NOT TO SEEK GOLD BUT TO PAINT --
THE BRITISH COLUMBIAN VIEWS OF WILLIAM G.R. HIND

by

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Honours B.A. University of Windsor 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
September 1980

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Date OCTOBER 5, 1980
ABSTRACT

To reconstruct a past world, doubtless with a view to the highest purposes of truth,—what a work to be in any way present at, to assist in, though only as a lamp-holder!

George Eliot

In order to make more meaningful sense of William G.R. Hind's achievements, this thesis will consider a number of different issues. First of all, there is the vital question of Hind's relationship to the artistic milieu of Victorian England from which he emerged. In terms of both style and choice of subject matter his work bears obvious similarities to the products of contemporary English realism. The implications of Hind's allegiance to British trends must be examined.

The first chapter will concern itself with the aspirations and attitudes characteristic of Victorian British art which are most relevant to Hind's personal development. An examination of British artistic and social criticisms will provide the background necessary for a fuller comprehension of Hind's insistence on the contemporary subject, particularly the theme of the labourer and his accomplishments.

The second chapter will deal with the idea of British imperialism and emigration, issues with which Hind was directly concerned. As a further step in this investigation, the role of the pictorial illustrator, along with an analysis of British and Canadian attitudes toward British Columbia as expressed in books and periodicals will be discussed.

The final chapter will concern itself with Hind's British Columbian images and what they tell us about his ideology and
background as a product of mid nineteenth century England. Such an approach to William G.R. Hind will make it possible for us to understand his work better within a broad social and artistic milieu.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Among the readers of this manuscript I am indebted to Doreen Walker, who offered numerous specific comments to the benefit of the text, and whose Fine Arts 565 seminar gave me the inspiration to pursue the art of William G.R. Hind. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr. David Solkin, my faculty adviser, for lending so generously his skills, patience and wisdom.

More formal acknowledgements are due to the respective authorities of the McCord Museum, McGill University, the Public Archives of Canada, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, and the U.B.C. Fine Arts and Special Collections Libraries. The Hind family must also be thanked for so graciously opening their doors to me.
INTRODUCTION

The following thesis will focus on one aspect of the work of William G.R. Hind, the "expedition artist" who accompanied the Overlanders to British Columbia in 1862. During the following three years he worked in that province, painting a variety of scenes and sites in the Cariboo gold fields and Victoria. Approximately forty-five water colours and oils survive from Hind's British Columbia period. Although the limits of this study make it impossible to discuss all of these works, an attempt will be made to analyse most of the pictures in their artistic, cultural and social context.

Primary source material regarding Hind is scarce. Available are only a few contemporary newspaper articles and references to him in the journals and diaries of the Overlanders. Nevertheless, other historical sources regarding his era are available to the researcher which give adequate access to the meaning of his work.

A survey of the secondary literature reveals several major unexplored areas of investigation regarding Hind's production. In particular, no attempt has been made to examine the British Columbian milieu in which Hind painted his pictures, nor to analyse ideas and attitudes about life and art which he would have absorbed as a Victorian painter.

J. Russell Harper's monograph (1976), entitled William G.R. Hind 1833-1889 has been most useful to my research, for it brings together most of Hind's chronological and biographical data. However, Harper's overly romanticized approach fails to meet the standards of serious art historical scholarship. For
example, he completely dismisses the importance of Hind's English background:

More probably his work is a reflection of his personality: the lonely individual who observed life from the side-lines rather than as an actor in the play itself?

This is simply not a valid basis upon which to gain an understanding of either the form or the content of Hind's work. The emphasis on "personality" essentially denies Hind's relationship to history, and still leaves us without an extended and rounded synthesis of Hind's art.

In 1974, Paul Duval included a section on Hind in his book entitled *High Realism in Canada*. Duval wrote:

William George Richardson Hind was one of the most original talents in Canada's nineteenth century painting. Many of his pictures are perfect examples of high realism. Small in size, measuring only a few inches each way, Hind's pictures are filled with the most carefully observed details. They possess the clarity of line, lucidity of colour and novelty of point of view which characterizes the best of present day realism...his forms are sculpted in space with the permanence of an unforgettable scene caught in the niche of memory.

Duval merely accepts Hind's "realism," as described above, without considering that Hind's realm of "fact" may be the result of his conditioned background. In praising Hind as "one of the most original talents in Canada's nineteenth century painting," Duval takes a viewpoint similar to Harper's. Both writers show little or no regard for Hind's historical position.

By contrast another art historian, Barry Lord, takes a different point of view. He attempts to see Hind's art as a part of "the"heroic struggles of our people" in the colony:

It was Hind, not Kane, who extended the documentary approach to the Canadian figure that artists like Rindisbacher had begun, and most particularly directs our attention to the working people and their actual production processes in this land. Hind's little pictures
are a major step forward toward a people's art. Lord was the first to recognize the worker theme in Hind's art and gives credit to him for "advancing the tradition of social documentation to the specific subject matter of Canada's resource industry workers." However, if Lord had carried the idea of Hind as a "people's artist" further, he would have realized that Hind's art reflects the concerns of the mid nineteenth century British bourgeoisie rather than that of the proletariat. Lord does not understand the framework in which Hind's pictures were produced. In depicting the worker, Hind was satisfying a Victorian demand for contemporaneity which allowed the middle class to identify with experiences characteristic of their epoch. They regarded work as the key to a successful and powerful nation.

Together with his "realist" tendencies, Hind also absorbed the theme of labour, so common in Victorian art, and created a worker image relevant to the British Columbian environment. Imperialist attitudes towards British Columbia also played an active part in Hind's role as a pictorial-illustrator. Many Victorians saw their country as "a brave young England longing to wing its way out of an island prison, to discover and to traffic, to colonise and to civilise." Hind responded by pictorially depicting how through hard work and perseverance colonists were able to extend the might of the British Empire. His landscapes show evidence of power and expansion - optimistic, civilizing influences in a vast, untamed environment. Hind's work represents an attempt to satisfy a demand for colonial information which told viewers about the aspirations and success of
their Empire. The assumption throughout this thesis is that the multitude of ideas, attitudes, prejudices and feelings--loosely called the world view of the Victorian bourgeoisie were expressed by William Hind's British Columbian views.

This approach has never yet, to my knowledge, been applied to the study of nineteenth century Canadian art. By examining William Hind as a product of mid-nineteenth century England, it is possible for us to make more meaningful sense of his work within a broad social and artistic milieu. In taking this approach, I feel that I will bring a fresh awareness to Hind's work in British Columbia and reveal some fundamental attitudes of his era, as they affected the newly-established colony.


5 Ibid., p. 100.

6 Ibid., p. 99.

CHAPTER ONE

THE VICTORIAN BACKGROUND

William G.R. Hind (1833-1889) was a British-born artist active in Canada during the second half of the nineteenth century. To give an accurate picture of the nature of Hind's style and thematic interests, it is necessary to examine the artistic milieu of mid-nineteenth century England from which he emerged. It is not merely coincidental that his work bears obvious similarities to the products of contemporary English realism. This chapter will examine the relevant trends in England with which Hind’s approach must be connected.

Hind was born the year following the Great Reform Bill of 1832, and four years before Queen Victoria ascended the throne. The Victorian Age was characterized by constant and rapid change in British economic circumstance, social custom and intellectual atmosphere. England was rapidly undertaking new social functions rendered necessary by new industrial conditions in an overcrowded island. The development of public education gave rise to a fashionable devotion to nature and science. "Self-help" became a favourite motto with men of the middle class.

The age following the Reform Bill saw the emergence of a capitalist democracy as the rising middle class began to truly displace the aristocracy as the main source of political power in England. The increase in concrete political power was accompanied by a corresponding shift within society as a whole towards the modes and manners of bourgeois thought, which included the context of the work ethic. A consequence of this attitude was that writers and artists began to make a serious
effort to understand the condition and outlook of the working people, always of course from the standpoint of their own middle class ideology.

By 1850, in the sphere of Victorian painting, there had emerged an emphasis on scenes of urban and rural poverty. "The reasons for this are not entirely clear but in part they may be laid to the revelations of government reports, hunger, disease, joblessness, inadequate housing and the lack of sanitary facilities among both urban and rural labourers." Certain artists began to protest against social and economic injustices and confronted the public with verbal or visual images of what was happening to society as a whole. Social changes affected intellectual developments in literature, philosophy, politics and art.

A major spokesman on social issues was Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), a Scots essayist, historian and philosopher, whom the serious-minded Victorian public read avidly, discussed endlessly and revered deeply. George Eliot remarked upon his all-pervasive influence:

For there is hardly a superior or active mind of this generation that has not been modified by the writings of Carlyle.3

Carlyle attacked the social inequalities of the age, and demanded action in the name of morality and social injustice. Most important, Carlyle demanded work, not work for payment, not work for power over men, but work:

...to make some nook of God's creation a little fruitfuller, better, more worthy of God; to make some human heart wiser, manfuller, happier--more blessed, less accursed. It is work for God. Noble fruitfull labour--the grand sole miracle of man.4

Carlyle's Past and Present (1843) also includes essays on labour
and numerous pleas for men to work:

For there is a perennial nobleness, and even sacredness, in Work. Were he ever so benighted, forgetful of his calling, there is always hope in a man that actually and earnestly works: in Idleness alone is there perpetual despair. Work never so Mammonish, man is in communication with Nature; the real desire to get Work done will itself lead one more and more to truth...a man perfects himself by working...Consider now, even in the meanest sorts of Labour, the whole soul of man is composed into a real harmony, the instant he sets himself to work.

Thus, in an age of burdensome physical toil, Carlyle inspired thousands with a belief in the dignity of work. Other writers, such as Frederick Engels, Charles Dickens and Matthew Arnold, were influenced by Carlyle's writing.

Carlyle himself, had little use for the Fine Arts. He wrote, "Painting is worthless, except portrait painting" (which he regarded as important documentation). But in spite of his expressed contempt for art, Carlyle did contribute to the general awareness of the British labourer as a theme for artists.

Ford Madox Brown's Work (exhibited 1863) (figure 1) pays tribute to the value of labour. The subject itself grew out of some studies of some navvies working on road excavations in the Hampstead:

the British excavator...in the full swing of his activity...appeared to me...at least as worthy of the powers of the English painter as the fisherman of the Adriatic, the peasant of the Campagna, or the Neapolitan lazzarone.

Brown affirmed the need to bring the labour theme home by placing a positive value on the contemporary working man. While the worker had previously appeared in British art as picturesque interest, the new social democracy now granted a fair share of artistic attention to the labourer. At the very time Brown was painting Work, he was giving art classes at the Workingman's
College in London. His painting acknowledges an obvious debt to the ideas of Thomas Carlyle; he even includes Carlyle’s portrait (right foreground) as one of the "brainworkers" whose activities give meaning to the labours of others. Borrowing ideas from Carlyle, Brown viewed work as an experience in a historical and spiritual context.  

Brown wrote a long detailed description of his painting and its meaning in a catalogue statement of 1865. He also penned a sonnet to accompany the painting. This reads, in part:

Work, which beads the brow and tans the flesh
Of lusty manhood casting out its devils.  

