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Lady Falkland's Travel Album:
Negotiating Colonial and Feminine Discourses

Melinda Reinhart

A Thesis
in
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of
Art History

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ABSTRACT

Lady Falkland's Travel Album: Negotiating Feminine and Colonial Discourses

Melinda Reinhart

During the nineteenth century travellers to British colonies recorded their impressions in journals and often produced pictorial representations of colonized peoples and landscapes. Their personal representations have been added to the numerous official documents that defined colonial relationships between white colonizers and First Nations peoples. More recently women's visual and textual representations of the colonies have been brought into scholarly discussions. Many amateur women artists assembled travel albums or scrapbooks including drawings, watercolours and paintings of their travels. This thesis provides an analysis of one such album that was constructed by Lady Amelia Falkland (1807-1858). The album contains images of colonial Nova Scotia, India and the Middle East as well as those of her homeland Great Britain. Among the Nova Scotia images painted by Lady Falkland herself and two local amateur women artists are a significant number of representations of Mi'kmaq individuals. This thesis investigates these representations in order to assess how women negotiated the often contradictory discursive frameworks of colonialism and femininity, both of which entered into their representations.

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INTRODUCTION

In May 1922 the Lady Falkland Album was purchased by the National Archives of Canada from a lot of miscellaneous materials at auction in London.¹ With the addition of this acquisition to the Documentary Art Collection of the archives, this album was moved from the private to the public realm, making available a diverse collection of representations of life in the British colonies in the second half of the nineteenth century. Among others, the images included representations from Lady Amelia Falkland's (1807-1858) sojourns in Nova Scotia, the Middle East and India, as the wife of a highly placed British colonial administrator. Although ostensibly intended as an album of personal memoirs, the drawings and paintings produced by herself and others provide the public another view of Nova Scotia's colonial history from 1840 to 1846.

By the 1840s Britain's colonies were firmly entrenched in different regions of the world; settler societies were established in Australia, South Africa and British North America. Lady Falkland underlines this reality in a statement she made about a British colonel in her written journal describing her travels in India: "His Face was like a map; here you could see a corner of Sierra Leone; there you could trace a bit of Canada, and here was Bermuda. His career was engraven on his face."² In the same way that the implication of this man in the colonial theatre was inscribed on his body, representations produced in the colonies would be inscribed with colonial structures of power. While these colonies were administered by Britain through the Colonial Office, signs of the

¹ Library and Archives Canada, Lady Falkland File. The album was purchased from book dealer Thomas Thorpe on May 18, 1922 for the sum of 12.10 pounds.

² Viscountess Falkland, *Chow-Chow: Being Selections from a Journal Kept in India, Egypt and Syria*. (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 1857), Vol. 1, 98.

strength of the settler population and local government power structures were evident in many locales, including British North America where their presence led to a gradual decline of the indigenous population. Initially represented as a threat to white colonists' economic interests through their resistance to encroachment on their territory, indigenous peoples were virtually marginalized and excluded from socio-political participation by the mid-nineteenth century. When the colonial territories appeared relatively secure and stabilized, they became the destination for tourists who grew in numbers during the nineteenth century. Many recorded their perceptions in journals and sketchbooks.³

In addition to official representations of colonial territories and their peoples, the numerous personal albums, journals, and diaries produced during the nineteenth century served to inform the public at home, even if they were generally intended for limited audiences including family and friends. In recent studies these images have been explored for the information they provide about attitudes and perspectives excluded from more official constructions of the colonial reality. As Reina Lewis suggests: "We may learn just as much about contemporary attitudes from the tourist's unselfconscious selection of significant sights as from the more overtly mediated subject choice of the professional artist."⁴ Although Lady Falkland stayed in the colonies for relatively extended periods of time unlike most tourists, she would not be considered a permanent resident and consequently is regarded as a traveller. Personal and travel constructions of

³ Paulette Chiasson, *As Others Saw Us: Nova Scotian Travel Literature from the 1770s to the 1860s*, M.A. thesis, unpublished, Queens' University, 1981, 6. Over 100 accounts have been recorded as written about Upper and Lower Canada between 1791 and 1867 and 70 accounts about Nova Scotia.

⁴ Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 116.

representations constitute potential sites of meaning for our understanding of the complexities inherent in the power structures and dynamics of colonial settings.

Recent literary and postcolonial studies have investigated personal accounts in travel writing for signs of colonial discourses, drawing on Michel Foucault's discourse theory which links relationships of knowledge and power to discursive structures. Travel writing, according to Sara Mills, "is essentially an instrument within colonial expansion and served to reinforce colonial rule once in place."⁵ While both male and female travellers produced travel texts, women's works have, until recently, been marginalized in studies of colonial discourses. Sara Mills in one of the first studies to consider colonial discursive elements in women's writing suggests that women's texts were not considered in the purview of colonial discourses because they were not "analyzed as textual artifacts, but rather as simple autobiographies."⁶ She insists however that: "Travel representations cannot be read as straightforward accounts of the producer, but must be seen in the light of discourses circulating at the time."⁷ Another factor that led to such exclusion stems from the fact that women were generally represented as signifiers of family and home in male travel representations and were consequently not considered in terms of their agency. As Mills points out: "Representations of women have been central to the process of constructing a male national identity in the colonial period, but that has been based on an excising of women's involvement in colonialism."⁸

⁵ Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, (London: New York: Routledge, 1991), 2.

⁶ Ibid, 4.

⁷ Ibid, 70.

⁸ Ibid, 58.

Studies of travel literature and discourse theory have also contributed to the examination of visual representations in colonial settings. While early works such as Linda Nochlin's study on Orientalist art focused on male artists to reveal the socio-political power structures inscribed in the genre classified as high art,⁹ recent research has extended such analysis to the production of amateur artists and women's pictorial imagery as sites for evidence of colonial hierarchical relationships. Reina Lewis argues that amateur women artists' works "illustrate the pervasiveness of imperialism and ideologies of racial difference."¹⁰

Lady Falkland was an amateur artist, but she also published a travel journal, entitled *Chow-chow. Being Selections from a Journal Kept in India, Egypt, and Syria* in 1857. Like many British women, the decision to publish implied a desire to take a public place in the cultural production of the period. Although travel representations in the public domain often drew on scientific knowledge, women's experience in the colonies "confer[ed] on many Victorian women a measure of cultural competence that derived not from education but from experience."¹¹ At the same time as their experiential knowledge afforded women a degree of authority, it was often "trivialized because it rest[ed] on womanly empathy rather than the clinical detachment of an authoritative scientific gaze."¹² Constrained by the various discourses inherent to the colonial theatre, not only

⁹ Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," *The Politics of Vision*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 33-59.

¹⁰ Lewis, 115.

¹¹ Maria Frawley, "Voyagers Out: Victorian Women Abroad," *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England*, (London, Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1994), 25.

¹² Lewis, 179.

her journal but also the visual representations in her album are inscribed with the contradictory power structures women experienced in the colonies.

This thesis is about visual culture and gender in the colonial context. I will examine the visual production of three amateur women artists, generally erased from participation in colonialist activities, for evidence of the power relations inherent to life in the colonial theatre, demonstrating their complicity in the colonial project. In addition to her own representations, Lady Falkland also included images of First Nations peoples by Nova Scotians Mary McKie (active 1840-62) and Ellen Nutting (active 1840-52).

Through this investigation, I will explore these visual representations for signs of the conflicted position women occupied in their negotiation of colonial and feminine discursive frameworks that structured their work. A close analysis of images representing indigenous women from Nova Scotia in the Lady Falkland Album will demonstrate that their works included signs of feminine empathy and traces of hierarchical power relations. This examination also demonstrates that the complex positions women held in the colonies were structured not only by their gender difference but also by differences of nation and religion.

A number of studies have been done on visual representations of North American indigenous peoples, including research focused on Britain's Canadian colonies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹³ In terms of women's representations of First

¹³ Among scholarly works on nineteenth century representations in Canada, see: François-Marc Gagnon, "Antoine Plamondon, Le Dernier des Hurons (1838)," *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. 12 No. 1 (1989), 68-79; François-Marc Gagnon, *Jacques Cartier et la Découverte du Nouveau Monde*, (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1984); François-Marc Gagnon, *Hommes effarables et Bestes sauvages: Images du Nouveau-Monde d'Après les Voyages de Jacques Cartier*, (Montréal: Boréal, 1986); François-Marc Gagnon, "Perceiving the Other: French-Canadian and Indian Iconography in the Work of Cornelius Krieghoff," *Kriehoff: Images of Canada*, Dennis Reid, ed. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1999), 207-267; François-Marc Gagnon *Premiers Peintres de la Nouvelle-France*, (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1976); Ruth Phillips, "Making Sense out/of the Visual: Aboriginal Presentations and

Nations peoples in Canada, the most extensive research has covered textual accounts.¹⁴ In the context of Nova Scotia, a number of theses have been written on the British viewpoint toward this colonial territory: Paulette Chiasson covered the travel texts of British travellers to Nova Scotia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; only two female writers were mentioned.¹⁵ The visual representations of British visitors to Nova Scotia have been discussed in Mary Sparling's thesis and exhibition catalogue.¹⁶ While she

Representations in Nineteenth-century Canada," *Art History*, Vol. 27 No. 4 (Sept 2004), 593-615; Gillian Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric: Image of the Native and "the Habitant" in the Formation of Colonial Identities in Early Nineteenth-century Lower Canada," *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. 16 No. 1 (1994), 10-29; Susan Stewart, "Paul Kane Paintings Rediscovered," *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. 5 No. 2 (1981), 85-95; Jean Trudel, "Autour du Tableau: Trois Chefs Montagnais et Peter McLeod, Peint par Theophile Hamel en 1848," *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. 21 No. ½ (2000), 40-61; Among other major works on North American representations, see: Robert Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the Present*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*, (London: Allen Lane, 1976); Klaus Lubbers, *Born for the Shade: Stereotypes of the Native American in United States Literature and the Visual Arts, 1776-1894*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994); Ellwood Parry, *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art: 1590-1900*, (New York: G. Braziller, 1974); Scott Vickers, *Native American Identities: from Stereotype to Archetype in Art and Literature*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

¹⁴ The most frequently discussed works include British feminist and art-historian Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, (Toronto: Coles Pub. Co., 1972; reprint of London: 1838). Other works are Ontario settlers Susanna Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush: or Forest Life in Canada*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962; reprint of London: Richard Bentley, 1852) and Catherine Parr Traill's *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer*, (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1989; reprint of London: C. Knight & Co., 1846) and "A Visit to the Camp of the Chippewa Indians (1848)," in *The Prose of Life: Sketches from Victorian Canada*, Carole Gerson and Kathy Mezei, eds. (Toronto: ECW Press, 1981). Among some of the studies of the representations of indigenous peoples in these textual accounts are: Susan Birkwood, "True or False: Anna Jameson on the Position of Women in European and in Anishinaubae Society," *Nineteenth Century Feminisms*, Vol. 2 (Spring/Summer 2000), 32-47; Carole Gerson, "Nobler Savages: Representations of Native Women in the Writings of Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 32 No. 2 (Summer 1997), 5-22; Jennifer Henderson, *Settler Feminism and Race-making in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Rita Monticelli, "The Double and Its Limit: Passages and Translations in the Travel Diary of Anna Jameson in Canada (1838)," in *Travel Writing and the Female Imaginary*, Vita Fortunati, Rita Monticelli, and Maurizio Ascari, eds. (Bologna: Patron, 2001).

¹⁵ Chiasson, 9, 17, 26-27, 46, 50, 77. Chiasson mentions Amelia Murray's *Letters from the United States, Cuba, and Canada* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; reprint of New York: 1856). She also includes a number of passages from Isabella Bird's *The Englishwoman in America*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966; reprint of London, England: John Murray, 1856).

¹⁶ Mary Sparling, *The British Vision in Nova Scotia, 1749-1848: What Views the Artist Reflected and Reinforced*, M.A. thesis, unpublished, Dalhousie University, 1978; *Great Expectations: the European Vision in Nova Scotia, 1749-1848*, (Halifax: Art Gallery, Mount Saint Vincent University, 1980)

presents a brief discussion of women artists and their marginalization based on gender difference, there is no discussion of their relationships with the indigenous peoples. Few studies have been undertaken on women's visual representations of First Nations people in the Canadian colonial context.¹⁷ I hope that this thesis will contribute to such discussions.

In Chapter One of this thesis I will outline the major theories I have used in examining the visual representations of Lady Falkland's Album. In addition to literary studies of travel writing including Mary Pratt's seminal work, I will draw on Homi Bhabha's cultural and postcolonial theories. The feminist literary examination of women's travel writing by Sara Mills in conjunction with feminist cultural theorist Reina Lewis's investigation of women Orientalist visual and textual works provide the principal theoretical framework.

Chapter Two provides a short biographical sketch of Lady Falkland and explores how she constructed her subject position as evidenced in her textual and visual representations. The chapter begins with an analysis of Lady Falkland's written journal. I will investigate the text for traces of colonial and feminine discursive elements that framed her account and for signs of the strategies she used to construct her authorial identity. In the second part of this chapter, I will use Anne Higonnet's study of

¹⁷ See studies on Emily Carr: Emily Carr, *To the Totem Forests: Emily Carr and her Contemporaries Interpret Coastal Villages 1900-1930*, (Victoria, B.C.: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1999); Robert Fulford, "The Trouble with Emily: Carr and Native American Culture," *Canadian Art*, Vol. 10 (Winter 1993), 32-9; Stephanie Kirkwood Walker, *This Woman In Particular: Context for the Biographical Image of Emily Carr*, (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996). Other works include: Kristina Huneault, "Always There: First Peoples and the Consolation of Miniature Portraits in British North America," in *Art and the British Empire*, Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Doug Fordham, eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Kristina Huneault, "Miniature Objects of Cultural Covenant," *RACAR Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review*, Vol. 29 No. 1-2 (forthcoming).

nineteenth-century women's amateur albums in an attempt to gain insights into the structure of the Lady Falkland Album and the identity she constructed for herself. I will provide an overview of the album to delineate its overarching themes.

In Chapter Three, I will examine a selection of the images in the album representing Nova Scotia and relate this to a discussion of the socio-historical context of mid nineteenth-century Nova Scotia. Using some of the images from the Lady Falkland Album, I will briefly discuss the role of Lord and Lady Falkland and their relationship to the settler population in Nova Scotia. I will also provide the background to the relationship between the indigenous people and the white populations. An overview of other visual representations of the Mi'kmaq people produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will be presented. One of the most significant components of the Lady Falkland Album is its numerous representations of indigenous individuals in Nova Scotia.

