understand you are expected back to this side of the mountains in the Autumn, with the intention of passing the winter in the Sastatchewan; while there I should feel greatly obliged, if you would take for me some sketches of buffalo hunts, Indian camps, Councils, feats, Conjuring matches, dances, warlike exhibitions or any other scenes of savage life that you may consider likely to be attractive or interesting, with a view to their being coloured and framed, & of equal size so as to match each other. - As you are likely to have a long winter before you, perhaps you could prepare a dozen and upon as large a scale in point of size as possible. In taking the sketch of the buffalo hunt you were good enough to send me last year, you must have stood in the rear of the herd; a side view would have given a better idea of the appearance of the animals, as from the hind view, it required a little explanation to make a stranger understand that the mass of dark objects before him, were intended either for buffalo or any other living animals.

I shall expect the pleasure of seeing you at Norway House next spring...

P.S. I intend the sketches applied for, if you would be good enough to provide them, to be framed and hung up in a room I design as a museum for Indian curiosities. The letter provides evidence that Simpson had already received at least one work from Kane -- apparently the same rear view of the buffalo herd which he had Cluston mention in a letter to Kane dated Dec. 1846, when a side view was requested. This work must have been painted in 1846, for Kane did not sketch buffalo on his earlier trip.

Further references to Simpson's commission do not appear until found in a letter to Sir George written by Kane on Oct. 22, 1948, the week after he returned to Toronto from his travels. It was the first in a series of communications between the two men over roughly three months. The
correspondence ranged over a number of topics, including Simpson's commission, his advice concerning a proposed publication of the artist's work, and an exhibition of Kane's paintings in Toronto. In this first letter, it is evident that Kane regarded Simpson as his patron at this time, and perhaps hoped to induce him to provide additional assistance:

I arrived here on the 13th and intend remaining through the winter, for the purpose of finishing my sketches or painting a collection of larger Pictures from them. If I could succeed in this latter project I could either publish or exhibit them after. The great difficulty will be to support myself for three or four years while employed on them; but that I hope to surmount by painting Portraits enough to answer my limited wants.

Any advice you would be kind enough to give I would take as an additional mark of your favour. The sketches that I painted for you in the interior have got slightly injured, and I am at present repairing them and will send them down the first opportunity. The Falls of the Peluse and Kaminiskaquoia with the Goat and Buffalo Hunt are not yet completed but will be the first painting I do after getting rooms. Did I know the exact amount of my account I would remit it to the office at Lachine.37

Simpson's reply of Nov. 9th did not address itself directly to the commission, but to the damage reported by Kane:

I am sorry to hear that some of your paintings were damaged on the way down; I hope however, your collection has not sustained any material injury, which would indeed have been mortifying, after having expended so much time and labour upon them.38

Finally, on Jan. 3rd, 1849, Kane sent ten finished sketches with a covering letter to the Governor, part of which ran:

I send you down by the Express ten (10) sketches and will forward the others as soon as finished. Those I now send you are:

1) A Buffalo Pound
2) An Indian Lodge Near Fort Vancouver, Mount Hood in the Distance
3) Catching Salmon at Colville
4) Indian Lodges Near Colville
5) Castle Rock on the Columbia River
6) Indian Lodges on Vancouver's Island
7) A scalp dance near Colville
8) A sketch on the Saskatchewan
9) Portrait of a Cree taken at Edmonton
10) A Blackfoot on Horseback

The remainder when finished will consist of
The Falls of the Pelouse
The Kaministaquoiah Falls
A Buffalo Hunt and
Mountain Goat

These would have been finished had it not been for an injury I received in my right hand which has prevented me from painting.39

Simpson's reply of Jan. 19th included the first mention of any proposed payment for the commission:

I have to acknowledge your letter of 3 inst. accompanying the ten sketches, which came safely to hand and for which I am much obliged. I shall be glad to receive at your convenience the remaining 4 sketches you are preparing for me, accompanied by a memo of what I am indebted to you for these pictures, which I prize very highly.40

The artist, however, was not prepared to accept payment for the commission. The tone of his reply, and the implication contained therein that Kane still felt indebted to the Governor, are the clearest indications that the artist regarded Sir George as a patron and appreciated the assistance he had received:

You desire me to name what you will remain indebted to me for them [the sketches] believe me dear Sir I should rather enquire of yourself what further acknowledgement it will be in my power to offer for the many obligations I owe to your liberality and kindness.41

The number of paintings commissioned and actually received by Simpson has caused considerable controversy. (Figures 21, 22, 23 and 24 are probably from Simpson's collection). Dr. Harper would appear to be correct in his assertion that the entire group of fourteen canvases had been completed at the close of 1849.42 There is no correspondence verifying this, but one of the paintings which passed from Simpson descendants into the Coe collection, Falls of the Pelouse (see figure 23), was among the four yet to be completed earlier that year. Sir George likely received all fourteen, and probably owned more (recall the rear view of the buffalo herd mentioned previously).43
Fig. 22. Kakabeka Falls.
Paul Kane, attributed. Oil on Canvas, 12 1/8" x 18 1/4".
Courtesy Coe Collection, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
Fig. 23. Pelouse Falls.
Paul Kane, attributed. Oil on Canvas, 11 3/4" x 18 1/4".
Coe Collection, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
Fig. 24. Buffaloes at Sunset.
Paul Kane, attributed. Oil on Canvas, 10 3/4" x 16 1/2".
Coe Collection, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
The second aspect of Simpson's patronage of Kane which arises from the correspondence of late 1848/early 1849 is Sir George's willingness to advise and assist the artist with a proposal to publish his work. Kane made a passing reference to the proposal in the Oct. 22nd letter, and Simpson's reply of Nov. 9th included the advice that Kane collect subscribers. Sir George did not go so far as to offer financial assistance - recommending that the artist cover his expenses by painting portraits - but did offer to enlist the support of his friends:

I naturally feel a great interest in your undertaking, and if you decide on adopting the plan of publishing by subscription, I should do my best towards inducing my friends to enter their names upon your list.44

Dr. Harper has pointed out that Simpson arranged for John Russell Bartlett to write Kane from New York,45 Bartlett suggested that the artist approach the Smithsonian Institution in Washington regarding publication.46 At first Kane was inclined to go ahead with the subscription -- "I thank you for your kind letter of the 9th November, and I think I shall follow your advise next Spring" -- but his successful exhibition in Toronto apparently forestalled these plans.47 Another effect of the exhibition was to delay the completion of Simpson's paintings, which may have sowed the first seeds of dissension between the two men.

The showing of Kane's work which opened in Toronto's 'Old' City Hall on Nov. 9, 1848 was extremely successful. Simpson's name came up frequently in connection with it; for example, Hugh Scobie wrote:

...some very beautiful sketches...of scenery on the western prairies, some of which, we are informed, have been requested by Sir George Simpson, than whom there must not be a better judge of the fidelity of Mr. Kane's pencil.48
Kane mentioned this exhibition in the Jan. 3rd, 1849 letter to Sir George. While Scobie's article implied that some of Simpson's canvases were included in the show, and the titles in the catalogue reinforce this impression, Kane gave no indication of this in his letter:

...I have been induced to open an exhibition of my sketches which has turned out much better than I expected -- Had I a collection of large finished pictures I think I could not fail of success.

I shall remain in Toronto for the present and complete as many pictures as possible from my sketches...49

Simpson replied two weeks later, apparently gratified at Kane's success in Toronto and offering to sponsor an exhibition in Montreal -- "I think that the present would be a favourable time for you to open a similar exhibition in Montreal...and I should have much pleasure in promoting your views here by any means in my power."50

Although the tone of Simpson's letter was certainly positive, we know from other correspondence that an incident connected with the Toronto show had caused him some displeasure. The clue is found in Kane's letter of Jan. 24th, 1849 to Edward Hopkins, the Governor's secretary:

I was much pained on reading your letter accompanying Sir George's to find that an insertion in the "Patriot" totally unwarranted by and unknown to myself had made public mention of my circumstances offensive to Sir George, for whom I ever have and shall entertain the most unfeigned respect.

In a private conversation with Captain O'Brien I chanced to mention the incident alluded to -- but without the slightest idea that he intended writing an article on my Exhibition -- nor did I know he had done so until to my mortification I read it in the "Patriot" -- the allusion has I assure you given me much uneasiness, but as you will see from what I have above written, I had nothing to do with the composition or publication, and Captain O'Brien's sole object doubtless was to give additional interest to the sketch.51

By way of explanation, Dr. Harper has written that "...John O'Brien...wrote to the newspapers about it (the exhibition) and his excess of enthusiasm and praise displeased Sir George," but he has not cited a newspaper reference
I have examined the *Patriot* from Nov. 9th through Dec. 28th, 1848, and believe the explanation for Simpson's displeasure may be found in an article entitled "Kane's Exhibition" in the Nov. 13th issue, in which we find:

Among the pencil and water colour sketches, No. 176 represents the entrance to one of the most dangerous rapids on the Columbia River, well named the "Dalle des morts", it was here that a daughter of Sir George Simpson was drowned. (See figure 25).

Admittedly the article does not bear O'Brien's name and does not entirely fit Kane's reference to "public mention of my circumstances". At this time, however, Sir George was married to Lady Frances, while the daughter mentioned in the article resulted from a liaison in the Indian territory years before. It is plausible then that this passage would have distressed Simpson, and it does fit Kane's references to "the incident", "an allusion", and "give additional interest to the sketch". This seems a more likely explanation than Sir George being upset by an "excess of praise and enthusiasm". The letter from Hopkins to Kane, which I have not located, would clarify the issue. Kane's apparent anxiety over the *Patriot* article may have influenced one or both of his decisions to decline Simpson's offer of the Montreal exhibition and to refuse payment for Simpson's commission, although the direct correspondence between the two remained cordial with no mention of any awkward incident, and the relationship does not appear to have altered materially at this point.

On Feb. 9th, 1858, more than nine years after the first mention of Kane's proposal for a publication, the artist wrote to Simpson requesting assistance with his book. Simpson replied generously, offering Company patronage for Kane's visit to London, and wrote letters of introduction paving the way for the artist.
Fig. 25. Dalle des Morts.
Paul Kane, Oil on Canvas, 18" x 29".
Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada.
...the mode in which I can best promote the object of your visit to England is to make you known to the board of the Hudson's Bay Company, so that you may be in a position to refer to them when necessary (as a well known and influential corporation) in your negotiation with publishers and others. 57

The Governor wrote two letters to William Smith, Company Secretary, one of which Kane carried with him while the other was sent directly. In the first, Simpson outlined the artist's accomplishments, his publishing intentions, and his favourable relationship with the Company since his sketching trip into the interior. 58 The second letter was in much the same vein, elaborating on Kane's assistance to the Company and noting that the artist's book would favourably represent the H.B.C. 59

Simpson's introduction was designed to provide maximum assistance to Kane. 60 In view of this, together with the encouragement and aid given previously by Sir George and the Hudson's Bay Company, the Governor possibly expected some form of acknowledgement when the book was published. He may have felt bitter when Kane dedicated *The Wanderings of an Artist*... to his benefactor the Hon. George Allan, thinking that the Company's contributions to Kane as a young, unestablished artist, and the long association with Simpson, should have ranked equally with the large commission from Allan at a later date. Dr. Harper has written that

An unfortunate rupture in the friendship of Sir George Simpson and Paul Kane resulted from the publication of his book... Simpson was highly offended, demonstrating a rather petty annoyance and even a certain vindictiveness...

presumably because neither he nor the Company were mentioned in the dedication.

The only evidence regarding Simpson's alleged bitterness in found in two letters written by Kane after the Governor's death. The first, addressed to Donald Smith on March 21, 1861, sought permission to visit the Labrador peninsula, and Kane noted that:
I should mention that I made formal application on two occasions to the late Sir George Simpson, but as I had the misfortune to incur the Governor's displeasure, I understand that he had given orders that I was not to be countenanced by any of the officers in the service.62

The second letter elaborated on the reasons for Simpson's displeasure, but since it is at odds with the evidence concerning Kane's gift of his artworks to Sir George in return for patronage, we have reason to be skeptical about the entire correspondence:

...the prime cause of my offending was that I had not furnished him [Simpson] copies of my Indian painting gratis in recognition of his official protection; and secondly, that I had omitted to dedicate my recent book, describing my wanderings, to himself. I entertained great respect for Sir George Simpson, but I felt that he was in no sense my patron, and that such favour as I had received from Mr. Christie and others was in no way due to his example.63

This runs contrary to our understanding that Kane did offer Simpson the majority of the paintings at no charge, to the obvious patronage relationship created by Kane's frequent requests for assistance, and to the artist's tributes to Sir George in the letter of Jan. 24th, 1849. Perhaps Kane felt guilty about omitting the dedication and was attempting to justify this action, or possibly he was retaliating for Simpson's alleged vindictiveness.