Brown’s verses indicate that he felt a praiseworthy attitude toward work. In three sections of the frame Brown inscribed (left): "Neither did we eat any man’s bread for naught, but wrought with labour and travail night and day;" (center): "I must work while it is day for night cometh when no man can work;" (right): "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings." Brown extols physical prowess and makes manifest the heroism of labour at a time when excavations for roads and railway tracks were at their height in Britain.

Carlyle’s theories on labour also stimulated Henry Wallis to paint The Stonebreaker (1857) (figure 2), which was accompanied in the Royal Academy catalogue by a quotation from Sartor Resartus:

Hardly-entreated Brother! For us thy back so bent, for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed: thou wert our Conscript, on whom the whole lot fell, and fighting our battles, were so marred. For in thee too lay a god-created Form, but it was not to be unfolded; encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of Labour: and thy body, like the soul, was not to know freedom.
Like *Sartor Resartus*, Wallis' *Stonebreaker* was meant to awaken his public to the need for a more democratic social system. The *Stonebreaker* is an exploration into the paradox of poverty, fatigue and death in the midst of scenic beauty. Wallis gives the stonebreaker stature, underlined by the quote above, for the labourer has heroically dropped dead on the job.\(^\text{13}\)

Other artists at this time who chose to paint scenes of urban labourers included Walter Deverell, Arthur Boyd Houghton and Frederick J. Shields.\(^\text{14}\) But of course, not every painting depicting the worker was trying to say the same thing. Attitudes towards pictorial scenes of labour ranged from declarations of social injustices to those verging on the sentimental. John Brett, in painting his *Stonebreaker* (1857-58) (figure 3) chose to paint a fresh faced boy at work with the birds singing and his dog playing. In contrast to Wallis, Brett presents an idyllic image of rural work.

In his *Iron and Coal* (1861) (figure 4), William Bell Scott expressed sentiments akin to Madox Brown's in commemorating the heroism of the labourer.\(^\text{15}\) This work represents a view of the Tyneside with a group of smiths from the Robert Stephenson locomotive factory.\(^\text{16}\) Representations of local industries are included while shipping takes place on the quay below. The Stephenson High Level Bridge appears in the distance. This mural praises the achievements of an industrial England and gives honour and pride to the labourer.

At the same time that artists such as Bell Scott were acclaiming the honour of labour on canvas, Charles Dickens was writing equally precise and contemporary accounts of the working class. Not everyone agreed that this was a fit subject for
Figure 4
literature. Walter Bagehot, for example, attacked Dickens because he wrote about labourers who were "poor talkers, poor livers, and in all ways poor people to read about... the character of the poor is an unfit topic for continuous art." However, other critics affirmed the right of the lower classes to literary and artistic status. George Henry Lewes, the philosophical writer and literary critic, asserted in the Westminster Review:

Realism is... the basis of all Art, and its antithesis is not Idealism but Falsism. When our painters represent peasants with regular features and irreproachable linen; when their milkmaids have the air of Keepsake beauties whose costume is picturesque, and never old and dirty; when Hodge is made to speak unrefined sentiments in unexceptionable English, and children utter long speeches of religious and poetic enthusiasm; when the conversation of the parlour and the drawing room is a succession of philosophical remarks, expressed with great clearness and logic, an attempt is made to idealize, but the result is simple falsification and bad art. To misrepresent the forms of ordinary life is no less an offense than to misrepresent the forms of ideal life: a pug-nosed Apollo, or Jupiter in a great coat, would not be more truly shocking to an artistic mind than are those senseless falsifications of nature into which competence is led under the pretence of idealizing, of "beautifying" nature. Either give us true peasants, or leave them untouched, either paint no drapery at all, or paint it with utmost fidelity; either keep your people silent, or make them speak the idiom of their class.

From this passage we can see that Lewes was aiming for more than just an expansion of subject matter; he was seeking a "truth" or "sincerity" which was so important to the Victorians. In a similar way Carlyle too, issued a plea to literary artists:

...to understand and record what is **true**, of which surely there is and forever will be a whole infinitude unknown to us, of infinite importance to us.

The "pursuit of truth" became one of the rallying cries for John Ruskin who around the mid century emerged as the high priest of Fine Arts and spokesman for a group of young artists
known as the Pre Raphaelite Brotherhood. Ruskin felt a need to come to the Pre Raphaelite's defence when critics attacked and revolted against the paintings which they produced.

...they [Pre Raphaelites] have been assailed with the most scurrilous abuse which I ever recollect seeing issue from the public press. I have, therefore, thought it due to them to contradict the directly false statements which have been made respecting their works; and to point out the kind of merit which, however deficient in some respects, those works beyond the possibility of dispute....The Pre Raphaelites imitate no pictures they paint from Nature only. But they have opposed themselves as sternly to the entire feeling of the Renaissance schools,—a feeling compounded of indolence, infidelity, sensuality, and shallow pride. Therefore they have called themselves Pre Raphaelite. If they adhere to their principles and paint nature as it is around them, with the help of modern science—with the earnestness of the men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they will, as I said, found a new and noble school in England.20

For the purpose of the present study, the aspects of nature "with the help of modern science" which Ruskin outlined above, are of great importance.

Victorian England saw the formation of various organizations to further the advancement of science; for example, the Royal Institution and numerous Mechanics' Institutes had ambitious programmes for diffusing scientific knowledge among the working classes. Advances in chemical science provided the key to greater understanding, and therefore eventual control, of a host of practical processes involved in manufactures and industry, in agriculture and engineering.21

The realm of science in Victorian England extended itself into a popular belief called "experience philosophy," or more commonly known as positivism. The term positivism was appropriated to denote a philosophy that would limit itself to the positive sciences and exclude all metaphysical speculation.
George Lewes summed up the tenets of positivism in this way:

Our province is to study her [nature's] laws, to trace her processes, and, thankful that we can so far penetrate the divine significance of the universe, be content—as Locke wisely and modestly says—to sit down in quiet ignorance of all transcendant subjects.22

The positivist doctrines appealed to the earnest layman because they were didactic and reductive, an aid to comprehension rather than discovery.23 A great majority of positivist followers came from Oxford, where men like Ruskin got caught up in the scientific study of nature and positivist creed.

Ruskin made various campaigns to transform the contemporary interest in science into the realm of art. He issued proposals to the government to encourage "all second-rate artists then painting fashionable insipidities to paint thoroughly accurate renditions of plants, animals, the natural scenery, and the atmospheric phenomenon of every country on earth."24 "Every artist knows that when he draws back from an attempt to render nature as she is, it is oftener in cowardice than in disdain."25 Ruskin's writings abound with similar statements suggesting that the modern artist should emulate the geologist or chemist in exactness when he attempts to render natural forms. In this way, he felt science would provide direct knowledge of reality itself. Ruskin also saw the role of the "scientific" artist as furthering the knowledge among the "common people,"26 who apparently would be led through visual appeals to consider facts which they would otherwise ignore. Such an artist in depicting nature would retain:

a fidelity to the fact of science so rigid as to make his work at once acceptable and credible to the most sternly critical intellect, should yet invest its features again with the sweet veil of their daily aspects...27
John Everett Millais was one member of the Pre Raphaelite Brotherhood who paid particular attention to science and insisted on a spirit of truthful observation. He painted Ruskin's portrait in 1853 (figure 5) when the two were vacationing in Scotland. As an early critic opined, Millais had rendered every detail in the scene, "so that the geologist cannot find a flaw in his rocks, or a botanist mistaken lichen, plant or flower." He painted for days carefully studying the scene from morning until evening. Ruskin claimed that the painter deserved respect simply for his indisputable labour and fidelity to nature.

Ruskin, in his *Modern Painters*, advised the young artists of England to:

...go to Nature in all singleness of heart, and walk with her laboriously and trustingly, having no other thoughts but how best to penetrate her meaning, and remember her instruction; rejecting nothing, selecting nothing and scorning nothing; believing all things to be right and good, and rejoicing always in the truth.

The geological precision of John Brett's *Stonebreaker* (see above) delighted Ruskin. He bought *Stonebreaker* and wrote:

Here we have by the help of art, the power of visiting a place, reasoning about it, and knowing it, as if we were there...I never saw the mirror so held up to Nature, but it is Mirror's work, not Man's...yet precious in its patient way; and as a wonder of toil and delicate handling, unimpeachable...the chestnut trees are like a furnished design of Dürer's--every leaf a study; the poplar trunks and boughs drawn with an unexampled exquisiteness of texture and curve.

Though previously mentioned herein connection with the "hard work" rhetoric of Carlyle, Brett's geological precision also embodies the scientific principles of Ruskin. For Brett scientific observation provided a key to the direct knowledge of "facts" and would not allow for any metaphysical speculation.
Thus, Ruskin's criticisms were a major force in nineteenth century art. His devotion to science, nature, and his analysis of composition, colour and form enabled artists and readers to understand more clearly the beliefs and values which realist artists held. He was also among the first in England to emphasize the fact that "art is a public concern and its cultivation one of the most important tasks of the state, in other words, that it represents a social necessity that no nation can neglect without dangerous its intellectual existence."^32 For Ruskin it was necessary to arouse the public to take an interest in the ideals and characteristics of the realist outlook.

At the same time that Ruskin was professing direct observation of nature in art, a lesser undercurrent in realist trends was taking place which may have influenced the work of William G.R. Hind; namely the British admiration for seventeenth century Dutch art. Dutch painting was a stimulus for the genre scenes of George Morland and David Wilkie. Certain British artists admired the faithful and intimate representation of domestic life in the example of Jan Steen and David Teniers. Along with the Dutch artistes steady intensity of contemplation, was the emphasis on the modest and humble subjects. David Masson, an art critic for the British Quarterly Review, noted in 1852:

...all painters should cultivate the habit and possess the faculty of painting things with literal truth; when a painter had thus acquired the language of his art, he might employ it as his character and genius prompted, either babbling jocosely over mugs of beer and tobacco pipes like the Dutch painters, or dealing forth fierce satire on men and manners like Hogarth...^33

The British middle class preference for accurate depiction of subject matter strengthened the desire of painters, "if not
actually to compete [with nature], at least to confirm the existence of the visible world in a very literal way. They felt a spiritual kinship with the Dutch "to paint men in the sincerity of their natures and their habits, in their work, in the accomplishment of their civic and domestic functions, with their present-day appearance, above all without pose."

The theme of the worker and the desire for objective accuracy also became the goal for the illustrator-journalists in their attempt to inform the public of notable contemporary events. Popular journals such as Illustrated London News began publishing at a time when imperialism and power was at its height. Relative peace and order gave comfort and confidence to the middle classes. Under the guidance of Herbert Ingram, the Illustrated London News became a weekly chronicle of events in England. "The bankers, merchants, manufacturers, clerks, shopkeepers and engineers had been on the move since the agitation of the Reform Act of 1832 and they were more than ready for a paper which would reflect their growing sense of self-confidence and political power." Hence the theme of work and the dignity of labour naturally was an important cultural issue which represented the success of the empire. Ingram obtained the services of Henry Vizetelly as art director, artist and master engraver. Vizetelly was an important pioneer of illustrated journalism in the nineteenth century. As transportation improved and travelling increased, Ingram and Vizetelly appealed for eyewitness pictures. They made arrangements for artists who had emigrated to the new colonies to send back drawings and letters describing on the spot impressions of the region and a variety of human
activities in it. Vizetelly believed that art should be enjoyed as much for its truth and closeness to life as for any esthetic qualities it may possess.  