In Chapter Four, I will examine the images of Mi'kmaq people, focusing my discussion on the representations of Mi'kmaq women attributed to Lady Falkland¹⁸ and those produced by two local women artists for evidence of the complex and often contradictory positions they held in the colony. In examining the varying works of these women, I will attempt to demonstrate that women's visual productions are heterogeneous, contingent not only on gender but also related to differences of nationality, race and class.

Most of the images examined in this thesis are found in the Lady Falkland Album held in the Documentary Art Collection at the Library and Archives Canada. In addition to working with the original images, I have also examined these works in the context of

¹⁸ I have accepted the attributions given by the Library and Archives Canada.

the Nova Scotia Museum *Mi'kmaq Portraits Collection*. The images in this collection have served as an important source for other visual representations of the Mi'kmaq people. In my discussions, I use the titles of the images assigned by the Library and Archives Canada¹⁹

The representations in Lady Falkland's album serve as a compelling intersection of images portraying peoples and territories not only of different British colonies but also of Britain or "home", disclosing a wide range of discourses that circulated in both locations. While exploring these images, I have attempted to maintain an awareness of my own position and to be vigilant about the "risk [of] participating in the reaffirmation of colonial discourses."²⁰ In this endeavour I have been mindful of contemporary investigations by indigenous feminists who question white feminists' notions concerning racial difference.²¹ I hope that my reading might contribute to recent scholarship seeking to highlight the agency of First Nations people within representation.

¹⁹ Some of the works from the Lady Falkland Album have been digitized and are displayed in the online *Mi'kmaq Portraits Collection* at the Nova Scotia Museum. The titles of some of the images differ in the two collections. I have used those designated by Library and Archives Canada.

²⁰ Cheryl McEwan, "Introduction," *Gender, Geography, and Empire: Victorian Women Travellers in West Africa*, (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 14.

²¹ Among others, works which focus on First Nations women include: Paula Gunn Allen, *Off the Reservation: Reflections on Boundary-busting Border-crossing Loose Canons*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998); Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003); Vron Ware, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History*, (London: Verso, 1991).

CHAPTER ONE

Travel Representation and Theory

Textual and visual representations of travel constitute an important site for understanding the complexity of colonial relationships. Edward Said's 1978 publication *Orientalism* opened a new field of study that examined such representations of colonial relations from a postcolonial perspective. While his work is recognized for its invaluable contributions to the understanding of the power dynamics in colonial territories, it has also been challenged for its totalizing approach. More recent postcolonial theory proposes that power relations were not simply one directional from colonizer to colonized, as Said first proposed, but were in fact much more complicated.²² Their investigations of representations, especially in the area of travel writing, have focused on the critical study of colonial discourse, which literary scholar Peter Hulme defines as:

an ensemble of linguistically-based practices unified by their common deployment in the management of colonial relationships. Underlying the idea of colonial discourse is the presumption that during the colonial period large parts of the non-European world were produced for Europe through a discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis, and kinds of writing and imagery.²³

Postcolonial cultural theorist Homi Bhabha, addressing the issue of power relations more explicitly, extends the definition of colonial discourse as an apparatus that: "construe[s] the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to

²² Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," *The Location of Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 71-72. Robert J.C. Young, "Colonialism and the Desiring Machine," *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 161. According to Young, Bhabha is one of the foremost postcolonial theorists to have challenged Edward Said's work.

²³ Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797*, (London: Methuen, 1986), 2; cited in Mills, 48.

justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.”²⁴ The research revolving around colonial discourse has been broadened to include feminist investigations into women travellers’ textual and pictorial productions and their insistence on bringing the question of gender into studies of colonial relationships. In this chapter, I will outline the various theories of travel writing, post-colonialism and feminism which will serve in my exploration of the visual representations in the Lady Falkland Album.

Despite the association of travel with an “implicit quest for anomaly” and while we might expect diverse and original approaches in representations of other countries, Mary Pratt’s groundbreaking research shows that most travel writing adheres to well-established conventions.²⁵ European travel writing from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries routinely appropriated its tropes from recognized and well-established works, a strategy which not only invested subsequent works with a degree of authority but also perpetuated “a conceptual and textual grid” for portraying other nations and their people.²⁶ In outlining these conventions, Pratt classifies travel writing into two main categories - scientific and sentimental - which “code[d] the imperial frontier in two eternally clashing and complementary languages of bourgeois subjectivity.”²⁷ Initially the strict domain of male writers, the scientific approach involved descriptive and classificatory accounts of people and territories in the colonies. While women writers

²⁴ Bhabha, 70.

²⁵ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1986), 85.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 73.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 10.

were excluded from the production of most forms of early scientific writing, by the nineteenth century their works, often incorporating ethnographic observations of customs and manners, were accepted in this purview. Women, on the other hand, had always been able to employ a sentimental approach, as had male writers. Unlike the ostensibly objective accounts of scientific representations, which were generally characterized by the absence of a narrator, sentimental texts foregrounded the narrator's personal interactions including those with indigenous people.

Pratt insists on the significance of exchange between colonizer and colonized in the colonial territories. Introducing concepts such as 'contact zone' and 'transculturation' to challenge the notion that communication was strictly uni-directional, she points to the dialectical dynamics in the colonies, where local knowledge, although problematically represented, was evident despite "radically asymmetrical relations of power."²⁸ In her discussion of women travel writers, she suggests that their work often demonstrated a dialogic exchange with indigenous people when compared to the accounts of their male counterparts.

Recognizing these variations in the colonial encounter, Pratt focuses her study on how Eurocentric power structures were sustained in part through the knowledge derived from travel accounts which contributed to normalizing colonized people and territories. She draws on Michel Foucault's study of the history of knowledge in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which states that all forms of social interactions are the product of relations of power and knowledge. According to Foucault, power produces knowledge as

²⁸ Ibid, 6-9. The term contact zone is used to refer to the space of colonial encounters where "peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing contacts." The concept transculturation is borrowed from ethnographers to "describe how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from the materials transmitted to them by the dominant culture."

knowledge creates new forms of power. Integral to the dynamic of power and knowledge is the development of complex techniques of surveillance which allow for greater discipline and control of individuals. As forms of surveillance evolve and are developed to ensure positions of power, the subject becomes more visible and consequently more readily knowable. Mary Pratt underlines the pervasiveness of surveillance and visibility in travel texts. She demonstrates that in the various approaches of travel writing, especially in scientific texts, the “seeing” narrator’s presence is not always evident in the events of travellers’ accounts; rather, as passive viewers they recorded what they saw distancing themselves from any implication in the colonial theatre. In what she describes as “the monarch-of-all-that-I-survey” rhetoric, Pratt suggests that travel texts relied on visibility to present European mastery over the colonial scene.

In the textual and visual representations of travel productions, it was the racial difference of the colonized Other that was made visible, and according to Sara Mills this difference was portrayed as strange.²⁹ Pratt contends that the visibility of differences between the colonizer and the indigenous peoples worked to confirm the perception that Europeans were racially superior consequently justifying their hegemonic presence. This perception was reinforced through the consistent use of a range of strategies that codified racial difference. For example, the colonial theatre was generally presented in a frame of “temporal and spatial compression” where indigenous peoples were depicted in a timeless and a-historical present or in the vestiges of a glorious past. They were abstracted from a cultural socio-economic context, objectified and dehumanized in fixed representations as members of a homogeneous group. Rarely considered in terms of their

²⁹ Mills, 86.

individuality, they were often generalized as innocent and childlike or savage and heathen. The racial distance between Europeans and indigenous Others was ensured through devices of aestheticization, and, often in the case of male writers and artists, through sexualization. Such devices were given currency through a persistent chain of repetition. Drawing on Michel Foucault's discussion of colonial discourses, Sara Mills writes that they are particularly "repetitive and restricted in the range of their structure, tropes, and language choice."³⁰

Homi Bhabha focuses his discussion of colonial discourse on the repetition and fixity inherent to stereotypical representations of racial difference. His theorization of the stereotype as reliant on ambivalence for its effectiveness allows for an understanding of the complexities and heterogeneity of colonial discourses. According to Bhabha, it is the ambivalence implied in the compulsive repetition in stereotypical representations of racial difference that reveals the colonizer's conflicted beliefs, linked to contradictory and arrested modes of knowledge centered on the simultaneous recognition and disavowal of racial and cultural difference. Bhabha employs the notion of "splitting and multiple belief" to examine the paradox wherein the colonial subject is considered an Other and yet entirely knowable; it is "the binding of knowledge and fantasy [that] inform[s] the particular regime of visibility deployed in colonial discourse."³¹

Bhabha's emphasis on the role of visibility in colonial power structures provides a complex framework for analyzing representations of racial difference of the colonized. He contends that the colonized subject is made visible as "the sight of subjectification

³⁰ Ibid, 69.

³¹ Bhabha, 81.

and power” and “the site of fantasy.”³² He refers to Franz Fanon’s work on the “epidermal schema” in his discussion of skin colour as the highly visible sign of difference and its concomitant discrimination. The stereotype as the primary site of subjectification and discrimination in colonial discourses ensures hierarchical power structures and facilitates colonial relations. In emphasizing the separation between races, colonial powers construct a range of ideologies that justify the necessity for colonial domination. Bhabha writes: “What is visible is the necessity of such rule which is justified by those moralistic ideologies of amelioration recognized as the Civilizing Mission or the White Man’s burden.”³³

Feminist research on nineteenth-century women’s cultural production has employed postcolonial theory to re-examine women’s travel representations.³⁴ However, while they have acknowledged postcolonial contributions to the study of racial difference, feminist scholars have also challenged its failure to address gender differences. At the same time, the tendency of early feminist studies of nineteenth-century women travellers to present their subject as proto-feminist heroines, has been questioned.³⁵ Such selective readings of women’s production, where the socio-political and historical aspects of the colonial context were generally disregarded, led to essentialist discussions: women travellers,

³² Ibid, 76.

³³ Ibid, 83.

³⁴ In addition to the works by Sara Mills and Reina Lewis which will be used as the major theoretical texts in my thesis, some of the other relevant works included in my discussion are: Maria Frawley, *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England*, (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1994); Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: the Power of the Female Gaze*, (Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Cheryl McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire: Victorian Women Travellers in West Africa*, (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2000); Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

³⁵ Mills, 4.

represented as good feminists who empathized with the colonized, were pitted against bad male colonizers who dominated colonized peoples and territories. Later studies reveal a more complex dynamic in women traveller's cultural production.

Sara Mills is among the most important representatives of this more recent scholarship. She claims that the various discursive pressures on women in the colonies constrained them to conform to feminine conventions of passiveness and obedience; however, they employed voices inflected by the power they possessed in relation to racial Others. Because, as women, they could not incorporate straightforward colonial voices of power in their texts, the differences in their texts appeared to be due to gender. Mills argues that the tensions and ambivalence in their texts led to a reading of their accounts as tentative and weak.

Mills contends that women's representations shared some similarities with those produced by men; however, she insists that they were read, judged and categorized differently. The reception of their texts by the British public at home affected how they constructed their works. Most women drew on strategies that would allow their work to be perceived as complying with feminine conventions. Mills writes that women: "because of their socialization as sexualized objects of a male gaze, [were] generally more aware of the way the narrator appears to others, of themselves as objects."³⁶ To avoid criticism of their writing as anomalous or aberrant, they usually avoided presenting female narrators in strong or masculine positions, excluded certain types of information, or infused humor and self-deprecation to present themselves as conforming with feminine codes. While women could represent various aspects of the colonies without

³⁶ Ibid, 98.

contravening propriety, they were expected to focus on feminine topics restricted to the domestic realm of family and home. In this context, the one colonial discourse that women could use without transgressing feminine conventions was that of the civilizing mission, where feminine discourses of caretaking linked to maternal roles converged with social and moral colonial discourses. The civilizing mission, one of the major strategies of British colonial administrations, was invoked in attempts to maintain a dominant position in the colonies. Through their engagement in philanthropic activities, women were afforded legitimate positions of authority while they fulfilled their “duty to British empire and imperialism” ensuring the diffusion of British moral and religious values in reforming colonized peoples.³⁷ It was often through such activities that women were viewed as empathetic in their personal contact with indigenous others. Personal encounters also invested their work with a degree of authority.

Mills argues that women’s writing differs from the work of male travel writers in “the stress they lay on personal involvement and relationships with people of other cultures and in the less authoritarian stance they take vis-à-vis narrative voice.”³⁸ Women generally represented indigenous peoples as individuals rather than using abstract generalizations that homogenized a people. While she suggests that women’s more personal productions might imply an empathetic relationship with colonized peoples, she also affirms that their representations invariably bear traces of colonial discourses which involved distancing based on racial difference.

³⁷ McEwan, 29.

³⁸ Mills, 21.

Feminist cultural theorist Reina Lewis focuses her research of women's cultural productions and representations of racial difference in the male-dominated realm of Orientalism.³⁹ She centers her discussion on the formation of diverse and complex subject positions available to women in the context of imperialism, emphasizing the need to consider gender and race differences as "variously and variably constitutive of each other" and also contingent on nation, class and religion.⁴⁰ Drawing on Homi Bhabha's notion of the "splits and ambivalences of the subjects" within imperial discourse, she maintains that women occupied multiple and contradictory roles. She also brings the notions of fantasy and power into her discussion of colonial subject positionalities writing that "fantasy traces are not simply wish fulfillment but reveal the fragmentary nature of the psychological realities engendered by the contradictions of imperial discourse."⁴¹

Like Homi Bhabha, Sara Mills and Reina Lewis insist on the heterogeneity of the representations produced in colonial and imperial contexts. Mills and Lewis also propose that the conflictual and ambivalent positions women occupied in the colonies led to the the production of representations that revealed gaps and instabilities in what had been perceived as the absolute authority and hegemony of colonial discourses. Mills contends that the tensions stemming from the conflicting discourses that played out in women's texts may potentially "act as a critique of some of the components of other colonial writings."⁴² Lewis suggests that some women's work simultaneously "retains a sense of

³⁹ Lewis, 183.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 2.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 40.

⁴² *Ibid*, 63.

difference, challenges Western assumptions of absolute difference that is also a challenge to the West's assumption of absolute authority."⁴³

Although the images from the Lady Falkland Album do not necessarily challenge the colonial positions of British power, they do contain contradictions and ambiguities. In my investigation of the visual representations in the Album, I will attempt to demonstrate that the ambiguity surrounding the representation of indigenous peoples stems from the complex subject positions women occupied in the colonies. The different theories outlining conventions deployed in travel representations and the various discursive situations in colonial setting will be productive in my examination of Lady Falkland's Album.

