

Voy(ag)euse: Gender and Gaze in the Canoe Paintings of Frances Anne Hopkins

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THIS ARTICLE ORIGINATES in a print, published by the National Archives of Canada, which I bought in the shop of the Newberry Library in Chicago a few years ago. The print (plate 2) is entitled *Canoe Proceeding Along High Rocky Cliffs*, but the original painting, dated 1869, and untitled by Frances Anne Hopkins, is variously titled elsewhere *Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall* or, when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1870, *Canoe Travelling in the Backwoods of Canada*.¹ Since I bought the print, I have come to see this painting, which I shall call *Canoe Proceeding*, as enacting a particular level of consciousness, and I want here to attempt to analyze that perception, to place it in a general way within Canadian art history and within the painter's life as a woman artist with a unique personal history.

Born into a prominent upper-middle-class family in England in 1838, Frances Anne Beechey,² so far as we know, was educated and trained privately at home. In 1858, she married Edward Martin Hopkins, a young widower with three sons, home on leave from the Hudson's Bay Company. Edward Hopkins was soon to become Chief Factor of the company's Montréal District, which extended from the Mingan District, at the mouth of the Saint Lawrence, to Fort William, Ontario, now Thunder Bay, at the western end of Lake Superior: he was, incidentally, the uncle of Gerard Manley Hopkins. After her marriage, Frances Anne Hopkins and her husband lived in Lachine, Québec, as "temporary residents," visiting England for part of each year after 1864 and then returning permanently in September, 1870. The Hopkinses made pleasure trips in Canada to Ottawa, Montmorency Falls, and Québec's Eastern Townships, but they also had the oppor-

tunity to travel more extensively. Among his duties for the company, Edward was required to make tours of the fur trading posts under his jurisdiction. Frances Anne accompanied him on at least two of these trips, in 1864 travelling to Fort William by steamer and returning to Sault Ste. Marie by canoe, and travelling again to Fort William in 1869, returning by canoe all the way to Lachine, a journey of six to eight weeks. This sort of travel by an Englishwoman was almost unheard of at the time (Clark 15).³

The exhibition of Frances Anne Hopkins's work organized by the Thunder Bay Art Gallery in 1990 included many sketches and watercolours from these voyages. Hopkins's own large exhibition in 1870 at the Art Association of Montréal—a "common meeting place for photographers and painters" (Thomas 26)—is said to have been Québec's "first real introduction" to paintings of the Canadian Northwest (Harper 129). By the time of her death in 1919, she was to exhibit as well at the Royal Society of Artists, Birmingham, The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, and the Manchester City Art Gallery, as well as at the society of Female Artists, and she was to exhibit thirteen times at the Royal Academy (Johnson and Greutzner 257; Clark 17). In 1869, she showed her first oil, *Canoes in a Fog, Lake Superior* (plate 4), at the Royal Academy. Oil was the preferred medium of the Academy, and Janet Clark suggests that *Canoes in a Fog* marked an important turning point in Hopkins's career:

unquestionably she perceived herself to be an artist, and although she never abandoned watercolour, oil painting took precedence during the next phase of her career, which was dedicated to producing work of a scale and quality which would meet the standards for acceptance at the Royal Academy. (Clark 23)⁴

And *Canoe Travelling in the Backwoods of Canada* (my *Canoe Proceeding*) was her next oil to be shown at the Royal Academy.