The illustrators became explorers in the realm of fact and experience, venturing into new subject matter and new places. In this way, they fulfilled a demand for contemporaneity, for depictions of attitudes or events of the age in artistic form.

The problem of why an artist such as William G.R. Hind chose to paint as he did and reject other possibilities is crucial. To understand his work it is necessary to keep in mind some of the British aspirations and achievements provided in this chapter. In summary we have seen how an increased interest in social issues, with a particular emphasis on labour, led artists to confront the public with subjects extolling the virtues of hard work. This subject matter also satisfied the demand for contemporaneity which allowed the middle class to identify with experiences characteristic of the epoch. Naturally, an artist did not become a realist merely by depicting a labourer; he had a moral commitment to tell the truth. The Victorian pursuit of truth had never before been asserted so forcefully as the basis of art and Ruskin, in support of this pursuit, felt that science and close observation provided direct knowledge of reality. The realism of Dutch seventeenth century artists, which was so popular in Britain, helped serve as a model for some British artists in their faithful and intimate representations of domestic life. However, British success was not restricted to the mother country; increase in travel and political power extended their growing confidence to the colonies.
Pictorial illustrating helped satisfy the demand of readers to be informed about the aspirations and success of their times. Only against a background like the one provided here, can we begin to understand how Hind was able to embody the ideals and attitudes of the Victorian middle-classes in his British Columbia painting. However, before an analysis of his work can be undertaken, we must turn to the emigration and colonization issue which brought Hind to British Columbia.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER ONE


5. Ibid., p. 189.


7. Ibid., p. 213.


9. "Brown included the portrait of Carlyle and Rev. F.D. Maurice as symbols of the cause of well ordained work in others, a hunchback with a beer tray who typifies 'town pluck and energy' and the rich typified by two ladies, the younger (a portrait of the artist's wife), etc.," see, Robin Ironside, *Pre Raphaelite Painters* (New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1948), p. 23.


14. These artists placed a positive value on the depiction of low, humble and common place subjects.

15. Iron and Coal (1861) was the last of twelve historical murals painted by Bell Scott in Wallington Hall, Northumberland.


20 Ibid., p. 20.


27 Ibid., pp. 392-393.


30 Although Brett was never officially a member of the Pre Raphaelite Brotherhood, he did exhibit with them on occasion. He was very active as a scientist and published papers on the science of astronomy. As a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society, Brett participated in an expedition to Sicily to observe a solar eclipse, see, Detroit Institute of Arts, *Romantic Art in Britain*, 1968, p. 328.


Ibid., p. 19.

Ibid., p. 25.

An artist's commitment to "tell the truth" became a moral as well as an aesthetic imperative. The Victorians often were uncertain about what theory to accept but rarely doubted their capacity to arrive at the truth. "It is this faith in the existence of ultimate truths in religion, and ethics, in politics, economics, and aesthetics (as well as the natural sciences), and in the capacity of the human mind to discover them, by some form of reason or of intuition, which unites the partisans of every school." See Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 14.
CHAPTER TWO

THE COLONIAL SCENE

For mid-nineteenth century England, overpopulation, economic and social troubles were all factors which caused men to look to new lands beyond the ocean. The working man who was accustomed to privation and to long hours of out-of-door work was ready to turn his hands to the hardships of pioneer life, and to its variety of requirements and opportunities. Leading newspapers such as The Times encouraged emigration while propagandists like Gibbon Wakefield pleaded to his countrymen for a planned colonial land policy, organized emigration and social as well as economic development. He believed that the colonies need not in all cases be mere ports-of-call or places of trade, but might become new British nations.¹

Popular lectures at Oxford University dealt with the subject of colonization:

The mere effort of directing the mind to travel abroad to those new regions of romance and expectation, where all is life and hope, and active energy, affords a relief to the spirits, which again feel wearied and fettered when it is called back to fix its attention at home. This yearning after the distant and unseen is a common propensity of our nature...²Masters of every sea, and colonists of every shore, there is scarcely a nook which our industry has not rendered accessible, scarcely a region to which the eye can wander on the map, in which we have not some object of national interest....It is a sort of instinctive feeling to us all, that the destiny of our name and nation is not here in this narrow island which we occupy; that the spirit of England is volatile, not fixed; that it lives in our language, our commerce, our industry, in all those channels of intercommunication by which we embrace and connect the vast multitude of states, both civilized and uncivilized throughout the world.²

The idea of British power and expansion, recorded in the above statement, motivated men to participate in imperialism and
contribute to the success of the British nation. "British imperialism was based upon a sense of superiority, ("...Masters of every sea, and colonists of every shore...") , upon a conviction of a superior economic system, a superior political code, on access to a superior view of some Higher Being, on a superior way of life." Colonies had become not only matters of political significance and public pride but an expression of Victorian patriotism. Emigration was seen by some as an extension of Britain's progress - a positive way to preserve the power and prestige of England.

Most of the emigration during the 1850's was individual and unorganized, but various philanthropic organizations and trade unions helped. The most active official body was the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissions which, between 1847 and 1852, tried to implement the doctrines of such colonial radicals as Lord Durham and Wakefield, who regarded settlement as the very basis of the colonial empire. Periodic depressions gave direct impetus to emigration. Between 1851 and 1880, Britain sent out two and a half million colonists.

The rise in immigration increased the demands for visual information about the colonies. As a result, the new illustrated journals began to despatch artist journalists from England to other parts of the world to send back clear informative pictures of newsworthy events or places.

In 1851, William G.R. Hind left England for Canada at the age of eighteen. He chose to settle in Toronto, undoubtedly because his older brother Henry had been living there since 1848. Henry was becoming well known as a chemist, geologist,
explorer and magazine editor. Perhaps through his academic contacts Henry was able to secure for his brother a position as "Drawing Master" at the Toronto Model School, where he worked from November 1851 to November 1857.

Henry Hind was the founding editor of The Canadian Journal, whose readership was aimed at a "young and rapidly progressive people." Henry endeavoured to produce a publication which was a medium of communication for all those interested in scientific or industrial pursuits.

\[\text{The Canadian Journal} \text{ will assist, lighten and elevate the labourers of the mechanic, will afford information to the manufacturer and generally administer to the want of that already numerous and still increasing class in British America, who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the most recent inventions and improvements in the Arts, and those scientific changes and discoveries which are in progress throughout the world.}\]

The Canadian Journal was based on the format of the popular British chronicle, The Illustrated London News. The journal's aim was to promote art, literature, industry and science in Canada, and to develop an exchange of ideas among its readers.

It is a curious fact that Henry Hind did not employ his brother as an illustrator for his magazine, but unlike The Illustrated London News, very few illustrations appear in The Canadian Journal. However, the first opportunity to publicly display William Hind's work took place at the Upper Canada Exhibition in 1852, to which William contributed two pictures Waiting for the Bat and Reading the News. Unfortunately, neither work has been located but their subjects suggest contemporary genre scenes—a cricket game and a daily pastime. For such subject matter Hind may have looked to British narrative paintings which enjoyed a wide audience. The popularity of
works like these can be gauged by the fact that they were so often reproduced in large circulation journals including The Illustrated London News.

After 1857, there is no record of William Hind's activities until 1861, when it is recorded that he returned to Canada from England. The length of time he spent in England cannot be determined, and may range anywhere from a few months to four years. During this trip to England, Hind must have absorbed some of the contemporaneous artistic practices discussed in Chapter I. Perhaps an increased social awareness and knowledge of realist trends turned Hind away from anecdotal genre subjects to scenes of documentary realism.

Upon his return, William discovered that his brother had organized an expedition along the north shore of the St. Lawrence from Seven Islands to Mingan, and up the Moisie River to the interior of the unchartered Labrador Peninsula. In his published journal, under the heading June 4th, 1867, Henry Hind wrote:

I was accompanied by my brother, Mr. William Hind, who just arrived from England in the ill fated steamer "Canadian," soon to be lost on her return voyage near the straits of Belle Isle. My brother joined the expedition for the purpose of making sketches and watercolour drawings of scenery, Indians, and any novelty in the vegetable or mineral world which it might be desirable to transfer to his portfolio.

On this expedition, William produced a remarkable series of gouaches, water colours and pencil drawings, which illustrate the topography of the region, and form a fascinating document of the Indian people and the events of the expedition itself. Many of these works were reproduced as chromolithographs and woodcuts in Henry's two-volume report, Explorations in the
The Labrador expedition returned to Toronto in the fall of 1861, and presumably upon his return, William Hind prepared his sketches of the expedition for the lithographer's use. He remained in Toronto only briefly, however, before going on to further adventures in British Columbia.

William's interest in western Canada may have first been aroused in 1857, when Henry Hind and Simon James Dawson had been appointed by the colonial government to explore the country between the Head of Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement. Henry Hind was to be responsible for observations of geology and natural history, and generally "all leading features of topography, vegetation and soil" along the route.

In words similar to Ruskin's pleas for close observation of nature, (but in a totally different and far more practical spirit), Henry wrote in a letter to the Provincial Secretary:

> Every succeeding hour's experience, shows the necessity of relying on personal observation alone in all that relates to the physical aspect of the country and its immense capabilities.

When the Hind-Dawson Expedition returned, The Canadian Journal reported on its success:

> Now that the practicability of establishing a direct communication between Toronto and the Red River has been proved, the tide of emigration must soon be directed to those vast regions, even should the more magnificent scheme of Railway and Steamer communication to the Pacific and the rich gold fields of British Columbia be much stronger in realization.

Henry Hind's report was influential in stimulating Canadian interest in the western frontier. However, to the average eastern Canadian colonist, the area that separated him from the Pacific coast colonies was a terra incognita. He had a very hazy
notion of it as a territory in which Indians, fur traders, buffalo, rolling prairies, and sky piercing mountains were mixed in happy confusion." The demand for knowledge of the western frontier prompted Captain J. Palliser to explore further (in 1857-60) the area west of the Red River. He also made inquiries "into the suitability of Canada for settlement and the advisability of building a line of railroad through British territory from Atlantic to Pacific." Prior to the discoveries of British Columbian gold in 1858, periodicals had described the western colony as a bleak and dreary settlement. The Illustrated London News reported in 1843:

The scenery is similar to that of the northern coast--wooded to the waters edge and differing little except in the varieties of pine. The outline is pleasing, but the scene offers no contrast of tints for the painter.

In Canada, the reports had a similar tone but looked favourably to British Columbia's natural resources:

The Coast presents one continuous outline of dense forests, swamps and rugged mountains and has everywhere a most unprepossessing appearance. The interior, particularly the valley of Fraser's River, contains good land and is capable of supporting a large agricultural population, but that is an exception to the general character of the country, which is valuable chiefly for its inexhaustible forest...and its valuable fisheries which will become a source of boundless wealth to its inhabitants at some future time.

Further information regarding western Canada was provided by the artists Paul Kane and Henry James Warre, who may have helped make those in Upper Canada more aware of the much neglected region of British Columbia.