The Hudson's Bay Company's original support of Paul Kane was strongly influenced by Sir George Simpson's personal opinion of the artist, while in later years the relationship became less one-sided as the Company derived some benefit from Kane's activities at a time when its monopoly was under attack. This latter issue is dealt with in Chapter V, in the context of the motivations for Company support of frontier artists. Before leaving Kane, however, there is one final factor to examine which was an essential aspect of his successful involvement with the Company -- his role as a "documenter" of the frontier.

There is no question that Kane's primary aim was to document, as indicated by the following excerpt where he noted that his purpose in
travelling to the West was to paint

...[a] series of pictures illustrative of the North American Indians and scenery...The principal object in my undertaking was to sketch pictures of the principal chiefs, and their original costumes, to illustrate their manners and customs, and to represent the scenery of an almost unknown country.64

Kane's ability to represent the Indians accurately was important to Sir George Simpson. This was known by both Ballenden and Lefroy who, in their letters introducing the artist to Sir George, emphasized this aspect -- Ballenden noting Kane's "correct" portraits and Lefroy mentioning his "faithful" sketches. Simpson appreciated pictures which were reasonably objective illustrations of things he knew. This is indicated by the 1860 inventory of art work in his home and by remarks in his letters, such as this comment in a letter to Archibald McKinlay noting both the character and documentary quality of Kane's work:

...I was quite surprised by the picturesque and respectable appearance of your city at the Falls, exhibited in a sketch by Mr(K) Kane, the doctor's mills form a very conspicuous object. I should be glad to learn how they are likely to turn out.65

(Figure 26, an oil sketch, may be similar to the one seen by Simpson, probably when he met Kane in the territory on the artist's return from the west). Simpson and the H.B.C. employees would have been among the few individuals who would have recognized any errors in Kane's treatment of his frontier subjects, and his accuracy probably contributed to their respect for him (it was exactly this fact that the Company men were the best able to evaluate the authenticity of Kane's work that led him to solicit the three testimonials discussed above).

Kane's interest in documenting the Indians and recording the scenery of the frontier makes him an ideal representative of a dominant trend in 19th Century Canada. He epitomized the greater concern with scientific enquiry in many ways. He was typical of his time in that his stated objective was to
Fig. 26. The Mills of Oregon City.
Paul Kane. Oil on Paper, 21.0 x 34.0 cm.
Courtesy Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas.
record "an almost unknown country", and in that he chose to do this in a quasi-scientific way. His attention to anthropological details, his extensive travels, the records he kept of his subjects and the frequent lectures he gave on Indian life and customs establish his sincerity about this aim.

Kane successfully met his stated objective. Numerous contemporaries stressed the factual nature of his work, and more importantly they approved, which indicates the widespread acceptance of this approach. He was regularly asked to address the Canadian Institute, a group established for the pursuit of science and knowledge. Many comments by his contemporaries, such as those below, indicate that Kane's work was valued as a visual historical document. For example, the Hon. George Allan mentioned Kane's book in the Canadian Institute President's Address for 1859 as an important contribution to the year's endeavours...

...the book will be hailed by both the Canadian and English public, as a most timely addition to the scanty knowledge we as yet possess of a quarter of North America which is now beginning to awaken so much interest in the minds of all.66

David Wilson, in reviewing the book, said:

Some of the illustrations given in the present volume, such as the Chimney Rock, present its striking geological features, others cannot fail to interest the ethnologist, and this the accompanying narrative tends to increase.67

One review of the artist's 1848 exhibition indicated that students should "follow Mr. Kane's example, and copy from nature, for there is a harmony in nature not to be found elsewhere."68 Another review of the same show, coincidently echoing the predictions of J. H. Lefroy in his Mar. 30, 1846 letter to Simpson, noted that:

A striking characteristic of Mr. Kane's paintings, particularly in their present state, is the truthfulness...in this respect he contrasts very favorably with Mr. Catlin, who certainly indulged in artistic licence to the utmost extent...69

Susanna Moodie, describing Kane's works displayed in the 1851 Upper Canada Provincial Exhibition, also commented on his accuracy:
Eight pictures, illustrative of Indian scenery, character, and customs, by Mr. Paul Kane, would have done honour to any exhibition. For correctness of design, beauty of colouring, and a faithful representation of the peculiar scenery of this continent, they could scarcely be surpassed.

Thus we find contemporary accounts equating painting from nature with factual documentation. These writers applied the standards of the day, and praised Kane's achievements. They did not recognize that in Kane's finished oils, in order to comply with his European vision, some of the documentary value and originality of his work was lost. Kane, like Rindisbacher, adhered to the European conventions, in the poses of his Indian subjects, for example, and in the horses depicted in buffalo hunts. These figures are often unnatural and static (the horses in figure 10 provide an illustration). His skies do not reflect the clarity and vast openness unique to the prairies. Nonetheless, his choice of subject matter and his aim of factual depiction were right in line with the spirit of scientific enquiry prevailing at that time.

In almost every way, Kane's spirit of adventure and attitude toward art was compatible with that of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company, through its officers, was similarly interested in collecting artifacts from the frontier, in combining art and ethnological specimens, and in creating a factual record of an unknown territory. Each made contributions to the advancement of science and knowledge. The Company aided the artist with his objectives, and as we shall see below, he was able to repay this in part by speaking publicly on behalf of the H.B.C. as an informed observer. Is was a successful marriage of the individual and the company on both philosophical and personal grounds.
CHAPTER V

THE MOTIVATION FOR THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S INTEREST IN FRONTIER ARTISTS
Despite the apparent lack of a formal policy concerning art, there can be no question that the Hudson's Bay Company played a role in assisting the artists who have provided us with a visual record of the Canadian frontier during the early to mid 19th Century. One question which arises naturally, then, is what prompted the Company's interest in the art of the frontier. In this chapter we will consider four factors which motivated the Company in this regard, namely: the importance of tradition in the relationship between the H.B.C. and art; the 19th Century spirit of scientific enquiry, and the Company's interest in documenting its history and territories; the initiative of individual H.B.C. employees (special attention is given to Sir George Simpson, because of his influential position with the Company during this period and his evident personal interest in art and science); and, the firm's concern with its public image. Parallels can be found between the motivation for Company support to artists and that to religious and scientific endeavours. This indicates not only that these latter groups received the same kinds of assistance, but that the H.B.C. perceived them as being worthy of assistance for similar reasons.

The Hudson's Bay Company has a long tradition of encouragement of the arts and sciences, dating from the early years of the Company Charter. W. J. Phillips was one of the first to point out that tradition played a role in motivating the H.B.C. in its involvement with art:

...one hardly expects to find numbered among the friends of art a great trading company whose territory lies beyond the frontiers of civilization. It is a fact, however, that the Hudson's Bay Company has been consistent in its sympathetic regard for art and artists. It may be that a tradition was founded by Prince Rupert, the spiritual father of the Company, who was not only a patron of the art but an artist in his own right.
The most important evidence suggesting that the Company's interest in art began in England long before the 19th Century is found in the H.B.C. art collection, which includes portraits by leading artists of the 1600's. Although no dated 19th Century catalogue of the collection has yet been found, contemporary references indicate that the Company was an active collector of both museum artifacts and portraits long before the period under discussion here.

An early letter in the H.B.C. Archives provides us with the provenance of two 18th Century portraits which remain in the Company collection today (one of which is illustrated in figure 27). Secretary William Smith wrote to a Mr. Winstanley in 1821 as follows:

Since you were here yesterday I have seen my predecessor Mr. Lean, who has kindly informed me that the portraits of Prince Rupert in the Board Room is an undoubted "Sir Peter Lely" and was originally in the collection of Rich Hulse Esq. at Chesterfield Blackheath and the Portrait in the hall of No. 3 is by Vandyke and was presented to the Company by the Prince on its foundation, am therefore afraid too little value has been placed upon the latter which you will have the goodness to rectify. I beg to enclose you the list of books in the Library.2

The Company collection includes other fine portraits which originated in this early period, such as the portrait of King Charles II from the Studio of Sir Peter Lely and that of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Works of this nature provide a historical precedent for the large numbers of portraits, portrait engravings, silhouettes and miniatures in the collection, recording important figures in the Company's own history.

This tradition of an interest in portraiture continued through the 19th Century. Works depicting prominent Company officials from this period include, among many others, two silhouettes on glass of Secretary William Smith, lithographs of board members Eden Colvile, Edward Ellice and J. H. Pelly, oil portraits by Stephen Pearce, and engravings of Sir George Simpson and Dr.
Fig. 27. Price Rupert.
Sir Peter Lely, Oil on Canvas, 43 x 33 1/2", c. 1670.
Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg.
John Rae. This collection of portraits may be considered as part of a continuing Company tradition and, at the same time, as evidence of the firm's interest in preserving a documentary record of its history.

In much the same way, the Company's enthusiasm for documenting its territories and the firm's presence there influenced its interest in frontier art. One manifestation of this enthusiasm was the H.B.C.'s support of the scientific investigation of Ruperts Land, concrete evidence for which is to be found in the existence of a Company museum. This museum, established in London prior to 1821, is mentioned by Swainson and Richardson in the introduction to Volume 2 of their *Fauna Boreali-Americana*:

The former [the Company], besides forming a museum of the Hudson's Bay productions, which is liberally open to the public, have presented numerous specimens to the British Museum and the Zoological Society.³

An undated early catalogue of the museum and catalogues of the Archives dating from the Nineteenth Century are in the Company Archives.⁴ Although incomplete, the Museum catalogue contains a section for Indian Curiosities, together with divisions for Articles of Clothing and Ornament, Domestic Utensils and Tools, Specimens of Carving and others.

Letters in the H.B.C. Archives suggest that the Company regarded the various paintings and drawings of frontier subjects primarily as further documentary evidence or "specimens" from its territory. Artworks from the territories are frequently described in terms which suggest that they were valued for their illustrative or narrative content, rather than for their style or artistic quality. For example, in William Smith's letter of thanks to R. P. Pelly for what is believed to have been Rindisbacher's work, the Secretary described the material as "... drawings illustrative of the customs etc. of some of the tribes of Indians in the territory of the Company".⁵

Similarly, a brief entry in the Company Minutes from the 18th Century reads:
"Payment to Mr. John Hood for a picture of the Company's Ships £10.10, Dec. 20, 1769."\(^6\) (See figure 28).

Considering this attitude to these works, it would not be surprising to find that the Company displayed them in conjunction with the museum objects, so that they would complement one another. Although no direct evidence of this has been found, this was not an unusual way of displaying Frontier art - recall the postscript in one of Simpson's letters to Paul Kane: "I intend these sketches applied for, if you would be good enough to provide them, to be framed and hung up in a room I design as a museum for Indian curiosities."\(^7\) Kane's other patron, the Hon. George Allan, used art and specimens in a similar way; his collection included many curiosities collected in the territory by the artist.

Other evidence indicates that the Company was interested not only in ethnological specimens but in any material which recorded its own history and territory. The following excerpt from a letter sent by Simpson to Company Secretary Archibald Barclay in 1845 provides one example:

> The Gentmnn of the Council having learnt that there is a charge in the general accounts for copies of "Dease Simpson's Narrative" and copies of Catlin's work on the Indians of North America beg me to request you will obtain the Govr. and Comms. permission to have as many copies of those works remaining on hand unappropriated as can conveniently be spared sent to the different Depots for distribution throughout the Country."\(^8\)

The H.B.C. collections of Indian artifacts and Frontier paintings documented the Company's presence there and became part of a continuing record of its achievements. The potential contribution of the frontier artists to this goal no doubt accounted in part for the assistance they received from the Company.
Fig. 28. Hudson's Bay Company's Ships leaving Gravesend for Hudson Bay, 1769 (Prince Rupert), (Sea Horse), and (King George). John Hood. Monochrome wash drawing, 21" x 45", 1769. Hudson's Bay Company, Executive Offices, Beaver House, London. Photograph Courtesy Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg.
The individual initiative of important Company officials motivated much of the Hudson's Bay Company's interest in artists, influencing both the growth of the Company collection and the travel of artists to the West. In this respect, the H.B.C. was no different from other corporate patrons, past or present, for the interest of a senior officer is generally a prerequisite for patronage on the part of a corporation.