⁴³ Ibid, 139.

CHAPTER TWO

Lady Falkland - Amateur Artist and Travel Writer

Lady Falkland, as the wife of a British nobleman and highly placed colonial administrator, held a visible public position in the colonies. While her travel journal and album demonstrate signs of a concern to present herself as conforming to feminine propriety, her representations were also complicit in the colonial discourses pervasive to life in the colonies. In this chapter, I will briefly examine Lady Falkland's published travel journal in an attempt to understand the authorial identity she constructed for herself and the subject positions she occupied while in the colonies. Acknowledging the particularities of the dynamics in the different colonial territories "where a specific range of colonialist discourses was dependent on the type and length of the colonial relation,"⁴⁴ I will examine her written journal covering India and the Middle East in an attempt to understand rhetorical devices which she may also have deployed in altered form in the visual representations in her album. In the second part of the chapter, I will explore the overall construction of the album to map out the interrelationships among the various images which potentially provide insights into her subject position.

A short biographical sketch of Lady Falkland provides the historical context of her place in British society and the colonies. Lady Falkland (née Amelia Fitzclarence) was born on March 21, 1807, the last of ten illegitimate children born to the Duke of Clarence (1765-1837), son of King George III, and Dorothy Jordan (1761-1816), a well-known

⁴⁴ Mills, 88.

theatre actress.⁴⁵ Amelia Fitzclarence grew up in a highly unconventional environment; her mother continued to perform during her last daughter's infancy to ensure the family's financial security.⁴⁶ Despite her father's connection to royalty, he was known for overspending his allowance on the family home he and Dorothy Jordan constructed at Bushy.⁴⁷ In private the children were supported by strong family bonds; however, they were often the object of public derision. This would change somewhat when their parents separated in 1811; Amelia Fitzclarence was only four. Initially they lived with their mother in London, but in her fear that the Duke would eventually forget them, she allowed them to return to Bushy House.⁴⁸ In 1816 Dorothy Jordan died alone and impoverished in France; shortly afterwards, the Duke married German Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen in 1818.

Throughout this period, the education of Amelia Fitzclarence and her siblings was ensured by a governess and private tutors.⁴⁹ There are few specific details about this education, however, her father made sure that his "daughters were well drilled in religious precepts."⁵⁰ Art training is not specifically documented, but it appears that Amelia cultivated an image of herself as an amateur artist. In a portrait of the

⁴⁵ Claire Tomalin, *Mrs. Jordan's Profession: the Actress and the Prince*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 173. Among the various works written about Dorothy Jordan, I have drawn principally on Tomalin's work for biographical information about Lady Falkland.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 20. Tomalin frequently mentions the difficult financial situation of the Duke of Clarence. Tomalin writes: "She realized that it was necessary for her to earn more money; and when Mely (Amelia) was six months old she persuaded the Duke to let her return to Drury Lane."

⁴⁷ Ibid, 156. Bushy House was a part of the Hampton Palace estates.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 259. Dorothy Jordan bought a house in Cadogan Place in London where she lived with her children for a short period of time.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 246. Dorothy Jordan asked to keep the governess Miss Sketchley and the same teachers for the children when she left Bushy House.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 287.

Fitzclarence Children at Bushy (Figure 1) by Sir George Hayter (1792-1871), she is shown holding a colour palette.⁵¹

While the anomalous position of the Fitzclarence children was partially stabilized by their father's marriage, their status among the royal family nevertheless remained ambivalent. The Duke of Clarence attempted to ensure the financial security of his daughters through marriage. In 1830, the same year he acceded to the throne as King William IV, Amelia Fitzclarence married Viscount Lucius Cary Falkland which guaranteed her a secure social position.⁵² The Falklands had one son named Lucius Cary who was born on November 24, 1831. Falkland held numerous political posts including Lord of the King's Bedchamber to King William IV.⁵³ Through her husband, Lady Falkland gained a legitimate place in British society, privy to social and political power.⁵⁴ When King William died in 1837, Lady Falkland's cousin, Queen Victoria, succeeded to the throne. Although King William's children were not immediately affected by this change, the Queen Dowager Adelaide feared that their allowances would be cut and that

⁵¹ Ibid. Illustration between pages 294 and 295.

⁵² Mary Hopkirk, *Queen Adelaide*, (London: J. Murray, 1946), 77. Apparently Amelia hoped to marry Horace Seymour, a widower with children, but when the head of the Seymour family refused to give him a donation, a "tearful Amelia was made to return all her love-letters."

⁵³ Peter Burroughs, "Cary, Lucius Bentinck, 10th Viscount Falkland," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), Vol. XI, 155-6. Viscount Falkland was the son of an acquaintance of King William. He launched his political career in 1830 by publishing a pamphlet advocating parliamentary reform. In 1831 he sat in the House of Lords as a representative peer for Scotland and was created GCH. In 1832 he was named Baron Hunsdon of Scutterskelfe, Yorkshire in the peerage of the United Kingdom. By 1837, he was chief government whip in the House of Lords and in that year was made a privy councilor. On Victoria's accession in 1837 he served first as Lord-in-Waiting and after 1838 as Lord of the Bedchamber.

⁵⁴ W. Gore Allen, *King William IV*, (London: The Cresset Press, 1960), 100. During a dinner party King William and Queen Adelaide gave at St. James Palace, an important dispatch concerning the Reform Acts was presented for King William's signature. "William sat down at a small table, had his boxes brought to him, and asked his daughter Amelia, for pen and ink." Also, in a series of social announcements that appeared in the *London Times* between 1830 and 1838, Lady Falkland's presence at royal functions is noted.

they would lose their positions in the court.⁵⁵ This would not have been surprising as the Fitzclarences children had always been distanced from Victoria by her mother who refused to allow her daughter to socialize with them.⁵⁶ An entry in Queen Victoria's journal on January 24, 1838, suggests that Lady Falkland's position was in question: "I observed to Lord Melbourne that it must be a great trial for poor Lady Falkland dining here...and it must have been a sad trial for her to see me for the 1st time in the place of her poor father, but she behaved uncommonly well; she is a very nice person.... [I] spoke with Lord Melbourne about Lady Falkland."⁵⁷ Her discussion with Lord Melbourne undoubtedly related, in part, to the issue of Lady and Lord Falkland's status. Although Lord Falkland retained his position in the court circle for a number of years, in February 1840, the same month Queen Victoria married Prince Albert, his position as Lord in Waiting terminated.⁵⁸ Although it is only conjecture, it is possible that Lord Falkland's unexpected appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia a few months later was a means of distancing the couple from the royal family and the court.⁵⁹ Lady Falkland accompanied her husband to Nova Scotia in the autumn of 1840 where he held the position of Lieutenant-Governor until 1846. On their return, they remained in England for

⁵⁵ Hopkirk, 172-173.

⁵⁶ Tomalin, 311. A number of biographical works about the royal family mention that Queen Victoria's mother would not allow her daughter to socialize with the Fitzclarences. Tomalin writes: "In 1832 a book called *The Great Illegitimates* offered the public a spicy account of their origins. Princess Victoria's mother established a firm line early in their father's reign: 'I never did, neither will I now associate Victoria in any way with the illegitimate members of the Royal family. With the King they die; did I not keep this line how would it be possible to teach Victoria the difference between Vice and Virtue?'"

⁵⁷ *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria: a Selection from her Majesty's Diaries Between the Years 1832 and 1840*, (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), Vol. 1, 262.

⁵⁸ C. Cook and B. Keith, *British Historical Facts, 1830-1900*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1975), 7.

⁵⁹ Burroughs, 155. He writes that Lord Falkland was appointed "somewhat unexpectedly."

two years before Lord Falkland was assigned the position of Governor of Bombay where Lady Falkland lived with her husband until 1856. Before returning to Britain, they travelled through the Middle East. Lady Falkland wrote an account of this voyage which was published in 1857. She died a year later in July 1858 in Westminster at the age of 51 and was buried in Scatterskelfe in Yorkshire.

Travel writing, according to Maria Frawley “provides a record nowhere else available of Victorian women’s efforts to construct and reconstruct their identities.”⁶⁰ Lady Falkland published her journal in 1857, three years after her return from the Orient.⁶¹ While I have found no records of published reviews, Dennis Kincaid, the author of *British Social Life in India: 1608-1937* (1938) indicated that he drew on Lady Falkland’s book for her feminine description of social life in India.⁶² Lady Falkland’s journal is also discussed in Indira Ghose’s publication *Women Travellers in Colonial India: the Power of the Female Gaze*.⁶³ Lady Falkland’s journal is a fragmentary text. She deployed the widely used device of narrative digression which was considered by numerous writers to lend authenticity to texts often derived from diaries and journals kept during a voyage. As Sara Mills suggests, most travel writing did not include the “straightforward transcriptions of the lives of the women travellers” they were assumed

⁶⁰ Maria Frawley, 205.

⁶¹ *The Times* (London), July 18, 1857, 11. The first advertisement for her book appeared on this date; subsequent advertisements were regularly included in *The Times* until December 1857.

⁶² *Ibid*, September 27, 1938, 7.

⁶³ Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: the Power of the Female Gaze*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

to be, but subsequent reconstructions of their voyages.⁶⁴ Like other women travel writers, Lady Falkland constructed her text around an authorial identity that complied with feminine conventions to avoid criticism of her account as exaggerated or anomalous. Thus, in the explanation for the unusual title of her publication, *Chow-chow*, she wrote: “literally means a mixture... a mass of mingled objects, good, bad, and indifferent, something like the subjects of this book, the two latter probably predominating.”⁶⁵ Employing a widely-used strategy incorporating a “self-effacing pose unnecessarily belittling [her] aims,” she here disarms the risk of such criticisms in advance.⁶⁶

Throughout her journal, Lady Falkland appears to circumscribe her position within codes of feminine propriety, for the most part distancing herself from the hierarchical power structures inherent to colonial relations. “In the spring of 1848 Lord Falkland was appointed governor of Bombay and it became my duty to hold a kind of drawing room, to receive the ladies.”⁶⁷ Here Lady Falkland defers to her husband, as convention dictated, simultaneously drawing attention to her official, albeit feminine position as wife of the governor of Bombay which invested her with a degree of power and implicated her in the colonial project. Her choice of the term “duty” not only points to the notion of moral obligation integral to her role as a wife but also underlines a concept that suffused British mores. Yet, within the first paragraph, she also reveals a certain ambivalence about her sense of duty and feminine conventions of passivity. She

⁶⁴ Mills, 36.

⁶⁵ Falkland, Vol. 2, 15.

⁶⁶ M. Russell, *The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt: Women Travellers and their World*, (London: Collins, 1986), 213; cited in Mills, 83.

⁶⁷ Falkland, Vol. 1, 1.

presents an image of a willful and independent self, criticizing the timing of the event: “I obeyed orders but made up my mind that it should, if possible, be my first and last morning reception.” Her tentative resistance did not stem from a feminist refusal to adhere to patriarchal dictates. Rather she explained: “ladies look much better by candlelight,” thus circumscribing her opposition within concerns of physical appearance, and so marking her feminine position.⁶⁸ Such concern about appearance was a strategy deployed by numerous women travel writers to ensure the propriety of their texts.⁶⁹ Lady Falkland’s concern for appearances and her vigilance about protocol is also suggested in the way she makes reference to her husband. Shifting between the personal ‘we’ in descriptions of informal events, she used the impersonal third person – governor or Lord F. – when discussing her husband in his official role. In accounts of her official role in events, which are generally provided in great detail, Lady Falkland almost invariably insisted on her secondary place. On the one occasion Lady Falkland did occupy a significant position of power, she chose to disavow her role by excluding an account of the ceremonies. Just prior to leaving India, Lady Falkland was required to substitute for her husband and preside over the highly visible ceremonies that marked the inauguration of the first train in India.⁷⁰ Rather than describing her role in this auspicious event as she did for other less important events, she excluded such details from her published account. Instead she made a straightforward statement about the superiority of the British: “A

⁶⁸ Ibid, Vol. 1, 2.

⁶⁹ Mills, 39.

⁷⁰ V. Gandaghar, “A Historic 150 Years’ Track Record,” *The Tribune*, (Saturday April 20, 2002), <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2002/20020402/windows/main1.htm> Accessed June 4, 2005. “It is still a mystery why the Governor of Bombay Presidency, Lord Falkland, was not present at the inaugural Boree Bunder on Saturday 16, 1853 at 3:35 p.m. It was a historic event, being the first ever passenger train service in the subcontinent. The First Lady, Lady Falkland, presided over the ceremony.”

railway station and a Hindoo temple in juxtaposition – the work of the rulers and the ruled. Could one possibly imagine buildings more opposite in their purposes, or more indicative of the character of the races? The last triumphs of science side by side with the superstitions of thousands of years ago.”⁷¹ While Lady Falkland’s momentary position of power may have provided a space to make such an unequivocal colonizing statement, the exclusion of a description of her visible role in this event is noteworthy. It suggests the conflict she necessarily experienced as a Victorian woman occupying a position of political power. It may also suggest that in her wifely duties she chose to save face for her husband.⁷² Such slippages, inevitable in the transition between conflicting discourses of patriarchal dominance and feminine acquiescence, expose the uncertain terms of women’s complicity in the colonial project.

Lady Falkland, like many women in the colonies, was also complicit in colonial power through participation in the British civilizing mission, a major project deployed to control indigenous populations. Colonial women’s role in philanthropic activities that were inextricably linked to official projects allowed women to hold powerful roles which would not be perceived as contravening feminine conventions. They engaged in religious and educational activities, at the same time that they furthered the diffusion of British moral imperatives considered superior to the customs of indigenous peoples. While Lady Falkland’s involvement in philanthropic activities appears to have included little more than a symbolic presence in public ceremonies at schools, hospitals, and other British

⁷¹ Falkland, Vol. 2, 47.

