



Looking North: Views of Canada Published in the United States

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Although there is now a political boundary between the United States and Canada, their shared colonial history likely created the interest in Canadian urban and landscape views among eighteenth- and nineteenth-century residents of what is now the United States. Today, the two nations have much in common; they share a language, similar educational systems, networks of professional sports teams, and environmental concerns that transcend that political border. In New England, it is not uncommon for families to have Canadian branches. In spite of the political division that ensued after the American Revolution, historic, aesthetic, and commercial interests resulted in a large number of printed views of Canada made in the United States. Clearly, residents of the United States were fascinated with the landscape and urban centres of Canada, and tourists still travel north for the same reasons. As we shall see, both historical allusions and the magnetic scenery were behind the creation of many Canadian views by Americans.

A second reason for the production of Canadian images in the United States is that printmaking started later in Canada than in the major urban centres of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Additionally, in the closing decades of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth century, patronage of fine and popular art in Canada was probably not substantial enough to sustain a vital community of producers of commercially published images. The smaller population and the presence of print publishers in London ready to supply the pictorial needs of that colony affected the supply and demand for locally printed images. Prior to 1820, there were just twenty landscape and portrait prints published in Canada. The editor of the *Quebec Magazine* published a few engravings by J.G. Hochstetter; George Heriot (1759–1839) experimented with printmaking; and in 1819 John Elliott Woolford (1728–1866) drew, etched, and published a group of depictions of

Detail, Edwin Whitefield, *Ottawa City, Canada West. (Late Bytown). View of the Uppertown, looking up the Ottawa River, from Government Hill*, 1855, lithograph, 57.8 × 91.8 cm (Ottawa: Edwin Whitefield, 1855). (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

Halifax. Several early lithographs were printed at the Royal Engineers Office in Quebec, initially for military purposes.¹

Another factor that limited print production is that in French-speaking Canada, early settlers came from coastal Brittany and Normandy, not Paris and Lyon, the centres of French print production in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The early immigrants from Brittany and Normandy did not have a tradition of printmaking.² Indeed, colonists from New England brought the first printing presses to New France in 1760.³ After the American Revolution, familial relations among the people of the Canadian Maritime provinces and New England existed through migration and trade and this contributed to the important role of Boston printmakers in the creation of the imagery of Canada.⁴

As pointed out by Jim Burant in an essay examining the growth of the Canadian graphic arts industry between 1850 and 1914, lack of tariff protection also affected the Canadian print publishing industry. This lack of tariff protection in the 1830s and 1840s made it difficult for Canadian firms to compete with those in Boston and New York. Burant also notes that some American artists, including Augustus Kollner (1813–1900) and Edwin Whitefield (1826–1898), worked in Canada but had their images printed in the United States.⁵

The American production of views of Canada dates back to the mid-eighteenth century when the British colonists joined forces with the British army to drive the French out of Nova Scotia. In 1745 Thomas Johnston (1708–1767) of Boston engraved the *Plan of Cape Breton, & Fort Louisbourg*, six impressions of which remained in his stock at the time of his death in 1767.⁶ One of the members of the New England forces was Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Gridley, the engineer who earlier had drawn a plan of the town and fortress at Louisbourg; the Boston artist Peter Pelham (1697–1751) reproduced it as a mezzotint in 1746.⁷ A decade later during the Seven Years War, Thomas Johnston engraved a view of *Quebec, The Capital of New-France* (Fig. 1) that was derived from a French print. Other views of Canada drawn by Americans proliferated during the American Revolution and the early nineteenth century. It is clear that two types of prints emerge at this time – those that portray realities of military conflicts and those that reveal the beautiful landscape.

The Philadelphia engraver Robert Aitken (1734–1802) trained in England and produced engravings of technical and literary subjects as well as historical ones; he was also the publisher of *The Pennsylvania Magazine*. During the American Revolution, he engraved the *Plan & Fortifications of Montreal* and the *Plan of Quebec, Metropolis of Canada in North America* for the November and December 1775 issues of his magazine. As Stefanie Munsing Winkelbauer



1 | Thomas Johnston, *Quebec, The Capital of New-France, a Bishoprick, and a seat on the Soverain Court*, 1759, line engraving with hand colouring, 18.7 × 22.9 cm. (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

and Peter J. Parker observed thirty years ago, these images were “artisan work, subject to temporal, thematic, and financial limitations frequently beyond their creators’ control.”⁸ These two Canadian views accompanied a history of the Province of Quebec from its beginnings through the Seven Years War.

American engravers continued to depict notable Canadian places a generation after the Revolution. In New York, John Roberts (1768–1803) produced the *View of Quebec* for *The Monthly Military Repository* published in 1796. Charles Smith issued the same engraving in *The American War* published in New York the next year. The accompanying text contains a detailed description of the various parts of the city keyed to a map as well as the military actions that took place there during the American Revolution suggesting that the subject still had great topical interest even at the end of the century.

The War of 1812 stimulated curiosity about the British colonies to the north and prompted the publication of several book illustrations of Canada. The Philadelphia architect William Strickland (1788–1854) provided the



2 | Salathiel Ellis, *Battle of Windmill Point (near Prescott Upper Canada) on Tuesday Nov. 13th between the Patriots and the British*, 1839, lithograph, 31.8 × 52.7 cm (New York: Lith. of Endicott, 1839). (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

View of Quebec from Point Levy for the April 1813 issue of *The Port Folio*. The aquatint was by William Kneass (1780–1840) of Philadelphia, one of the early American practitioners of this form of etching. Strickland created *Queenstown, Upper Canada* for the August 1814 issue; the print depicts the site of the battle at which the British Army, Canadian militia, and a detachment of Mohawk Indians defeated the American General Stephen Van Rensselaer. About one thousand American troops died in the battle, as did the British General Sir Isaac Brock, who earlier had captured Detroit. The editorial comment related to the print includes a description of the military action in which the American troops ascended the cliff. But the cryptic heading for the brief commentary is merely “American Scenery.”⁹ The editor may have wanted to avoid focusing on this devastating loss.