Several H.B.C. officials were genuinely interested in art or desired to be in the forefront of fashion, and were collectors of artifacts, portraits and works by frontier artists. Similarly, Company employees on the frontier were patrons of portraitists, and collected curiosities together with landscape and historical paintings. A visitor to the home of Dr. Benson, Factor in Nanaimo in 1858, wrote ... "his rooms are crowded with Indian curiosities, bird skins, geological specimens...". The paintings were contributed by artists in the territory, such as Stanley and Kane, and by those in other parts of Canada as well as England. These employees used their influence to assist artists and scientific groups in a variety of ways.

An historical precedent can be found in the fur trade in Canada before the 19th Century. Fur traders in Montreal formed an important group in that city's social hierarchy. For example, Joseph Frobisher (1740 - 1810) was active in Montreal society long before Sir George Simpson. A reference, in Elizabeth Simcoe's diary, to dining with Frobisher indicates the close social connection between military and fur trade officials, which was used to advantage by many who travelled in H.B.C. territory. This social network formed between military and commerce was continued with Simpson's encouragement of military travellers.

The position of the fur traders in society benefitted the most popular social painters of the day, giving them the opportunity for additional portrait
painting. Louis Dulongpré (1754 - 1843) painted both Joseph Frobisher and William McGillivray (1764 - 1825) as well as his famous McGillivray family group now in the McCord Museum. Simpson and his family were frequently the subjects of portraits and miniatures; figure 29 illustrates a William Notman photograph of Sir George.

The Hudson's Bay Company possesses two paintings attributed to William Berczy (1744 - 1813) which were originally given to the North West Company by McGillivray (see figures 30 and 31). An early record describing these works indicates that they were at Fort William in 1816; Ross Cox described the Fort as follows:

The dining hall is a noble apartment, and sufficiently spacious to entertain two hundred. A finely executed bust of the late Simon McTavish is placed in it, with portraits of various proprietors. A full length likeness of Nelson, together with a splendid painting of the battle of the Nile also decorate the walls, and were presented by the Hon. William McGillivray to the Company.

These paintings were moved to York Factory by J. G. McTavish (d. 1847) after the two companies united.

Company officials outside Montreal also indulged in the commissioning of portraits. Donald Ross had his portrait done by Paul Kane in August 1846 at Norway House. John Mix Stanley, who was rescued by Peter Skene Ogden, painted his portrait in gratitude. Stanley also painted portraits of Dr. John McLoughlin and Ogden's daughter, Mrs. A. McKinlay. Evidence in the H.B.C. Archives shows that the Company was often involved in transporting these works commissioned by its employees. For example, Secretary William Smith sent Gilbert Stuart Newton's portrait of Colin Robertson to Mrs. Robertson in Scotland, and subsequently back to Robertson at Montreal.

There is no doubt however that, in the apparent absence of a formal H.B.C. art policy in the period 1821-1860, Company action on matters pertaining to artists was largely determined by one man - Sir George Simpson (d. 1860)
Fig. 29. Sir George Simpson.  
Daguerreotype made c. 1850 copied by Wm. Notman, 1872.  
Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of McGill University, Montreal.
Fig. 30. Lord Nelson.
Attributed to Wm. Berczy. Oil on Canvas, 82" x 32\(\frac{1}{2}\)", c. 1805.
Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg.
Fig. 31. Battle of the Nile.
Attributed to Wm. Berczy, Oil on Canvas, 82" x 32\(\frac{1}{2}\)"", c. 1806.
Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg.
(see figure 32). The importance of his role, illustrated in previous chapters by his relationships with Paul Kane and Henry Warre, necessitate our looking more closely at this complex, fascinating individual who was both typical of his time and a leader in it.

Simpson's biographer John S. Galbraith reflects the general uncertainty about the actual degree of Sir George's power and influence during his forty years with the Company. Galbraith has noted that:

Even though he [Simpson] was deemed all powerful by the officers of the fur trade, he was deeply conscious that he was a servant of the board. His area of autonomy was circumscribed, and when he tried to extend it he had been reminded that the board was not prepared to surrender its powers even to a subordinate as trusted as he.16

There is no doubt, however, that Simpson's influence on Company policy increased as he demonstrated his "unrivalled knowledge of the fur trade and his superb business abilities."17 Referring to the 1830's Galbraith said that Simpson

... no longer had any concern about his status in the Company; he was secure in the approval of the board; and during the remainder of the decade, his judgement on fur trade issues carried more and more weight. He became virtually a member of the board. ...During the decade of the 1840's Simpson was deeply involved in the high policy of the Company...18

In general terms one could say that Sir George's control of the company's affairs in Canada was almost complete, particularly in the later years. John McLean, a Simpson detractor, described him as despotic, and many fur traders called him "the Little Emperor".19 He ruled the affairs of Council with a firm hand. The Company Minutes, together with his detailed reports and the volume of letters he exchanged with the Governor and Committee, indicate that the London board had a strong grasp on the decisions made, although much of the input came from Simpson.
Fig. 32. Sir George Simpson.
Stephen Pearce. Oil on Canvas, 55 1/4" x 43 1/8", 1856.
Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg.
We have seen that Sir George was a policy maker, and that his decisions influenced the relationships between the company and various artists, particularly those who wished to travel to the frontier. Since he was an art collector in his own right and an early patron of Paul Kane, it is interesting to examine aspects of his character illuminating his personal interest. His personal and professional lives are very difficult to distinguish from one another. Both Arthur S. Morton and John S. Galbraith have explained how difficult it is to write the life story of a man by whose pen thousands of letters exist, but who rarely revealed a glimpse of his inner self. Clearly however, Simpson's personal interests would have influenced his corporate actions concerning art and artists.

Simpson first became associated with the H.B.C. through his relationship with Andrew Wedderburn (Colvile) who, as brother-in-law to Lord Selkirk, became a major Company shareholder. Sir George was sent to North America by the Company in 1820; there he took an active role in Montreal society, as evidenced by this letter:

Here I am in excellent quarters and quite at Home with many of the first Families in Town, my time pleasantly divided between business and amusement; Dinner parties, Tea Squalls, Cards, Balls, Theatres and masquerades occupy my evenings and I assure you the representative of the Hudson's Bay Co. is looked upon as no inconsiderable personage in this part of the World.  

Simpson was "one of the inner circle of the English speaking mercantile community which dominated the city." He was a member of the Beaver Club after 1827, and became a prominent businessman both as the senior H.B.C. representative and on his own account.

An adjunct to Simpson's position in society was his concern for appearances, reflected throughout his life. His choice in 1833 of Lachine as his principal residence and headquarters shows this concern. There he had the largest house in town; as Clifford Wilson said,
We can imagine with what pride he was wont to show off the house and garden to his friends and to the titled visitors from overseas whom he entertained from time to time. For Sir George was always a very proud little man, who by combining haughtiness toward some with courtly affability towards others knew how to play the grand seigneur to perfection.23

Simpson entertained frequently and kept a fine table and wine cellar. The inventory of his house at Isle D'Orval, taken in Nov. 1860, suggests entertainment on a lavish scale - included were 39 dozen bottles of port, 43 dozen madiera, and 18 dozen sherry.24 His concern for appearances extended to the frontier; during his travels there he emphasized his position by his elegant dress, including top hat, and his personal piper to announce his arrival.

It is apparent, then, that Simpson ascribed a great deal of importance to his position. The culmination of his quest for power, wealth and prestige was the pageant and luncheon he hosted in honour of the Prince of Wales, shortly before his death in 1860. His interest in art may well have arisen in this context, as part of his desire to emulate his society friends and peers. Given this motivation to become a collector of art and artifacts, he certainly had the wherewithal to sustain this interest - on his death his estate was valued in excess of £100,000.25 At the same time, while in matters of business he was renowned for his "Oeconomy", in his personal affairs he was not parsimonious. In a letter to Cameron, Simpson noted that he was "generally of an easy turn of mind as regards Pounds, Shillings and Pence and making provisions for a rainy day."26

Sir George Simpson's personal interest in artistic matters has, like most everything to do with the private man, been difficult to establish. Two subject areas provide the focus for this brief investigation: the landscape and the native Indians. Both were major interests of the 19th Century generally, and of the frontier artists in particular. References to both are found in Simpson's writings and, most interestingly, in his collection. He
was keenly interested in the anthropological and scientific aspects of the Indians, and, like many Company employees who shared these tastes, he had excellent opportunities to collect artifacts. It is significant that he chose to supplement this collection with related art works.

Simpson's journals reflect a precise businesslike mind and his subject matter, while varied, is almost entirely devoted to matters affecting the fur trade and the Company's position in North America. Nevertheless, there is also evidence of artistic sensibility and scientific interest, both appropriate to his time.

Sir George's descriptions of people and events present the facts in a forthright narrative way, conveying the essence of each scene. His personal letters also exhibit this precise organization. References to the scenery of the Frontier, to the poetic, are few and far between, leading one to suspect a lack of awareness of the landscape and its inherent artistic potential. There are, however, occasional references to particularly striking views: "The situation of Jaspers House is beautifully Wild and romantic, on the borders of the Athabasca River which here spreads itself out into a small Lake surrounded by Lofty Mountains." Paul Kane's description of this scene captures these feelings admirably (see figure 33). Simpson had the ability to convey his impressions vividly, and was clearly not indifferent to the picturesque, wild and romantic qualities of his environment. He rarely indulged this, however, probably as a result of the demands of his job and his personal reticence.

There is relatively more evidence of Simpson's interest in natural science and anthropology. In one journal he mentioned the wide field for botanical research offered by the Columbia district, saying ... "Specimens of every kind within our reach will be sent Home as I have given directions to that effect at the different Establishments." Another passage describing
Fig. 33. Jasper House.
Paul Kane. Watercolour on Paper. 13.3 x 22.5 cm., 1847.
Courtesy Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas.
"The Goat" illustrates this interest, together with a thoroughness and accuracy of description (see figure 34). Sir George recorded hundreds of comments about the native Indians. His views on this subject ranged widely, and certainly did not reflect the Romantic conception and "noble savage" belief so prevalent in the 18th and 19th Centuries. His business and personal contacts with the Indians were undoubtedly too numerous to allow him to accept a single stereotype. Galbraith maintained that Simpson judged Indian character, behaviour and attributes by 19th Century English standards, that his views were in essence those which prevailed among the fur traders of the time, and that "in every case they (the Indians) were seen as uncivilized, improvident people whose moral and intellectual development was retarded." I disagree, however, with his assertion that the fur traders "were not anthropologists analyzing folkways and more." Many traders left detailed observations of Indians and their customs which today form some of our most important records from that time. Simpson's own essay on the Chinook tribe recorded an objective account of their customs and habits which was descriptive, detailed and little editorialized (figure 35 depicts a Chinook woman from Astoria, another indication of the similarity in Kane's and Simpson's interests).

Simpson's interest in the Indians was accompanied by the compilation of a collection of curiosities and artifacts from the Frontier. His interest in collecting is significant in view of his position with the H.B.C. and the Company's patronage of scientific exploration. His collection of artifacts was directly related to, and perfectly compatible with, his collection of paintings - he felt that these were complementary to one another. It is also significant that he shared this interest with Paul Kane; this was likely a factor in his patronage of the artist.
Fig. 34. Rocky Mountain Goat.
Paul Kane. Oil on Board. 22.9 x 35.6 cm.
Courtesy Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas.
Fig. 35. Chinook Woman from Astoria.
Paul Kane. Watercolour on Paper. 17.6 x 12.7 cm., 1846.
Courtesy Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas.
The inventory of Simpson's residences at Lachine and Isle D'Orval included "Indian curiosities, colored bark work, 1 box all sorts of things of the countries ... bird skins ... 4 stone pipe heads ... Chinese work vase ... specimens of minerals ... antler heads, robes, roggins, blankets, buffalo robes, antlers, stuffed birds" and "a large collection of Indian curiosities, weapons and ornaments valued at 200$, as well as two small bark canoes." One might be inclined to think that this was an unidentified collection of miscellaneous objects gathered casually over Simpson's long career, were it not for a letter indicating the amount of concern he felt for the care of this material:

"... There are, moreover, 5 packages belonging to me containing curiosities either on board the steamer or at the Fort ... If any of them can be sent across the portage in perfect safety from moisture, one or two of them may be sent, particularly the one containing the dresses but if there be any danger of their getting wet, the whole of the curiosities better be detained until they can be forwarded next year. ... On further consideration I shall not risk the curiosities across the portage at this season, you will therefore keep them, to be forwarded next year, but in the meantime I should be glad if you would get them taken out of the packages some warm sunny day, so as to have them aired and repacked putting some tobacco camphor and Pepper in the boxes, which I understand is a preventative from Moth - Have the goodness to let them be examined and exposed to the sun repeatedly, packing them always with Pepper, tobacco and Camphor."