Many of Frances Anne Hopkins's paintings depict canoes and canoe travel, and art historians speak of a genre, "canoe paintings" (Stacey 47). I want to evade the genre and look Hopkins's other paintings, and only some of them, merely to point the crucial contrast to the painting—*Canoe Proceeding*—which I shall discuss in detail. For I am arguing that *Canoe Proceeding* is exceptional within her *oeuvre*, and, for the same reasons, exceptional

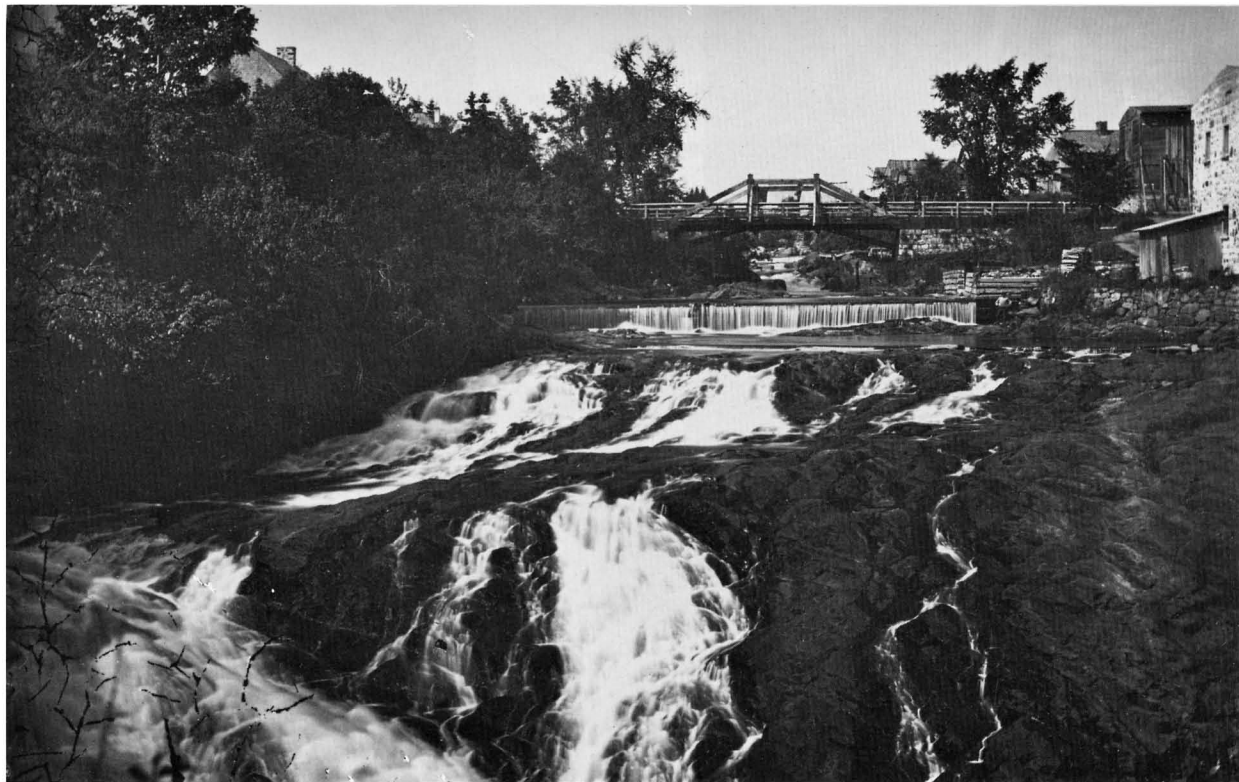


PLATE 1 *Lorette Falls, Québec* (1865) William Notman
COLLECTION: MCCORD MUSEUM OF CANADIAN HISTORY
NOTMAN PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES, NO. 17495-1



PLATE 2 *Canoes Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall* (1869) Frances Anne Hopkins

COLLECTION: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA

ACC. NO.: 1989-401-IX; C-2771



PLATE 3 *Shooting the Rapids* (1879) Frances Anne Hopkins
COLLECTION: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA
ACC. NO.: 1989-401-2X; C-2774



PLATE 4 *Canoes in a Fog, Lake Superior* (1869) Frances Anne Hopkins
COLLECTION: GLENBOW, 55.8.1