Canadian publishers turned to American lithographers for several important later historical prints, including Salathiel Ellis’s (1803–1879) *Battle of Windmill Point* (Fig. 2). Ellis resided in St. Lawrence County, New York, and his earlier prints, which were commissioned by the land developer George Parish (his brother had bought Ogdensburg, N.Y. in 1808), had been



3 | Fitz Henry Lane after William H. Wentworth, *View of the Great Conflagration that took place on the Night of Saturday, 14th of January 1837*, 1838, lithograph, hand coloured, 42.5 × 66 cm, gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr., June 1979 (Boston: Thomas Moore, 1838). (Courtesy: The Boston Athenaeum)

printed in Europe.¹⁰ George Endicott (1802–1848) in New York lithographed *Battle of Windmill Point* in 1839. This battle occurred in the aftermath of the Rebellion of 1837 that “pitted Canadian rebels and their American supporters from northern border counties against the British in Canada. The goal was to invade Canada, free it from the British yoke, and establish a republic.”¹¹ The windmill stands on the Canadian shore of the St. Lawrence River, 2.4 kms from Prescott, Ontario. The battle lasted four days; clearly the invaders lost. Sixty of the prisoners were sent to a British penal colony in Australia.¹²

Another important historical print, *View of the Great Conflagration at Saint John, New Brunswick* (Fig. 3), was lithographed on stone by Fitz Henry Lane (1804–1865) and printed by Thomas Moore in Boston in 1838. William H. Wentworth (1781–1849), a Connecticut-born Yankee, raised in Saint John by his uncle, made the original drawing showing the devastation as seen from his studio. The extensive commentary below the image describes the destruction of 108 buildings in the commercial district with 170 different



4 | Artist unknown, engraved by Hewitt, *On the St. Lawrence*, 1813, line engraving, in *The Port Folio*, 8.9 × 15.2 cm. (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

tenants. A close examination of the foreground and the burning wharf in the middle ground suggests that the stacks of furniture and other salable goods were for export, not household use. The coastal trade between the Maritime Provinces and New England included far more than prints.

Other American publishers were pleased to include views of Canada that would either convey useful information or ornament their publications. New Yorker Cornelius Tiebout (ca. 1773–1832) engraved the *View of Shelburne Light House* on Roseway Island, Nova Scotia, for Thomas and James Sword’s *New York Magazine* in 1791. An anonymous reader from Nova Scotia sent the sketch of this landmark to the magazine’s editor because of its importance to navigators; the view is taken from Cape Negro Island, to the west. Alexander Robertson (1772–1841), a drawing instructor in New York, provided a sketch titled *Near Berthier on the St. Lawrence* for *The Port Folio* in 1809. The editor commented, “The shores of the St. Lawrence, one of the most noble rivers in the world, are rich in beautiful and picturesque scenery.” He further noted that the landscape will “appeal to the voyager of taste, whom pleasure or business may lead to navigate its waters.”¹³ Berthierville is on the north shore of the river between Montreal and Trois-Rivières. A few years later, in July 1813, Hewitt (his first name is not recorded) engraved the view *On the St. Lawrence* (Fig. 4) for John Inskeep and Samuel Bradford, the publishers of *The Port Folio*. The text notes, “This view on the river St. Lawrence, is taken from a situation between Trois-Rivieres and Quebec; it exhibits one

of those beautiful and extensive reaches which are frequently seen in a ride from Montreal to Quebec, and which characterize the picturesque scenery of this majestic river.”¹⁴ Descriptions such as this encouraged the beginnings of landscape tourism.

Joseph Sansom’s *Sketches of Lower Canada*, published by Kirk and Mercein in New York in 1817, includes several views. William Satchwell Leney (1769–1831), a New York resident, engraved the view of *Quebec City*. In the preface Sansom notes, “It is of importance that neighboring Nations should be acquainted with each other, that they may form a just estimate of one another’s friendship, or enmity . . . Governments are often led into fatal errors, in estimating the temper, or the resources of each other.”¹⁵ Sansom’s full text derives from direct observation and from materials found in private libraries in New York City. The inscription on the engraving notes that Leney made the view “from Memory.” Presumably Leney, a British-trained engraver, had visited Canada earlier in his career and this image was one result. He later retired to a farm near Montreal in 1820.¹⁶

The Town of York, soon to become Toronto, was the subject of an anonymous engraving that appeared in the *Analectic Magazine* published in Philadelphia in 1819. Oddly, there is no text associated with the image. The town was the site of an important action in the War of 1812; so it is not surprising that the fortification is a significant part of the composition.

American travel narratives began to appear at this time; interest in both the industrial and natural landscape is typical of work beginning in the 1820s. The amateur artist Daniel Wadsworth (1771–1848) travelled northward from Hartford, Connecticut, with Benjamin Silliman, professor of chemistry and natural history at Yale. Silliman was particularly interested in the history of the region because, “less has been said by travellers in America, than might have been expected, of scenes and events, which, to Americans, I conceive, must ever be subjects of the deepest interest.”¹⁷ He began to compile text with the intention of placing occasional articles about the region in the *American Journal of Science*, which he edited, but he decided on a book publication instead. Silliman’s narrative, *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec, Lumber Establishment, at Montmorenci, and Falls of Montmorenci*. Silliman credits the illustrations to his travelling companion, Daniel Wadsworth, and praises the young engraver, Simeon S. Jocelyn (1799–1879) of New Haven, as being, “a young man of twenty, almost entirely self-taught” whose talents had been noticed by John Trumbull.¹⁸ The book has nine engravings, including *Approach to Quebec* taken from a steamboat. The small scale of the engraving *Falls of Montmorenci* makes it impossible to capture the majesty of the site, not to mention the wet spray that must have dampened



5 | Simeon Smith Jocelyn after Daniel Wadsworth, *Lumber Establishment, at Montmorenci, and Bay of Quebec*, ca. 1824, line engraving, 8.3 × 12.1 cm, in Benjamin Silliman, *Remarks made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec* (New Haven: 1820). (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

Wadsworth's sketchbook. A Mr. Patterson owned the great saw mill below the falls depicted in *Lumber Establishment, at Montmorenci* (Fig. 5); the engraving shows the pipes for the water drawn from above the falls that drove the wheel of the saw mill.¹⁹ Each illustration is carefully described in the text.