The previously quoted letter to Paul Kane indicates the intended use of such articles in conjunction with artworks "in a room I design as a museum for Indian curiosities". The inventory does not show whether such a room existed, but it is not strictly reliable in that many of the curiosities appear to have been boxed as they were evaluated, and their location in the house was not specified.

The inventory of Simpson's estate provides us with evidence of the directions his personal interest took. They were in many ways similar to those of the Company itself, as indicated by its collection. He possessed numerous portraits and engravings of Company officials as well as landscape
views of the territory and places familiar to him, including Fort Vancouver and Isle D'Orval. His collection of Indian curiosities of all types was vast and dispersed through both houses. Like the Company, Simpson's opportunities to indulge his interests were numerous. His personal enthusiasm was carried over into his work, and benefitted both the arts and sciences of the region.

We have considered three possible motivations for the Hudson's Bay Company's involvement in frontier art: a tradition of art collecting, a desire to document the Company's territory and achievements, and the initiative of individual Company officials, most notably Sir George Simpson. The fourth reason is the role which the artists and their art could play in developing a favourable public image for the Company. The H.B.C. officers recognised that the encouragement of religion, education, exploration and science in their territory helped the Company maintain its monopoly position. They likely realised that the work of artists and the tales of travellers from the frontier were also important in shaping public opinion and sustaining the Company's image. Accounts of Rupert's Land, many of which were illustrated, were very popular with British readers. Since the continuation of the monopoly depended to a large extent on public opinion in England, the Company was well aware of the influence these accounts had; Simpson knew from his own experience, as he was forced to defend many of his written statements before the select committee investigations.

Galbraith has summarized the implications of the 1857 investigation:

A select committee of the British House of Commons had just completed an investigation of the companies monopoly during which witnesses had condemned the administration of the settlement as unjust and tyrannical. Though the majority of the committee had not accepted all the indictments as valid, it had recommended the opening of the southern area of Rupert's Land to settlement, and a strong minority had favored even more drastic action against the Co.'s chartered rights.
Several people who had travelled in the Company's territory and therefore had first hand experience of the frontier situation testified on the firm's behalf at these hearings:

Simpson's contention that the Indians were well treated was supported by most witnesses, including Col. Crofton, Lieut.-Col. J. H. Lefroy, who had spent two years in the territory, and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, the Right Reverend David Anderson.42

Nor was England the only location where the Company's image came under attack. As Galbraith has pointed out:

... agitation for transfer of the Co.'s territory to Canada had grown in the Canadian assembly and press.

The campaign against the Company began in the late 1840's, led by the "Clear Grit" party, which derived most of its support from farmers in what is now Ontario. The Spokesman was George Brown ... Two newspapers, the Globe and the North American, edited respectively by Brown and William McDougall, gave their editorial support.43

Simpson recognized that these attacks could cause serious trouble for the Company if they spread, and he was "at pains to do all he could to keep his friends in the Canadian legislature and to elicit all the information he could on Brown's plans and progress".44

Paul Kane was one of those who publicly supported the Hudson's Bay Company in North America. Interestingly enough Dr. Harper has maintained that this artist's works had contributed indirectly to the Company's problems:

Kane's exhibition may even have been ironically, an indirect cause of stirring up the resentment against the Hudson's Bay Co. which was the result of the turning of hungry eyes in Canada West towards the great land mass of the prairies as a place for future expansion.45

Kane's contributions in favour of the Company appear to have been more significant, however. These included speeches and writings in addition to his artwork.

Kane's writings were generally complimentary to the H.B.C. There are numerous examples from his speeches given at the Canadian Institute, comments about the Company's treatment of Indians and other frontier issues,
and acknowledgement of the treatment he received from the Company while in the Territory. Much of this was published at the time in the Canadian Journal and the Daily Colonist. The following passage is sufficient to show that Kane's views were articulate and directed towards issues of moment to the H.B.C.:

... The Half-breeds are much inclined to grumbling, and, although the Company treat them with great liberality, they still ask almost for impossibilities; indeed as far as the company is concerned, I cannot conceive a more just and strict course than that which they pursue in the conduct of the whole of their immense traffic. In times of scarcity they help all around them; in sickness they furnish them with medicines; and even try to act as mediators between hostile bands of Indians. No drunkenness or debauchery is seen around their posts, and so strict is their prohibition of liquor, that even their own officers can only procure a small allowance, given as part of their annual outfit on voyages.

Without entering into the general question of the policy of giving a monopoly of the Fur trade to one company, I cannot but record as the firm conviction which I formed from a comparison between the Indians in the Hudson's Bay Company territories and those in the United States, that opening up the trade with the Indians to all who wish indiscriminately to engage in it must lead to their annihilation. For while it is the interest of such a body as the Hudson's Bay Company to improve the Indians and encourage them to industry according to their own native habits, in hunting and the chase, even with a view to their own profits; it is as obviously the interest of small companies and private adventurers to draw as much wealth as they possibly can from the country in the shortest possible time, although in doing so the very source from which the wealth springs should be destroyed. The unfortunate craving for intoxicating drinks, which characterises all the tribes of Indians, and the terrible effects thereby produced upon them, render such a deadly instrument in the hands of designing men. It is well known that, although the laws of the United States strictly prohibit the sale of liquor to the Indians, it is impossible to enforce them, and whilst many traders are making rapid fortunes in their territories, the Indians are fast declining in character, wealth and numbers, whilst those in contact with the Hudson Bay Company maintain their numbers, retain their native characteristics unimpaired, and in some degree share in the advantages which civilization places within their reach.46

Although there is no proof that Kane's comments favourably altered public opinion, it is noteworthy that his audiences at the Canadian Institute in Toronto in the late 1850's included some of Upper Canada's most distinguished and influential citizens.
Sir George Simpson clearly believed that Kane's remarks, together with his artworks, made an important contribution to the Company's cause. His paintings were regarded as factual renderings of conditions in the territories (although today we recognize that they were selected interpretations and often romanticized). Again, it is difficult to evaluate their impact on public opinion, but it is apparent that Simpson appreciated Kane's contribution. This is made clear by the following excerpts from the letters of introduction Simpson sent to the Company in London. The first comes from the letter Kane carried to William Smith:

I have the pleasure of making Mr. Kane known to the Board, as since his extensive travels in the Interior, he has never failed to make public acknowledgement of the courtesy he received at the hands of the Company's officers, and of the favourable opinion he was led to entertain of their treatment of the Indians and general management.47

The second excerpt is from the letter sent privately by Simpson to Smith, which elaborated on Kane's assistance to the Company:

[Mr. Kane] has been almost [the Company's] only advocate in Toronto since the anti Hudson's Bay cry arose: and both verbally and in writing has defended them from the indiscriminate attacks made upon them. He was looked on as an impartial witness and his writings attracted considerable attention. I have no doubt his Journal will represent his views in the most favourable light for the Company, while from the interest that would attach to the illustrations it would be likely to be generally read.48

We have seen that there was more than one facet in the support given by Sir George Simpson, and so by the Hudson's Bay Company, to the artist Paul Kane, with the motivation behind this support changing over time. In much the same way, there were several different reasons for the Company's assistance to various artists in the time period 1821 - 1860. This diversity of motivations and the absence of a clearly stated art policy are reflected in the diffuse character of the Company collection and the sporadic nature of its assistance to artists. Nevertheless, the Company's contributions to
Frontier art was significant in terms of the number of artists with whom it was associated and the importance of this assistance from the artist's point of view. The breadth of the Company's interests enabled it to encourage artists with varied talents and objectives. As a result, the art created provides a cross section of life in the territory under Hudson's Bay Company influence.
FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER I. A Context for Hudson's Bay Company Support of Artists on the Frontier


3. Minutes of Council, Northern Department, 1848, B239/k/23a Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.


5. George Simpson to Wm. Sinclair, 10 June 1845, D5/67 fo.31. Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.


18. Appendix One provides a preliminary listing of artists in the territory connected to the Company in some capacity.


25. Sir G. Simpson to the Gentlemen in Charge of the Columbia River Establishment, Mar. 25, 1846, d4/67 fo.349; another letter may be found in D4/34 fo.59 on the same subject. Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.


28. Lefroy, In Search, p. 3.


32. Ibid. p. 1.


36. Ibid, p. 57.


CHAPTER II Peter Rindisbacher.

1. The closely knit character of the H.B.C. board is evident in the familial relationships of board members and Company personnel. Although a factor in maintaining cohesiveness within the Company it probably also encouraged anti monopoly feeling in the 1850's. The Earl of Selkirk was married to Jean Wedderburn-Colvile, the sister of Andrew Colvile, H.B.C. Board member. Colvile was Sir George Simpson's mentor. Selkirk was also John Halkett's brother-in-law. Selkirk purchased a large block of H.B.C. stock after having been granted the land in Rupert's Land.

3. This endeavour has been thoroughly covered in the literature, notably by Karl Meuli in "Peter Rindisbacher, the Indian Painter from the Emmenthal". Contributions to Folklore, University of Basel. Translated by Dr. F. F. Kluge, edited translation by Susan Erb. (Basel: G. Krebs Pub. House, 1960), p. 6. Hereafter cited as Meuli, Emmenthal.


5. Reprinted by Meuli, Emmenthal, p. 9. The letter was signed by Peter Rindisbacher (the artist's father) and six other settlers, in the name of the colonists.


10. Entries referring to Peter Rindisbacher's accounts with the Hudson's Bay Company, based on material in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, may be found in Appendix Two.


12. This letter is printed in Appendix Three.

13. F. M., "Rindisbacher the Painter", Neue Zurcher Zeitung, Zurich, April 14, 1870, translated by Anna M. Heilmayer, introduction by Michel Benisovich in "Peter Rindisbacher, Swiss Artist". Minnesota History 32 (September 1951), 155. The historiography of this article which is the basis for many subsequent writings on the artist, may be found in Meuli, Emmenthal, footnote 35.


23. George Barnston to James Hargrave, 14 Nov. 1824. Hargrave Papers MG 19 A 21, Vol. Ser. 1 fo.40-44. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. The relevant parts of this letter were printed by MacLeod "Peter Rindisbacher", 1945, p. 32, and by Alvin M. Josephy's Young Man, p. 44. However, Josephy has cited Clifford Wilson as the author (although Wilson wrote one portion of the article) and did not verify that the original source material has been in the Public Archives of Canada since 1950. The Margaret Arnett MacLeod papers, in the Manitoba Archives have been invaluable in providing details and verifying source materials.

24. Wilson, "Peter Rindisbacher", p. 52.


26. MacLeod has mixed the actual dating of the Barnston letters in her publication of this material "Peter Rindisbacher", 1945. Barnston's letter to Hargrave, of April 14, 1826; Hargrave Papers, MG 19, A 21, Ser. 1, Vol. 1, fo.83, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa; reads "P.S. Have the goodness to send me any drawings Rindisbacher may have for [me] by Mr. MacDonald in the Spring he is very careful". MacLeod describes this as the February letter. Her working notes in the Manitoba Prov. Archives indicate that this was an error in her finished draft, not in the original transcription.


32. Joseph Bird joined the H.B.C. in 1815 at age 15; in 1819 he returned to the Red River Colony from Edmonton district. He was described as an "active and industrious young man". Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, ed. E. E. Rich, (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939), 2:190 footnote 1.