Kane gave Torontonians their first comprehensive look at western Canada in 1851, when he displayed newly painted canvases of the frontier at the Upper Canada Agricultural Exhibition.
Kane was singled out as a sensation who had illustrated a virtual "kaleidoscope of the unknown."\textsuperscript{28} The majority of his canvases dealt with the customs, manners and habits of Indian tribes\textsuperscript{29} (figure 6). Impressed by the scenery, he claimed that "it exceeds in grandeur any other perhaps in the world."\textsuperscript{30}

Henry James Warre, a British military artist working in British Columbia, became known in Upper Canada for his drawings of the west made in 1845-46, while on a reconnaissance mission\textsuperscript{31} to the Oregon territory. During this time he journeyed to Victoria and drew pictures of forts and Hudson Bay Company posts (figure 7). Warre had mixed impressions of the scenery, "The scenery through which we passed onward was grand beyond description--but oh how desolate!"\textsuperscript{32}

While Canadians began to take an active interest in the west during the 1840's and 50's, settlement in British Columbia was completely overshadowed by numerous British reports of "gold fever" in California and Australia. Every issue of The Illustrated London News carried new claims of "striking it rich." The new settlements of California and Australia were well documented by Illustrated London News engravings (figure 8). But, it wasn't until 1858 with the first cry of "gold" in British Columbia that the world began to pay attention to the region. No less than 20,000 miners, merchants, jobbers, speculators, and adventurers of all sorts came to Victoria in 1858.\textsuperscript{33} A contemporary writer declared:

Miners now came flocking over, together with all that heterogeneous class of adventurers commonly called the "pioneers of civilization"....This immigration was so sudden, that people had to spend their nights in the streets or bushes...for there were no hotels sufficient to receive them. Victoria had at last been discovered,
everybody was bound for Victoria, nobody could stop anywhere else, for there, and there alone, were fortunes and large fortunes to be made. And as the news of such a flourishing state of things soon found its way to California, it was not long before the steamers brought up fresh crowds.34

The news of the Cariboo gold discovery was being trumpeted around the world.35 Kinahan Cornwallis returned to London in 1858 to publish The New Eldorado; or British Columbia. In typical Victorian flamboyance he described British Columbia:

It has eclipsed California and outshone Australia; it has attracted, by almost magical influence tens of thousands to its shores and flashed upon the universe an alluring fascination...that hilly and forest-clad isle of a thousand beauties and a nation's promise--the England of its ocean....The magic spell of discovery is being felt throughout the world, and nations have been awakened to the knowledge of another--a new--El Dorado, outvying all beside. All this land, upon which nature has so lavished her treasures, in inviting prodigality, rests beneath the sway of the British sceptre, and its riches are open to all....An exodus of this kind would benefit imperial, social and industrial interests. Firstly, in fortifying our power in these colonies, which are at present so thinly populated with British-born subjects; and secondly, in relieving the population of England of a superabundant number of educated classes, amongst which so much struggling and competition exists, as well as benefitting those individuals by a transplantation into a field where energy and enterprise will be more amply and universally rewarded than are these, the crowded walks of the mother country, where alas! in too many cases, the intellectual labourer may increasingly toil in the vineyard of professional and daily life, and scarce eke out for himself the means of a bare subsistence....I have to express my unbiased belief in the desirability of that country [B.C.] as a place of settlement for those who, emulous of gain, and intent upon doing something for themselves, which in England may be of doubtful promise are willing to go forth and brave the world amongst a class of society, which although crude and unsettled, in its unsophisticated roughness may be found all the more hospitable, and encouraging than in England....Having thus spoken, my task is ended, and British Columbia shines out upon the world--another gem in the British crown--a land of gold and still more dazzling promise.36

How could any young Victorian refuse such a travel endorsement?

Opportunity, wealth and the pursuit of social and industrial
interest, were open to all in British Columbia. Cornwallis con-
trasts this "El Dorado" with the overpopulated, struggling and
competitive environment of England. At the same time he instills
in the reader a pride that the "gem" of British Columbia "rests
beneath the sway of the British sceptre." Books such as Corn
Cornwallis' coupled with Donald Fraser's roseate passages in the
London Times seduced many to the Cariboo gold fields:

It is common to meet men who have sums varying from $5,000
to $10,000; and this evening, 3 men arrived from the
Fraser River who made $50,000 between them in 6 weeks. 37

A miner writes that his gains far surpass anything ever
produced in California, and cites the fact of $1,700
having been dug out of two crevices in the rock less
than three feet under the surface. In fact, the exploration of the enormous yield is, as I before stated the
large, solid, nuggety character of the gold and its proximity to the surface. Men who had never mined before,
tradesmen, mechanics, and labourers new to the work, did
just as well as the old practised men. 38

Gold fever produced a kind of mass blindness; its victims were
ready to believe the most preposterous absurdities on pure faith.
The Cariboo became in popular imagination a land where nuggets
lay on the side of the road. Promises continued in the follow-
ing advertisement which was published in the Times (London) in
1862:

The British Columbia Overland Transit Company will punctu-
tually dispatch at noon from Glasgow—the first class and
powerful screw steamship United Kingdom, 1,200 tons
burden, 300 horsepower, James Clarke commander, a party of first and second class passengers for Quebec, Canada,
and over the Grand Trunk Railway and continuous lines of
railway to Chicago and St. Paul via the Red River Settlements, in covered wagons to British Columbia.
This is the speediest, safest and most economical route
to the gold diggings. The land transit is through a
lovely country unequalled for its beauty and salubrity of climate. More than half the distance from Quebec is
by railway. Through fares, £42 from England to British Columbia; saloon berths £5 extra.

The company that made the journey sound like a Sunday outing
proved to be a hoax. However, the lure for gold was so strong that those Englishmen who had fallen for the advertisement refused to quit. Now in Canada and still undaunted they joined a Toronto party headed for the Cariboo.

On March 24th, 1862 a letter addressed to the editor of the Toronto Globe read:

Sir—About two months ago, the accounts from British Columbia being so good (and still continue so) as to the richness of the Gold Fields, a meeting was resolved upon and took place in Toronto for the purpose of overcoming any difficulties existing in a contemplated overland route across the Rocky Mountains, and if at all practicable, to proceed that way...

Various groups of "Overlanders" left Ontario and Quebec for British Columbia. William Hind joined one Toronto party which numbered forty-five. Its secretary or organizer was Stephen Redgrave, who planned to follow behind the Thomas McMicking party of one hundred and thirty-eight men. The Redgrave party left Toronto on April 23, 1862 for St. Paul and Fort Garry, on board the Grand Trunk Railway. Hind was described by one Overlander in his diary as the "expedition artist." Eventually Hind completed ninety-three sketches in a sketchbook which documents an important trek in Canadian history. This small pocket sketchbook is typical of those used by reportorial artists hired by Illustrated London News, but Hind's sketches of the Overland journey were never published, although this may have been his intention. Hind's artistic materials were kept to the bare essentials for portability under difficult conditions. What he intended to do with his sketchbook remains a mystery. Curiously, the drawings contained therein do not appear to be related to any of his more highly finished watercolours. The
sketchbook of pencil and watercolour vignettes, begins with the depiction of Fort Garry and concludes with sketches of the party in the mountains near Jasper. The subject matter includes thunderstorms, Indians, buffalo, prairie flowers, duck hunting and his companions playing cards, fixing carts and writing letters home.  

William Hind recorded the life of the Overlanders as they crossed the prairies on foot, with their supplies in Red River carts pulled by an ox (figure 9). At Edmonton the carts were sold and supplies were loaded on packhorses for the journey through the mountains (figure 10). Upon reaching the Fraser River most of the men built dugout canoes or rafts. Thirty six of the party agreed to take the animals overland to Kamloops through the dense bush along the North Thompson River, but this proved to be an impossible task, and after several days the animals were butchered and rafts built for travel on the river.  

There are no references in any of the Overlanders' diaries to Hind during this period. Six of the Overlanders were drowned in separate accidents in British Columbia. In early September 1862, the men who had opted for the Fraser River route arrived at Quesnel Mouth. The emaciated and ragged Thompson River party did not reach Kamloops until October.

After their ambitious enterprise very few of the Overlanders ever did any mining. Capital, which most of them did not have, was required to make the mines pay. The end of a tiresome, arduous trek of more than three thousand miles did not meet their expectations of pots of gold.

Some thought it wisest, in view of the late date and near approach of winter, to defer visiting Cariboo until the
following spring. Some others made all possible haste to Victoria and left the country without delay. With the thrill of adventure over, many returned home the following spring via Panama. One of the Overlanders, W.H. Ellis, took with him Hind's sketchbook, detailing the party's progress from Fort Garry to Jasper.

Under the date November 22, 1862, Richard Alexander penned in his notes:

I have met the Meaford fellows. They are making shingles just opposite our shanty. Purdy, Fife, Hind, Wright and Collins are down at Frisco.

William Hind apparently joined the majority of miners and mine owners who preferred to spend their winters in the more genial climate and attractive surroundings of San Francisco. No written or pictorial evidence of Hind's sojourn in California has survived. However, we do know that he was back in Victoria and working in his studio by early February of 1863.

Hind was to remain in British Columbia for the next few years documenting the colonial scene.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER TWO

1. Trevelyn, Illustrated English Social History, vol. 4, p. 163.


7. The reader may be referred to J. Russel Harper, William G.R. Hind 1833-1889 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976), for biographical information. Statements suggesting that he studied on the continent are merely speculative (p. 7). An art school in his native town known as the Nottingham Government School of Design operated when he was young, but the records of its early students have not been located. Very little is known about the artist's youth. What we do know about his life and accomplishments are based upon a few contemporary reports. References to Hind can be found in the journals and diaries of the Overlanders which are in the British Columbia Archives.


10. Ibid.

11. The Upper Canada Exhibition was devoted to agricultural products and a livestock show. The reviewer in the Canadian Agriculturist vol. V (October 1852), p. 293, remarked that canvases were hidden away in a corner and could not be properly seen. As late as 1856 false teeth were still being included in the "fine arts" division.

12. An anonymous art reviewer of the Canadian Journal vol. 1 (October 1852), p. 61, wrote: "...special merits to George Reid (for a portrait), Paul Kane, Mr. Whale (landscape). Mr. William Hind exhibited two oil paintings which showed considerable talent and gave fair promise of future excellence in the higher departments of Art..."
The narrative paintings of such artists as Frith, Solomon and Redgrave invite interpretation in literary terms. Frith claims in his Autobiography that he was "always strongly drawn to painting modern life," and it was he who created the vogue for modern life subjects in the 1850's and 60's, see figure 43, London, Alexander Gallery, Victorian Panorama with an introduction by Christopher Wood, 1976.

Lister, Victorian Narrative Paintings, 1966, p. 15. The illustrations of novels and story books provided another source for the rise of narrative pictures from 1820 to 1860. The Royal Academy's acceptance of narrative pictures for the annual exhibitions (even though they depart almost completely from academic precepts), is also indicative of their popularity and importance.


Throughout the 1850's The Illustrated London News frequently mentioned a mail steamship known as the Canada. The Canada departed from Liverpool and arrived in New York. I have not been able to determine if the steamer mentioned in Henry Hind's journal is the same boat.

Hind, Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula, p. 2.