The burgeoning American interest in Canadian scenery is reflected in the several views published in literary annuals and gift books destined for the parlour tables of middle- and upper-class homes. A different view of Montmorency Falls, accompanied by a lengthy essay on the scenery of the St. Lawrence River, appeared in *The Atlantic Souvenir* for 1826, published in Philadelphia (Fig. 6). The anonymous author wrote: "As I approached the fall, the rainbow burst upon my sight, in indescribable magnificence." He goes on to exclaim about the "vestal veil of fleecy spray," depicted in the engraving made by Cephas G. Child (1793–1871) of Philadelphia after Thomas Doughty's (1793–1856) design. He claimed "In the old world or the new, I had seen no waterfall like this, except the matchless grandeur of Niagara."²⁰



6 | Cephas G. Childs
after Thomas Doughty,
Montmorenci, line
engraving, 10.2 × 7.6 cm,
in *The Atlantic Souvenir*
for 1826 (Philadelphia:
1825). (Courtesy: American
Antiquarian Society)

The Gem of the Season issued in New York in 1849 includes the engraving *View on the St. Lawrence* with Montreal in the background. The engraver derived his image from one of the plates by William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854) in Nathaniel P. Willis’s *Canadian Scenery* issued in London in 1842. A view of Quebec from the *Rose of Sharon: A Religious Souvenir* published in Boston in 1856 is another instance of an engraver copying an earlier print. The image is copied from Edwin Whitefield’s view of that city published in 1855 as part of his series of *Original Views of American Cities*. The view in the *Rose of Sharon* is accompanied by a poem that refers to the death of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham.

Charles Magnus (1826–1900) of New York is well known for his lithographed city views on letter sheets stationery; he also issued some of his letter sheet views as prints intended for framing. Some of his views are



7 | Artist unknown, *The Rose of Canada: Prince of Wales Bouquet*, lithograph, 22.9 × 22.9 cm (New York: Charles Magnus & Co., ca. 1860). (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

derived from earlier prints such as his view of Ottawa, mounted on black card stock and decorated with gold borders, which is based on Edwin Whitefield's handsome lithograph published in 1855. Magnus's image of Halifax is based on one of Bartlett's views from *Canadian Scenery* and it is among a number of images copied from Bartlett.²¹ A very interesting folded souvenir item with tiny views of popular buildings and places in Canada was published as *The Rose of Canada: Prince of Wales Bouquet* (Fig. 7), undoubtedly printed to celebrate the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada in 1860.²²



8 | William H. Bartlett, *View on the St. Lawrence: Indian Encampment*, lithograph, 20.3 × 31.8 cm (New York: Currier & Ives, 1857–72). (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

Nathaniel Currier and Currier & Ives, the prolific New York printmakers, published about twenty views of Canada, most of which depict landscapes, rivers, and waterfalls. Given the distribution network of the firm, some of these were undoubtedly sold in Canada and destined for use in Canadian homes or businesses; others appealed to tourists and went to homes elsewhere. Typical of their work is *View on the St. Lawrence: Indian Encampment* (Fig. 8); this generic image, which could have been made almost anywhere, was copied from one of William Henry Bartlett's views in *Canadian Scenery*. Other landscape subjects include a winter scene, the Bay of Annapolis, the St. John River and Nova Scotia scenery. City views include Toronto, Saint John, and Ottawa. Again, several of these prints were copied from Bartlett's engravings.²³

It is not surprising that there was a market for depictions of Canada in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. Interest in the American landscape developed in the 1790s, reaching full flowering in the Hudson River School and Americans were also interested in the Canadian landscape. What is more significant, however, is the role that American lithographers and print publishers played in supplying images of Canada for

Canadian audiences. Just as engravers and lithographers moved across the border, so did prints and illustrated books.²⁴ During these years and later, American printmakers and publishers made and distributed prints to the Canadian market.

One of the early examples of the dependence of Canadian authors and publishers on American printers was the 1829 publication of the Rev. George Bourne's *The Picture of Quebec*, published in Quebec by D. and J. Smillie. The Rev. George Bourne was an early abolitionist who was born in England and arrived in New York in 1804. He moved frequently in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Leaving the United States for Quebec in 1825, he returned to New York City in 1830.²⁵ Smillie's contact in New York was George Melksham Bourne (1806–1887), the son of the book's author, who operated the Depository of Arts, Engravings and Fancy Store at 359 Broadway from 1827 to 1832.²⁶ The plates for the etchings illustrating the text were made in Quebec by James Smillie (1807–1885) but printed in New York because of the lack of a copperplate printer in Quebec. The map was printed by a New York company, P. Desobry's Lithography. An image on the wrapper of the first edition of 1829 bears a charming landscape vignette engraved on wood by Alexander Anderson (1775–1870) of New York City for which he received three pounds five shillings from the publisher.²⁷ James Smillie's plates for the book are accurate depictions of Quebec, the work of a skilled engraver who had received some professional training in Edinburgh. One plate, *Quebec Driving Club* depicts a busy winter scene. Bourne explains "A Number of gentlemen some years since, formed an association to exhibit the Canadian Cariole, who usually hold a weekly meeting for their display and parade in the Place d'Armes, before the Castle Yard."²⁸ Winter sleighing scenes frequently appear in the oeuvres of other Canadian artists. *The Picture of Quebec* proved to be popular: in 1830 George M. Bourne reprinted the book in New York where he sold it in his Depository of the Arts and P. & W. Ruthven issued it in 1831 in Quebec.