34. MacLeod, "Peter Rindisbacher", p. 33.


36. See, by way of contrast, Smith's letter to Robert Parker Pelly, of June 20, 1847, printed below.


38. Benisovich, "Peter Rindisbacher", p. 161. According to the context of this excerpt, the source apparently refers to Governor Bulger and Rindisbacher in the long winter of 1821, but Bulger did not arrive at Red River until the summer of 1822, by which time Rindisbacher had been at the Colony for almost a year. This imprecision is probably because the alleged events occurred over forty years before the articles were published, but points out that they are not completely reliable.


43. Josephy, *Artist*, p. 43.
   E. H. Bovay, *Le Canada et Les Suisse* 1604-1974. (Switzerland: Fribourg U. Press, 1976), p. 222, 223, in his catalogue raisonne lists these paintings as #76 and #79 but adds a footnote that they have not been authenticated.

44. Wilson,"Peter Rindisbacher", (1945), p. 34.

45. This series, entitled *Views in the Hudson's Bay*, includes "A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide". "The Governor of Red River driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole".
   "A Souteaux Indian, Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg."
   "The Red Lake Chief making a Speech to the Governor of Red River at Fort Douglas in 1825."
   "The Red Lake Chief With Some of his Followers Arriving at the Red River and Visiting the Governor."
   "The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay, Voyaging in a Light Canoe.", 1824.


52. Josephy, *Artist*, p. 43.
   Wilson, "Peter Rindisbacher", p. 36.

54. Sir John Franklin's Arctic Expeditions were in 1818, 1819-22 and 1824-7; there was much English interest in these explorations.

55. Wilson, "Western Artist", p. 51.


58. Meuli, Emmental, p. 33.
This picture is listed as #53, in Bovay, Le Suisse, p. 218, catalogue raisonne of the artist.


60. MacLeod, "Peter Rindisbacher", p. 30.


Printed in part by MacLeod, "Peter Rindisbacher", p. 33.

65. Shave indicates that West's Rindisbachers were done on J. Whatman drawing paper. Shave, "John West", p. 18.


69. Coen points out that this sense of human insignificance in the face of nature was an essential element of the "sublime" in literature and art. Coen, "The Indian as...", p. 24.
70. This is a much reproduced work. See for example W. V. Kinietz, John Mix Stanley and His Indian Paintings, (Ann Arbor; U. of Michigan Press, 1942), plate 20.
My thanks to Ms. Coen for drawing this work to my attention. Coen, "The Indian as...", p. 122.


CHAPTER III - Henry Warre

1. Historians disagree over the motives behind and handling of the controversy, which was settled by the American Boundary Treaty. The treaty was signed on June 16, 1846, while Warre and Vavasour were still in Oregon, and settled on the 49th Parallel. Commager argues that England had neither a direct economic interest nor scarcely a diplomatic or political one, pointing out that Aberdeen proposed in an 1844 letter "exactly the boundary settlement which was made in 1846". (Commager, "Oregon Treaty", p. 26 and p. 30, citing Joseph Schafer) It is sometimes argued that Simpson's shrewd analysis led the H.B.C. to establish Fort Victoria in 1843 as a major fur trade post to replace Fort Vancouver, which allowed England a graceful settlement without significantly harming Company trade. Aberdeen's letter to Peel communicates this view, noting that the 49th parallel "would give us everything really worth contending for, and it would seem to coincide with the notions of the Hudson's Bay Company who have lately established their principal settlement on Vancouver's Island". This letter is cited by John S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor 1821-1869. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 242. However, both he, and Gloria Cline, Ogden, p. 152, dispute this as H.B.C. motivation for installing Fort Victoria.


The Gordon and Peel expeditions were also sent.


6. The letters in Appendix Eight discuss the Red River issue and illuminate the professional relationship between Warre and Simpson.
7. This letter may be found in Appendix Five, as printed by Schafer, "Documents", p. 16 and 17.


9. A listing of expenses incurred may be found in Appendix Six. They show the nature of items supplied to frontier travellers by the Company. Some indication of the circumstances of payment is also provided.

10. In view of Warre's reference to "many applications for so delightful ... and so adventurous a journey", or as a measure of the seriousness of the expedition in the eyes of the British, it may be significant that Warre was Commander Jackson's nephew and aide-de-camp. Commander Gordon (Lord Aberdeen's younger brother) and Lieut. Peel (the Prime Minister's son) were chosen to send reports from the Oregon coast.


This rather scornful opinion accurately reflects the strategic value of the H.B.C. forts, designed mainly to provide some defense against hostile Indians and not adequately defensible against concerted attack. They were, however, the major British installations in the area.


21. I have examined the typescript of Henry J. Warre's Journal in the Iconography Division of the Public Archives of Canada. The manuscript source is MG 24, F 71, 3 Vols.; 3364 p. in the Public Archives of Canada. Although some these are undated I have accepted the sequencing of them proposed in Finding Aid 731. Wherever "typescript" is cited for the Warre journals this source rather than the "microfilm" copy of some of the same material was used.

22. Henry J. Warre, "Diary from the Red River to the Columbia", fo.6, microfilm, Public Archives of Canada.


26. Ibid., fo.8, fo.42.

27. In contrast to the outward trip, it is undoubtedly significant that the return voyage was accomplished at speed. In fact, the final leg of 500 miles, from Carlton House to Fort Garry, was accomplished in a new record time of 10 days.


[MG 24 F 71, Vol. 3, p. 3127]

Courtesy of Michael Warre


33. Ogden to Simpson, April 4, 1846, D5/17 fo.72, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg, also cited by Cline, Ogden, p. 169.

34. Henry J. Warre, [Journal of Travels between Montreal and the Red River Settlement, May 1845], Vol. 1, fo.894-898 (upside down; 102 in pencil), typescript, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Here Warre enumerates several Co. men whose aid he found notable, including Mr. Ross, Mr. Fisher, Mr. McTavish, Rev. Mr. Evans, Captain Carry, Mr. Prudent and Mr. Grant, as well as Mr. C. and someone from Stone Fort whose name he had obviously forgotten.

35. Henry J. Warre, "Diary from the Red River ... to the Columbia River", Vol. 1, fo.1030-1032, typescript, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Printed by Major-Fregeau, Overland, p. 26. Statements of a personal nature, including this one, are often crossed out.


38. P. S. Ogden to H. J. Warre, Nov. 18, 1845. [Public] Record Office Transcripts F.0.5, Vol. 457, 1846. Papers Relative to the Expedition of Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour to the Oregon Territory; in Public Archives of British Columbia, GR 327, Vol. 7, fo.174; Victoria: This letter may also be found as D5/16 fo.411, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.

39. Henry J. Warre to P. S. Ogden, Nov. 19, 1845, D5/16, fo.411d. Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg; Also found: Public Record Office loc. cit. footnote 43, fo.177.

41. Schafer, "Documents", p. 73.


44. Henry J. Warre, "Diary from the Red River ... to the Columbia River", fo.102, microfilm, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

45. The following excerpt from H. S. Patterson, "54'40" or Fight", The Beaver 267, (June 1936), p. 44 is taken from Warre and Vavasour's report of Oct. 25, 1845:

"The gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company appear to us anxious that their motives should not be misunderstood in uniting with the Americans for the mutual protection of their property or that their allegiance to the mother country should not be impugned. Every information has been afforded us in the kindest manner by Dr. McLoughlin and Mr. Douglass, the gentlemen in charge of the H.B.Company in the Oregon territory, without reference to our 'ulterior objects and we are convinced that the same kindness and hospitality is extended to all of whatever nation arriving in this wild country."

"...whatever may have been the Orders or the motives of the Gentlemen in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts, their policy has tended to the introduction of the American Settlers into the Country. We are convinced that without their assistance, not thirty families would ever have been in the settlement. The first Immigration in 1841 or 1842, arrived in so miserable a condition, that had it not been for the trading posts of the Hudsons Bay Company, they must have starved or been cut off by the Indians."


47. McLoughlin, Letters of John McLoughlin, p. 285. The situation within the Company as a result of the Oregon issue is covered at length in this volume.

48. Ibid., p. 286.

49. Ibid., p. lv.

Warre was even more vehement in an earlier edition of his journals. In "Private Diary of Events in the Oregon Territory", no. 5, fo. 220-221, Public Archives of Canada, microfilm, which he began on Jan. 1, 1846 and kept during his return journey to Montreal, he wrote:

"As a kind uncle and General I was greatly attached to him and as a sincere friend with the power and I believe the inclination to advance me in my profession I felt my loss to be almost irreparable. My whole object on this long and arduous expedition had been to prove myself worthy of his confidence and everything I have done, with reference to his directions and anticipating his approbation. - Now all my work must go to strangers, to persons unacquainted with the difficulties of my position and of my instructions. I dread the result. My task has been completed to the best of my abilities, but what was always a difficult has now become a thankless one".

This is one of the most illuminating passages concerning Warre's character, since we gain insight into his relationship with his uncle and his attitude to the Oregon mission.

51. When I refer to "later writings" as opposed to "earlier writings", I am usually considering a time span of not more than three years. The journals containing the negative comments were written during the expedition of 1845/46, and the majority of the changes were made before the publication of the lithographs in 1848.

52. It should be noted that Warre certainly had positive comments about some Company policies. On numerous occasions he praised them for discouraging the distribution of spirits to the Indians and half breeds.


61. In 1845, Warre was 25 years old. He had studied at Sandhurst from 1832-7; his father was Lieut. General Sir Wm. Warre. He had spent time abroad, mainly in Paris, where he studied the paintings at the Louvre. Cline says of him (Ogden, p. 155), that: "He was also socially prominent both through his immediate family and his aunt, who was the Countess Mulgrave and wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Young Warre had advanced his career in the usual nineteenth century fashion prior to the abolition of purchase of commissions in 1870. He had bought his way into higher rank and increasingly prestigious regiments ..."


Warre and Vavasour to Sir George Simpson, June 12, 1846, D5/17, fo.387, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.


67. In 1845, Warre was 25 years old. He had studied at Sandhurst from 1832-7; his father was Lieut. General Sir Wm. Warre. He had spent time abroad, mainly in Paris, where he studied the paintings at the Louvre. Cline says of him that "he was also socially prominent both through his immediate family and his aunt, who was the Countess Mulgrave and wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Young Warre had advanced his career in the usual nineteenth-century fashion prior to the abolition of purchase of commissions in 1870. He had bought his way into higher rank and increasingly prestigious regiments". (Cline, 1974, p. 155).


CHAPTER IV - Paul Kane


3. Ibid., p. xxx.


7. G. Simpson to John Ballenden, Nov. 17, 1845. D4/67 fo.232d. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg. Simpson's request for assurance regarding Kane's nationality is understandable given the sensitive political situation between England and the U.S.A. over the Oregon question. He did not wish to place the Company in an awkward position by sponsoring the travels of, say an American artist at this time.


10. Numerous letters in the H.B.C. Archives, and the evidence of Lefroy's published Book indicate that Lefroy and Simpson were well acquainted. 

Lieut. J. H. Lefroy met Simpson in April 1843 at Fort Garry on his way to Fort Chippewyan, where he was to be engaged in magnetic observations on behalf of the British army. According to John Chalmers [Fur Trade Governor George Simpson 1820-1860, (Edmonton, The Institute of Applied Art Ltd., 1960), p. 153] he must have created a very fine impression on the Governor, for "Sir George rode with him from Fort Garry to Stone Fort and loaned him a book". Prior to his expedition, he had received "much information and advice [Lefroy to Mrs. Lefroy, 25 April, 1843, In Search of the Magnetic North, ed. George F. G. Stanley (Toronto: Macmillan, 1955), p. 2.] from Sir George Simpson, and he obtained a standard type of circular letter to Company posts with regard to the expedition. He kept contact with Simpson for many years. On his return to Toronto he maintained correspondence with Sir George even though there was some awkwardness over payment of his account with the Co. by the Royal Society. In subsequent years Lefroy was of assistance to the Company regarding select Committee investigations in 1857. His influence in this regard is probably considerable, since he moved in prominent social circles. He married a daughter of Sir John Beverly Robinson in 1846, and was President of the Canadian Institute for many years.

11. Harper, Paul Kane's Frontier, p. 61 footnote 1, aids us with dating this meeting by noting that Kane's original Journal indicates that he left Toronto for Lachine on March 25, 1846.