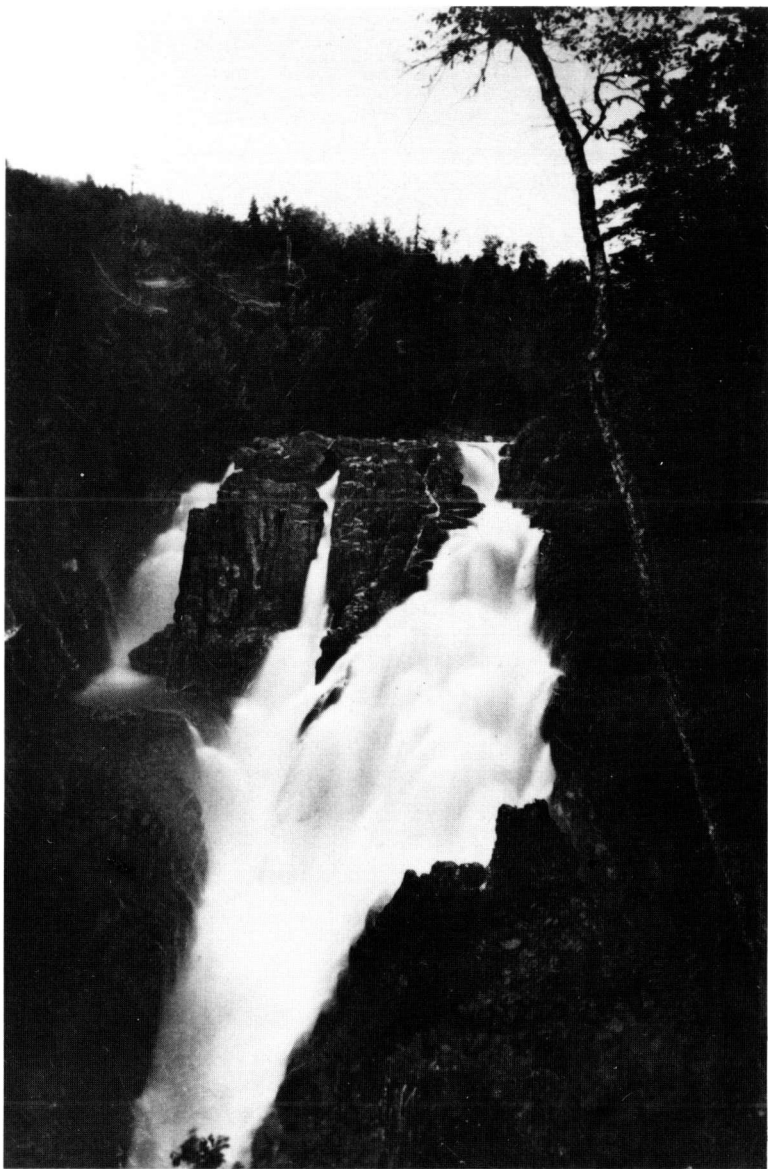


PLATE 5 *St. Anne's Falls, near Québec City* (1869) William Notman
COLLECTION: MCCORD MUSEUM OF CANADIAN HISTORY
NOTMAN PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES, NO. MP1452(115)A

among the canoe paintings that I have seen. Whatever similarity of subject it may have with those other paintings, whatever resemblances in theme or technique to Hopkins's other art productions, *Canoe Proceeding* is unique in foregrounding the *issue* of gender. It does not portray, except in the most obvious ways (through clothing, for example), gendered relationships, but rather, in the overlap and contradiction of its visual codes, it constructs "gender" as its crucial issue, as the main topic of the painting; the viewer may experience a glimpse, a *frisson*, of gender as a contradictory historical issue. Put another way, *Canoe Proceeding* is the "objective correlative" of Frances Anne Hopkins's awareness, however, acute, however slight, of gendered relations. But, while I shall return in a minute to her situation as a painter who was also a Victorian married woman, I want now to emphasize that the glimpse or moment of knowledge which I am trying to explain is in no way *portrayed*, but rather is *produced* in the painting by our reading of it.