The entire Labrador series by William Hind was broken up for auction (Toronto Sotheby's sale October 1976). The studies which survive from his Labrador expedition, demonstrate an interest in the Montagnais and Naskapi Indians. Many of these pencil, oil and watercolour studies are in the Toronto Public Library.

Hind was living on Yonge Street during the taking of the 1862 census.


The elder Hind selected assistants for the expedition and included Humphrey Lloyd Hime, who was to become the first photographer of the Canadian prairies. It was likely that William was in England at this time (1857-58) and could not assist his brother as expedition artist. Henry never indicated precisely his reasons for requesting a photographer, although he did mention the advantage of having a negative from which any number of prints could be taken to illustrate a report. Hime was instructed to take photographs of "all objects of interest susceptible of photographic delineation." In addition to being published in The Illustrated London News, engravings after four-tenths of the photos were produced in Hind's official report in 1860.

23 The Canadian Journal no. XX (March 1859), p. 92.


25 Ibid., p. 3.


29 Hind exhibited alongside Paul Kane the following year.


31 Warre's mission was to investigate American encroachment on western lands belonging to the Hudson Bay Company. In 1845, U.S. President Polk's election cry was "Fifty-Four-Forty or Fight." Despite the efforts of Warre, England lost Oregon and part of British Columbia. Eastern Canada realized it had to take a genuine interest in the west if all was not to be lost.


34 Ibid.


38 Ibid., Feb. 5, 1862, p. 10.
The Overlander's Journey is fully documented in several diaries belonging to J. Carpenter, Stephen Redgrave, and R.H. Alexander. They are quoted by Mark S. Wade in his exhaustive narrative and authoritative account in the Overlanders of '62, 1931.


The sketchbook, acquired by the Public Archives of Canada in 1963, measures only 3 1/2 by 6 inches.

Correspondence with Sophie Beaven of the Illustrated London News indicates that any record they may have regarding William G.R. Hind was destroyed in the 1940 bombing of London.

Illustrated London News (June 4, 1870), p. 569. Eventually, in 1870, when Hind was a resident of the Red River Colony, two engravings that were prepared from his sketches were selected for Illustrated London News.

J. Russell Harper discusses the sketchbook in relationship to the diaries of the Overlanders in Beaver Magazine (Winter 1971), pp. 4-15. It is not my intention in this thesis to add to Harper's comments regarding the Hind Overland sketchbook.


Wade, The Overlanders of '62, p. 140.


A photo of W.H. Ellis still remains in the sketchbook pocket which is in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.


Howay, British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present, p. 112.
CHAPTER THREE

THE BRITISH COLUMBIAN VIEWS OF

WILLIAM G.R. HIND

In the spring of 1858, the greatest of all the British Columbian gold rushes was at its height. The excitement of gold gave British Columbia its first start as a colony. "Seldom has a country of such magnitude been built on a skeleton so exclusively metallic." ¹

The gold-seeking colonists found the landscape of British Columbia entirely different from the other areas of Canada. The region "presented its own peculiar problems and offered its own special qualities to those who visited or settled it." ² Indeed, the landscape was so inescapably impressive, that in no time the early efforts of Canadian artists were to come to grips with the terrain. Artists such as Paul Kane and Henry Warre were fascinated by the novel elements of the mountains and pursued the poetic and exotic qualities of the new landscape, while other painters devoted their attention to the new way of life in the colony.

The experiences of the British Columbian frontiersman are recorded in the views of William G.R. Hind. These works represent valuable historical documents of the gold rush era and the lives of the settlers. They also reflect the Victorian notions of optimism, moral earnestness and enthusiasm—the standards of value which Hind upheld, and which are consistent with his other Canadian scenes.

By February of 1863, Hind had set up a studio on Broad
Street in Victoria. Presumably by this time he had begun to work on his pictures of British Columbia. From what we know of his Labrador and Overlander sketches, he possessed a strong interest in social documentation. He can be described as an artist-journalist in the tradition of the Illustrated London News pictorial reporters, whose assignments put them in constant touch with developments in industry and the labour movement. For the English Victorians who popularized the Illustrated London News and their colonial counterparts who read such periodicals as the Canadian Journal, industry and labour represented power and success. Nowhere could the triumphs of the British way of life be more clearly charted than in books, articles and images which depicted the expanding Empire. William Hind’s pictorial reporting of the British Columbian scene represents only one of many similar efforts made by Victorian artists that reflected this political power and satisfied the desire for eyewitness accounts of the colonies.

Many of Hind’s British Columbia pictures show people at work in various occupations, particularly prospecting. This chapter will suggest that Hind’s interest in portraying the labouring man stems from and reflects his background as a member of the mid-nineteenth century British middle class. From its art this social group demanded accuracy of detail and contemporaneity; these qualities are absolutely central to Hind’s work, and to contemporary realism in general, which implied an actual confrontation with the concrete experiences, events, customs, and appearances characteristic of one’s own epoch.

For, as seen in Chapter I, British pictures of labourers
which extolled the virtues of hard work were viewed by Victorians as a tribute to the fundamental and enduring character of the nation. By middle-class mores all had to work and the concept of work inevitably came to develop certain moral and intellectual faculties thought of as the whole of virtue.\(^5\)

> Whatsoever of morality and of intelligence; what of patience, perseverance, faithfulness, of method, insight, ingenuity, energy; in a word, whatsoever of Strength the man had in him will lie written in the Work he does.\(^6\)

Thus work, came to be, in fact, the actual faith of many Victorians. Asa Briggs has remarked that Victorian society rested on four main beliefs--the gospel of work, "seriousness" of character, respectability and self-help.\(^7\) These basic features of Victorian society, with particular emphasis on work, were seen not only as a means to respectability and success but also as supreme virtues involving both self denial and creative accomplishment. As mentioned in Chapter I, one of the leading forces to inspire Victorians with this belief was Carlyle. "Properly speaking, all true work is Religion," he wrote in *Past and Present* (1843) and he went on to assert that work meant "communication with Nature" and that even the humblest hand work revealed "something of divineness."\(^8\) Propositions such as Carlyle's became cornerstones of a new view of the middle class, and pictorial images which depicted achievements of industrial England reflected this view, giving pride of place to the labourer and extolling the superiority of Britain over all other nations.

The virtues of British labour spread with the expansionist process to the colonies. The process of imperialism was broadly based on the romance of exploration, the development of
trade, the movement of British capital, the creation of new forms of economic dependence, the pushing forward of the frontiers, and the exploitation of new markets. Emigration and the movement of men to colonies became organized industry.

As the land utopias of the Chartists and early radicals faded into the background in the late 1840's and 50's, the far more exciting appeal of foreign settlement took its place. It was an appeal which looked not back to the past as did many working-class dreams, but forward to a new future.

This new future involved the transportation of British Victorian values to new frontiers; and these values were translated into artistic forms. It is quite clear, for example, that nationalism and the gospel of hard work underlie the approach taken by Hind, who concentrated on subjects of colonization, and above all, on the daily life of the worker. Hind must have been aware of efforts made by other British artists to present the theme of labour, and he appears to have found no more worthwhile theme than the life of the British Columbian worker. Following in the manner of Madox Brown, Bell Scott, Wallis, and other English painters of labour themes, Hind created a worker image relevant to the British Columbia environment.

Hind's painting *Prospecting for Alluvial Gold in B.C.* (figure 11), is an image of a solitary, labouring miner, which demonstrates the artist's desire to focus upon the concrete experience of everyday British Columbian life. The prospector is shown at the bank of a creek, panning for gold and anticipating a "lucky strike." This is by no means a degrading image, but one of dignity and hope. There are none of the overtones of poverty and death that we saw in Henry Wallis' *Stonebreaker* (see Chapter I); instead Hind's image is more akin to the
positive attributes of Ford Madox Brown's work images, and is consistent with colonial propaganda,--stressing the hope and pursuit of social and industrial interests. The image of a solitary miner in earnest pursuit of gold (which brings economic promise for the future) evokes optimism. Walter Houghton explains the Victorian need to demonstrate this moral optimism in the following passage.

At a moment when contemporary life was exhibiting the selfish, acquisitive side of human nature, any dark view of man could only reduce one's faith in goodness and nobility to the level of a shaky trust.11

A comparison of Hind's study of a prospector with contemporary literature on British Columbia, shows to what extent Hind's work embodies the mother country's attitudes towards her new colony. Clearly this approach is essentially identical to that implied by contemporary statements extolling the potential of the new colony, such as that which appeared in the Royal Geographical Society Paper of 1864:

From its advantages of geographical position, its vast mineral wealth, its salubrious climate, and valuable natural products, it seems but fair to anticipate that, under government and by process of gradual development, British Columbia will ere rank as not the least important Colonies of the Crown.12

From this passage the reader can sense the writer's enthusiasm in recognizing a great and optimistic future for the new colony. Prospecting for Alluvial Gold achieves the same kind of mood and at the same time implies a sense of freedom for the solitary figure seeking mineral wealth on virgin terrain. This implied freedom may be viewed as a matter of Victorian self-congratulation, for the founding of new British colonies was said to be inspired by "the desire of spreading throughout the
habitable globe all the characteristics of Englishmen—-their energy, their civilization and their freedom."  

Prospecting for Alluvial Gold displays Hind's obsessive insistence on detailed accuracy, a quality which no doubt has its roots in the type of realism that Ruskin professed and the British public so admired. One can even see a small bit of tobacco in the miner's pipe and the wear on his crude tin cup. The careful rendering of geological features in the rocks and background vegetation also evokes those pre-eminently Victorian virtues of thoroughness and precision.

An awareness of the appeal of the industrious man also marks Hind's Gold Digger, B.C. (figure 12). The scene presents an intimate look at a prospector with his back turned. As in Prospecting for Alluvial Gold, here the viewer sees Hind's figures from close up, a proximity that considerably heightens the sense of visual immediacy. Once again, Hind endeavors to render a detailed impression of nature. Glimpses of rocks, and their reflections in the water, recall Ruskin's words that "the modern artist should emulate the geologist or chemist in exactness when he studies and attempts to represent natural forms."  

Victorian principles of art were often quite literally scientific principles based on the artist's knowledge of botany, geology, etc. In his detailed observation of nature, Hind can indeed be called scientific.

Some scientific observers in the mid-nineteenth century (as seen in Chapter I) developed the concept of positivism. It was a philosophy elaborated in England by John Stuart Mill, and others such as Frederick Harrison, R. Congreve, and George
Lewes. The followers of positivism were concerned to make all areas of human experience the subject of empirical science, based on that which was observable. Lewes termed the philosophy "positive science" and wrote the following statement in *The Biographical History of Philosophy*:

> Science finds itself year by year and almost day by day, advancing step by step, each accumulation of power adding to the momentum of its progress....Onward, and ever onward, mightier and forever mightier, rolls the wondrous tide of discovery, and the "thoughts of men are widened by the process of the sun."\(^{16}\)

This passage reminds us of the optimistic faith placed in science and stresses the Victorian need to demonstrate "power [and the] momentum of its progress." As a close observer of nature, Hind shared the scientist's respect for facts. Since British progress depended on the application of scientific methods, the study of science became the basis of truth, even in the arts. Hind's carefully rendered nature studies reflect this desire for direct observation.