12. Kane, Wanderings, p. 29.


This letter refers at one point to "the multiplication of himself by three", which possibly indicates that, as Ballenden had suggested, Kane intended to take two men with him. One of these may have been Stewart Watson who, in a letter to Kane, mentioned an interest in painting Indians. Watson to Kane, June 4, 1844, printed by Harper, Paul Kane's Frontier, p. 327.


15. Kane, Wanderings, p. 31.

16. Ibid., p. 37.

18. One group which did receive free transportation from time to time was composed of missionaries who had obtained proper authorization beforehand.


23. Kane, Wanderings, p. 41.

24. Ibid., p. 29, 33.


26. Kane, Wanderings, Chapter Six, passim.

27. Ibid., p. 65.


31. Memorandum by Mrs. B. R. Ross on verso of frame of portrait of Donald Ross by Paul Kane. Files, Picture Division, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria. This painting was formerly in the archives, and has since been returned to the artist's family. It is reproduced in Harper's, Paul Kane's Frontier, Figure 70.

32. Harper, Paul Kane's Frontier, p. 308. The work is listed as IV-596 in Harper's catalog raisonne, and as 916.15.252 in the Royal Ontario Museum accession catalogue.

33. One aspect of the Kane-Simpson relationship which will not be covered is that relating to Sir Edward Poore's expedition of mid-1849. This is addressed in Appendix Nine, which includes references to previously unpublished letters in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.
34. Dr. Harper suggests the letter dates from 1847; this is the only possible date. Simpson could not logically have expected a letter with the spring express of 1846, before Kane travelled west. Kane returned to Fort Edmonton from the Pacific in Dec. 1847; in May 1848 he left with the spring fur brigade for Norway House, where he met Simpson. Thus 1847 is indicated, and the references to "the Spring express" and "the Autumn" dictate that the letter was written in mid-year.


39. Paul Kane to Sir George Simpson, Jan. 3, 1849. D5/24 fo.16. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg. Some of the paintings from Simpson's collection are now believed to be in the Coe Collection at Yale University. [Clifford Wilson] "Early Western Paintings", The Beaver (June 1949), p. 12. Figures 21, 22, 23 and 24, are attributed to Kane, and in Harper, *Paul Kane's Frontier*, are related to other known Kane works of similar subjects.


43. A letter from Frederick Verner to J. Addison Reid indicated that twelve Kane paintings were exhibited at Buckingham Palace in 1858. It has been suggested, by Harper among others, that these may have been those bought by Simpson, "although the number is neither the 14 ordered by him nor the 10 listed as delivered". (Harper, *Paul Kane's Frontier*, p. 40). He has verified that no such exhibition appears in the Palace daily records for 1858. Similarly, I am not convinced that the exhibition took place, but if it did the paintings may well have been those owned by Simpson and the date may more plausibly have been the early 1850's. If it did not, a feasible explanation for the error on Verner's part could be the large gathering held Nov. 13, 1855 at the home of George W. Allan, attended by the Governor General and members of the government. At this gathering, Kane exhibited oil sketches and presented a paper (*Canadian Journal*, Vol. 3, Ser. 1, 1854-55, p. 380).


46. A number of factors suggest that we are missing some earlier (perhaps verbal?) communications between Kane and Simpson. Sir George's discussion of the "proposed publication" in the letter of Nov. 9th, 1848, indicates more foreknowledge of the proposal than contained in Kane's Oct. 22nd letter. Similarly, Bartlett's letter to Kane instigated by Simpson, is dated Oct. 25, 1848; the timing is very tight for this to have resulted solely from the Oct. 22nd letter. Finally, the titles of the four paintings still to be finished, as noted by Kane in that first letter, are not familiar to us from any previous correspondence.

47. Paul Kane to Sir George Simpson, Jan. 3, 1849. D5/24, fo.16. Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg. The idea for a book did not reach fruition until almost ten years later. In the meantime Kane had found another patron, the Hon. George Allan, whom Kane probably met in late 1848, possibly as a result of his exhibition in Toronto. Although Kane still depended on Simpson for assistance, his financial situation was improved by Allan's purchase of one hundred canvases in about 1856.

48. Hugh Scobie, *British Colonist*, Nov. 17, 1848, "Kane's Indian Gallery".


54. Simpson's daughter Maria, by Betsey Sinclair Miles, was born in 1822. She married Robert Wallace at Norway House in 1838. Both drowned in the Columbia River the same year.


56. It is not clear who provided the most help in Kane's search for a publisher, for the manuscript apparently sat for six months in a publisher's office. George Allan makes reference to assistance given by himself and J. H. Lefroy, who were both in England at the time. "I was there in London and in my meeting with the
late General Lefroy did what we could to further Kane's views ... finally he came away with Press Longmans for the publication of his book".


57. Sir George Simpson to Paul Kane, Feb. 25, 1858. D4/54 fo.73, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.


59. Sir George Simpson to Wm. Smith, Feb. 25, 1858. D4/54 fo.73d and 74, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.

60. An entry in the Co. Minutes of March 15, 1858 read "That Mr. Paul Kane of Toronto be cordially received and encouraged". A 1/72 fo.26, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg.


63. Ibid.

64. Kane, Wanderings, lxii.

65. Sir George Simpson to Archibald McKinlay, Esq. June 24, 1848. AB 20, La 5, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.


67. Daniel Wilson, "Wanderings of an Artist", Canadian Journal, 2nd Ser. 4, (May 1859), p. 188.


CHAPTER FIVE - The Motivation for the Hudson's Bay Company's Interest in Frontier Artists.


2. William Smith to Mr. Winstanley, June 27, 1821, A5/6, fo.165, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.

4. Catalogue of the Hudson's Bay Co. Museum, A 65/44, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg. Two catalogues of the Company archives which appear to have been compiled in the late Eighteenth and mid Nineteenth centuries may be found in A 65/45 and A64/52, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg. These contain maps, plans and sketches of various scenes in Company territory, many by Company employees.


6. Company Minute Books, Dec. 20, 1769, A 1/43 fo.110d (192), Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg. I wish to acknowledge John Nicks, of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, who brought this notation to my attention.


8. Sir George Simpson to Archibald Barclay, June 10, 1845, D4/67, fo.32; and A12/2, fo.528, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.


11. Clifford P. Wilson, "The Beaver Club", *The Beaver* 266, (March, 1936), p. 23. Wm. McGillivray, who died in 1825, was one of the signatories of the H.B.Co.:Northwest Co. coalition, which he helped negotiate in 1821.


15. Illustrated in Grace Lee Nute, "Journey for Frances", *The Beaver* 285, p. 18. Archival sources include:
   - Account Book Record April 4, 1821, A 16/39.
   - Wm. Smith to Mrs. M. Robertson, Nov. 5, 1823, A 5/7 fo.105d.
   - Wm. Smith to Colin Robertson, March 23, 1833, A5/10 fo.93, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.

17. Ibid., p. 120, footnote 1. Simpson's success in managing the fur trade under new monopoly conditions is illustrated by the fact that dividends rose to 10% in 1825 and never during Simpson's entire governorship fell below that figure. The Company's gratitude for this success is indicated by a rise in Simpson's salary in 1825 to £1200 plus a £500 bonus; in 1839 he was made Governor in Chief of Rupert's Land. [Ibid., p. 86 & 87.]


20. Elaine Mitchell's work, based on numerous private letters between Simpson and the Cameron family, has corrected the view that Simpson was an unfeeling "man of business". See footnote 26.


32. Ibid., p. 62.

33. This is not to suggest that the fur traders' views were in any way enlightened, for they were not. Simpson himself said "... however repugnant it may be to our feelings, I am convinced that they [the Indians] must be ruled with a rod of iron to bring and keep them in a proper state of subordination". (Galbraith, *Emperor*, p. 63).

34. Merk, *Fur Trade*, p. 112.

35. Inventory of the Estate of Sir George Simpson, Nov. 24, 1860, fo.7 passim I. J. Gibb, Notary, Archives nationales du Quebec, Montreal.

36. Sir George Simpson to Mr. A. McDonald, Nov. 13, 1841, AB 20, La5, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.


38. Inventory of the Estate of the Late Sir George Simpson, Nov. 24, 1860, I. J. Gibb, Notary, fo.7d. Archives nationales du Quebec, Montreal.


44. Ibid., p. 192.


47. Sir George Simpson to Wm. Smith, Feb. 25, 1858. D4/54, fo.73d. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg.

ART, GENERAL


Nute, Grace Lee. 'Voyageurs' Artist', The Beaver 278. (June 1947): 32-36.


PETER RINDISBACHER

Bryce, George, and Bell, C. N. "Original Letters and Other Documents Relating to the Selkirk Settlement" in The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transactions 33. Winnipeg, 1889.


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MacLeod, Margaret A; Nute, Grace L.; and Wilson, Clifford W. "Peter Rindisbacher, Red River Artist." The Beaver 276. (December 1945): 30-36.


HENRY J. WARRE


Patterson, H. S. "54°40' or Fight." The Beaver 267. (June 1936): 38-44.


Winnipeg. Winnipeg.Public Library. "Copy of the Diary of the late Col. J. F. Crofton, Commander of the First Red River Expedition 1846-1847, for-
warded to the Winnipeg Public Library by his Son, Mr. H. R. Crofton of Oldfield, England, 1901." Typescript.

PAUL KANE


"Fine Arts, Ladies' Department." Canadian Journal 1. (October 1852): 60-61

Christian Guardian, 15 November 1848.


The Globe (Toronto), 15 November 1848.


Kane, Paul. "Incidents of Travel on the North-West Coast, Vancouver's Island, Oregon, etc.: The Chinook Indians." Canadian Journal (Toronto), 3 (July 1855): 273-279.

Kane, Paul. "Incidents of Travel on the North-West Coast, Vancouver's Island, Oregon, etc.: The Chinook Indians." Daily Colonist (Toronto) 6-9 August 1855.


"Kane's Exhibition." Toronto Patriot, 13 November 1848, sec. 1, p. 3.


SIR GEORGE SIMPSON


Rich, E. E. ed., Part of a Dispatch from Sir George Simpson, Esq. Gov. of


Ross, F. E. "Sir George Simpson at the Department of State." British Columbia Historical Quarterly 2. (April 1938): 131-5.


HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY


APPENDICES
APPENDIX ONE

FRONTIER ARTISTS AND THE H.B.Co.:

The magnitude of the H.B.C. contribution to the depiction of Rupert's Land is indicated by the following listing of artists in some way connected to the Company. These names form a context for Kane, Warre and Rindisbacher. They have been placed in groups according to the nature of their activity on the frontier; each group is related to the H.B.C. in a different way and may be expected to present a different viewpoint of the frontier.

ARTISTS OF THE FRONTIER WITH A CONNECTION TO THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amateur artists &amp; Co. Employees</th>
<th>Military Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anderson, Alexander Caulfield</td>
<td>Finlay, Captain George E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballantyne, Robert Murray</td>
<td>Moody, Lieut. Hampden W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird, James</td>
<td>Seton, Major George</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Alexander Grant</td>
<td>Warre, Lieut. H. J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finlayson, Isobel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halkett, John</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopkins, Francés Anne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, David</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kempt, William</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKay, Joseph Wm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray, Alexander Hunter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton, W. H.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rae, Dr. John (also an explorer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selkirk (Lord)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tod, John</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work, John</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Artists</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kane, Paul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rindisbacher, Peter (also employee)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley, John Mix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explorers and Artist with Expeditions</td>
<td>Gentlemen Travellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Back; and Lieut William Smyth</td>
<td>Southesk, Earl of - his drawings were copied by Frederick Whymper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Franklin Expedition 1819-22:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieut. Robert Hood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Youle Hind Expedition:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Fleming</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. H. E. Napier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Stephen H. Long Expedition:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Seymour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt. John Palliser Expedition:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Hector</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkes Expedition:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Drayton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX TWO

Peter Rindisbacher Jr. in the Hudson's Bay Company Account Books.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Item, Account Number</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Hudson's Bay Co. Archives Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 March 1823</td>
<td>#193 Peter R. Junr. 3 lb. Shot.</td>
<td>$1.6</td>
<td>E 7/15 fo.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 June 1823</td>
<td>#182 Peter R. Junr. 4 lb. Tobacco</td>
<td>$1.6.3</td>
<td>E 7/16 fo.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Aug. 1823</td>
<td>#182 Peter R. Jr. 1 lb. Tobacco</td>
<td>$1.6.3</td>
<td>E 7/16 fo.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Sept. 1823</td>
<td>#182 Peter R. Jr. 1 lb. Tobacco</td>
<td>$1.6.3</td>
<td>E 7/16 fo.100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Sept. 1823</td>
<td>#182 Peter R. Jr. Yew Knife, Book Looking Glass</td>
<td>$1.6.8</td>
<td>E 7/16 fo.101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Sept. 1823</td>
<td>P. R. Jr.? 1 lb. Powder</td>
<td>$1.6.4</td>
<td>E 7/16 fo.105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Sept. 1823</td>
<td>½ lb. Tobacco</td>
<td>$1.6.3</td>
<td>E 7/16 fo.110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Account Book Record Red River 1823-1824

1 Oct. 1823  #182 Peter Rindisbacher Jr. for his services as Swiss interpreter etc. etc. from 1st June $1.16.11\frac{1}{2}$ E 7/16 fo.114 to the 3rd inst. inclusive at $\frac{20}{12}$ per annum

This entry includes a note debiting Fort Douglas Account Sundries for Services of Grant Forrest and Rindesbacher, as noted above.