⁷² *The Times* (London), April 28, 1853, 5. An article on “Lord Falkland’s so-called tour of the Mahlab Hills next week when the railway was to open in one week” suggests that the political controversy related to his removal of a political representative without a trial meant his position was highly unpopular.

institutions, she did present herself as strongly religious. In her book, she frequently mentions her adherence to the official Church of England. A devout Anglican, Lady Falkland was openly critical of the Catholic Church, occasionally conflating Catholicism with Hinduism and Islam which she considered heathen and rife with superstition. In one instance she wrote: “The conversion of natives by the priests of the Roman Catholic persuasion has certainly been, as far as numbers go, to all appearance more successful than the conversions by those of our church; but I fear it is rarely a thorough conversion. The converts retain many of their idolatrous practices and caste customs.”⁷³ At the same time she was categorically critical of Catholicism, her position concerning non-Christian religious practices appears somewhat ambivalent. Among her lengthy discussions of the history and practices of the various religions of India, there is occasional evidence of a split in her opinion. In the description of local nature worship she writes: “however much we might deplore its being regarded with superstitious idolatry, no one can fault with the native for prizing a tree to which he is indebted for so many comforts and necessities.”⁷⁴ Such contradictions suggest a degree of ambivalence concerning the absolute moral superiority of the British and the inimical difference of indigenous peoples.

Lady Falkland’s hesitations about her own subject position are mitigated in other parts of her text through the extensive use of citation from earlier travel texts written by men including numerous scholarly works.⁷⁵ This convention, integral to travel writing,

⁷³ Falkland, Vol. 1, 101.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 98.

⁷⁵ Among the various works Lady Falkland referred to in her journal, there are historical and scholarly works such as: Mr. Colebrook, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 7; W. Ward, *A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos: Including a Minute Description of the Manners and Customs, and Translations from their Principal Works*, (Serampore: Printed at the Mission Press, 1815). Lady Falkland makes a

served not only to displace her voice from colonial statements and power but also invested her journal with the authority of scientific discourses derived from an education she did not have access to as a woman. In her discussion of an Indian god who was claimed to be alive, she drew on scholarly evidence to give authority to the story: “More [sic], who wrote an interesting paper in *Asiatic Researches* about this living god.” She further reinforced the authenticity of this unusual phenomena with a masculine voice that provided an eye-witness description: “A gentleman gave me the following account of his meeting with this extraordinary being.”⁷⁶ In addition to relying on the authority of early texts, Lady Falkland frequently employed the voices of male acquaintances in an apparent attempt to invest her texts with credibility simultaneously distancing herself from criticisms of feminine impropriety.

Among the various voices Lady Falkland incorporated in her journal, we also find traces of indigenous expression. In her desire to include a first hand account of the life of palanquin carriers, she writes: “a gentleman obtained for me some curious particulars, which he translated from the account given him by a working hamal.” She indicates: “This is the hamal’s account of his tribe and their profession ” and presents the statement in quotation marks.⁷⁷ The appropriation of an indigenous voice may be interpreted as a rhetorical device that would invest her text with authenticity. However, such an inclusion, especially when translated through the powerful patriarchal voice of a European male,

number of references to Major Edward Moor’s, *The Hindhu Pantheon*, (London: J. Johnson, 1810) as well as articles published in *Asiatic Researches*. She also included references to more popular travel texts including Georges Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, (London, 1811) and Fryer’s *Travels* (published in 1672) .

⁷⁶ Falkland, Vol. 1, 295.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 135.

becomes a contentious issue. The translated account would be partially inscribed with a Eurocentric perspective. Despite the questionable validity of such statements, Lady Falkland's inclusion of other voices appears to acknowledge some aspects of local knowledge. In a discussion about an unusual Indian disease she wrote: "European medical science is quite at fault in its treatment, and the most experienced of our medical men, when they discover the nature of the ailment, send at once for the nearest native barber." She explains that English scientific knowledge was limited in the understanding of the disease while the local people were able to "attribute its origin to the water; and in this Englishmen of science seem to concur."⁷⁸ In this seeming recognition of indigenous knowledge and the effectiveness of local practices, she does not categorically dismiss local knowledge, a recognition which Mary Pratt suggests, is more evident in women's writing.⁷⁹ In other passages she describes local usages as similar to those at home: "the processes [which] are quite identical with those used in mesmeric operations among ourselves."⁸⁰ Such statements suggest that the colonized were not always perceived by Lady Falkland as absolutely different.

Lady Falkland's text includes numerous descriptions of her encounters with different indigenous peoples; as the preceding example suggests, they are not without their complexities. While generally referring to indigenous people as "natives," she sometimes described groups, especially those not associated with a personal interaction, as wild-looking, savage, and "unpleasant specimens of humanity."⁸¹ On the other hand,

⁷⁸ Falkland, Vol. 1, 107.

⁷⁹ Pratt, 104.

⁸⁰ Falkland, Vol. 1, 288.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 7.

her more sympathetic descriptions of various exchanges with local people she met while walking or sketching marked her text as feminine, drawing on a knowledge that “derived not from education but from experience.”⁸² As Mills writes, women’s texts “demand a recognition of the importance of interaction with members of other nations, not as representatives of the race, as in male-authored accounts, but as individuals.”⁸³ Lady Falkland described an exchange with a peasant family and their child: “I put the neck ribbon around its little throat, which delighted both father and mother; and the former took my hand and put it to the child’s mouth, who kissed it.”⁸⁴ The relative intimacy of this exchange is surprising given the fact that these people were not only strangers but greatly removed by class differences. In other encounters, especially those involving people who held a high social position, she was attentive to detail of rank and class. Although she sometimes suggested a proximity based on similar class positions, she inevitably inserted a distancing remark: “a story was told me which curiously illustrates the superstitions of even the upper classes of natives.”⁸⁵ In one unusual anecdote she described her attempts to sketch a woman in India who “fell into a fit of laughter” while watching Lady Falkland draw. She wrote “it was hopeless, so I went on my way, and no doubt she thought me as extraordinary as I did her.”⁸⁶ The returned and apparently mocking gaze suggests a form of indigenous resistance which reveals instabilities in the

⁸² Frawley, 25.

⁸³ Mills, 99.

⁸⁴ Falkland, Vol. 2, 255.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 41.

⁸⁶ Ibid, Vol. 2, 3.

colonial power structure. In her study of British women writers in India, Ghose suggests that such a returned gaze at times “indirectly articulates the implication of the traveller in colonial structures of power as well as the intersection of knowledge-production with relations of power.”⁸⁷

At the same time, there were signs of feminine knowledge and proximity despite the distance generally ascribed through strategies of aestheticization. To an almost excessive degree she prefaced descriptions with the terms ‘curious’ and ‘picturesque.’ The picturesque emerged as a literary and pictorial trope during the late eighteenth century becoming the predominant aesthetic of nineteenth-century British landscape art.⁸⁸ It evolved in the nineteenth century to encompass textual and visual representations of the rural poor, gypsies, and other socially marginalized groups. Highly codified, the picturesque defined beauty in roughness, contrast and irregularity. It was originally associated with tourism within England but was also used in travel representations in the colonies.⁸⁹ Considered an aesthetic of the privileged, Lady Falkland alluded to her racial and cultural superiority in her journal when she writes: “the natives very rarely have an eye for the picturesque.”⁹⁰ Indira Ghose argues that the picturesque, one of the few avenues open to women travel writers, worked to distance and “to detach the traveller from the scene and to contain the threat posed by the other by arranging it into an

⁸⁷ Ghose, 154.

⁸⁸ Ann Bermingham, “The Picturesque Decade,” *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 63-73. Bermingham links the aesthetic of the picturesque to the political, social and economic realities of the enclosure movement in the English countryside which had a dramatic impact on the rural poor.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* The picturesque was first theorized by William Gilpin in 1790 who insisted on a distinct aesthetic of the picturesque which focused on landscapes. Uvedale Price later wrote a work which discussed not only landscapes but also the presence of cottages, the rural poor and gypsies.

⁹⁰ Ghose, 48.

aesthetic framework.”⁹¹ While Lady Falkland obsessively framed her descriptions within the strict conventions of the picturesque, the rare proximate view she did present exposed a colonialist gaze of derision. In describing a visit to an Indian camp she wrote: “From a distance the scene was imposing; on nearer inspection it was little else but a gigantic gipsy camp – not however the less picturesque for that.” On even closer view, however, the picturesque dissolved. She described a personal visit with the widow of a Raj, who had officially met with Governor Falkland the previous day. She highlighted the fact that during her later visit she was afforded the privilege of seeing them unveiled: “This time I could see the ladies, although the tent was dark. One was more ugly than another, they had small black, lifeless eyes, flattish noses, and large mouths.”⁹² Her disparaging comments about the women and her remarks concerning the squalid surroundings in such a proximate view signaled a “rupture with the aesthetic distance and stasis of the picturesque” and the opportunity for critical moralizing.⁹³ Interspersed throughout her text, Lady Falkland’s proximate views disturbed the aesthetic of picturesque distance, revealing the contradictory positions she occupied.

Along with the picturesque, Lady Falkland frequently invoked the aesthetic of curiosity: “I was never tired of observing the curious customs of the people. Every day there was something new to excite one’s curiosity, and to make one enquire the *why and the wherefore*.”⁹⁴ Although initially associated with scientific knowledge in eighteenth-

⁹¹ Ibid, 47.

⁹² Falkland, Vol. 1, 177.

⁹³ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 210.

⁹⁴ Falkland, Vol. 1, 196.

century travel writing, curiosity, deployed with almost mechanical regularity in the nineteenth century, was “linked to fleeting superficial accounts of foreign lands and peoples.”⁹⁵ The aesthetic of curiosity was closely linked to the idea of novelty, singularity, and wonder. A sense of wonder was also associated with the sublime but differed slightly, for the sublime could be associated with familiar objects while wonder depended on novelty.⁹⁶ According to Lewis, few women incorporated the sublime in their texts, for “the loss of identity involved in a passionate experience of the sublime threatened the boundaries of the proper femininity essential for their reputation.”⁹⁷ In a few anecdotes interspersed throughout Lady Falkland’s account, there is a sense of the fantastical and of wonder. During one visit to the private chambers of an Indian woman of nobility, she wrote: “I began to think we were in an enchanted palace” and “we seemed to fly through more places of mystery.”⁹⁸ Lady Falkland’s inclusion of such passages might be read as rhetorical strategies used to instill a sense of the fantastic and exotic, which was integral to much early travel writing. Although such passages were included only rarely in Lady Falkland’s account, they worked to sustain a degree of fantasy concerning indigenous peoples, periodically unsettling her text which is generally based on facts and observations.

Through the various contradictions evident in her text, we discover the diverse positions Lady Falkland occupied in making the colonies visible. Seeing is an important part of her highly visual text. However, she suggests that it is not without its

⁹⁵ Leask, 5.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 23.

⁹⁷ Lewis, 179.

⁹⁸ Falkland, Vol. 1, 41.

complications. There is a nagging dissatisfaction implied in her frequent claims that “she can’t see enough” or the realization that “it is not always easy to appreciate the significance and value of what is constantly before our eyes.”⁹⁹

In one passage she foregrounds the complexities revolving around gender and seeing, writing as follows about her visit in the home of a woman in the Middle East: “While we were talking and wondering at each other...I examined (woman-like) her dress, which was becoming as well as pretty.”¹⁰⁰ Her bracketing of the term (woman-like) inscribes a tension in the text. While we can only conjecture about her reasons for drawing attention to this issue, this statement clearly indicates that gender difference was a determining factor in women’s ways of seeing and consequently representation in the nineteenth century. It also underlines, as Sara Mills suggests, that “because of the socialization as object of male gaze many [women] were concerned with the way the narrator appears to others, of themselves as objects.”¹⁰¹ The tension implied in this statement alludes to the discursive pressures Lady Falkland, like other women travellers, were required to negotiate. In constructing her authorial identity she presented herself as the dutiful wife playing an official and public role in the British colonial project within the confines of feminine conventions; however, we also discover ambivalence in her position which shifted between categorical power and feminine compliance.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 249.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, Vol. 2, 94.

¹⁰¹ Mills, 98.

Like her written journal, Lady Falkland's Album initially appears to be a fragmented collection of images revolving around themes of travel as well as home. If Anne Higonnet's analysis of women's amateur albums holds true for Lady Falkland, then the albums' drawings, paintings and watercolours – those produced by both herself as well as those made by different professional and amateur artists - would be carefully selected to present "images that seemed pertinent to the social self."¹⁰² Higonnet suggests that images were selected to "represent the way in which women understood themselves and their femininity."¹⁰³ At the same time that women's albums were intended for private viewing, which implied the personal, they generally avoided the solitary and intimate, concentrating instead on public perspectives.¹⁰⁴ The images in Lady Falkland's Album adhere for the most part to this convention, and the strategies used by Lady Falkland herself to circumscribe her identity within discursive frameworks of femininity appear to resemble those used in her textual journal. Through this preliminary exploration of the overarching themes in the album, I will examine Lady Falkland's pictorial articulation of the complex subject position she held in relation to travel.

The Lady Falkland Album includes 107 images (54 watercolours, 51 drawings, and 2 paintings) that appear to have been assembled by Lady Falkland herself. It is organized neither chronologically nor geographically, and so gives the impression of fragmentation.¹⁰⁵ Ninety-five images were originally mounted on the seventy-five folios

¹⁰² Anne Higonnet, "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Radical History Review*, Vol. 38 (1987), 16.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁰⁵ Library and Archives Canada, Record 1990-207, Lady Falkland Collection. Reference Numbers 118-080046-X ; 0330-D002-004; 0330-A076-001.

of plain white paper in the album, while approximately twelve works were never affixed but only inserted between now-unidentified folios. When the album was classified in 1990, seventy-five images were still mounted in the album and thirty-two were recorded as loosely inserted between folios.¹⁰⁶ Among all the images found in the album, there is no clear geographical designation for seventeen of the works. Thirty-three images, including seven landscapes, nine portraits, eleven genre scenes, and six copy works, can be clearly associated with Britain; these are all affixed in the album. Among the eleven representations of continental European scenes, five were placed loosely in the album. Approximately thirteen images represent India and the Middle East; all but one were originally mounted in the album. Thirty-three images from Nova Scotia are included; twenty-four were initially mounted on folios, and nine were loose. Some of these images may have been removed from two other albums that included depictions of Nova Scotia and that were known to be assembled by Lady Falkland.¹⁰⁷ Of the twenty-four images of Nova Scotia originally affixed in the album only five remain; six that were originally mounted have since been cut out of the album, and another nine are now loose.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Jim Burant, "More than a File Cabinet: Scrapbooks as Personal Expression," SAA Annual Conference 1995, Washington, D.C. Saturday, September 2, 1995. Unpublished paper. Burant mentions that although the Lady Falkland Album had been in the Library and Archives Canada Documentary Collection since 1929, each image was examined and classified in 1990.