*Miners in the Leather Gap, Rocky Mountains* (figure 13) also displays veristic depictions of rocky soil, for Hind has meticulously defined each stone. The effects of direct sunlight and the play of deep shadows on the rocks imply an earnest, painstaking technique. The immediacy of the figures' pose accentuates its momentary explicitness. Leaning against a rock, one figure is shown pausing from his work, relaxing and observing his surroundings, while another figure continues to climb. Like good reportage, the miners' costume, pose, and scenery maintain the apparent fortuitousness of Hind's vision. The miners evidently do not represent a degrading image, for Hind views their work as a worthy achievement which brings
well deserved satisfaction.

The theme of optimism and satisfaction is maintained even in the study of a mountain landscape, *A View in British Columbia* (figure 14) by the presence of a single red clad figure with his back turned to the viewer. This image of a solitary miner in a landscape may have represented for Hind the freedom and expansiveness of the new colony. Compared to Britain where "so much struggling and competition existed" in overpopulated cities, Hind's *British Columbia* may have had an appeal for the more enterprising and independent-minded emigrant, looking forward at last to a chance of sun and air, away from the crowded swell of British city life. Hind's images therefore record moments in the lives of colonist workers amidst a promising frontier.

These positive images of the solitary miner seem to concur with the reports of British Columbia relayed back to eastern Canada and Britain. Milton and Cheadle, for instance, reported that they "found the country abounding in mineral wealth. The extent and richness of the gold fields is added to every month by fresh discoveries." This sense of optimism pervades Hind's *Prospector Panning for Gold*, which may more closely reflect his preconceived notions of the Cariboo (gleaned from contemporary journals like the one just cited) than the actual circumstances he found there after his arrival. It was still possible when Hind first arrived in the Cariboo (indeed, as it is today), for an independent prospector to eke out a meagre existence. However, starting in 1863, (Hind arrived in late 1862), individual gold panning production entered into
a rapid decline. The yield was still very large but it came almost entirely from a few rich claims. Those areas accessible to the individual prospector had been exhausted by the end of 1862. Prospectors had worked their way up from the banks of the Fraser to the northern Cariboo area, where new discoveries brought about a radical change in the methods of mining. Gold was found on the benches above rivers and it frequently lay deep. There extraction required more complex machinery and greater concentrations of labour. Mining had become capitalized while poverty forced many goldseekers to become labourers in other peoples' mines. Many other would-be prospectors turned to work on government roads. Thus, although it was still possible for Hind to have witnessed the miner panning on his own, in all probability he was more likely to see groups of men "wet sinking," driving shafts or building sluices. The truth of the situation rarely made it back to the east and Britain. With all the previous propaganda encouraging colonization with a "strike it rich" theme, reports of "humbug" would not have fit the British imperialist scheme. Hind's fidelity to visual "reality" may, after all, have concentrated on the dream at the expense of reality; for all realism is relative and not absolute. The very act of painting itself is a step away from reality, and it does not matter how "factual" a painter is, his perception will always inevitably be controlled by who he is and his historical situation.

Thus, Hind's "realism" is consistent with colonial propaganda encouraging settlement. We have already seen that Hind's visual realism was conditioned by other aspirations and
achievements of the period, and while his work does demonstrate a venturing into "the realm of fact and experience," his style and thematic interests were inevitably formulated by the mid-nineteenth century Victorian milieu. Therefore Hind's portrayal of solitary miners panning for gold may be viewed as a product of conditioned responses to reality—responses which he may not have been aware of. Generally speaking it would seem the principles of imperialism, science and labour present in Hind's art appeared to him to be so certain, that it was impossible for him not to express what he himself believed to be true.

In approaching the realm of "fact," Hind may have drawn upon a pictorial tradition that fascinated many of his contemporaries: seventeenth century Dutch painting. Hind looked to the seventeenth century Dutch idiom in an attempt to transform an everyday, commonplace scene into a "work of art." The most Netherlandish of his works is a Saloon Scene of 1864 (figure 15), which appears to be a close derivation from a seventeenth century painting in the Flemish/Dutch tradition. The lead paneled windows, earthenware jugs, pewter tankard and seventeenth century peasant-clad card players would indicate that Hind was familiar with the paintings in the manner of David Teniers or Adriaen Brouwer. The objects in these paintings were recalled by Hind as part of a seventeenth century tradition and again were not what he actually saw in British Columbia. Hind probably recognized the importance that the Dutch painters gave to the humble, modest, and everyday occurrence, and his Saloon Scene looks back to their representations of smoke-filled inns.
inhabited by low-life characters, caught in trivial activities, which were "faithful, exact, complete, with no embellishments." Miners, British Columbia (figure 16) shows another saloon scene including a heterogeneous collection of bearded miners conversing in informal poses. Again, very much in the Dutch tradition, their postures suggest both the momentary and fortuitous nature of the image, and the informal way of life of the miner. This watercolour directs our interest to the two foreground figures, but to the extreme right, the viewer catches a glimpse of a figure washing his hair in a bucket. It is exactly this sort of "meaningless" detail which is essential to Hind's artistic approach. For although Miners, British Columbia may be less derivative than the Saloon Scene, both retain a Dutch-like emphasis on faithful and acute observation of detail in "portraits of men and places, citizen habits, squares and streets."^23

Hind managed to capture similar candid poses in a watercolour (laid down on a sketch book cover), entitled The Bar in a Mining Camp in the West of Canada (figure 17). This work describes a collection of men without inhibitions. Some are celebrating a lucky day, others are drowning their sorrows, while other despondents have sought the shelter of a saloon as a place to sleep. Hind thus portrays the ordinary, contemporary life of men and the saloon in all its prosaicness, and his figures are bound by posture, pose and action to their own time. He is not concerned with passing judgment on the effects of saloons on the British Columbian community, but does show the degenerate aspects of the saloon as well as the comradeship
accompanying it. The saloon is depicted as a meeting place and yet Hind is not afraid to imply, as he does in *The Bar in a Mining Camp*, that frequently it sent the miner back to the claim penniless. Richard C. Willoughby, an American from San Francisco, came to British Columbia in 1862 and wrote about the saloons:

These miners were shut off from the good influences of the home circle and also from the influences for good of the Christian churches of our day. All these to them were passed and in their lives in this country they had to face the awful temptations which bore down so many to an untimely grave....Young men would often find themselves cut off from all the enjoyments and met with their companions in this place and were induced to drown their sorrows in the flowing bowl. By this means they became habituated to drink and other vices which in many cases soon ended their earthly career.24

Paradoxically while Willoughby is concerned to make a judgment on the worthlessness of saloons, he at the same time brings out their intrinsic value in providing places for com­radeship and recreation, a point which is emphasized in Hind's paintings, for instance his *Saloon with a Group of Men on* the *Fraser River, B.C.* (figure 18). The subject of the painting is men chatting in front of a saloon—as Marion T. Place has re­marked, "a prospector's sweetest reward, next to making a big discovery, was talking about his experience."25 It would seem that Hind saw leisure and recreation as the rewards of hard work. Other Victorians such as Thomas Arnold felt that recre­ation intended "to strengthen us for work to come."26 Ruskin too, thought recreation was entirely justified "during the reac­tion after hard labour, and quickened by satisfaction in the accomplished duty or perfected result."27

A more intimate social scene, not involving saloon
life, but showing the same concern with contemporary experience is Cabin on the Fraser River (figure 19). Marian Place's description of a Cariboo cabin could very well be applied to Hind's pictorial description:

...the cabins were small, no more than 8 or 10 ft. square, hastily thrown together and chinked with moss and mud. Each contained 2-4 bunks nailed to the walls, a few shelves and wall pegs, a small flat topped iron stove, a stack of drying firewood and lines strung overhead for drying sweaty socks and laundry....The nights passed quietly in endless card games and talk. 28

Hind was concerned with rendering as nearly as possible a faithful and exact portrait of "men and places," and while as we have noted already his reality was conditioned, he was not prepared to romanticise. His approach to other aspects of the gold-mining society which interested him is in keeping with his efforts to confront the concrete experience of his time with appropriate imagery. This approach included depictions of the local Indians. The Overlanders frequently mentioned encounters with Indians in their journals. One Overlander, A.L. Fortune disparagingly wrote about the destructive effect alcohol had on the tribes, while in other passages he described them as "competent," "resourceful" and "physically superior." 29 The Natives, too, took an active part in the gold rush discoveries. An entry in Governor Douglas' diary refers to the mining activities of the Indians:

The Indians are getting plenty of gold and trading with the Americans....They barter their gold for tobacco.... It is impossible for the Hudson Bay Company to get labour at present as they are all busy mining and make between $2 and $3 a day each man. 30

The colonists were overbearing in their attitudes to the
natives, who, in return, resented their aggression and maltreatment of Indian women. Douglas warned "that no abuses would be tolerated, and that the laws would protect the rights of the Indians no less than the white man."31 An information pamphlet issued by the Agent-General for emigrants estimated that there were:

probably 30,000 Natives...rather saucy on the west coast of Vancouver Island; useful as common labourers, and not without capabilities as artisans...altogether the Indians contribute very largely to the trade of the province.32

Although the above writer is very patronizing in his attitude towards the Indians, he does give them credit for their industriousness. Hind's watercolour Chinook Indians Gathering Shellfish (figure 20) is akin to the emigration pamphlet's description of the Native as a "common labourer." He shows the Chinook going about their daily chore of gathering food, presumably a commonplace occurrence on the western Canadian frontier. In contrast to previous artists such as Paul Kane (figure 21), Hind does not attempt to ennoble the Indian, but instead gives him a new image—that of the native labourer, a resourceful, competent and physically industrious figure. This depiction implies that the new colony of British Columbia was progressive where even the Indians shared the British values of labour. Hind's attractive image of the Native upholding Victorian values is compatible with our view of Hind as a pictorial illustrator, a believer in the Victorian work ethic, and an optimist about the prospects for the new colony.

Aggressive assertion of white supremacy became a pronounced feature in Victorian culture in the 1850's and 60's.33 A writer for the London Daily Telegraph in 1866 wrote, "Of all
human tasks, the most hopelessly difficult is that of govern-
ing wisely, humanely, and justly a community in which unequal
and antagonistic races are largely intermingled."34 Hind's im-
age of the Chinook Indians would therefore appear to imply that
the colonial governors of British Columbia had been successful
in imposing the work ethic on an "unequal" race.

It may be that Hind was influenced in part by a broader
phenomenon, that of the popular interest in race and racial
theories.35 He not only depicted the Native population peace-
fully at work, but also showed the Chinese immigrants as a la-
bouring people. By 1864, there were about 2,000 Chinese in
British Columbia; 36 and some of the Overlanders, such as A.L.
Fortune, recorded this fascination with the Orientals:

We had never seen specimens of that wonderful people
before this time, except Mr. Wattie who had been in
California some years previous. They were a wonder
to us with their chopsticks, pigtailed and sallow skin.37

The painting Chinese Gold Washers on the Fraser River, B.C.
(figure 22) reveals a similar curiosity, but what is more sig-
nificant is that Hind, as in his portrayal of the native
Indians at work, gives to the Chinese a sense of dignity and
worth by depicting them at work--here with picks and shovels.
Once again, contemporary viewers could have seen these images
as a reflection of good colonial government, where "unequal"
races share Victorian values. When the rush for gold in
California waned, many of the Chinese miners found themselves
out of work and headed north to the diggings in British
Columbia. Here they were treated as second-class citizens sub-
ject to the assertion of "white superiority" and strove to
make a living re-panning the gravel left behind by the more
greedy Europeans, who had gone further north in a frenzy to find the source of pay dirt.\textsuperscript{38} Thus, they were an isolated and disadvantaged group within the Cariboo society.