22 Nov. 1823  #182 Peter R. Jr. Sundries debited to cash $3."."$ E 7/16 fo.146

17. Dec. 1823  #182 Peter Rindisbacher Jr. Sundries debited to Cash $3."."$ E 7/16 fo.153

#159 Peter R. Jr. Colonists Balances to 31 May 1824 Credit $".11.3$ E 7/17 fo.6

The vast majority of colonists had debits, Peter Rindesbacher Sr.'s was $267.15.9$

1824- 1 to Cash 19 $".12.1$
1825 12 to Cash 38 $".4.1 3.16."$
25 to Cash 79 $3."."$ E 7/21 fo.104,5

1 June 1824 By Balance on 31 May last $".11.4$ E 7/21 fo.105
May 14 By Cash 163 $".4."$
May 31 By Cash 167 $3."."$
By Balance $".8$
Correct 31 May 1825 $3.16."$
Signed Peter Rindesbacher

1 June 1825 Colonists & Servants Balances $".8$ E 7/28 fo.6d

31 May 1826 same $".8$ E 7/28 fo.6d
In some instances accounts are not specified as to name, or to either Rindisbacher specifically. Some items of this type, of interest include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Account #</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>#118</td>
<td>Andrew Bulger 1 qt. spirits given to Peter Rindesbacher</td>
<td>.3.9</td>
<td>E 7/15 fo.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>order.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>#279</td>
<td>Peter Rindesbacher 2 Broad Hoes</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>E 7/15 fo.36d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 oz. cotton wick</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 flannel waistcoat</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 April</td>
<td>#379</td>
<td>Peter Rindisbacher 1 bridle</td>
<td>.8.9</td>
<td>E 7/15 fo.77d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 lb. nails</td>
<td>.2.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX THREE

Peter Rindisbacher Sr.'s Letter to Herrn Steiger, October 20, 1825.

Source: Karl Arndt, "The Peter Rindisbacher Family on the Red River in Rupert's Land: Their Hardships and Call for Help from Rapp's Harmony Society." German Canadian Yearbook (Toronto) 1, 1973, p. 102-106.

Colony on the Red River in Rupert's Land in North America, October 20, 1825.

Highly Esteemed Captain:

I have no doubt, my dear Sir, that you will not know that in the spring of 1821 twenty-one families, mostly from the Canton Bern, emigrated to North America under the leadership of Captain May. Among these emigrants were my family and I. We passed the ice-sea near the island of Greenland and on August 17 thanks to the Highest, were put on land in the Hudson Bay at Yorkfort. From there we went by water on large boats inland over a stretch of about 300 hours distance. On this journey we had to unpack our boats thirty-one times and often when we came to large water-falls we had to pull the transports several hundred steps and also over a distance of about half an hour's walk. We passed the tremendous Lake Winnipeg and finally on the first month of winter (December) of the same year we arrived here on the Red River, the place of our destination. We were not a little astonished when we observed this land, because we had been very crudely cheated by Mr. May, and for this reason had to look upon our agreements (property) as practically invalid. Think of it, my dear Sir, in a land where it is winter for eight months, and on all sides for a distance of from six to eight hundred hours we are removed from other inhabitants, so a Swiss cannot achieve much here. But the land is not lacking in fertility, yet nothing can be planted with advantage except barley and potatoes. Indian corn is also planted but rarely ripens. Since the Swiss are here hemp and flax are also planted, but the summer is too short to allow it to mature fully. Breeding of cattle is also not to be despised but a belly needs too much feed. If one does not keep the cattle in the barn there is danger that the udders will freeze. I have seen many such cases. And the worst is that there are so many mosquitoes here that neither man nor beast has any rest day and night; one can keep them off a bit only by smoke and wind. For the father of a family who loves his children there is still a worse kind of evil which leaves him no peace, namely that there are no institutions in which poor widows and orphans and persons otherwise unfortunate can be cared for, because since two years the colony is subject to the Hudson Bay Company and the King of England does not concern himself at all about it; so there is nothing else to think about than to seek one's further abode in another place. Justice and police are bad here, so that the right of the fist is almost valid here. The raw, cold-blooded Englishman, whose trade spirit borders almost on inhumanity, worries about nothing except that which favors his trade with the wild people, of whom we see individuals each day. Much could still be commented on which I must pass over for the sake of brevity.
Of my travel companions several have gone to the United States and also several have returned home, for the Englishmen must let it happen that one leaves, because one has been too crudely cheated. I also would have departed by now, but I have given the Governor, who is a righteous man, my hand in promise in the presence of two who have left that I will stay two more years. He believes the King will take over the colony. By next spring in any case I will receive the news from the above-named man, but come what may, I have decided to leave as soon as possible, because this autumn I became acquainted with two men from the United States who had driven cattle up here and from whose reports I had to conclude that they knew where you were living and who promised me to deliver this letter. Now I should like to beg you heartily to answer me, because eight German families who have given me their confidence are willing to undertake the journey to you with me, if they beforehand had some information how and under what sort of conditions land is to be had, how it really looks among you. Because some could bring only little money along, they wished to know how they could earn a living. They are righteous and industrious people, also in the Colony there is only paper money and it is very difficult to exchange it for hard money, not to speak of letters of exchange. Therefore, one might be forced to bring along merchandise. About this I should like to have some information, so that we could be guided by it.

Also in what kinds of professions one could make a living. In my own family there are myself and my elder son; we both are veterinarians. The younger son is an artist-painter. He studied under the artist-painter Weibel in Bern. The husband of a daughter is a physician from the Kingdom of Wurttemberg who is employed at an annual salary of 40 Louis d'or as physician of the colony. The other is a clever tinsmith from Strassburg. I hope a living could also be made among you. In expectation of some information about the above, I greet you and your dear family very heartily and remain with respect your devoted servant.

Peter Rindisbacher, Veterinarian from Munsing in Canton Bern.

I also greet the gentlemen Reichenbach and Frankhauser, who can give you news about me, and your father-in-law and all the other Swiss among you. Please be sure to write me two letters, one through Canada via Montreal, but this one ought to be in Montreal already by the end of April in order to make the 1,200 hours distance to me, and one to one of these men who are delivering these letters, as the enclosed map shows, who will then forward the same to me. The one over Canada address to the husband of my daughter, Mr. Ludwig Ostertag. Colony Doctor on the Red River in Rupert's Land. But it must be addressed in English or French.

(Addressed:) Herrn Herrn Steiger from Switzerland Harmonites Below Pittsburgh about 15 or 25 Miles.

(Postmarked:) St. Charles Mo. Feby 9 1826. (Postage paid:) 25

(Endorsed:) Swiss letter from Red River Nov. 1825.
APPENDIX FOUR

Hargrave Correspondence Regarding the Pelly Lithographs

Margaret Arnett MacLeod's working papers, deposited in the Public Archives of Canada directed me to the Correspondence below regarding the distribution of "Pelly's prints" in Canada. The letters with which I am familiar are listed in chronological sequence below, with the relevant text included.


   I have looked into your account summer '29 and find various credits on a/ct of the Gent you mention but whether for Mr. Pelly's paintings is unexplained - I enclose you a note of them - also the number of sets paintings still here - what is to be done with them?


   Mr. C. F. Stewart recollects the Sale of Three of Pelly's picture Books and Mr. Charles should also if my memory serves me the Three were C. F. Stewart, C. F. Clarke & either Robertson or Charles - by conversing w/ some one of those bucks they may recollect the circumstance (Finlayson if there would) it occurred the summer of 1829 - The amounts have been paid by me to Capt. Pelly so that the Three pounds are due to me -


   You did me the favor once already to look into the accounts of such as had Copies of Mr. Pelly's prints but I mislaid it and cannot recollect what you wrote if you would go over the same ground again I should feel obliged - during the summer of 1829 I think there were some sold.
I have been examining the books of 1829 and enclose you a note of such credits to your name as I find for that season: It is not explained for what consideration these sums were paid you. I have been trying also to collect information as to who else might have received copies of the pictures but can get hold of nothing definite on the subject.

These letters indicate that MacTavish was very concerned about the accounts for the prints, but that the H.B.C. record books are not sufficiently detailed to account for the transactions. Many of the prints were sold directly when one trader met another, both at York Factory and at Moose Factory. MacTavish was obviously handling these dealings. Much of the correspondence is missing, as references in these letters indicate.
APPENDIX FIVE

Letter H. U. Addington to James Stephen, April 3, 1845.

This letter is one of the most complete which outlines the terms of Warre and Vavasour's Expedition.


Foreign Office, April 3, 1845.

Confidential, to James Stephen, Esq.

Sir: I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to request that you will state to Lord Stanley that Lord Aberdeen is of opinion that, considering the excitement which appears to exist in the United States on the subject of the Oregon Territory, the uncompromising boldness with which the claims of the United States to that Territory have been put forward, and the declaration recently made by the new President in his inaugural address, that he considers the right of the United States to that country "clear and unquestionable," it will be necessary to take without delay proper measures for obtaining a general knowledge of the capabilities of the Oregon Territory in a military point of view, in order that we may be enabled to act immediately and with effect in defense of our rights in that quarter, should those rights be infringed by any hostile aggression or encroachment on the part of the United States.

With this object Lord Aberdeen would propose to Lord Stanley that an instruction should be prepared for Lord Metcalfe (Gov. Gen. of Canada) to be sent out by this next packet which sails on the 5th instant, directing him to communicate confidentially with Sir Richard Jackson (Commander of the Forces, Canada,) with a view to obtaining from him some capable officer, or, if it should be thought necessary, two officers, to be left entirely to the selection of Sir R. Jackson, who should proceed as private travelers to the Oregon Territory, and examine the important parts of the country, in order to obtain as accurate a knowledge of it as may be requisite for the future and efficient prosecution of military operations in it, should such operations become necessary.

Sir George Simpson, the Acting Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in America, who proceeds to Canada by this mail, will be ready to place himself in communication with Lord Metcalfe, and with Sir R. Jackson, and to impart to them his views as to the best mode of efficiently carrying our the object which is contemplated, as well as to communicate all the practical knowledge, which he possesses in an eminent degree, of the country which it is intended to visit and survey. He will further be prepared to assist the officer or officers who may be dispatched on this service with all the means which, as deputy governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, he has at his disposal.
Whatever expenses may be incurred in this expedition may be defrayed by this office, or by the Colonial Department, as may hereafter be determined whenever the accounts shall have been sent in. But it will probably, in the first instance, be found more convenient that the necessary arrangements for providing the officers and their attendants with everything that may be necessary should be made by Lord Metcalfe.

It is almost needless to say that perfect secrecy should, so far as possible, be preserved as to the expedition and its objects.

The officer charged with the expedition might, if Lord Stanley approves of that course, be instructed to report his proceedings by any safe opportunity which may present itself through the Governor General of Canada under flying seal to the Colonial Department, by which Department those reports would be communicated to Lord Aberdeen.