I believe we "read" this painting by studying three of its visual languages (or "codes" or "ideologies"): its use of a *narrative*, a *stylistic*, and a *photographic* language. The narrative was a popular Victorian pictorial mode,⁵ but I want to call attention to the visual details of this particular narrative, the constituents of its realism. For the story of this moment and this canoe, paddled by its eight *voyageurs*, carrying the Chief Factor and his wife and their luggage, including their tea kettle, past a cliff and a small waterfall, is told with impressive realism. It establishes immediately the location as the North American "backwoods," picturing broadside a twenty-five foot birch-bark *canot du nord* (as opposed to the larger *canot de maître* of *Canoes in a Fog*), with its dismantled mast slung alongside. A National Archive publication describes it as a "three-and-a-half fathom express canoe, built for carrying officials of the Hudson's Bay Company and important dispatches," and contrasts it to the "freight six-fathom Hudson's Bay canoe." The commentator observes: "Since it carried no freight, the canoe rides high in the water" (Antoniou 42). The *avant*, the paddler in the bow, and the *gouvernail*, standing with his nine-foot paddle in the stern, are both steering, as is shown by the wake of their paddles, and indeed by their grip on their paddles.⁶ The clothes

of the passengers, not just the *toques*, *ceintures flechées* and *bandanas* of the *voyageurs*, but the genteel costume of the English passengers ("calmly overdressed among all the perils of canoeing," say the editors of G. M. Hopkins's journals [House and Storey 337]), show the same careful realism. Also, the painting takes the same interest in the details of work, its "gear and tackle and trim," as did her husband's poet-nephew in "Pied Beauty" (Hopkins 144). Janet Clark says:

Frances Anne Hopkins's paintings are consistent stylistically with the tenets of the Victorian narrative tradition, but with one important qualification: her paintings are simply narratives, without the moral or literary content that was characteristic of so many Victorian paintings. (Clark 27)

I would differ with Clark over her one qualification; I myself cannot imagine so "simple" a narrative, and I think this one is more complex and perhaps "moral" than she allows. The narrative certainly contains an imperial theme, not only in the Hudson's Bay Company flag hanging limply in the stern of the canoe, but in the *planting* of that flag pictured on the canoe's stern. The Hopkinses' clothing and the contrast of the Native blanket to the English shawl bespeak more than a cultural foreignness in that setting; they signify national/racial difference, the *voyageurs* apparently being all Natives, French Canadians, or Métis. These details gesture also towards the class relations in the canoe. The Hopkinses are of course the only passengers without paddles in their hands, but the narrative of the water-lilies perhaps makes the class point more subtly. One of the *voyageurs* plucks a water-lily from the lake, and the woman, Frances Hopkins, is already looking at a water-lily; I suggest that the *voyageurs*'s action is thus not "simple" narrative but a portrayal of servitude, the class relation within the canoe. The lily also serves to balance whatever sexual implication the *voyageur*'s action might be thought to convey. As the symbol, of course, of "purity" or "chastity," this lily is as appropriate an object of study for a Victorian woman seated beside her husband in a canoe full of men as it was for the young Virgin Mary in Rossetti's *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* (1849), and *Ecce Ancilla Domini* (1850). For there is a note of sexual tension accompanying the class relation portrayed, again complicating

the narrative, though again only very slightly; ten years later, Isabella Valancy Crawford was to give these same "backwoods" images a powerful sexual charge in "The Lily Bed":