There were often words of caution when further Chinese immigration was suggested, but, as far as many colonists in Victoria were concerned the Chinese contributed to the commerce of the city. The following contemporary statement recognizes the Chinese contributions to the colonies:

They may be inferior to Europeans and Americans in energy and ability; hostile to us in race, language and habits and remain among us a Pariah race; still they are patient, easily governed and invariably industrious and their presence at this juncture would benefit trade everywhere in the two colonies [Vancouver Island and Mainland B.C.].\textsuperscript{39} Our prediction is that while British Columbia profits directly by their labour, indirectly our commercial prosperity is assured.

In addition to actively working the diggings abandoned by whites, five hundred Chinese were employed by Wright and Company at $40 a month, constructing the Cariboo road.\textsuperscript{40} Other Orientals found work as labourers, washmen and restaurant operators.\textsuperscript{41} In a fashion similar to the contemporary reports (see above), Hind was successful in declaring the industry and earnestness of the Chinese manual labourer. Hind shows the Chinese miners sifting the gravel and transporting minerals to the rocker site at the edge of the river. Their rocking methods of retrieving gold were similar to the white miners, however the Chinese had a unique method for transporting the gravel. The \textit{Gazette} and \textit{Colonist} record the interest in this method:

A procession of moon-eyed Orientals might have been seen yesterday afternoon on their way to the wharf of the steamer for Langley...[each] was loaded in true Chinese style, with a pole on his shoulder and dangling from each end of which there were packages of provisions etc.\textsuperscript{42}

Their bamboo canes and heavy loads are strangely singular
Thus, Hind documents their unique process method, as well as depicting the Chinese as resourceful and physically industrious. He records the various races in British Columbia partaking of Victorian values in the concreteness of a colonial setting, with "industry" being the main focus of his attention.

The theme of industry even occurs in Hind's landscapes, where man's relationship with the British Columbia environment is portrayed down to the smallest detail. For example Mining in British Columbia (figure 23) depicts the production method of sluicing. In this view Hind incorporated the sluicing process and its workers with the landscape. The sluicing method was regarded as a sign of "progress" which replaced the individual miner as a more effective method of producing gold. The figures in Hind's composition are seen as an integral part of the landscape, and perhaps the reason for this is that Hind saw progress and the evolving process of mining as taking away from the individual.

Progress was generally praised by the mid-Victorians and Hind may have been aware of the parallels between industrial developments in England and those in British Columbia. In England, the simplest defence of industry was also the most obvious. "Scientific and technical advance in England was visible, it could be measured in figures and summed up in facts." Signs of industrial progress are also "visible" in the landscapes of William Hind which portray the roads and bridges in British Columbia. As mentioned above many men in the Cariboo had to become wage earners on the government roads,
and they were heralded as heroes by the colonial press. After the earliest of the government roads had been completed, Governor Douglas wrote in October 1860:

In riding over the face of these frowning cliffs, which at twelve months ago seemed to defy all efforts of improvement, it was impossible to suppress a feeling of thankfulness and intense gratification at the successful issue of our labours, and their probable influence on the trade and development of the country.48

The wilderness had been transformed from "frowning cliffs" to "successful" roads as the result of much labour. The colonists, by bringing a sense of order to the landscape, had begun to tame it. In less than three years, many roads were constructed and became the pride of the colony.

New Government Road, B.C. (figure 24) represents another of Hind's efforts to combine evidence of colonial industry with an idyllic landscape. A log cabin occupies the centre of the composition, while Indians carrying packs on their backs add additional interest to the road scene. However, the scene implies something beyond the fact of specific colonial labourers performing a routine task, and pictorially conveys a comforting suggestion of the success and usefulness of the roads as well as the moral beauty of labour in general.

Parallels can be drawn between the British Columbian road worker and the British railway navvies. In the same way that Governor Douglas regarded the road workers with awe-struck admiration, Samuel Smiles paints this picture of the British navvy:

The labourers who executed this formidable work were in many respects a remarkable class. The "railway navvies," as they were called, were men drawn by the attraction of
Figure 24
good wages from all parts of the kingdom...their powers of endurance were extraordinary. In times of emergen­cy they would work for twelve and sixteen hours, with only short intervals for meals....They displayed great pluck and seemed to disregard perils.49

Just as Ford Madox Browneexecuted scenes of navvies as symbols of work and progress,50 William Hind recorded the "remarkable" products of the British Columbian road workers. His Government Road, B.C. Lillooette (figure 25) shows two red clad figures on a bridge, pausing to contemplate the spectacular falls. His painting juxtaposes human achievement and endeavour with the rugged and awesome beauty of British Columbia. Hind's government road scenes may be viewed as a reflection of colonial pride and the industrial awareness of the Victorian age.

Bridges were greatly admired in the Victorian epoch both for their technical qualities and for their character as a picturesque enhancement of the landscape.51 Along the four hundred mile long Cariboo Wagon Road (which extended from Yale to Spence's Bridge) was the Alexandra Suspension Bridge. It was the first suspension bridge in the west and considered a feat of engineering design. Connecting pyramidal towers made of immense wooden timbers, supported twin cables that carried a road way having a clear span of 265 feet. Contemporary reports found the use of virgin west coast timber noteworthy.52 In 1865, Hind painted this bridge in collaboration with a Mr. Tomlinson53 as a review in The Colonist informs us:

We were yesterday shown an excellent oil painting—4 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 4 1/2 inches—the joint production of Messrs. Hind and Tomlinson of this city. The subject being a local one, invests the picture with additional interest. The artists have been engaged by a gentleman who will shortly proceed to England to lecture, to paint a series of pictures embracing views in both colonies [Vancouver Island and
the B.C. mainland] and the present one, the first of a series, shows that the task has been confided to able hands. The scene is laid on the valley of the Fraser above Yale, showing Trutch's Suspension Bridge in the foreground, and the trail behind is seen winding along the tortuous bank of a stream until it becomes obscure by a distant haze. The tints and shadows are all well preserved, and the various tints thrown upon the rugged mine clad mountains are true to nature, and convey an accurate idea of the general outline of the country...

According to the review the size of the painting would make it Hind's largest recorded work, but unfortunately it has been lost.55 The review implies that the painting in question was commissioned for use in a lecture series in England. So the artist may have painted the scene with a deliberate campaign in mind to proclaim the remarkable achievements of the new colonies. A parallel phenomenon in England was the popularity of the Englishman John Cooke Bourne's (1814-96) industrial and engineering scenes of the late 1830's which were popularized by a public interested in industrial progress. Bourne's drawings of the London and Birmingham Railway combine an interest in industrial progress with the natural landscape. He felt that "all persons would derive pleasure in contemplating the increasing importance of the commerce, manufactures and arts of Great Britain."56 An analogy between Bourne's views and Hind's can be made, because both artists turned to bridges as subjects of popular interest and as evidence of progress. For the Alexandra Bridge had opened up the interior by increasing commerce, transportation and settlement. Hind used the bridge and road subjects as symbols of success and confidence, which were linked with the fascination held for technological progress in the period.

The Colonist review of Hind and Tomlinson's Alexandra
...Great pains have been evidently bestowed by the artists on the execution of the more prominent features in the picture, and particularly the river banks and the rocky gorge spanned by the fine suspension bridge and the fir trees above. As a work of art the picture speaks well for our native talent, and we shall look forward to future productions from the same pencil...57

The reviewer notes that the artists took "great pains" in the execution of the painting and gives credit to their labour. Generally Victorians greatly admired "the mastery of the passions, patience and resolution; the controlled energy focused on work." In this way, even in his meticulous approach to his painting, Hind maintained the Victorian work ethic.

In his watercolour Yale Bridge, B.C. (figure 26), Hind delineates another suspension bridge, this one spanning the turbulent waters below the town of Yale. The bridge assumes a monumental character in the design and joins the lines of the adjacent landscape wings. The popular image of bridges in Britain would have been easily accessible to Hind in the popular periodicals available in Canada. His bridge represents a civilizing influence in an otherwise rugged landscape, and while it may be viewed as fulfilling a demand for information about the colony, it is also a symbol of power. Hind's Yale Bridge offers another piece of evidence that British ingenuity could tame the wilderness of British Columbia.

The current interest in engineering projects inspired not only Hind but also contemporary writers such as Elspeth Honeyman Clarke. Her poem "The Cariboo Trail" (n.d.) praises the new speed and volume of transportation which were made possible by the new road:
They have blasted and hewn a new road,
By the side of the old, old trail;
They have laid their grades for a swifter wheel
Than the old trail knew;
But—who—who will come on the new road riding,
Up to the river to Yale and past?
Rich man, poor man flying past,
Glad men, sad men, first and last!
What do they look for? Beauty?
It lies where ever a man may turn his eyes!...

Clarke emphasizes the "newness" of the road compared to the old trail. The materials of stone and steel contribute to a firm and solid structure, allowing for a "swifter" wheel. Hind shares similar sentiments as Clarke in declaring the pride which the British Columbian community had for the Government roads and bridges.

Hind's other landscapes are less concerned with human accomplishment, but signs of progress are evident in a rather idyllic scene called Victoria, Vancouver Island (figure 27). The painting depicts a panorama of the young capital city of British Columbia, with tall, masted ships nestled in the peaceful harbour. Hind's attention to detail is so accurate that archivists can now point to the exact location of his vantage point. Signs of industry, such as shipbuilding take place, while Indians in dugout canoes spear for fish. The intermingling of two cultures is brought together harmoniously in this image which combines the tranquility of an older way of life with the "industry" and progress of the new.

Almost all of Hind's landscapes deal with the productive relationship between colonist and nature. At first glance Hind's watercolour Strait of San Juan (figure 28) would appear to be completely devoid of any human element. However, further examination reveals a tiny steamship bellowing smoke in the
Figure 27
straits, and a road which winds down to the water's edge. The vast panoramic expanse of the northwest in this painting is overwhelming in contrast to the evidence of human civilization and progress in Mining, B.C. and Yale Bridge. While Hind was capable of expounding the Victorian "hard work" virtues of the new colony, this scene acknowledges the freedom and beauty which British Columbia offered the new settler. Nevertheless, traces of human endeavour still act here as ennobling features in a promising settlement. Hind's pictorial approach to British Columbia (as seen also in the bridge and road scenes), extols the colony as a free and industrious environment. His Strait of San Juan represents a very accurate rendering of the British Columbia terrain. Other Canadian artists such as Paul Kane often exaggerated the British Columbia landscape. For example, in Kane's watercolour study entitled Boat Encampment (figure 29), the mountains appear to be of medium height, but in subsequently painting the same subject in oil (figure 30), Kane invented much more grand forms to tower above the human camp. Kane's practice was influenced by British theories of the "sublime." By the 1840's in Britain and North America, mountains became the subject of conventionalized emotion and romantic exaggeration. "No one could write of mountains without resorting to rhetorical bombast. A sense of genuine awe dissolved into a feigned sensationalism." Theories of the sublime seem to have struck a chord of sympathy in Kane, who exaggerated the landscape as an attempt to enumerate the aesthetic qualities expounded by such theorists as Edmund Burke. Hind appears to have rejected the theories of
the sublime and substituted for them much more realistic proportions. As we have already noted, Hind's interest was in faithful studies of nature and the rendering of "truth" as advocated by Ruskin.