Canadian publishers of lithographs continued to employ American printers for the next generation. *Views of British America Drawn from Nature, and on Stone by Mrs. Hall* contains six lithographs of sites in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia printed by the Pendleton Lithography firm in Boston (Fig. 9). Mary G. Hall (act. 1833–1835), the proprietor of a drawing academy in Saint John, must have been an ambitious artist to issue the slender volume, published by subscription in 1835. Each of the plates is accompanied by text printed by H. Chubb of Saint John. She also executed a series of views of the Hudson River and Niagara Falls.²⁹

Another ambitious Canadian artist and lithographer, Lady Mary Heavyside Love (1806–1874), was born in Saint John, New Brunswick, the daughter of



9 | Mary G. Hall, *Entrance to Digby from the North*, lithograph by Pendleton's Lithography, Boston, 15.2 × 22.9 cm, in *Views of British North America drawn from Nature and on stone by Mrs. Hall* (St. John, NB: 1835). (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

a prominent merchant. She was educated in England and married a British army officer stationed in Saint John. She made many watercolours of scenery in New Brunswick and Quebec, including two lithographed in Boston by the Pendleton firm: *A view near St. Andrews, New Brunswick (chamcook)*, and *A view on the St. Croix River, New Brunswick*.³⁰ Another female artist, Miss A.D. Stevenson, was responsible for *St. Andrew's, A View of the Town and its Harbour*, lithographed in Boston by John H. Bufford in 1834. Although she created a rocky foreground and incorporated several sailing ships and a flock of birds in the sky to give the distant view some life, the composition is clearly the work of an amateur.

Little is known about William Hunt (fl. 1834–1838) who was a medical doctor and amateur artist; he worked in Saint John and St. Andrews for a time, but returned to the United States, probably because he had few patients. Again, he had his work lithographed by William Pendleton in Boston, such as *The Tower, St. John* and, in 1829, one of his two panoramic views of Saint John; the other was lithographed in London. Hunt also produced several

lithographs and *A Series of Studies in Drawing*, an art instruction manual printed in Boston between 1833 and 1842 with plates lithographed by William Pendleton and Thomas Moore;³¹ he was also the author of *The Cabinet of Nature and Philosophy* (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1833), which contains several plates lithographed by William Pendleton.

Born in County Cork, Ireland, William Eagar (ca. 1796–1839) was a Canadian businessman and artist. He probably received some artistic training in Ireland before arriving in St. John's, Newfoundland, prior to his marriage in 1819. By 1831, he had painted a view of the city that was published as a stipple engraving. In 1834, he moved to Halifax, where he executed topographical views of the Maritime provinces.³² A newspaper advertisement suggested that they would be issued as engravings and published in two parts in *Nova Scotia Illustrated in a Series of Views Taken on the Spot* to be published in Halifax by C.H. Belcher. Since no printer was available in Halifax, Eagar first tried to have his sketches reproduced in Edinburgh, but the costs were too high. He then turned to lithographer Thomas Moore in Boston (the successor to the Pendleton firm) where the first nine views were printed in 1839. The next three were printed by Moore's successor, Benjamin W. Thayer, a year after Eagar's death. The prints are all small, measuring about 19 by 33 centimetres. On the title page, Eagar noted he had travelled to Boston to draw the scenes on stone.³³ Since Eagar died before the series was completed, Benjamin Champney (1817–1907), an experienced lithographic draftsman trained at Pendleton's, drew two of the late images on stone. In 1840, Champney was at the end of his apprenticeship in Boston; in 1841 he went to Paris with the artist Robert Cooke (ca. 1810–1843), another former apprentice of William Pendleton.³⁴ The third was drawn by Benjamin Nutting (ca. 1803–1887), another experienced Boston draftsman. Thayer also printed Eagar's charming *Tandem Club Assembling in Front of Dalhousie College, Halifax, N.S.*, which combines aspects of genre scenes with architectural depiction.

Many of the state legislatures, including Massachusetts, Maine, and New York, published natural history and geological surveys beginning in the 1820s. Abraham Gesner (1797–1864) compiled a similar volume: *Remarks on the Geology and Mineralogy of Nova Scotia*, printed in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1836 by Gossip and Coade at the Times Office. The author of the book was responsible for the view of Cape Split and Miss A.A. Jeffery made views of Parrsborough on Partridge Island and the lithograph *West Bay Near Partridge Island, Parrsboro*. Benjamin Nutting, who was working as a freelance lithographic draftsman for various lithographic firms in Boston, copied the images on stone for the publication.³⁵ Jenkins & Colburn of Boston printed the three lithographs for the publisher in Nova Scotia. This company was active in Boston for just two years, 1836 and 1837, during which it printed



10 | William S. Hunter, *Rideau Falls, Falling into the Ottawa River*, 1855, 21.63 × 29.8 cm, in William S. Hunter, *Hunter's Ottawa Scenery in the Vicinity of Ottawa City, Canada* (Ottawa City: Wm. S. Hunter, Jr. 1855), J.H. Bufford's Lith., Boston. (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

lithographs for a number of book and sheet music publishers and issued prints on its own account.