(Signed) H. U. Addington.
APPENDIX SIX

Warre and Vavasour's Expenses on the Oregon Mission

Metcalfe's letter to Jackson, of May 2, 1845, indicates that the Hudson's Bay Company was prepared to offer supplies to the expedition on an account rather than cash basis. An itemization of Warre's and Vavasour's expenses may be found in Public Record Office documents, and printed by Schafer, as well as below.

The amount of the account payable to the H.B.C. was £963/7/4. This account was signed by Warre, Vavasour and Simpson.

In a letter to Duncan Finlayson on June 17, 1846 Simpson sent a copy of this bill to be presented to the proper authorities in Canada, saying that if they decline payment, you will in that case get back the account as it is in the shape of a voucher being certified by Messrs Warre and Vavasour, but if paid you will observe it is in Sterling and should be paid by drafts in England so as to afford the Co. the benefit of the Exchange.

Allowing for the scale of this journey and the fact that liberal expenses could be charged since the government was paying the bill, it illustrates the order of magnitude of the Company's support of Paul Kane. Items purchased were mainly clothing, including beaver hats at $8.88, frock coats, vests, tweed and buckskin trousers, tooth, nail and hair brushes, handkerchiefs, shirts and shoes, which undoubtedly contributed to their reputation for being somewhat dandified. The accounts were itemized by Fort. Warre's personal items amounted to $168.06 @ 4/6 p dollars £40/4/3. These consisted mainly of clothing as well as provisions and buffalo skins. The estimated cost at Lower Fort Garry on June 12, 1846, which included itemized lists for six men, wine, wages, and tents, was an average of £83-6-8 per passenger. Transportation was also itemized: passage from Lachine to Red River £166/13/4, from Red River to Fort Vancouver £89/14/5, from Fort
Vancouver to Red River £111., and from Red River to Sault St. Marie £110.

The delays encountered in receiving payment for their bill are indicated by the fact that clearance for payment was not obtained until March of 1847. A letter indicated that Lord Palmerston recommended that the H.B.Co. be paid the sum of £1002-15-5, which included Sir George Simpson's expenses.
APPENDIX SEVEN

Correspondence of Henry J. Warre to Sir George Simpson and to Earl Grey.

Two private letters from Warre to Simpson are known to me. The first, July 7, 1846 reads

My dear Sir George,

In consequence of the letter you wrote J. W. McKenzie we brought your canoe from Fort William and arrived here at 12 OC. This day having been detained two days in the Lake by Wind and Fog.

We have just been informed that Captain Beatty and Lieut Moody have passed en route for Red River ... We must have passed each other in the Fog. We ... presume you cannot have been aware of these officers arrival or you would have given us warning...

We also see by the papers that an artillery division and 300 of the 6th Regt. under Major Crofton, were to embark immediately at Cork for the Red River via Hudson's Bay. I have the pleasure to know Major Crofton - a better officer could not have been selected and will not object to the place I think. The Oregon Question having been settled will alter the determination of sending troops direct to Red River from England - which we recommended in our Report last year and preferable to taking them by the Lakes.

The boundary for Oregon is said to be the Lat. 49 to Strait Juan de Fuca common to both Nations - Vancouver's Island to the British in toto and the navigation of the Columbia to be open to all for ever - Such is the Report. How true it may be can say I certain it is the British gov have offered this and their ultimatum the Yankees must take the consequences.

You will be amused with the account of the war between Mexico and the U. States. The latter have already performed Wonders, according to their own accounts.

Believe me, very faithfully yours,

Henry J. Warre

From Simpson's point of view I believe he considered his relationship to Warre to be one of business only, for he answered neither this letter nor the more personal one written on April 17, 1847. Warre wrote:

I was staying at George [Easton's] where I met Lord Fitzroy Somerset who told me that you were in England. As I presume that you make your usual voyage this year to Red River and will sail for that purpose by the Packet of the 20th I very much fear I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you: I should have been so glad to have had a few minutes chat about your wild Lands and to have again thanked you for your hospitality, and that I received through your medium when travelling in that Country. I often [midst all my society] look back with pleasure to even the hardships I there endured, and with how much greater pleasure should I do so, could I associate my pleasant excursions with my compagnon de voyage whom I have never seen and
only heard of once since my return. I have received the most flattering marks of approbation from both civil and Military Authorities, particularly from Lord Grey, but I feel that had there been unanimity between my [coadjustor?] and myself we might have made a better report than we did. - I have been on my Father's staff as A D Camp, since the 1st Sept. in this most hospitable and [agreeable] County [Cheshire]. The Duke gave me my promotion and I have every prospect of speedy advancement. My Regt. (57th) is at home and likely to remain for 3 or 4 years - where we may be ordered anywhere - perhaps to Red River? I am very glad to see the announcement of your most interesting travels and I think they are to be published immediately. I shall read them with great interest, particularly the American portion from my knowledge of the Country, but I should imagine the Russian part will be scarcely less interesting. - Pray remember me to my friends at Red River - without encroaching longer on your time. Believe me very truly yours Henry J. Warre. Would you kindly present my complts to Lady Simpson.

Warre wrote Earl Grey on July 4, 1847, this time requesting permission to publish a lithograph series.

I have the honour to request your Lordship's permission to publish a series of lithographic views with explanatory notes - also a short account of a Journey to the North West Coast of America and the Oregon Territory, performed during the years 1845, 1846 by order the the Secretary of State for the Colonies. I take the liberty of requesting your lordships approbation of this design, as your Lordship was pleased to express so flattering an approval of the Report, forwarded by me, on my return from that Country last year... I have the honour to be My Lord, Your Lordships most obedient Humble Servant
APPENDIX EIGHT

Warre and Vavasour and The Hudson's Bay Company's Objectives at Red River.

The sources printed below make it clear that the Hudson's Bay Company had a political aim in encouraging Warre and Vavasour.

The domestic situation at Red River was perhaps the company's greatest single source of anxiety: its trade monopoly had been maintained without great difficulty and civil order preserved without the presence of any strong armed force, so long as the settlement had remained isolated in the middle of the continent. This isolation was now being broken down by the gradual advance of American settlement and government in the country south of the 49th parallel. ¹

Simpson made it clear to Warre and Vavasour that British interests would favour troops located at the Red River settlement. In a letter of May 4, 1845 to Gov. Pelly he makes this plan clear saying

While the officers who accompany me are at Red River, I shall avail myself of their professional knowledge, with a view to putting our establishment there in a proper state of defense, I shall point out to them (for the purpose of being embodied in their report) what, in my opinion, would be the best mode of conveying troops from Canada to that settlement, in case their services may hereafter be required there. ²

The benefits to the Company of having troops at Red River and the need to "prepare the Govt" on that subject are contained in a later letter from Simpson to Pelly October 24, 1845. ³ The letter to Warre and Vavasour from Simpson dated 30 May 1845 is his first direct effort to influence them in this regard. ⁴ This continued in his personal contact with them en route and at Red River. Warre and Vavasour discuss the arrival of troops in a letter to Simpson of June 17, 1846. ⁵ In their official reports they were careful to note:
In consequence of our residence in the Red River settlement being very limited, your lordship will observe that our information regarding this District, was derived principally from Sir G. Simpson's letter addressed to us from Lac la Pluie (30 May '45). Nor had we any opportunity of obtaining any knowledge of the settlement except through the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company.⁶

In 1846 the War office resolved to send a force from Ireland, via ship to York Factory and thence south (the route used by Rindisbacher). These troops arrived Sept. 10, 1846; the orders for their recall came June 4, 1847, but they were not able to leave until the summer of 1848.⁷ In fact, the H.B.C. thus achieved their objective.
APPENDIX NINE

Sir Edward Poore's Expedition in Hudson's Bay Company Territory, in Company with Paul Kane, 1849.

In April of 1849 Kane was making plans for a return journey through Company territory. He wrote, on April 13, to Sir George Simpson, to explain that he had not yet finished Simpson's remaining sketches. He planned to take the opportunity presented, to act as guide to Sir Edward Poore, and increase his collection of native subjects.

In his letter to Simpson, Kane regarded the matter as settled. In fact, his letter was sent three days before Colonel Bruce's official request to Simpson, on behalf of Lord Elgin and Poore, that the expedition be granted H.B.C. hospitality.

The circumstances of this trip are fascinating, not least because conditions and treatment of the group while in the territory differ considerably from those experienced by Kane. Simpson was kept well informed of the journey. On June 30, 1849 Ballenden explained the terms he understood Kane to have accepted. Kane was to act as "Conductor, Guide, Interpreter etc. etc. to the party for which he was to receive £200 per annum and have all his expenses paid."

As was the usual practice, Simpson, on April 19, 1849 directed a covering letter and later, a circular letter of introduction to Co. posts to Poore at Red river. In the circular he specified that supplies were to be furnished, horses exchanged and an account kept, with exchange to be taken "at the rate of 24/4 currency for £1 Sterling."

The trip seems to have been ill fated. As early as June 18th, Poore wrote to his mother that he wished he and Franklin had come alone. On June 30th Ballenden wrote Simpson that Poore and Phillips were disgusted with Kane, and that he suspected "it will not be long before they separate. Kane
they consider both impertinent and overbearing and incapable of fulfilling
the conditions of his engagement.⁷ Poore's letters to his mother bear this
out, and in his letter of Nov. 19th he explains that Kane was paid money to
quit.⁸

According to Mary Benham "Poore accused Paul of being an imposter,
a humbug and very disagreeable. Paul retaliated by getting messages to Sir
George Simpson that prevented Poore from travelling further west with the
Company brigade."⁹ This, I believe is incorrect. Simpson's letter of
introduction nowhere mentions passage with the brigades; in fact, their own
transportation is implied.

If Poore's group was inhospitably treated while in Company territory
it was probably a result of the bad reputation they established, not because
Kane had interfered. Their behaviour contrasted markedly with that of Paul
Kane, and Company officials responded accordingly. Phillips seems to have
aroused comment over his attention to the Ladies, and Poore for his manner
of dress.¹⁰ Eden Colvile described Poore's attitude in a letter to Simpson.
He wrote "...on the whole I should say he was bored to death".¹¹

Included below are some published and unpublished letters regarding
Sir Edward Poore's travels in North America. Folio references are for docu-
ments in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg. Other references are
to letters included in the Appendix of J. R. Harper's book, Paul Kane's
are in Poore Family Papers.

1. Apr. 13, 1849 Kane to Simpson D5/25 fo.95
2. Apr. 17, 1849 Bruce to Simpson D5/25 fo.116
3. Apr. 19, 1849 Simpson to Poore D4/39 fo.47
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sender</th>
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<tr>
<td>May 2, 1849</td>
<td>E. Poore</td>
<td>Lady Poore</td>
<td>Harper, 10:18</td>
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<td>June 15, 1849</td>
<td>Simpson Circular</td>
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<td>June 18, 1849</td>
<td>E. Poore</td>
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<td>June 24, 1849</td>
<td>Kane</td>
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<td>D5/24 fo.132</td>
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<td>Ballenden</td>
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<td>D5/25 fo.336</td>
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<td>Aug 29, 1849</td>
<td>Ballenden</td>
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<td>D5/25 fo.606</td>
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<td>Nov 19, 1849</td>
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<td>Nov 24, 1849</td>
<td>E. Colvile</td>
<td>Sir George</td>
<td>D5/26 fo.566</td>
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<td>Mar 1851</td>
<td>Ogden</td>
<td>Kane</td>
<td>Harper, p. 31</td>
</tr>
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</table>
FOOTNOTES TO APPENDICES
FOOTNOTES - APPENDIX SIX


3. Sir George Simpson to Duncan Finlayson, June 17, 1846, D4/34, fo.104, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg.


FOOTNOTES - APPENDIX SEVEN


FOOTNOTES - APPENDIX EIGHT


2. Sir George Simpson to Governor Pelly, May 4, 1845, D4/67 fo.15d, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg.


4. Sir George Simpson to Warre and Vavasour, 30 May 1845, D4/67 fo.36, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg; also printed in Schafer, "Documents", p. 25.

5. Warre and Vavasour to Simpson, June 17, 1846, D5/17 fo.387-388d, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg.


FOOTNOTES - APPENDIX NINE

1. Paul Kane to Sir George Simpson, 13 April, 1849 D5/25 fo.95, Hudson's Bay Co. Archives, Winnipeg.


    Regarding Poore: Ogden to Kane, March 18, 1851, cited by Harper, Paul Kane's Frontier, p. 31, p.335.