¹⁰⁷ *The Times* (London), Saturday April 10, 1926. It is possible that some of the loose images of Nova Scotia were removed from two other albums which included "sketches and drawings of various towns in Canada by members of Judge Haliburton's family and Lady Falkland when residing at Governors House, Halifax." These albums were sold in London as part of the Falkland estate in 1926. The entry indicates that Messrs. Puttick and Simpson's sale of books included two quarto albums comprising upwards of 140 pencil sketches and drawings. The lot was sold to Messrs. Quaritch at 74 pounds.

¹⁰⁸ E-mail message from Jennifer Devine of Library and Archives Canada, (April 8, 2005), "A loan was made to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. It is possible that the Archives cut out folios for the exhibition." The five works which were cut from the album all depict Nova Scotia scenes which suggests that they may have been removed for the exhibition "*Getting There – Two Centuries of Travel in Nova Scotia*" in 1982. Lady Falkland's Album was also included in the Bicentenary Exhibition for Nova Scotia

A degree of ambiguity is suggested in the dynamic between the unattached and fixed images. According to Higonnet, images included in women's albums were "highly selective and coherent. Each individual picture would work toward the meaning of the album as a whole."¹⁰⁹ While some of the loosely inserted images were possibly being considered for a place in the album, it is equally conceivable that they had been excluded after deliberation about their potential fit. That we can only speculate about the place these images originally held in the album complicates the analysis of the relationships between the images and the narrative constructed by Lady Falkland, for as Higonnet suggests, album images were grouped into structural units where the meaning of an image "emerges only in relationship to other images."¹¹⁰ (See Appendices for a complete list of works in the album and a graphical representation of the types of images.)

Although it is not possible to analyze the relationships between all the works, there is a small selection of strategically placed images that identify Lady Falkland as the album's author at the same time that they allude to her social position. In the sketch of *Lady Amelia Falkland* (Figure 2) by John Hayter, one of King William's court painters, we find a portrait of Lady Falkland, potentially layered with meaning. The inclusion of a drawing produced by a court painter linked her to the most powerful institution in England. The inscription on the drawing – *Hayter, Pavilion, 1830* – indicates that the work was probably produced near the time when the Falklands were married at Brighton

in 1949 - *200 Years of Art in Halifax: an Exhibition Prepared in Honour of the Bicentenary of the Founding of the City of Halifax, N.S. 1749-1949*. Exhibited in the Queen Elizabeth High School, Halifax, N.S. from July 18 to August 20, 1949. The heading of the entry is entitled Amelia, Lady Falkland, Lady Falkland's Scrap Book containing water-colour drawings collected by her 1840-1846. Although there are no written records, it is possible that some images were removed at this time as well.

¹⁰⁹ Higonnet, 171.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 33.

Pavilion in December 1830, only months after the bride's father had acceded to the throne.¹¹¹ The site of the royal sea resort at Brighton would reinforce her connection to the court at the same time as it made reference to her marriage which served to annul her anomalous status as an illegitimate. Her status among the British aristocracy was confirmed.

The place of this image among the last pages of the album rather than in the first pages is puzzling; however, the inclusion on the opening page of a drawing by her husband of *Two Groups of Men in the Middle East* (Figure 3) is not. As in her written journal, Lady Falkland appears to register deference to her husband. In placing one of his works on the opening page of the album, she not only presented herself as complying with feminine conventions, but also pointed to the important theme of colonial travel. Produced in 1837, the year of her father's death, it might be read as a reference to Falkland's new colonial assignments although he only travelled as a tourist in this region and never held a political appointment there. We do not know whether this drawing was produced from life or was copied. Along with an almost identical repetition of subject matter in a second drawing *Two Middle Eastern Figure Groups, and a Foot* (Figure 4), they are the sole works by Lord Falkland included in the album.¹¹² The repetition seems surprising when we consider that other works have been excluded. Both drawings resemble ethnographic studies depicting groups of men in picturesque costume; in her written journal Lady Falkland frequently alluded to the picturesque dress of indigenous

¹¹¹ Neil R. Bingham, "Brighton," *The Dictionary of Art*, (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1996), Vol. 4, 808-810. In 1785 George, the Prince of Wales commissioned Henry Holland to design the Royal Pavilion. His brother King William continued to use the building during his reign.

¹¹² I have not found any records of Lord Falkland or Lady Falkland traveling to the Middle East at this time.

people. The composition in both images splits the page into two different scenes representing an exchange among exclusively male groups. An unusual subject for a woman artist, Lady Falkland could represent a powerful colonial gaze by incorporating this work within the context of her album and not compromise her self-image as feminine.

As in her journal, Lady Falkland brought diverse voices into play in her album, here by including the drawings and watercolours of other artists. The incorporation of a number of landscapes, genre scenes and portraits by professional and court artists would underline her social position, confirm her connection to the court, and invest the album with a degree of authority. They may also have signified shared experiences with the artists, for most images incorporated in women's albums were considered to have affective meaning.¹¹³ Among the various works, there are four drawings by William Burgess (active 1809-1844) who was court landscape painter for King William IV.¹¹⁴ Given his connection with her father, it is probable that Lady Falkland was in personal contact with Burgess, whose picturesque approach may have influenced her own landscape works. While the inclusion of copy work is not unusual in amateur albums, Lady Falkland's selection of her copy work based on paintings by Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) seems unusual in the context of the other images in the album, but it does make sense as a reference to her art training. The inclusion of other works such as *Portrait of a Young Girl* by Henry Bryan Ziegler (1798-1874), one of Queen Adelaide's

¹¹³ Higonnet, 25.

¹¹⁴ The professional artists included: Henry William Burgess (active 1809-44) who was landscape artist to King William IV, John Hayter (1800-1895), Leech (early to mid-nineteenth century), Frederic Mercer (active early to mid nineteenth century), William Rintoul (1791-1826) and H. Ziegler (1798-1874).

art teachers, raised the possibility that Lady Falkland may have received art lessons from him as well. His drawing of a young woman was one of numerous female portraits including *Half-length Sketch of a Young Woman* (Figure 5) which were interspersed throughout the album. The insistent repetition of this feminine subject would emphasize the signs of femininity in the album. Among the images of female subjects, we find the *Portrait of a Woman* (Figure 6) by Nova Scotia artist Mary McKie. Although the identity has not been definitively established, I believe it may be Lady Falkland based on the resemblance to an earlier portrait of her (Figure 7).¹¹⁵ The inclusion of this image would probably signify friendship with McKie and memories of Nova Scotia. There is no indication of the identities of the sitters nor the producers of most of the nine other works representing women or young girls. Although these images may simply mark examples of art training, it is probable that they represent family or friends who may have sat for Lady Falkland and others.

Lady Falkland did, however, include a number of images that bear the inscriptions of the names of friends and family who had produced them, and these works almost invariably revolve around the idea of home. The domestic and home were major themes in discourses of “femininity [which] belonged to the home, in the home....home was a world to be invented and managed by women.”¹¹⁶ In addition to a number of repeated images of the same home whose author has not been identified, we find picturesque views of *A Country House* and *Country Village* by her sister Sophia Sidney de l’Isle

¹¹⁵ Tomalin, xi. There is an indication that the drawing of Augusta and Amelia dates from the mid-1820s; however, there is no reference to the artist.

¹¹⁶ Higonnet, 23.

(1792–1837)¹¹⁷ and *Norwood House* by her husband's brother Captain Cary Plantagenet Pierpont (1806-1886). These locales would inevitably be saturated with affective meaning. In the drawing *Chair in our sitting room at Bushy. Created by dear Pillow*, there is an indirect reference to Lady Falkland's childhood home and birthplace.¹¹⁸ Its position on the last page of the album, near Hayter's sketch of her, possibly marks her memories of childhood and identity prior to her marriage and role as the wife of Lord Falkland. The drawing *Rievaulx Abbey* which is placed on the second page of the album, just after Lord Falkland's drawing, alludes to her home after her marriage.¹¹⁹ Rievaulx Abbey, situated in Yorkshire, was the district of Lord Falkland's birthplace and the Falklands' British residence.¹²⁰ In a number of other works placed in the first part of the album the idea of home in the court with her father and Queen Adelaide is suggested.¹²¹ Together these images of home interspersed throughout the album may have contributed to "fill the gap of the loss" implied in leaving home.¹²² The images in Lady Falkland's Album cover a broad time span, ranging from her childhood to her sojourn in India and the Middle East almost forty years later. There is no chronological order to the

¹¹⁷ Sophia was the eldest Fitzclarence daughter and may have represented a mother figure for Lady Falkland.

¹¹⁸ Tomalin, 156.

¹¹⁹ Library and Archives Canada, Record 1990-207-2. This work is attributed to A.E. Santagnello (active mid 19th century) and is inscribed Prince Edward Island, 1828. I have found no other record of this artist.

¹²⁰ Burroughs, 156. Falkland was born in Scutterskelfe, Yorkshire and named Baron Hunsdon of Scutterskelfe, Yorkshire in 1832.

¹²¹ Among the works are: *Lady Thou Weepst for the Maniac's Woe*, drawn by Olivia de Roos, one of Queen Adelaide's ladies in waiting; *The Doges Palace in Venice*, was a gift from Queen Adelaide. *Three Commedia dell'Arte Playing Cards* by Sir James Hudson (1810-1885), assistant private secretary to the king, depicts three characters symbolizing the cities of Bologna, Venice and Naples.

¹²² Georges van den Abbeele, "Introduction. The Economy of Travel," *Travel as Metaphor: From Montaigne to Rousseau*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), xix.

arrangement. Rather the images of different places of travel are interspersed with those of home invoking a continuity between disparate places despite the discontinuity of time. Among the works representing Britain and the notion of home, the drawing *Two Women at Dover on a Windy Day, 1840* (Figure 8) by Lord Falkland's brother represented a "fixed point of reference that must be posited" in defining a voyage which requires a home "in relation to which any wandering can be comprehended."¹²³ Dover, as the British location for departures to Europe, probably marked the Falklands' return from a voyage to France in 1839 to 1840.¹²⁴

The images portraying her voyages to continental Europe signaled her participation in an important component of a privileged woman's cultural education, simultaneously pointing to widely held British attitudes about national differences of Europeans.¹²⁵ Although there is no evidence that she travelled to Italy, the pre-eminent destination of high culture, she did travel to France and Germany.¹²⁶ All the images of German landscapes and townscapes, which depicted picturesque views occasionally peopled with distant figures, were fixed in the album. Among the six representations of France only one work was incorporated in the album. The image highlights the costume of the *Middle Eastern or Mediterranean Peasant Group* (Figure 9), pointing to Lady Falkland's interest in picturesque costumes of indigenous peoples, which she frequently

¹²³ Ibid, xviii.

¹²⁴ Library and Archives Canada, Record 1990-207-36. The date inscribed on this image is May 4th 1840. Also inscribed: Easterly Breeze and A view at Dover/Captain Cary.

¹²⁵ Hopkirk, 70-72. In 1825 and again in 1826 Amelia Fitzclarence accompanied her father and Princess Adelaide to Germany.

¹²⁶ Frawley, 20.

described in her written journal.¹²⁷ The seemingly uncertain position of the loose images might be viewed in terms of Van Den Abbeele's discussion of Europe's internal Other that Northern Europeans constructed in their claims of superiority in relation to the decline of Southern countries such as Italy.¹²⁸ Reina Lewis also talks about the tendency among British travellers "to displace imperial relations onto European differences" and points to a British sense of moral superiority concerning the French.¹²⁹ Three representations of French peasants, including an *Aragonese Peasant* (Figure 10), contrast with the other European images that depicted distant figures in picturesque landscapes. That these images were never mounted in the album intimates an ambivalence about their place in the narrative constructed by Lady Falkland.

In the representations of her sojourns in the colonial territories of India and the Middle East, most of the images are framed in picturesque distance. The only image to provide a closer view of an indigenous group is *Eastern Family with Tent* (Figure 11), which might be considered in terms of curiosity. Surprisingly, there is a complete absence of the individual people Lady Falkland repeatedly mentioned sketching in her journal. Although figures were not completely excluded, most of the Indian and the Middle Eastern landscapes included obscured figures positioned in the distance. In these picturesque views, it was the costumes that signaled their subjects' racial difference.

Among these landscape images there are small but significant differences between those

¹²⁷ Library and Archives Canada, Record 1990-207-39. This image is classified as a Middle Eastern or Mediterranean peasant group and has been attributed to Lady Falkland. It appears to be a French peasant group based on the costumes, especially the headdresses of the women. Also, it appears highly unlikely that this was produced by Lady Falkland.

¹²⁸ Van den Abbeele, xxx.

¹²⁹ Lewis, 38.

of the Middle East, where the Falklands travelled as tourists, and India, where Lord Falkland was a colonial administrator. For example, a number of the images of the Middle East include picturesque ruins which clearly demarcate the sites as different from Britain, whereas in the Indian landscapes there are no signs of such differences; in fact, many could be mistaken for an English countryside. Lady Falkland did not include her own representations of British landscapes nor domestic spaces, but she did make allusion to her home in India. Moreover, she linked her English and Indian residences when living in their temporary residence in the *Path in the Mahabaleshwur Hills* (Figure 12), writing “Oh, it reminds one of ‘home!’”¹³⁰ And unlike most of the travel representations that appear almost randomly interspersed throughout the album, all of the images of India are clustered together centered around the image of *Norwood House*. The apparent linking of these different sites might be read as an “associative ligature of the Indian picturesque [which] point back home.”¹³¹ Such allusions to home would link her work with the feminine. At the same time they provide further evidence of the complex subject positions that Lady Falkland found herself occupying during her foreign travels.

Despite the differences in textual and visual conventions, the strategies used by Lady Falkland in presenting and making visible a feminine image of her public self resemble the conventions deployed in her textual journal. While drawing attention to her powerful class position, she was generally circumspect about linking herself to powerful masculine positions. The strategic negotiation of her role as wife of an administrator with

¹³⁰ Falkland, Vol. 1, 142.