Twenty years later, in 1855, another illustrated volume, this time published in Ottawa, appeared with lithographs printed in Boston. William S. Hunter (1823–1894), the son of an English father and a French Canadian mother, was born in St. John (now St-Jean-sur-Richelieu), Quebec. He worked variously as a mining broker and boot, shoe, and harness maker, but it is his work as an author and artist that brought him lasting recognition. He wrote and illustrated two important books. *Hunter's Ottawa Scenery* was published in two editions in 1855 and 1856. The first edition contains fifteen lithographs printed by John H. Bufford (Fig. 10). Hunter's views and text of his first book focus on the Ottawa River and the surrounding scenery. He describes the river as “the most picturesquely beautiful of all the rivers of Canada” and notes that few know the territory well, except for those in the fur or lumber trades.³⁶ The views that he had reproduced range from the purely sublime to the view of the suspension bridge. Winslow Homer (1836–1910) and John P. Newell (fl. 1858–1866) drew the images on stone. Bufford had printed a



11 | Artist unknown, *View from Parliament Buildings, Quebec*, 1850, colour lithograph, 17.8 × 25.1 cm (New York: Sarony & Major, 1847–57). (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

lithograph for Hunter, *The Vermont State Fair* in 1853,³⁷ so it was natural for Hunter to turn to Bufford for this ambitious work.³⁸ The text is addressed to tourists in general. A request by the Canadian Legislative Assembly for copies for each member resulted in the second edition of *Ottawa Scenery*.³⁹ Another book written and illustrated by this author, *Hunter's Eastern Townships Scenery, Canada East*, was published in Montreal in 1860. Again, Hunter provided the views and Bufford printed them. John P. Jewett in Boston published *Hunter's Panoramic Guide from Niagara Falls to Quebec*. This inexpensive guidebook has an accordion-folded map “of all the most celebrated and picturesque points along this noble river.”⁴⁰ First issued in 1857, this publication was specifically designed for tourists and it was reprinted in Montreal in 1860. The illustrator Alfred R. Waud (1828–1891) provided the illustrations for this publication, not Hunter.

Napoleon Sarony (1821–1896) and Henry B. Major (fl. 1844–1854) published an interesting set of six Canadian views about 1850 in New York (Fig. 11).⁴¹

Born in Quebec, Sarony arrived in New York about 1836, where he studied drawing with Alexander Robertson and worked for Henry R. Robinson and Nathaniel Currier. He and Major formed their lithographic firm in 1846. It is easy to speculate that Sarony had relatives in Quebec who might have commissioned him to execute the group of Canadian views. We do not know if these prints were issued separately or were part of a publication; the literature on Canadian art does not provide any clues. These lithographs depict streetscapes, not panoramic vistas. In some ways, they are reminiscent of John Murray's (1810–after 1868) four engraved views of Montreal street scenes, executed about 1843 to 1845 and published by Adolphus Bourne.⁴² The Canadian artist James D. Duncan (1806–1881) has been linked to Sarony & Major lithographs and it is conceivable that he was responsible for the Sarony & Major lithographs of Quebec. Born in Ireland, he arrived in Canada in 1825 and eventually settled in Montreal where he became a major figure in the Montreal art scene and the city is featured in many of his topographical views. He also worked in oil and watercolour and paid particular attention to architectural detail. Among his other activities, he supplied illustrations for the *Illustrated London News* and the *Canadian Illustrated News* and taught drawing in several schools and academies.⁴³

Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–1872) also commissioned New York City lithographic firms to reproduce his paintings. He was born in Amsterdam of a German father and Belgian mother. The family later moved to Düsseldorf and then to Bavaria. He apparently studied painting in Germany before leaving for New York in 1836. He served in the United States Army during the Seminole War, possibly as an artist. During the next decade he married a French Canadian woman, studied painting in Paris, and in about 1847, he returned to Canada where he set up his home in Montreal. Indians became his favourite subject matter and he had the foresight to begin a series that was reproduced as lithographs in New York, Munich, and London. George and William Endicott reproduced *Indians and Squaws of Lower Canada, Montreal*, in 1848. Charles G. Crehen, who had recently arrived from Paris, drew the image on stone; the print was published and sold by John McCoy in Montreal and was advertised by John McCory on 15 July 1848 in the *Montreal Gazette*.⁴⁴ R. & C. Chalmers in Montreal issued eighteen lithographs after Krieghoff's paintings beginning in October 1848 with a series titled *Scenes in Canada*. Included were two lithographs printed in New York by Sarony & Major, *Ice Cutting* and *Sugar Making in Canada*. The same firm may have printed two other plates – *Hunter, Two Squaws and Papoose* and *Indian Portaging a Canoe*. A final print lithographed by Sarony & Major after Krieghoff is a handsome architectural view of the *French Church, Place d'Armes, Montreal* prior to 1857.⁴⁵ Although they were printed in New York, these prints probably did not circulate there.



12 | John W. Hill, *View of Saint John, N.B.*, 1851, 1851, hand-coloured lithograph, 72.5 × 98.3 cm (New York: Francis Smith & Co., 1851), I.N. Phelps Stokes Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. (Courtesy: New York Public Library)

City views published in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s are the most impressive of the prints produced by Americans for a Canadian audience. Fortunately, John Reps included Canadian views in his *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America*. Many prints of Canadian subjects that Reps located for his magnificent catalogue exist in just one or two impressions in local Canadian repositories such as town libraries or local historical societies. Given the rarity



of so many of them, I believe that we can conclude that the audience for these prints was Canadian. The creators of these views merit further discussion.