His cedar paddle, scented red,
He thrust down through the lily-bed.⁷

But besides its narrative, *Canoe Proceeding* speaks a more precisely aesthetic, or visually *stylistic*, language, one which is often congruent but not identical with the *photographic* language which I shall come to presently, and which complicates the narrative I have traced. In contrast to, say, *Canoes in a Fog*, the "simplicity" of *Canoe Proceeding* seems to lie in just that: the canoe is not entering the mysterious mist, or shooting a rapid, but is simply passing a cliff-face, parallel to the picture plane. The sense of "passingness" implied by these parallels is embodied as well in the forward, that is *lateral*, gaze of six *voyageurs*; the *avant* is attentive for rocks, and five of his comrades look forward. The exceptions to this forward, lateral, "passing" gaze all are distracted by the water-lilies; the two *voyageurs*, selecting a new one, and Frances and Edward, gazing at the lily in her hand. For this group of canoeists, work has stopped or is irrelevant; the lilies hold their attention. Indeed, for them, most pronouncedly for the intent Frances, "passingness" pauses. There is surely a stylistic significance in the fact that the lily in Frances's hand is at the precise centre of the horizontal axis of the painting: it is also precisely two-thirds of the way down the canvas, a significance I am less confident with, but the importance of the lateral measurement is clear. The canoe's passing is indeed stopped, the movement frozen by the painter—"click," we might almost say.⁸ That is one significance of the central lily: in its space in the painting, it signifies a pause, time stopped.⁹

This effect engages other stylistic elements. For example, there is a play in the painting between the light tones and the muted greys and browns, as well as between the primary colours, however faded, of the *voyageurs'* clothing and the "unnatural" pastels of Frances's garb. I want to note these simply as "play," merely introducing a slight tension in the scheme of the painting. The waterfall pouring down the granite cliff in a somewhat

blurred fashion relates on the stylistic level in a similar but somewhat more forceful way to the placid surface of the lake, so calm that not only are the bright colours in the canoe, the design of the bow, for instance, clearly reflected, but so are the shape of Frances's bonnet and the glint of sun on her nose. Somewhere behind or beyond the canoe, the turbulence of the waterfall meets the calm of the lake; we do not see where, but we sense the encounter. I shall return to these details, but I want to examine more closely the spatial order of the painting.

If, like Griselda Pollock, we can speak of "compartments of space" (62) in a painting,¹⁰ we may note that there is only *one* compartment in *Canoe Proceeding*. The canoe passes through a single indeterminate space; or rather, the canoe passes between the viewer and the high cliffs (and waterfall). The painting is all foreground: the canoe and its reflection and some rocks, for the cliffs deny any vista. Whether or not these cliffs might be said to "loom," they too introduce tension into the painting. Denying such a view, they also deny a *beach*. Passing cliffs along the north shore of Lake Superior in a canoe is not a casual matter. As Eric Morse says, "Lake Superior is a sea," and its storms are terrible. Along its north shore, there are occasionally ten-mile stretches of cliff where landing is impossible, and these passages must be navigated with care and foresight (Morse 28-29). The limited visual depth of this painting and the cliffs thus introduce a note of claustrophobia and complement the other elements of tension in the painting; the placid lake and the water-lilies of the narrative are not the whole story. Robert Stacey claims that Frances Anne Hopkins's favoured form was the "idyll," "her vision that of an unfallen, boreal Eden" (51). The deployment of space represented in *Canoe Proceeding* implies tension in this idyll, contradiction in this particular Eden.

While it is uncertain whether Frances Anne Hopkins worked from photographs, Stacey says that the "optical effects at which she excelled, especially the rendering of smooth water surface, suggests that she made good use of the composing and motion-freezing capacity of the camera and the sensitized plate" (51). Perhaps through her contact with the Art Association of Mon-

tréal, photographic images she might have used “would have been readily available to her in Montréal and Québec,” most readily in the work of William Notman, the technologically innovative Montréal photographer who took her portrait in 1863. There are four portraits of Frances Anne Hopkins in the Notman Archives, three in theatrical costume [Stacey 51; Clark 23.] Notman, a Scot who had emigrated to Canada in 1856, had by 1858 set up a photographic shop in Montréal, expanding to Toronto by 1868. In Montréal, he was closely involved with “those whose interest in art centred on painting,” and indeed employed in his studio many prominent painters. Although in the late 1850s he was fascinated by and photographed the construction of Montréal’s Victoria Bridge, Notman and the photographers he associated with and published were primarily landscape photographers. In 1863, he published *Photographic Selections by William Notman*, and a new collection, *Notman’s Photographic Selections*, two years later. The latter includes, among photographs of paintings and engravings, twelve photos “from nature,” including *Lorette Falls*, *Québec* and *St. Anne Falls Near Québec* (plates 1, 5). Notman had devised a technique to reduce negative size and to give shorter exposures, taking what were called “instantaneous” landscape photographs. Waterfalls displayed this technique at its most dramatic, and from before 1860 Notman and his associates had taken numerous photos of waterfalls. The waterfall in Frances Anne Hopkins’s *Canoe Proceeding* engages this moment in the history of Canadian photography, alluding to such photographs as these.¹¹