¹³¹ Leask, 223.

its incumbent duties implicating her in the British civilizing mission were pervaded with colonial discursive structures. While she was generally able to balance the intersection of feminine propriety with that of the colonizers powerful status, the contradictions that seep into her representations point to the complex position she held not only at home but also in the colonies. This complexity will be further evidenced in the images of Nova Scotia in the Lady Falkland Album, images that will be the basis of analysis for the remainder of this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

Social Context of Mid-Nineteenth Century Nova Scotia

Of the thirty images representing Nova Scotia in Lady Falkland's album, eleven portray Mi'kmaq individuals while the others depict landscape and townscape views as well as a few genre scenes. In a striking contrast to the representations of colonial India and the Middle East where landscapes are peopled with distant figures, the combination of Mi'kmaq portraits and Nova Scotian views devoid of people, work together to allude to conventions where indigenous peoples are abstracted from the socio-economic context of the colonial territory and situated in a timeless and a-historical past displaced from participation in a historical continuity. In this chapter, I will briefly examine the Nova Scotia landscape, townscape and genre works in the album, using them as a point of departure for a discussion of Lord and Lady Falkland's roles in the colony as well as those of the settler and indigenous populations. In this context, I will also trace the history of relationships between colonizers and the indigenous population to demonstrate how the Mi'kmaq had been effectively displaced from their land and participation in the social, political and economic processes dominated by the white population. A brief overview of visual representations of the Mi'kmaq produced by other artists during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provides some context to the pictorial conventions deployed in portraying Nova Scotia's indigenous peoples. The aim of this chapter is to present a background to the various discourses circulating in the colony in the mid-nineteenth century, which will serve for my analysis of the Mi'kmaq portraits in Chapter Four.

In the mid-nineteenth-century, Nova Scotia, like other British North American colonies, included a well-established settler population and strong local government that demanded greater autonomy in relation to Britain and its colonial administration. In 1840 the issue of responsible government in Nova Scotia was particularly antagonistic. Joseph Howe (1804-1873), an outspoken proponent of reform veritably demanded the removal of Lord Falkland's predecessor, Lieutenant-Governor Colin Campbell.¹³² When Lord Falkland was appointed to replace him, it was probably, in part, for the reputation he had garnered in his role in Britain's move to establish the Reform Act.¹³³

When Lord Falkland's appointment was announced, he was identified by Nova Scotians as much through his marriage as through his own reputation. An article in the *NovaScotian*, edited by Howe, stated: "Of Viscount Falkland we know little, except that he is a Peer of Parliament – has been a Lord of the Bedchamber, and employed confidentially by the present Ministers. He is a thorough Whig – and is married to one of the Fitzclarences, a daughter of William IV and Mrs. Jordan, and sister of Lady Mary Fox, whose unostentatious character left a very good impression on our Halifax society some years ago."¹³⁴ Lady Falkland was connected to Nova Scotia through her father who had been stationed there while Duke of Clarence in 1786.¹³⁵ Further, Amelia's sister Mary had accompanied her husband, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Richard Fox, who was

¹³² J. Murray Beck, "Howe, Joseph," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), Vol. X, 362-70. Joseph Howe, a self-educated man of Loyalist origins, was noted for establishing the *NovaScotian* newspaper and also for his various literary and poetical writings. His life-long career as a strong defender of responsible government in Nova Scotia began in 1840.

¹³³ Burroughs, 155-56. Falkland launched his political career in 1830 by publishing a pamphlet on parliamentary reform.

¹³⁴ *NovaScotian*, September 10, 1840.

¹³⁵ Wright & Watkins, *The Life and Reign of William the Fourth*, (London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1837), 146.

stationed to the military garrison in Halifax from 1830 to 1834. They had been active participants in local cultural events in Halifax and probably initiated the presentation of the Falklands to members of the local community.¹³⁶

A small number of images in the album point to Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796-1865) and his family as among the most important social acquaintances of the Falklands in Nova Scotia.¹³⁷ The Foxes had encouraged Thomas Haliburton to publish his literary works in England;¹³⁸ he would later reciprocate by intervening on Lady Falkland's behalf when she sought a publisher for her travel journal.¹³⁹ Lord Falkland's social relationship with Haliburton was closely linked to a political association that began when he appointed him Judge in 1841.¹⁴⁰ His importance for the Falklands is suggested with the inclusion of a drawing of *Judge Haliburton on Horseback* (Figure 13), one of the few images in the album that identifies a white subject by name.¹⁴¹ The close relationship

¹³⁶ Jim Burant, "Art in Halifax: Exhibitions and Criticism in 1830 and 1831," *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review*, Vol. VIII No. 2, 122. According to Jim Burant, Mary Fox took art lessons along with "members of the middle and upper-class gentry" from William Harris Jones (1798-1849). Jones was also noted for organizing the first official art exhibition in Halifax; Colonel Fox was on the management committee.

¹³⁷ Fred Cogswell, "Haliburton, Thomas Chandler," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), Vol. IX, 348-57. Haliburton was born into a Loyalist family. He studied law at King's College in Windsor where he later practiced. In addition to his law practice, he was noted for his abundant and varied literary work. In 1859 he settled in England and became a Tory member in the British House of Commons.

¹³⁸ V.L.O. Chittick, *Thomas Chandler Haliburton (Sam Slick) A Study in Provincial Toryism*, (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 201, 414. It was Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Richard Fox "who induced the famous London publisher to bring out an English edition of *The Clockmaker*."

¹³⁹ Richard. A. Davies, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Chandler Haliburton*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988). A number of letters in this collection attest to the life-long friendship Lady Falkland maintained with Haliburton.

¹⁴⁰ Thomas C. Haliburton, *Rule and Misrule of the English in America*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1851). Haliburton acknowledged Lord Falkland's integrity as a politician in his dedication of the book to Lord Falkland.

¹⁴¹ Library and Archives Canada, Record 1990-207-85, The central inscription under the image is Judge Haliburton and another inscription includes the producer's name: Mr Torre Halifax Nova Scotia. Jim

between the Falklands and Haliburton family is further evidenced by the presence of three images by Haliburton's daughter Emma, who, along with her sisters, were known as amateur artists.¹⁴² Two of the images represented the private social life of the upper class, while a third provided a view of a public social event.

This last unfinished image, *Luncheon at the Mess Room on the Day of the Sham Fight* (Figure 14), inscribed with the date July 26, 1844, may have been inserted in the album as a souvenir of the social event; however, it would also have marked a critical period for Lord Falkland who had lost the support of local reform politicians.¹⁴³ Although Lord Falkland and Joseph Howe had established a good political relationship in 1840, by the end of 1843 when Lord Falkland aligned himself with the Tories, their relationship “descended into a sordid campaign of vituperation and scurrility which for two years raged with an intensity that surpassed anything of the sort before or since in a province notorious for the animosity of its political contests. At the end of that period Lord Falkland retired, fairly pelted out of the country by Howe's superior resources of abusive satire.”¹⁴⁴ A description of the Sham Fight in the *NovaScotian* alluded to the division between Falkland and the Reform Party: “We suppose each claimed the victory, but on the Common as in the Legislative Hall, the two parties were pretty equally

Burant, ed., *Drawing on the Land: the New World Travel Diaries and Watercolours of Millicent Mary Chaplin, 1832-1842*, (Ontario: Penumbra Press, 2004), 156-7. Jim Burant writes “There was a Mr. Torrens on the lieutenant-governor's staff: a sketch by him exists in the Falkland Album.”

¹⁴² Library and Archives Canada, Record 1990-207-73, A brief biographical sketch of Emma, Susan, Augusta and Laura is provided and their status as amateur artists is mentioned.

¹⁴³ Ibid, Record 1990-207-86, The inscription includes: Luncheon at the Mess Room – the day of the-/Sham fight/July 26th. Under the image: Emma Haliburton/Halifax Nova Scotia. *NovaScotian*, July 29, 1844. The sham fight was a display of military science including a simulated battle; it was held in the Race Stand in Halifax where a large crowd appears to have been in attendance.

¹⁴⁴ Chittick, 387.

balanced...”¹⁴⁵ Lord Falkland’s reputation and political position hung in a precarious balance. Shortly afterwards, during a trip that the Falklands and Haliburtons made together through Nova Scotia, Lord Falkland attempted to regain political support from the regions while Lady Falkland recorded the journey with picturesque sketches of the areas they visited.

These views are among the eleven Nova Scotia landscape and townscape images in the Lady Falkland Album, evincing Lady Falkland’s perspective of the colony and, in some cases, alluding to her position in Nova Scotia. A number of the images produced during the 1844 journey represented tourist sites frequently represented by Nova Scotian and travel artists.¹⁴⁶ *Rural Windsor* (Figure 15) would be associated with the village where the Haliburtons resided, and the *Duke of Kent’s Music Room* (Figure 16) represented the vestiges of the home Queen Victoria’s father maintained when he was stationed in Nova Scotia from 1796 to 1800. These works, along with the *Governor’s Farm* (Figure 17), were linked in various ways to the idea of home; in fact, most of the domesticated landscapes could easily be taken for settings in England.¹⁴⁷ The townscapes, on the other hand, are unmistakably Nova Scotia sites; the typical wooden architecture would mark these images as different from that of England. Among these works is a view of the *Town and Harbour of Pictou* (Figure 18), where Lord Falkland was received “in the most unostentatious manner possible, and without any of the

¹⁴⁵ *NovaScotian*, July 29, 1844.

¹⁴⁶ Mary Sparling, 54-66. She discusses a number of representations of these sites which were produced by British and local artists.

¹⁴⁷ Inscriptions on these works indicated that one or more of the Haliburton daughters were present. All of the drawings except that of the Duke of Kent’s Music room include inscriptions.

enthusiastic greetings which beset his former course.”¹⁴⁸ Lady Falkland’s status, on the other hand, appears not to have been linked to that of her husband, for in the town representative’s address to Lord Falkland, he stated: “We beg to convey through your excellency to Viscountess Falkland, the high sense we entertain of the honour of this her first visit to this Country, and hope that she may long enjoy health and happiness.”¹⁴⁹ In Kentville, another spokesman avowed the town’s “unfeigned pleasure at beholding among us your amiable and accomplished lady.”¹⁵⁰ Although most of these images were loosely inserted in the album, the drawing of the *Duke of Kent’s Music Room* was originally affixed in the album. It may have served to link her relationship to the royal family, for the Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria’s father, was her uncle. Two other images of Nova Scotia were also mounted in the album. The first *Falkland Village, Ferguson’s Cove* (Figure 19), whose author is not known, centers on the Anglican Church and mission named after Lady Falkland, clearly alluding to the religious stance and related philanthropic activities that marked her public role in the colony.¹⁵¹ The second image *View of the Gas Works, Halifax* (Figure 20), by Lady Falkland, deployed all the elements inherent to picturesque techniques of landscape work. However, this view diverges from the other images in its unusual focus on a site associated with industrial advancement,

¹⁴⁸ *NovaScotian*, August 26, 1844.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ This mission would probably have been established to serve the settler population and not the Mi’kmaq people. Most attempts to convert the Mi’kmaq, who generally practiced Catholicism, were abandoned by this time.

which might be read as a demonstration of the colony's progressiveness.¹⁵² Taken together these various images are conspicuous for an almost complete absence of human figures.¹⁵³ While the colonizer is not directly visible in these works, his ubiquitous presence is suggested in the representations of domesticated landscapes and settler communities which excluded traces of indigenous people from the land that was once theirs.

Land ownership was still a contentious issue between the Mi'kmaq and British colonial government in 1840, as it had been since the mid-eighteenth century when settlements were first established. Although the Mi'kmaq had been in contact with Europeans as early as the sixteenth century, it was the French who began systematic colonization only in the early seventeenth century. Unlike the British, the French government did not attempt to settle large tracts of land; their main interest was to maintain a political presence in this part of North America for economic reasons including fur trading and fishing. A seigneurial system was eventually established entitling individuals to large tracts of land they were allowed to exploit but could not own. One of the responsibilities linked to the seigneurs entitlement was the conversion of Mi'kmaq people to Catholicism; missionaries constituted an integral element of the seigneurie. Although the Mi'kmaq initially resisted conversion, they ultimately adopted

¹⁵² K.G. Pryke, *Bio from a Halifax Book*, www.keiths-fans.ca/theman/bio.htm, Accessed June 6, 2003. The Halifax Gas Light was incorporated in 1840.

¹⁵³ Although one image, *Full Length Portrait of a Mi'kmaq Woman*, incorporates a landscape setting, this singular view does not appear to connect this figure to the land so much as serve as a distant backdrop for a portrait. This image will be discussed in the context of portraits in the next chapter.

Catholicism which became an important aspect of their identity.¹⁵⁴ Generally, French relationships with the Mi'kmaq were based on good-will and a certain degree of respect; Mi'kmaq often camped and lived temporarily on seigneurial territories, and intermarriage between French and Mi'kmaq was widely accepted. The French also reinforced strong relationships through a system of generous gift giving which the Mi'kmaq viewed as payment for "what amounted to a form of rent in the shape of annual presents of arms, ammunition, food and clothing."¹⁵⁵

When the British won Acadia from France through the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, their administrative approach, which was based on possession of colonial territories, contrasted sharply with that of the French. The British insisted on legal treaties to clearly demarcate land ownership, a pattern which contrasted with the ambiguous relationships the French had maintained. Confusion in interpreting land ownership stemmed from the fact that "Mi'kmaq sovereignty, native rights, and aboriginal title had played no role in France's negotiations with Great Britain. In fact the French never considered the idea of aboriginal title until they ceded Acadia to Britain."¹⁵⁶ This unsettled understanding of territorial rights would play itself out as the Mi'kmaq resisted British attempts at settlement and control. Mi'kmaq resistance to the British presence resulted in tensions that were compounded by the power struggle between the British and French, who

¹⁵⁴ L.F.S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979), 68. "The priests were important because they had become an integral part of life, an element in the Micmac identity."

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 36.

¹⁵⁶ Prins, 134.

persisted in attempts to regain lost territories despite the treaties they had signed.¹⁵⁷ The British tried to distance the Mi'kmaq from the French through various strategies including attempts at religious conversion to Protestantism; however, the Mi'kmaq retained their Catholic identity and remained military allies of the French. Religion in conjunction with generous gift giving by the French ensured a Mi'kmaq allegiance that destabilized the British until the mid-eighteenth century.

The British initially misunderstood the importance of gifts; they were unable to accept the idea of presents which were essential in negotiations with the indigenous people. Certainly, they entertained no conception of such 'gifts' as being rent payments. It was only in 1749 that they begrudgingly began to distribute presents through treaties they renewed with the Mi'kmaq, but no acknowledgement of Mi'kmaq land ownership was included.¹⁵⁸ The British establishment of its first settlements during this period met with Mi'kmaq resistance. Their periodic attacks on white settlements were initially counteracted with aggressive policies including bounties intended to eliminate the Mi'kmaq.¹⁵⁹ While the Mi'kmaq persisted in claiming that they "should be paid for the land the English had settled upon in this country," it was only in 1763 that some territorial rights were acknowledged.¹⁶⁰ A Royal Proclamation accorded "usufructuary rights of the Indians to the lands of British America" which promised reserved lands for

¹⁵⁷ Upton, 61-78. The Mi'kmaq often aided the French who attempted to regain their lost territories until well into the eighteenth century, despite the treaties they had signed with the British.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 43-44. Peace treaties were first signed in 1726.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 52. In 1749 Cornwallis issued a proclamation commanding all "to Annoy, distress, take or destroy the Savages commonly called Mic-macks, wherever they are found." The Colonial Office in London intervened indicating that "gentler Methods and Offers of Peace have more frequently prevailed with Indians than the sword, if at the same time, that Sword is held over their Heads."