George N. Smith (1789–1854) was responsible for just one city view, that of Saint John, New Brunswick, printed by John H. Bufford in Boston about 1848. The view is taken from across the bay in Carleton. Smith was also responsible for an architectural print, *View of Province Hall and Public Offices, Fredericton, New Brunswick*, printed by Ephraim Bouvé in Boston about 1850.⁴⁶ Smith was born in England, where he studied watercolour painting as a child, and edited a newspaper in Saint Andrews, New Brunswick, before opening an art school in Saint John.⁴⁷

John William Hill (1812–1897) was an artist known for his many views of the United States and several of his Canadian views were included in Reps

catalogue. The son of John Hill (1770–1850), the well-known aquatint artist, John W. Hill worked for the New York State Geological Survey and then in 1850 became associated with the Smith Brothers of New York in their business producing views of American cities. His *View of Saint John* (Fig. 12) appeared in 1851, lithographed by Sarony & Major and published by Francis Smith & Company of New York. This print must have had some circulation in New York because Reps notes that two of its three known locations are New York institutions. The print was dedicated, however, to the citizens of Saint John and the vicinity. The text also notes the important lumber and ship building trades and predicts that the city will become one the most “flourishing and populous cities in America.” Hill also drew *Halifax, N.S. Dedicated by Permission to His Excellency Sir Gaspard Le Marchant*, lithographed by Endicott & Company for the Smith Brothers in 1855.

Augustus Kollner (1812–1906) was a prolific topographic artist working in the United States and many of his views were published in Paris and New York by Goupil, Vibert and Company. Reps included four of Kollner’s views of Canada in his catalogue, but they are just a small part of Kollner’s ambitious series of American and Canadian views, which included many landscapes.⁴⁸ *Canada. Quebec and Fort* of 1851 is typical of his work in that it is a panoramic landscape view rather than a city view since the skyline of the city is barely visible.

Edwin Whitefield, probably the best known of the urban view makers, was responsible for eleven views drawn in Ontario and Quebec between 1852 and 1855, while he was a resident of Canada. Two prospects of Ottawa are typical of his work; they were published in Ottawa by Whitefield in 1855 and printed by Endicott & Company in New York, a firm that issued city views as part of their general commercial business. These prints are large, measuring 61 by 91 cm. The draftsmanship is elegant, but one could conclude that Whitefield sought an artistic image rather than one that is slavish to detail.⁴⁹ His Canadian views were part of a series, *Whitefield’s Original Views of North American Cities*, begun in 1845 and concluded in 1857. Bettina Norton’s monograph on Whitefield provides detailed information on all of the prints as well as his life. As his preparatory sketches of Quebec City and Ottawa demonstrate, he was very attentive to capturing minute details of the built environment, although they are lost in the final lithograph.⁵⁰

Thaddeus Mortimer Fowler (1842–1922) was the most prolific of all of the Americans who made city views. Reps noted that he had a role as artist or publisher of more than four hundred views. The eight views included in Reps’s catalogue are of Nova Scotia, Manitoba, and Ontario and they were produced between 1878 and 1881. Typical is *Winnipeg, Manitoba. Incorporated*



13 | Edwin Whitefield, *Ottawa City, Canada West. (Late Bytown). View of the Uppertown, looking up the Ottawa River, from Government Hill*, 1855, lithograph, 57.8 × 91.8 cm (Ottawa: Edwin Whitefield, 1855). (Courtesy: American Antiquarian Society)

in 1873. 1880 published by J.J. Stoner in Madison, Wisconsin, and printed by Beck & Pauli in Milwaukee. Winnipeg was established in 1821 and the print notes that the population was 3,700 when it was incorporated as a city in 1873. River traffic was obviously important to the early development of the city, but its real growth occurred after it was connected by rail to St. Paul in 1878 and after the Canadian Pacific arrived in 1881.⁵¹ Fowler's other views in Reps's catalogue include Emerson and Morris in Manitoba, Windsor in Ontario, and Annapolis Royal, Digby, and Windsor in Nova Scotia.

Herman Brosius (1851–1917) was responsible for more than fifteen Canadian views; they are all of sites in Ontario, suggesting that he travelled extensively in the province during the early 1870s. Typical is his *Ontario, Canada*. 1875 published in Madison, Wisconsin, by J.J. Stoner, and printed in Chicago by Charles Shober & Company. His views were often made from a very high viewpoint, displaying the street pattern almost as if it were a map. Reps notes that Brosius's views accurately reflected details such as those in the architecture of buildings.⁵²

Albert Ruger (1828–1899) produced seven views of towns in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland in 1878 and 1879. During those

years and the preceding year, he also produced views of nearby Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont; he was active for a total of twenty-five years. His *Panoramic View of St. John's, Newfoundland*, published in 1879, is impressive and clearly shows that trade was an important part of the city's existence in the late nineteenth century. Ruger's views lack the artistic qualities of Whitefield's, but they provide a painstaking representation of the city's buildings, wharfs, and setting.

On the western coast of the continent, Eli Sheldon Glover (1844–1920) depicted the city of Victoria, British Columbia's capital. A.L. Bancroft and Company of San Francisco printed *Bird's-Eye View of Victoria, Vancouver Island, B.C. 1878* for the publisher M.M. Wiatt in Victoria in 1878. Glover worked in the Midwest and the West from 1868 until 1912, producing more than sixty views. He and his family settled in Portland, Oregon, in the fall of 1877, and he used that city as a base from which to draw views of Seattle, Port Townsend, Tacoma, Olympia, and Victoria. The life of a view maker was one of frequent moves. Glover and his family moved back to Michigan in 1879.⁵³ Bancroft printed many of his views as well as a large number of California views by other artists.