But going beyond quotation, *Canoe Proceeding* exhibits optical effects that are characteristically photographic. If “very close observation” (in the care over details in this canoe, for example), is “encouraged by” an interest in photography (“crisp precision,” Ann Thomas calls it, or “intense definition” [55, 87]), it is true also that the techniques of photographic close observation uniquely raise the question of “focus.” Not everything in *Canoe Proceeding* could be said to be “in focus”; the painting represents not only a shallow space but a very shallow “depth of field.” As I have mentioned, the waterfall is blurred, and so are the cliffs;

they are rendered, as Clark puts it, "with a much freer approach to the medium" (29). The rocks in the foreground are similarly vague and blurred, relative to the precise detailing of the canoe and its occupants. And, as we have said, the painting records a "pause," which also might be thought to be a photographic effect; as Thomas says of another painting, "although one is conscious of the photographic aesthetic in the strong literal descriptiveness of this painting, the more powerful photographic quality is in the sense of a moment stopped in time" (90).¹² As in Hopkins's early watercolours, this scene is very much "taken" (Clark 17). Moreover, the relations of light, of focus and composition, all introduce the element of portraiture. It is, perhaps, a portrait of a canoe and a composite portrait of its occupants, but finally, I suggest, it is a self-portrait of Frances Anne Hopkins in her pale garments, who turns, to be sure, to admire her water-lily with her husband, but turns also towards a "camera" which she has focussed and pointed at herself. And, as I intimated earlier, the camera/painter's gaze is "instantaneous" in what it has been thus directed to record.

The photographic and stylistic codes in *Canoe Proceeding* thus focus and organize the painting's narrative: this canoe with these *voyageurs*, this bourgeois couple and these *accoutrements*, this place on the north shore of Lake Superior, and this experience of viewing water-lilies. By spatial arrangement and focus, the episode is narrowed to a moment, at the centre of which is the radiant lady and her lily; again, various interacting pictorial details inject distinct notes not only of contrast but of tension and conflict. These photographic and stylistic relations, in the first instance, emphasize the latent tensions of class and the work-relations on which those ultimately are based, and perhaps sexuality. But these aesthetic practices also produce a *textual* ideology within which class tension is sanitized and disarmed. It is not accidental that the device is that familiar Victorian trope, the interplay of "the feminine" and Beauty, in a woman contemplating a lily.¹³ A paddler has acknowledged the lady's presence by giving her a lily, and as she admires it, time pauses and tension momentarily abates. The paintings photographic and stylistic codes direct us to that ideological (or "moral") understanding.

But, what of the "space of the look," which Griselda Pollock calls "the social spaces from which the representation is made and its reciprocal personalities"?

The space of the look at the point of production will to some extent determine the viewing position of the spectator at the point of consumption. This point of view is neither abstract nor exclusively personal, but ideologically and historically construed. It is the art historian's job to re-create it—since it cannot ensure its recognition outside its historical moment. (Pollock 66)

I have mentioned earlier the point of production of Frances Anne Hopkins's *Canoe Proceeding*. It was a studio painting, "composed carefully and executed slowly, built up, using models, props, and preliminary drawings and sketches" in London.¹⁴ An "Academy presentation piece," it was exhibited one year after the transitional *Canoes in a Fog*, the year she returned from Canada for good. As a woman artist, aspiring in 1870 to this level of competition, Hopkins would have had before her, Clark tells us, the example of several established women painters, would have been supported by the contemporary women's movement (with which the Society of Female Artists was "closely, albeit informally associated") and such publications as the *English Woman's Journal*, but would nonetheless be working in a repressive ideological climate for women artists (17, 27).¹⁵