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 54. "On 14 September 1752, Major Jean-Baptiste Cope appeared before the British council where he made this statement."

hunting and fishing but made no mention of legal ownership.¹⁶¹ Twenty years later in 1783, some of the first grants were accorded to lands “of poor quality and useless to the Tribe in its efforts to survive.”¹⁶² By this time the white population had tripled in Nova Scotia with the growing presence of Loyalists. With further intensive migrations after the War of 1812 and ongoing immigration from Ireland and Scotland, the Mi’kmaq population was further marginalized from lands that had supported their traditional economy of hunting and fishing. It was only in 1820 that “the first attempt to face the government’s responsibilities to the native peoples” involved the establishment of a reserve in each county.¹⁶³ However, squatters continued to settle on the reserved territories disregarding the colonial administration’s attempts to legally regulate this trespassing. Officials were more sympathetic to the agricultural work of a squatter than the hunting and fishing of the Mi’kmaq, which the British often perceived as leisure activities.¹⁶⁴ According to Mary Sparling in her study of British impressions of Nova Scotia, topographical and picturesque images produced during this period often depicted domesticated agricultural lands exploited by white settlers industriously participating in the colonizer’s improvement of the land.¹⁶⁵ Among others, William Moorsom (1804-1863) drew agricultural scenes including *Cape Blow-Me-Down, and the Bason of Mines, from the Horton Mountains* (Figure 21), which focused on white settlers hard at work.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 62.

¹⁶² Daniel Paul, *We Were Not the Savages: A Micmac Perspective on the Collision of European and Aboriginal Civilization*, (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1993), 173.

¹⁶³ Upton, 87.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. Upton refers to PANS. RG1 Vol. 430, co. 23 ½, 29 November 1825. Thomas Trotter to William Hill.

¹⁶⁵ Sparling, 50-56.

As white settlers encroached on the land, the Mi'kmaq were socially, politically and economically marginalized; they had become a vagrant and landless people as a result of approximately 240 years of European contact and domination. Despite periodic attempts at resistance to European domination throughout this period, the policies of powerful colonial administrations led to systemic poverty and the erosion of their traditional lifestyles. Their poverty was compounded by the dependence on colonizers' presents. According to Upton, the term "indigent Indian," first used in official accounts in 1767 "fitted the native peoples into a recognized segment of white society; the very poor whose maintenance was traditionally the charge of the community."¹⁶⁶

In 1840 when Lord Falkland began his appointment in Nova Scotia, the Mi'kmaq were not a high priority in his political concerns. This changed, however, in January 1841 when the British Colonial Office ordered him to begin an immediate review into the condition of the indigenous people. This directive grew out of the concerns raised by a letter Mi'kmaq Chief Pemmeenauweet¹⁶⁷ had written Queen Victoria:

My people are in trouble. I have seen upwards of a Thousand Moons.
When I was young I had plenty; now I am old, poor and sickly too. My
people are poor. No Hunting Grounds – no Beaver no Otter no nothing.
Indians poor – poor forever. No Store – no Chest – no Clothes. All
these Woods once ours. Our Fathers possessed them all. Now we
cannot cut a tree to warm our Wigwaum in winter unless the White
Man please. The Micmacs now receive no presents, but one small
blanket for a whole family.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Upton, 71.

¹⁶⁷ Harald E. Prins, *The Mi'kmaq: Resistance, Accommodation, and Cultural Survival*, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1996), 165. Chief Louis Benjamin Peminuit (sic) had served as chief since 1814.

¹⁶⁸ Upton, 188.

Keenly aware that his people's 'poverty' stemmed from their diminished access to land and the disruption of their traditional lifestyle, Chief Peemenauweet's reference to the lack of 'presents' also pointed to their dependence on European goods and charity. Chief Pemmeenauweet's direct communication to the Queen proved effective unlike earlier appeals he had made.¹⁶⁹

Lord Falkland responded immediately to the concerns outlined by Chief Pemmeenauweet with an investigation into land holdings and the promise of "a few presents now and then [which] would suffice to ensure minimum relief for the infirm."¹⁷⁰ Direct monetary relief was not considered necessary, for as Falkland informed the secretary in the Colonial Office, the new law would "afford protection to this helpless race, and elevate them to the scale of humanity."¹⁷¹ His recommendations included establishing the Mi'kmaq people on farms and educating them in white schools, thus ensuring their assimilation. As his predecessors had done, he proposed assimilation in clear attempts to "submit the Mi'kmaq to civilized life."¹⁷² Discourses of assimilation and the civilizing mission were elements of a complex range of discourses surrounding the impoverished and destitute state of the Mi'kmaq people which were all linked to the notion that the indigenous lifestyle would disappear. Stemming, in part, from theories of racial evolution espousing that the North American native populations would evolve from

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 134. Chief Pemmeenauweet had sent a letter to Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant-Governor in 1831, which had not received a response. Also, prior to Falkland's appointment, the British Colonial Office, at the instigation of the Aboriginal Protection Society, had requested reports on the situation of the indigenous population. Lieutenant-Governor Colin Campbell never submitted this report.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 90-91.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Upton, 84. The first attempts at settling the Mi'kmaq on lands where they were encouraged to take up farming began in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Most subsequent administrations established similar policies of settlement.

inferior states of development, savagery and barbarism to advanced stages of European civilized society, various discourses related to the notion of the vanishing Indian circulated throughout most of North America.¹⁷³

In Nova Scotia, Falkland followed up on his initial recommendations by appointing Joseph Howe Superintendent of Indian Affairs to investigate the conditions of the Mi'kmaq. After a tour of their territories and consultations with chiefs, Howe reported that the Indian Reserves included lands that were generally poor. He also pointed to a few successful attempts some Mi'kmaq had made to adopt farming practices.¹⁷⁴ In 1842, Falkland passed a bill based on Howe's recommendations; it was intended to ensure the legal supervision of reserves, action against squatters and consultations with chiefs to encourage settlement. By 1843 Howe's initial enthusiasm and concern for the Mi'kmaq people began to wane, and he resigned from his position.¹⁷⁵ As had happened frequently in the past, a replacement was not appointed, and the political concern for the Mi'kmaq was once again marginalized.¹⁷⁶

Visual representations produced during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries generally portrayed the Mi'kmaq in a marginalized relationship to the land. According to Mary Sparling, they were virtually excluded from images produced by British artists in

¹⁷³ Helen Ralston, "Religion, Public Policy and the Education of Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia, 1605-1872," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 18 No. 4 (1981), 484.

¹⁷⁴ Upton, 91.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 92. Howe was not paid in his position as Indian Commissioner which proved to be a full-time job that spilled over into his personal life. "His home became a resort for Indians with all sorts of pleas and complaints" and his house "served as storage for blankets, greatcoats, and other paraphernalia."

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 93. It wasn't until 1847 that another Indian Commissioner was named.

the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in a pictorial context where realistic depictions of the indigenous people was not accepted.¹⁷⁷ Instead Mi'kmaq groups in picturesque costumes were generally represented in the liminal spaces of a roadside, paddling a canoe, and so distanced from the land or inserted in the constructed spaces of Eurocentric power structures. John Woolford (1778-1866), official artist to Lieutenant Governor Dalhousie, produced the image *Perspective View of the Province Building* (Figure 22) focusing his work on the architectural structure which resembled those at home. His inclusion of two highly visible Mi'kmaq figures would distinguish his work from images of Britain; their place in the alienating spaces of a Halifax street appears to be almost incidental. Despite this general tendency to situate the Mi'kmaq in such spaces and thus to emphasize the extent to which they were understood as being out of place, a few artists did represent the Mi'kmaq in their own camps. Robert Petley (1809-1869), a British soldier, produced numerous unofficial images in his spare time while stationed in Nova Scotia; he published them in 1837.¹⁷⁸ They ranged in subject from ethnographical studies such as *Interior of a Wigwam* (Figure 23), depicting women's domestic activity, to romanticized portrayals of the noble savage in *Indian of the MicMac Tribe* (Figure 24). In another of his well-known works *View of Halifax from the Indian Encampment at Dartmouth* (Figure 25), we find a group of people situated on a shoreline, a liminal space, and one of the most frequently represented settings of the Mi'kmaq. Petley's image resembled *Micmac Encampment* (Figure 26), painted by local resident Hibbert Binney

¹⁷⁷ Sparling, 40.

¹⁷⁸ Robert Petley, *Sketches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick: Drawn from Nature and on Stone*, (London: J. Dickinson, 1837).

(1766-1842) which had been produced during the last decade of the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁹

Although the Mi'kmaq camps set on the edge of a shoreline were not categorically abstracted from the landscape, the constricted space they occupied downplayed their relationship to the land. Gillian Poulter suggests that "representations of small Indian camps and their indolent occupants reinforced the concept of aboriginals as a dying and degenerate race."¹⁸⁰

At the same time Binney's paintings portrayed traditional economic activities of fishing and hunting as well as basketmaking, they also incorporated some of the most prevalent stereotypes identified with indigenous peoples. The composition splits the Mi'kmaq into two groups. In the background, a small group including a man, two women and a child return from a hunting and fishing expedition. In her study of Mi'kmaq economic structures, Gonzalez discusses the egalitarian system of labour between men and women that existed prior to European contact. In this image, we find evidence of such a shared system of labour. However, from a Eurocentric point of view, the man carrying a gun was not only associated with a degree of leisure and indolence but was also considered a taskmaster of the woman carrying a fish and a child holding a bird. Indigenous men were often criticized by the British for their treatment of women who were perceived as drudges forced to carry out non-domestic activities.¹⁸¹ Although the woman is carrying a baby aligning her with the feminine, the fact that she carries the

¹⁷⁹ J. Russell Harper, "Hibbert Binney," *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 33. An amateur painter of topographical watercolour paintings, Binney was a collector of imports and excise in Halifax.

¹⁸⁰ Gillian Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric," *Journal of Canadian Art History*, Vol. 16 No. 1 (1994), 16.

¹⁸¹ Ellice B. Gonzalez, *Changing Economic Roles for Micmac Men and Women: an Ethnohistorical Analysis*, (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1981), 18-20.

child on her back did not conform to standard English child-rearing practices. Equally anomalous is the pipe she grips in her mouth. One of the most widespread stereotypical images of Mi'kmaq women portrayed them in the unfeminine activity of smoking. These powerful colonial discursive structures are reinforced by the group of men and women sitting in the foreground. The inactive men, centred around a woman busily engaged in basketmaking, emphasized stereotypical discourses of indolence. Women engaged in basketmaking and quill work formed another of the most repeated motifs in representations of Mi'kmaq. Unlike the woman carrying a fish in the background, this woman's work was more closely associated with the feminine. Moreover, it was a vital activity for the economic survival of many Mi'kmaq families. Upton writes that while colonial governments attempted to educate and settle Mi'kmaq on farms, many Mi'kmaq participated "in the alternative economies they created to survive by traditional fur trading, while others participated in partial assimilation by selling artifacts in a growing tourist industry."¹⁸² The overall effect of this image underlines stereotypes of women as subjected to the exploitation of indolent men. Binney's representation served as the source for a number of subsequent copies produced until the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁸³

The one image in the Lady Falkland Album that depicts a Mi'kmaq group in a social context did not situate them in a Indian camp; rather, as had official British images, it showed them in a transitory space. *Eleven Figures Waiting at the Steam Boat Wharf* (Figure 27), which was initially affixed in Lady Falkland's Album, represented what

¹⁸² Upton, 129.

¹⁸³ *At the Great Harbour Front: 250 Years on the Halifax Waterfront*, (Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 1999), 20. "Described as the Binney view and probably taken at Dartmouth Cove, gained popularity and was repainted throughout the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth." Reproductions of these works are available in the Nova Scotia Museum *Mi'kmaq Portraits Collection*. <http://museum.gov.ns.ca/mikmaq>.

appears to have been a stereotypical scene in Nova Scotia. British Colonel William Moorsom described the Mi'kmaq in his travel text, as "abject beings who loiter about the wharfs, or infest the barbers' shops of Halifax, meager, squalid and dirty in person and habit, - clothed in filthy rags or tattered blankets."¹⁸⁴ It is difficult to determine if the author of this image, who has not been identified, intended such a categorical racist view; however, the segregation of the various groups clearly highlights racial difference. A group of white individuals stand or sit in the background to the right, distanced from the people on the wharf who form the object of their gaze. Two Mi'kmaq men in the background and an Afro-Canadian man sitting in the middle ground are juxtaposed with a small group of Mi'kmaq men and women sitting in the foreground.¹⁸⁵ The tendency to read this image as a straightforward representation of the Mi'kmaq as stereotypically indolent is disrupted by the dynamic of the group in the foreground. Highly visible in their typical costume and their position sitting on the ground, they were placed between a canoe and a European dingy evoking the dilemma of the Mi'kmaq people caught between a traditional lifestyle and assimilation. While two individuals face one another, the woman in the center holding a child stares out of the picture frame. Her gaze, which can be variously interpreted, inserted a certain ambivalence in the image.

The representations from the Lady Falkland album discussed in this chapter point to some of the discourses circulating in colonial Nova Scotia in the mid-nineteenth

¹⁸⁴ Sparling, 42. Sparling quotes William Moorsom, *Letters From Nova Scotia: Comprising Sketches of a Young Country*, (London, 1830), 109.

¹⁸⁵ Based on costumes in other representations, the hat worn by the seated figure in the center group resembles that of members of the Afro-Canadian community.

century. The various images provide indications of the white community's domination of the land and the concomitant marginalization of the Mi'kmaq people. Through the overview of the socio-historical context of the white-indigenous relations and the images of the Mi'kmaq produced by other amateur and official artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we discover the different stereotypical discursive structures that framed the asymmetrical power relations in the colony. The seemingly contradictory discourses underpinning the prevalent notion of the vanishing indigenous population are evident in the Mi'kmaq portraits included in the Lady Falkland Album. In Chapter Four an analysis of these representations produced by three women artists will reveal the complex positions they held in the colonial project.