The movement of artists and their prints back and forth across the border of the United States and Canada was an interesting publishing phenomenon. Even after Confederation in 1867, American artists and publishers continued to supply city views for a Canadian audience. Jim Burant observed, "Canadian printmaking has both benefited from and suffered by its proximity to its southern neighbour, the United States. While Canadian efforts suffered from commercial competition and the loss of trained and experienced engravers and lithographers as well as artists, . . . the development of both commercial and fine-art printmaking was also accelerated by American training, technology, and experience."⁵⁴ American lithographers, engravers, print publishers, and view makers also benefited from the expanded audience for their images in the nineteenth century. This business of providing images for audiences on both sides of the border contributed to a more informed and greater appreciation of Canada's history, landscape, and urban centres in both the United States and Canada.⁵⁵

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- 1 Mary ALLODI provides a thorough account of the early print publishing efforts in *Printmaking in Canada: The Earliest Views and Portraits* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1980).
- 2 A. Hyatt MAYOR, *Popular Prints of The Americas* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1973), 5.
- 3 Rosemarie Tovell provided me with this information.
- 4 Mary ALLODI and Rosemarie TOVELL, *An Engraver's Pilgrimage: James Smillie in Quebec, 1821–1830* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1989), xiii.
- 5 Jim BURANT, “The Growth and Protection of a Cultural Industry: The Graphic Arts in Canada, 1850–1914,” *Imprint* 24, no. 2 (Autumn 1999): 25–37.
- 6 Sinclair HITCHINGS, “Thomas Johnston,” in *Boston Prints and Printmakers, 1670–1775* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973), 110.
- 7 Andrew OLIVER, “Peter Pelham (ca. 1697–1751), Sometime Printmaker of Boston,” in *Boston Prints and Printmakers*, 155.
- 8 Stefanie WINKELBAUER and Peter PARKER, “Embellishments for Practical Repositories: Eighteenth-Century American Magazine Illustration,” in *Eighteenth-Century Prints in Colonial America To Educate and Decorate*, ed. Joan D. Dolmetsch (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1979), 71.
- 9 *The Port Folio* 4 (August 1814): 198–99. About thirty prints and book and periodical illustrations of Canadian subjects are described in the American Antiquarian Society online Catalogue of American Engravings through 1821. Accessed 6 Sept. 2011, <http://catalog.mwa.org:7108/>.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 68.
- 11 Wendy SHADWELL, “St. Lawrence County, 1838, As Seen through the Eyes of Salathiel Ellis,” in *Prints and Printmakers of New York State, 1825–1940*, ed. David Tatham (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 80.
- 12 Information on the prisoners is taken from the Parks Canada website devoted to the Battle of the Windmill National Historic Site of Canada. Accessed 6 Sept. 2011, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/on/windmill/natcul/natcul.aspx>.
- 13 *The Port Folio* 2 (September 1809): 265.
- 14 *The Port Folio*, third series, 2 (July 1813): 83.
- 15 Joseph SANSOM, *Sketches of Lower Canada* (New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1817), 5.
- 16 ALLODI and TOVELL, *An Engraver's Pilgrimage*, 64. For a full description of Leney's life and work, see Donald C. O'BRIEN, “William Satchwell Leney, Artist, Engraver, and Entrepreneur,” *Imprint* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 2–13 and ALLODI, *Printmaking in Canada*, 64–77.
- 17 Benjamin SILLIMAN, *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec* (New Haven, CT: S. Converse, 1820), 3.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 4.

- 19 Ibid., 234.
- 20 *The Atlantic Souvenir; A Christmas and New Year's Offering for 1826* (Philadelphia, PA: H.C. Carey and I. Lea, ca. 1825), 133.
- 21 The American Antiquarian Society has views of Halifax, Kingston, Ottawa City, and Hamilton on one sheet. Each view is based on one of Bartlett's.
- 22 *The Rose of Canada* is not dated.
- 23 Such views include Currier & Ives's *The Bay of Annapolis, Indian Town, Lily Lake, A Clearing* (copied from Bartlett's *Davis Clearing*, and *On the St. Lawrence*). A complete study of the circulation of Bartlett's views would be welcome.
- 24 James Smillie (1807–1885) moved south from Quebec to New York in 1830 to find work; William Satchwell Leney (1769–1831) retired to Montreal in 1820 where he occasionally worked as an engraver. Herman Bencke, of Fuller and Bencke in Toronto, was the lithographer of Paul Kane's print *The Death of Omoxesisixany or Big Snake*. Bencke continued his career in New York from the 1860s. See Mary ALLODI, Jim BURANT, Rosemarie TOVELL, *The Stone Age, Canadian Lithography from its Beginnings* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2000).
- 25 ALLODI and TOVELL, *An Engraver's Pilgrimage*, 119.
- 26 This was the address for the lithography business of George Endicott from 1834 to 1839.
- 27 ALLODI and TOVELL, *An Engraver's Pilgrimage*, 85.
- 28 George BOURNE, *The Picture of Quebec* (New York: Bourne, 1830), 7.
- 29 J. Russell HARPER, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 140–41.
- 30 Ibid., 201.
- 31 Ibid., 166; Sally PIERCE and Catharina SLAUTTERBACK, *Boston Lithography, 1825–1880* (Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1991), 175. Also see: Paul A. HACHEY, *The New Brunswick Landscape Print, 1760–1880* (Fredericton, NB: Beaverbrook Art Gallery, 1980). Hachey attributes several lithographs to William Henry Hunt who was a well-known British watercolourist. I believe that William Hunt, M.D., and William Henry Hunt (1790–1864) are different men.
- 32 J. Russell HARPER, *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 88; HARPER, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, 100; BURANT, "Growth and Protection," 26. A full biographical sketch can be found in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Accessed 6 Sept, 2011, www.biographi.ca.
- 33 Alexandra E. CARTER's article on Eagar in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* is very helpful. Accessed 6 Sept. 2011, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=3370
- 34 Benjamin CHAMPNEY, *Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artists* (Woburn, MA: 1900), 14–16.
- 35 PIERCE and SLAUTTERBACK, *Boston Lithography*, 178. Oddly, *West Bay* was not used in the 1836 publication, but appeared in a later book by Abraham GESNER, *The Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, NS: A. & W. MacKinlay, 1849), long after the lithographers were out of business.
- 36 W.S. HUNTER JR, *Hunter's Ottawa Scenery, in the vicinity of Ottawa City, Canada* (Ottawa City, Canada West, 1855), preface, 1.
- 37 Copies of both editions of *Hunter's Ottawa Scenery* are at the American Antiquarian Society.