The conjuncture of these historical determinations inevitably "construed" the space of the look in Hopkins's *Canoe Proceeding*. Pollock notes that Baudelaire's 1863 essay, "The Painter of Modern Life," which seeks to define the ideal modern artist,

is structured by an opposition between home, the inside domain of the known and constrained personality and the outside, the space of freedom, where there is liberty to look without being watched or even recognized in the act of looking. It is the imagined freedom of the voyeur. In the crowd the flâneur/artist sets up home. (71)

Canoe Proceeding directly examines the opposition Pollock speaks of, the inside domain of the known and constrained personality, of the tea-kettle, say, and of Hopkins's husband, and the outside space of the *gouvernail*, guiding the canoe, and again of her husband, the Chief Factor. Hopkins sees all of this, but from where does she see it? As Pollock goes on to say, Baudelaire's

modern flâneur/artist is articulated within two main ideological formations of modern bourgeois society:

... the splitting of private and public with its double freedom for men in the public space, and the pre-eminence of a detached observing gaze, whose possession and power is never questioned as its basis in the hierarchy of the sexes is never acknowledged. (71)

Pollocks's point is that neither of these ideological formations—the freedom of the public space and the detached gaze—is available to women: “there is no female equivalent of the quintessential masculine figure, the flâneur; there is not and could not be a female flâneuse.” “Women do not look,” she says; “they do not have the right to look, to stare, scrutinize or watch” (71).

But I am arguing that what distinguishes *Canoe Proceeding* from Frances Anne Hopkins's other canoe paintings, from *Canoes in a Fog* (1869) and the later, well-known *Shooting the Rapids* (1879; plate 3), is that in this painting she *does* place herself momentarily at precisely the articulation of the two main ideological formations. With *Canoes in a Fog* and *Canoe Proceeding*, she arrives in the preeminent public artistic space, an exhibition at the Royal Academy, and in both paintings she paints herself as out there, as far from domesticity as any bourgeois woman could get. Thus what guarantees her detachment is, first of all, the narrative's geographical setting: only Frances Anne Hopkins could produce, in London, a narrative painting of a lady admiring a lily in a fully “manned” *canot du nord* on Lake Superior. But only in *Canoe Proceeding* does she complete the transformation and become, if not a “flâneuse,” a “voyeuse.” What guarantees her right to look, to stare, to scrutinize or watch, is not only her presence in the painting, but what she has made of her presence, uniquely, in this painting. In *Canoe Proceeding*, as I have said, Frances Anne Hopkins stares at herself (this look determining “the viewing position of the spectator at the point of consumption”) as a woman regarding a lily, “a sign, a fiction, a confection of meanings and fantasies.” She takes “the sign w*O*M*A*N,” as Pollock says “which is produced by and for another social group which derives its ideality and imagined superiority by manufacturing the spectre of this fantastic Other,” and calls attention to its “manufacture” or “confection” (71).¹⁶ Or, put another way, the

painting not only portrays Hopkins as obviously incongruous but emphasizes the constructedness of the incongruity; Hopkins savours the oddness of her presence in the painting, but savours also for a moment the oddness that it should be odd. With the emphases produced by the pictorial conventions I have discussed, this woman artist (who in this position has no "husband") self-consciously examines "W*O*M*A*N," differentiating "woman" from "W*O*M*A*N" by the space of her look. The small evidences of class tension in the narrative, the anomalous colours and the claustrophobia, contribute to this differentiation, and the viewing position, whether at Burlington House in 1870 or in Thunder Bay and Toronto in 1990, is determined by that gaze, measuring the distance of this woman artist from "W*O*M*A*N."