Other landscape subjects by Hind such as the Fraser Canyon Scene (figure 31), also recall the British trends influenced by Ruskin's calls for faithful depictions of nature. In rendering the Fraser Canyon Scene, Hind's interest in flora and fauna has led him to assume an unusual vantage point by getting down close to the ground and isolating a section of a much larger field. The objects Hind chose to isolate were a variety of plants, grasses and outcroppings of rock, set against a backdrop of rugged mountains. Ruskin issued a volume of instructions on how to copy geological formations, and also challenged the artist to convey the experience of mountain scenery. It would appear that Hind took up this challenge by accurately depicting vegetation and geological features. The fact that he chose this everyday subject is of primary significance to his artistic conception. He was not painting the nature of the Romantics but his own environment, and he forces the viewer to take notice of an insignificant scene which would otherwise go unnoticed. In Ruskin's words, Hind went "to nature in all singleness of heart...rejecting nothing, selecting nothing." Realism although an impossibility was still his goal.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER THREE


3. The Colonist, Wednesday, February 25, 1863, p. 3, reported under the heading Fine Arts: "Mr. Hind of Broad Street has just finished painting a beautiful sign for Mr. Earles' tavern on Government Street. It is a likeness of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, one side represents him in Highlander costume, and on the other side as a colonel in the army. The likeness is very accurate and as a work of art reflects the highest credit on Mr. Hind's abilities...the sign has been hung up."

4. Other than Earles' tavern sign and a commission to paint the Alexandra Suspension Bridge, there is no evidence that Hind sold any of the works he produced in B.C.

5. William G.R. Hind (1833-1888)--A Confederation Painter in Canada (Windsor: Art Gallery of Windsor, 1967), p. 6. In this exhibition catalogue J. Russell Harper has described Hind as being part of a "lively local art scene" in Victoria. In fact, by the 1860's, numerous pictures were being painted by naval artists as part of the British topographical tradition. The topographers made maps, surveys and drawings for military purposes. As pictorial records of the new colony they were sent back to England, as evidence of the widely shared optimism and self-confidence. The officer-artists in depicting garrisons, field records, towns and scenery were in the position of establishing the image of the colony in England. The features of British Columbia at this time were executed in a style that was primarily one of documentation.

There is no evidence that Hind had any contact with artists in Victoria. However, since the city's white population numbered 6,000 people in 1863 (see Frederick P. Howard, British Columbia and Victoria Guide and Directory for 1863), and the topographical artists were mentioned in publications, it is likely that Hind would have known them and their work.


7. Ibid.


9. Ibid., p. 473.

10. Ibid., p. 386.


13 Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 47. This social freedom was a direct result of the advancement of political progress. "The reform of the civil law under Benthamite influence, the repeal of the class legislation like the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, the extension of the suffrage in 1832 with the realignment of the electoral districts, the admission of the Dissenters to seats on the town councils (1835), the reform of the civil service (1850-70), and the whole shift in economic policy from interference and regulation to laissez-faire, culminating in the free trade legislation which repealed the Corn Laws in 1846 and the Navigation Acts in 1849, was a record of political emancipation more than sufficient to warrant as much satisfaction as the middle class felt in its material wealth and power."


16 Ibid., p. 34.

17 Kinahan Cornwallis, The New El Dorado; or British Columbia (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1858), p. XVI.


19 Propaganda soon changed to encourage working of the land rather than prospects of gold. Illustrated London News, February 7, 1863, p. 145, reports: "For while the search for gold will attract thousands to the shores of the Pacific, there can be no doubt that the majority of those who hurry to the mines will, growing dissatisfied with the hardships and uncertainties of a digger's life, turn their attention to the rare commercial and agricultural inducements of the country."

20 Linda Nochlin, Realism, p. 17 writes: "In the mid 19th century, scientists and historians seemed to be revealing at breakneck speed more and more about reality past and present. There were no apparent limits to the discovery of what could be known about man and nature. Realist writers and artists were likewise explorers into the realm of fact and experience, venturing into areas, hitherto untouched or only partly investigated by their predecessors."
Cornelius Krieghoff was another artist working in Canada who took an avid interest in translating Dutch scenes into a Canadian environment.

Eugène Fromentin, *The Masters of Past Time: Dutch and Flemish Painting from Van Eyck to Rembrandt*, translated by A. Boyle (London: Phaidon Press, 1948), p. 130. Fromentin further writes, "Dutch painting...was and could only be the portrait of Holland, its exterior image, faithful, exact, complete with no embellishments. Portraits of men and places, citizen habits, squares, streets, country places, the sea and sky--such was the program of the Dutch school."

Ibid.


Marian T. Place, *Cariboo Gold*, p. 112.


*Daily Telegraph* (London), September 12, 1866.

The realm of science, one of the most salient elements of the epoch, encouraged the study of man. Publications such as Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859) and *Descent of Man* (1871) attest to this interest.

95


41 Ibid.

42 *Gazette* (Victoria), March, 1859.

43 *Colonist* (Victoria), May 12, 1863.

44 cf., *Prospecting for Alluvial Gold in B.C.* which depicts the manual method.

45 When the shallow diggings had become exhausted there was a shift to the deep digging techniques. The cost of building sluices, flumes, giant overshot wheels, pumps and elaborate hoisting machinery used up profits faster than the gold could be mined. Claim after claim was sold to large companies with capital. Hind shows the carefully constructed flumes which carried water down to a series of long narrow boxes set on sawhorses with the upper ends higher than the lower. When paydirt was shovelled into these boxes, often called "long Toms" the flowing water carried off the waste material and the gold caught on the cleats nailed to the bottom. Place, *Cariboo Gold*, p. 53.


47 By 1861, the importance of wealth in the Cariboo induced the Governor and the Royal Engineers, to consider the possibility of constructing an all land route from Yale to William's Creek. In order for supplies to reach the Cariboo, a road had to be built to permit the use of freight wagons. F. W. Howay, *British Columbia—The Making of a Province*, p. 138 describes some of the construction problems of the government road as follows: "The difficulty of maintaining, by mule transport, a supply of necessaries at a place four hundred miles from the head of navigation was enormous, extending from Yale to Williams Creek, and considered at a cost of over one million dollars."


Brown made the navvy the central figure in his allegorical composition *Work*.

Adele Holcomb, "The Bridge in the Middle Distance; Symbolic Elements in Romantic Landscape," *Art Quarterly* no. 1 (Spring 1974), p. 50.


Hind was not the first artist to paint this bridge. In 1863, Edmund T. Coleman was commissioned by the contractor of the bridge, Joseph W. Trutch, to paint a picture of the Alexandra Suspension Bridge. See Tippett and Cole, *From Desolation to Splendour*, p. 37.

The Colonist (Wednesday, April 19, 1865), p. 3.

An oil, 12 x 16 3/4 inches, entitled *Alexandra Suspension Bridge* has been nominated as a study for the Hind and Tomlinson painting. However, there is no solid documentation upon which to attribute part or all of the work to Hind. This painting is in the British Columbia Provincial Archives.


The Colonist (Wednesday, April 19, 1865), p. 3.


Archival information from the University of British Columbia's Special Collections Library, Hind Vertical File, December 10, 1963 reads, "The artist must have been on the Longhees reserve and looked south towards Victorian and James Bay peninsula. The Olympic mountains show through the line of trees on the peninsula."

Tippett and Cole, *From Desolation to Splendour*, p. 34.

Ibid., p. 32.

A definition of beauty and the sublime was given by Edmund Burke in his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 1757.

CONCLUSION

We can now see that Hind's "realism" was a product of his background—a part of a broader phenomenon of the British conquest in the nineteenth century. This "realism" is neither absolute nor neutral but reflects a British middle class attitude toward the world. The painstaking technique which Hind brings to his "realist" style is a testimony to one of the basic virtues of Victorian society; that of labour. Labour was viewed not only as a means to respectability and success, but also as a supreme virtue involving both self-denial and creative accomplishment. In an era which saw burdensome physical toil, British artists felt a need to adopt a praiseworthy attitude to work. They regarded work as the key to a powerful nation. This notion of nationalism and the gospel of hard work became important to Hind, and he found the British Columbian worker a worthwhile theme in extolling the potential of a new British colony. He depicts in his scenes the varied social groups of the promising colony—miners, Indians and Chinese, and shows them as being physically industrious, upholding mid-nineteenth century values. In these subjects he also assimilates the rather Victorian conception of providing "good government," of keeping a mixture of races in order without violating their traditions and prejudices. By recording the labour processes of this heterogeneous collection of men, Hind leaves us important pictorial records of a developing British Columbia. Although "work" must have been the most popular word in the Victorian vocabulary and the means by which a commercial society could be realized (i.e., money, respectability and success),
this did not mean that one was never to relax. Allowance was made for recreation, in the literal sense that ties it to the pattern of work. Hind viewed leisure in his saloon scenes as being the reward of hard work.

Imperialism underlies the approach taken by Hind in his role as a pictorial reporter. It was assumed that the "English People in World-History" had been assigned "the grand Industrial task of conquering some half or more of this Terraqueous Planet for the use of man."\(^1\) Hind's British Columbian views show evidence of British power and civilization which marked the success of the mother country in its efforts to tame a vast, rugged colony. One gains a strong sense of optimism and hope in Hind's work, along with a sense of being disburdened. In the same way that colonial propaganda encouraged emigration to British Columbia by extolling the freedom and expansiveness of the new colony, Hind's images may have had an appeal for those wishing to escape an overcrowded England. Generally speaking, the Victorian world "huzzas at prosperity, and turns away from misfortune as from some contagious disease"\(^2\)--therefore, by presenting an optimistic and successful frontier, Hind was creating images for an imperialist audience who believed in the rewards of colonization. It may seem paradoxical that imperialists would leave their overpopulated, industrial nation only to continue their technological enterprises in the new colony. However, even though industry continued to grow in Canada, it gave the new emigrant a chance to climb the ladder of success more quickly. A British Columbian information pamphlet for emigrants read:
A smart, active, capable man, with only a little money, but accustomed to work with his hands, is, however, sure to succeed in making a comfortable home in British Columbia. If such a settler has a strong heart himself, and is blessed with a common sense wife used to country work, he may confidently look forward to becoming even rich. He need no longer remain in the condition of a labourer. This certainty of rising in the social scale must stimulate the emigrant.3

Hind's images, therefore, appear to support this imperialist conception. His pictures, although capable of expounding the Victorian "hard work" ethic of the new colony, attest equally to the expansiveness and beauty British Columbia offered the new settler. They represent the products of his veracity and labour which clearly reflect Hind's very definite system of values. By observing and portraying the young colony of British Columbia, Hind leaves us memorable, pictorial documents of an important era in Canadian history.
FOOTNOTES - CONCLUSION


3 Sproat, British Columbia Information for Emigrants, p. 7.
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