- 38 The lithograph is in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society. David TATHAM, *Winslow Homer and the Illustrated Book* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 22–24.
- 39 Ibid., 23–24.
- 40 William S. HUNTER, *Hunter's Panoramic Guide from Niagara to Quebec* (Boston: J.P. Jewett & Company, 1857), preface.
- 41 Charles W. JEFFERYS, *A Catalogue of the Sigmund Samuel Collection of Canadiana and Americana* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1948), 102.
- 42 ALLODI and TOVELL, *An Engraver's Pilgrimage*, 190 and ALLODI, *Printmaking in Canada*, 64–65. The four engravings are reproduced and described on pages 191–99 of *An Engraver's Pilgrimage*. Murray had emigrated from Ireland about 1836 and prepared a sketch of the 1845 fire that ravaged Quebec, which was lithographed by George Endicott in New York and published by Bourne in Montreal. He also was an architect and this is evident in his views.
- 43 HARPER, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, 97.
- 44 HARPER, *Painting in Canada*, 97–99. The print is reproduced in *Exhibition of Prints in Honour of C. Krieghoff, 1815–1872* (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1972), plate 6.
- 45 *Exhibition of Prints in Honour of C. Krieghoff*, plates 7–10, plate 11.
- 46 Reproduced in *The New Brunswick Landscape Print*, plate 85.
- 47 HARPER, *Painting in Canada*, 88.
- 48 John REPS, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 186–87.
- 49 Ibid., 215–16.
- 50 Bettina A. NORTON, *Edwin Whitefield: Nineteenth-Century North American Scenery* (Barre, MA: Barre Publishing, 1977). The views of Quebec City and Ottawa may be viewed on the web site of the Library and Archives of Canada. Accessed 6 Sept. 2011, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/index-e.html.
- 51 John REPS, *Bird's Eye Views. Historic Lithographs of North American Cities* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 91.
- 52 REPS, *Views and Viewmakers*, 165–66.
- 53 Ibid., 178–80.
- 54 BURANT, “Growth and Protection,” 36.
- 55 Alexandra E. Carter suggests that Canadians also benefited from seeing images of their cities and towns and that contemporary viewers saw such prints as “an expression of patriotism.” Accessed 6 Sept. 2011, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=3370

Regards sur le nord: vues du Canada publiées aux États-Unis

GEORGIA B. BARNHILL

Les États-Unis et le Canada partagent une même histoire et une même frontière depuis plusieurs générations. Même lorsque les deux nations étaient des colonies britanniques, des graveurs de la colonie du Massachusetts ont commencé à produire des vues de villes et de sites historiques canadiens. Les deux nations ont aujourd'hui beaucoup de choses en commun et partagent une langue commune, des systèmes d'éducation similaires, un réseau d'équipes sportives professionnelles et des intérêts communs pour l'environnement qui transcendent les frontières politiques. Il n'est pas rare que des familles de Nouvelle-Angleterre aient de la parenté au Canada ; les déplacements d'un côté à l'autre de la frontière ont toujours été aisés et il en était apparemment ainsi pour les artistes au XIX^e siècle.

Après la Révolution américaine, les intérêts historiques, esthétiques et commerciaux ont produit un nombre important de vues gravées du Canada fabriquées aux États-Unis. Il y avait, de toute évidence, une clientèle pour ces vues aux États-Unis. Les allusions historiques et des paysages attirants ont inspiré plusieurs des vues, à commencer par des illustrations gravées des périodiques après 1790. Des vues de Québec, d'York et de Queenstown durant la guerre de 1812, par exemple, ont permis aux citoyens des États-Unis de découvrir les lieux où se faisait l'histoire. Les vues dramatiques du fleuve Saint-Laurent et des chutes Montmorency ont aussi inspiré plusieurs gravures dans les années 1810. En 1820, le tourisme axé sur le paysage s'était implanté et l'artiste amateur Daniel Wadsworth (1771–1848), voyageant avec Benjamin Silliman, professeur de chimie et d'histoire naturelle à Yale, a visité le Canada et trois des gravures qui ornent le livre qui en est résulté représentent des sites canadiens.

L'introduction aux États-Unis de la lithogravure venue d'Europe a permis aux graveurs de produire des vues relativement bon marché sur des sujets d'actualité, telles *View of the Great Conflagration that took place on the Night of Saturday, 14th of January 1837* et *Battle of Windmill Point* en 1838. En l'absence de presses lithographiques au Canada, plusieurs artistes, comme Mary G. Hall (1835–?), lady Mary Heaviside Love (1806–1894), Mlle A.D. Stevenson, William Hunt (fl. 1834–1838), William Eagar (vers 1796–1839), William S. Hunter (1823–

1894) et Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–1872) se tournèrent vers des imprimeurs de lithographies à Boston et New York pour des reproductions de leurs dessins et peintures. D'autres firent faire des reproductions en Angleterre.

Simultanément, on vit apparaître un engouement pour des vues panoramiques urbaines comme celles d'Edwin Whitefield (1826–1898) et d'Augustus Kollner (1813–1900). D'autres lithographes ont copié les œuvres de William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854) publiées dans *Canadian Scenery*. Même après la Confédération, en 1867, il n'y avait pas encore d'industrie active des arts graphiques au Canada. Les imprimeurs-graveurs américains fournissaient des vues urbaines aux Canadiens. De toute évidence, la faible population et la présence d'imprimeurs-graveurs à Londres et aux États-Unis, prêts à répondre aux besoins des consommateurs canadiens, ont affecté l'offre et la demande pour des images gravées localement. Le commerce d'images pour une clientèle des deux côtés de la frontière a contribué à former un public mieux informé et plus élogieux au sud de la frontière. Les superbes vues des villes canadiennes auront aussi sans doute renforcé le patriotisme des citoyens canadiens.

Traduction : Élise Bonnette