The gaze of *Canoe Proceeding*, so constructed, distinguishes it as a work of art not only from the acceptable "accomplishment art" of her time, but from Frances Anne Hopkins's other canoe paintings and, I suspect, from the paintings of her contemporaries. The space of the look in *Canoe Proceeding* measures an historical distance. The pause in the canoe's passing is an historical pause, which marks a change in Hopkins's artistic life, but one like that which Elaine Showalter has diagnosed between the "feminist" and "female" stages in early modern women's literary history. The "demand for autonomy" gives way to "self-discovery," to "a turning inward freed from some of the dependency of opposition, a search for identity" (13). *Canoe Proceeding* represents just this sort of proto-feminist moment, and in Griselda Pollock's words, "it is the art historian's job to re-create it—since it cannot ensure its recognition outside its historical moment." This paper is an attempt.¹⁷

NOTES

- 1 See Clark and Stacey, plate 26 (86) and Graves (150). Clark and Stacey's publication is the catalogue of the exhibition shown in Thunder Bay, Toronto, Ottawa, and Calgary in 1990.
- 2 Writers differ over "Anne/Ann"; I follow Janet Clark's usage in the Canadian exhibition catalogue.
- 3 One well-known exception is recorded in Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838).

- 4 For a discussion of the difficulties experienced by women painters in exhibiting in late Victorian London, see Nunn, chapter 3.
- 5 Compare Gillett 2.
- 6 Compare Clark 29. Chalmers discusses the accuracy of Hopkins's depiction of the *gouvernail* (24); Morse identifies this as the larger *canot de maître* (despite its having a crew of eight, rather than ten or twelve), presumably because the *canot du nord* was considered more dangerous and was seldom used in the big waters of the eastern half of the company's route (32, 41).
- 7 I am grateful to Professor Ellen Ramsay for pointing out this reference to me.
- 8 Thomas contrasts the "sense of potential movement which is so particularly characteristic of Baroque and Romantic painting" to the photographic tendency to "isolate figures and freeze their movement" (78-79).
- 9 The white water-lily is also, Clark tells us, "the artist's trademark" (31); it appears also in the 1990 exhibition catalogue in *Canadian Autumn*, plate 31 (91), and *Minnehaha Feeding the Birds*, plate 33 (92).
- 10 These paragraphs draw heavily on Pollock's theoretical discussion.
- 11 See Reid 34-35, 30, and 53, and plates 3, 5, and 16.
- 12 Thomas makes a similar distinction to mine, while drawing her own conclusion: "A softer treatment of the clouds and a suppression of detail and tone in the background detract from the sharper, more photographic delineation of foreground and middleground and create a note of romanticism in the painting" (90).
- 13 Kate O'Rourke of the National Archives describes the woman as "the Angel in the Canoe."
- 14 Sylvia A. Antoniou speculated in 1984 "that this painting was executed totally in Canada and is therefore very special" (42).
- 15 See also Gillett, *The Victorian Woman Painter's World* (135). Parker and Pollock comment that "at least one Victorian writer, Elizabeth Ellet, fully recognized that social, not biological factors account for women's choice of art forms: 'The kind of painting in which the object is prominent has been most practiced by female artists. Portraits, landscapes and flowers, and pictures of animals are in favour among them'" (12).
- 16 Compare Wolff 40-41. Among the comments on *Canoe Passings* since 1870, it would seem that only a reviewer of the 1990 exhibition in Calgary has noticed these aspects of the painting: "It's as though Hopkins were observing herself from afar as she adventured into the wilds. It was a man's world in which she was a tourist" (Tousley 4).
- 17 I would like to dedicate this paper to my *quondam* colleagues: Heather Murray, Daphne Read, Ann Russell, Gill Teiman, Janice Williamson, Ann Wilson, Cynthia Wright. For advice on the paper I would like also to thank my current colleagues, Len Early, Ellen Ramsay, and Mary Williamson, and Kate O'Rourke of the National Archives of Canada. The faults are my own.

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