CHAPTER FOUR

Subject Positions - Feminine Empathy or Colonial Distance

The portraits of Mi'kmaq individuals are highly visible when considered in the context of the other images incorporated in the Lady Falkland Album. The absence of such portraits from her colonial sojourn in India and the Middle East, coupled with the numerous portrait representations of individuals in the context of England as well as France produce an unusual dynamic. The significant number of Mi'kmaq portraits points to racial difference as an important marker of Lady Falkland's sojourn in Nova Scotia; the inclusion of two representations of Afro-Canadian individuals (Figures 28, 29) corroborates this.¹⁸⁶ Unlike the representations of colonial India which were all produced by Lady Falkland, four of the Mi'kmaq portraits were done by Nova Scotians Mary McKie and Ellen Nutting. In this chapter, I will begin my discussion with an exploration of the eleven Mi'kmaq representations in order to delineate the similarities between the images, which can be linked to the gender position of the producers, and at the same time to present the apparent differences, which can be explained by their distinct nationalities. In a close examination of the four finished portraits of Mi'kmaq women, I will analyze these works for traces of feminine empathy and colonial distance to understand the three women's positions concerning racial difference. Through this investigation, I will attempt to demonstrate that the amateur women artists were "variously interpellated into the types of complex positionings" available to women in colonial settings.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ The first image is a watercolour by Mary McKie, and the second work, although attributed to Lady Falkland, was probably produced by another hand.

¹⁸⁷ Lewis, 240.

The gender specific constraints on Lady Falkland's position in Nova Scotia are suggested in a public statement Lord Falkland made soon after their arrival: "On the part of Lady Falkland, I beg to thank you for your hearty good wishes, and to assure you that she is deeply interested in all that regards the prosperity of the Colony, feeling how much both my public character and private happiness are linked with the welfare of the inhabitants."¹⁸⁸ The fact that Lord Falkland speaks on her behalf in public would conform with gender conventions; however, his conflation of her duty and his private happiness suggest his own personal attitude. He did not mention the public, though feminine role, she would occupy as wife of the Lieutenant-Governor, which would include participation in local philanthropic and cultural activities. In a public toast made in her honor, such activities are alluded to, but again her primary position in the private realm is further confirmed: "Lady Falkland and the fair daughters of Acadia – May the example which the former sets shed a kindly influence on our homes. It is the high privilege of those we love to throw over the conflicts of public life the finer feelings of the heart, and the charms of private society."¹⁸⁹ In this patriarchal statement, Lady Falkland's position is perceived as linked to the home as well as the women of Nova Scotia. Among the few written records of her participation in public events, there is a reference to her charitable works.¹⁹⁰ While it is presumed that Lady Falkland would also have patronized local

¹⁸⁸ *NovaScotian*, October 22, 1840. The account of a speech by Lord Falkland was included in the newspaper.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, November 26, 1840.

¹⁹⁰ Public Archives of Nova Scotia, *Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia*, 204 <http://www.gov.ns.ca/nsarm/cap/places/>. Accessed May 29, 2005. "A community on Ferguson Cove on the west side of Halifax Harbour, which was named in honour of Lady Falkland, the wife of one of the Lieutenant-Governors of Nova Scotia who was known for her charitable works."

artists as had her precursor, Lady Campbell, the nature of her involvement would differ, for the burgeoning artistic projects of the 1830s had diminished in the 1840s. Burant states that “Much less is known about artistic endeavour in the 1840s in Halifax, in terms of activities, events visits by other artists, or even of artistic note in the local newspaper.”¹⁹¹ Lady Falkland’s support of local amateur artists is evident in the Mi’kmaq portraits by Mary McKie which she purchased and incorporated in the album. She also included another image by Ellen Nutting, a social acquaintance.

Ellen Nutting was the daughter of a distinguished Loyalist family, afforded the privilege of painting for private pleasure and personal cultivation prescribed by feminine discourses. Little is known about her life; however, her father James Nutting was a well-known member of Halifax’s elite. As the prothonotary for Nova Scotia, he was acquainted with Lord Falkland. Among other things, he was noted for his dramatic rupture with the Anglican Church of England and his subsequent allegiance to the Baptist Church where he was involved in philanthropic activities.¹⁹² It is possible that Ellen Nutting also participated in charitable activities along with her father. We can more definitely presume that they shared an interest in the arts. James Nutting, described as “a scholarly, polished, old school gentleman,” spoke at the Halifax Mechanics Institute on “The Influence of Literature, and the Fine Arts, on National Character” in 1836 and was

¹⁹¹ Jim Burant, *The Development of the Visual Arts in Halifax, Nova Scotia from 1815 to 1867 as an Expression of Cultural Awakening*, M.A. thesis, unpublished, Carleton University, 1979, 76-78. In the 1830s Halifax boasted a relatively strong artistic community. The Governor-General Lord Campbell and his wife had patronized well-known botanical artist Maria Morris (1810–1875) as well as William Eagar. Although the Falklands would not have met these two artist, they may have been acquainted with William Valentine (1798-1849), a local artist recognized for his portrait paintings as well as introducing photography to Halifax in 1842.

¹⁹² W. Thorpe, “Nutting, James Walton,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), Vol. IX, 601-602. Nutting was involved in the Baptist Education Society as well as the publication *Baptist Missionary Magazine* which was expanded to become the *Christian Messenger* in 1837.

known for his collection of European paintings.¹⁹³ In fact, paintings from her father's art collection were exhibited along with Ellen Nutting's *Sketch [of] a Young Lady* in the second major art exhibition of Halifax which was organized by her art teacher, local artist William Eagar in 1838.¹⁹⁴ Besides the watercolour included in Lady Falkland's Album, the only other extant record of her work is a sketchbook which includes drawings of family and friends, especially women and children, confirming her choice of feminine subjects.¹⁹⁵ The sketchbook, which includes a drawing of the Falklands' son, Lucius Cary, dated 1842, confirms that Ellen Nutting and Lady Falkland were social acquaintances. It provides one of the few references to the Falklands only child, for Lady Falkland never referred to her private life nor her position as mother. Ellen Nutting is also recorded as accompanying the Falklands and Haliburtons during their tour of Nova Scotia in 1844.¹⁹⁶ Although she later moved to England with her husband Major William Richardson of the Royal Engineers, there is no record indicating that Lady Falkland maintained contact with her as she did with Judge Haliburton.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Alexandra E. Carter, *William H. Eagar: Sensibilities of No Common Order*, M.A. thesis, unpublished, Concordia University, 1979, 43.

¹⁹⁴ Burant, 64.

¹⁹⁵ Nova Scotia Archives, Kennedy Wainwright Fonds, Accession No. 1943, Location 40/2/13. The sketchbook "has been hand paginated with twenty-five images identified. There are two other working drawings one loose item identified as "A Lady".

¹⁹⁶ *NovaScotian*, September 1, 1844.

¹⁹⁷ William Parker, *Daniell McNeill Parker, M.D.: His Ancestry and a Memoir of His Life*, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1910), 376. Daniell McNeill Parker, a cousin of the Nutting's, was recorded as visiting Ellen Nutting in July 1886: "At Twickenham on Thames he saw for the last time Mrs. Robinson and the Nuttings: Ellen, widow of Colonel Robinson of the Royal Engineers and Misses Mary and Isabel Nutting – all daughters of his great-uncle James Walton Nutting." Nova Scotia Archives, E-mail correspondence. It appears that he was posted outside Nova Scotia after 1851. Feb 18, 2003. "She married Major William Robinson, R[oyal] e[ngineers] September 19, 1848 at Saint Paul's Church, Halifax."

Unlike Ellen Nutting, Mary McKie clearly participated in the public cultural sphere giving art lessons and selling her work. While little is known about her life, there is clear evidence that she taught and showed her work in local exhibitions as well as an International Exhibition in London.¹⁹⁸ Jim Burant writes that “her miniature water-color portraits showed a competence and skill which might have been parlayed into a professional career. But Miss McKie seems to have remained strictly an amateur all her life.”¹⁹⁹ Although it has not been established with certainty, he suggests that she “probably took lessons from William Eagar or Maria Morris in the later 1830s.”²⁰⁰ Despite her status as an amateur artist, she appears to have had an influence on other artists, possibly her students, for a number of extant copy works are recorded as being based on her paintings. Most of her own works are included in various albums and collections housed at the Library and Archives Canada.²⁰¹ The subject matter varies including landscapes and images of Mi’kmaq people. Lady Falkland purchased three of her works. Whether from personal choice or economic necessity, Mary McKie participated in the public realm of cultural activities in Nova Scotia.

¹⁹⁸ Jim Burant, “Artists in a New Land,” *A Place in History: Twenty Years of Acquiring Paintings, Drawings and Prints at the National Archives of Canada*, (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1991), 103. On 10 February 1857, Mary McKie announced in the *Halifax Morning Chronicle* that she would “reopen her drawing class.”

¹⁹⁹ Jim Burant, *The Development of the Visual Arts in Halifax, Nova Scotia from 1815 to 1867 as an Expression of Cultural Awakening*, M.A. thesis, unpublished, Carleton University, 1979, 111.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Library and Archives Canada. In addition to the works found in the Lady Falkland Album, six of McKies’ works are found in the Saunders Album located in the Library and Archives Canada, File No. 1985-52. Three of the works - *Military Prison, Melville Island, (Nova Scotia), Micmac Girl, and Neptune and Jack* – are inscribed with her name and dated 1849. Three other works in the Saunders Album – *Portrait of a Young Boy, River Landscape, and Indians in a Teepee, Nova Scotia* – do not include McKie’s name. The Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana includes: *Mi’kmaq Women Selling Baskets, Halifax (Nova Scotia)* inscribed with McKie’s name and the date 1845, while *Mi’kmaq Woman Weaving Baskets (Nova Scotia)*, ca 1845, does not include an inscription. One other work *North West Arm, Halifax, 1875* is not included in an album.

In a first examination of the Lady Falkland Album, it is the number of Mi'kmaq portraits representing individuals that aligns these works with the feminine. In the same way that many women writers focused on indigenous peoples as individuals, there is evidence of a similar consideration for the personal identities of many of the subjects these women portrayed.²⁰² According to Mills, “the knowledge relationship that prompted the representation of individuals rather than types is the result of an experience that was itself structured by discourse that positioned women as emotional, empathetic and personal rather than objective, scientific and political.”²⁰³ While the inclusion of the names of Mi'kmaq sitters on preparatory sketches suggest a personal interaction at the point of production in some works, the exclusion of names or the use of generic ascriptions on the final watercolour and painted representations imply a distancing. When viewed in the context of the *Mi'kmaq Portraits Collection*, where few individuals are named prior to the introduction of photography, the number of images from the Lady Falkland Album representing specific individuals is striking. However, they are not without contradictions. For example, although Ellen Nutting's watercolour *Mary Bernard/ Whykokgamagh/Cape Breton* (Figure 30), implies feminine empathy in the acknowledgement of her subject's identity, the inclusion of the geographical location also evokes an objective distance by “classifying subject and location in much the same way as an ethnographic case study.”²⁰⁴ Mary McKie's watercolour portraits likewise suggest a simultaneous feminine proximity and objective distance. She did not inscribe the names

²⁰² Mills, 97.

²⁰³ Ibid, 183.

²⁰⁴ Lewis, 130.

of her sitters on her watercolours; rather it was Lady Falkland who provided the generic inscriptions to *Micmac Indian Girl of Nova Scotia* (Figure 31) and *Portrait of a Micmac Indian Man* (Figure 32) *Bought by Lady Falkland Mary R McKie* – inscriptions which allude to racial typing. It is important to note that the drawing of this last sitter in McKie’s sketchbook does include his name, *Alex Alexis* (Figure 33), which suggests that at the point of production she did engage in a personal exchange with her sitters.²⁰⁵ The name *Anne Alexis 1845* (Figure 34) on a watercolour sketch by Lady Falkland suggests that she and Mary McKie may have worked together. This is further supported in the two artists’ portrayals of another Mi’kmaq man; Lady Falkland wrote the name *Peter Toney* (Figure 35) on the image that she purchased from McKie as well as on her own drawing of *Peter Toney* (Figure 36). One of the two other watercolour sketches by Lady Falkland includes the name *Nancy Lewis* (Figures 37, 38), which clearly served for a subsequent painting (Figure 39), implying a personal contact with this woman. Another painting *Full Length Portrait of a Micmac Woman* (Figure 40) does not include the sitter’s identity.

An Indian Cripple (Figure 41) was the only other work which did not include the name of her sitter. This highly unusual watercolour shows a man in a frontal position; the unconcealed stump of his truncated leg serves as the focal point highlighting his helplessness. His deferentially crossed hands and the crutches lying in a crossed position on the ground along with the upturned hat underline his destitute situation. In Joseph Howe’s report on Indian Affairs of 1843, the lists of recipients of charities included

²⁰⁵ Library and Archives Canada, Record 1990-207-31. The inscription states “Bought by Lady Falkland” and is written in pen and ink, l.c. directly under the image, partially under the watercolour: “M.R. Mc.Kie fecit” in pen and ink, l.c. under the image: “Peter Toney” in pen and ink on secondary support under the image, which is mounted sideways (u.r.): Miss Mc.Kie. National Archives of Canada. 1990-207-33 Portrait of a Micmac Man.

numerous individuals identified only as “lame man”, suggesting that this was a widespread affliction among the Mi’kmaq population.²⁰⁶ While textual accounts clearly referred to the destitute situation of the Mi’kmaq people, I have not encountered any visual representations that portray such realities. Although Lady Falkland’s choice to represent such subject matter could be assimilated by linking it to philanthropic caregiving and the civilizing mission, circumscribing the anomalous subject matter with feminine empathy, her “realistic look at the life of the aboriginal people would have been unacceptable” according to the visual conventions of nineteenth century Nova Scotia.²⁰⁷ This is the only Mi’kmaq portrait that was not originally affixed in the album, implying an ambivalence about its potential fit in the album.

Lady Falkland generally portrayed her Mi’kmaq sitters with a degree of realism which contrasted with the more idealized depictions of the Nova Scotia women artists. This difference can be explained, in part, by their art training. Whereas Lady Falkland drew on her knowledge of picturesque techniques employing a contrasted and rough approach, the Nova Scotia women learned classical techniques espousing ideal beauty. Bermingham writes: “By virtue of their roughness, irregularity, and variousness, picturesque objects were better suited for painting than beautiful ones, whose smooth, neat qualities lacked pictorial definition.”²⁰⁸ By contrast, William Eagar, who instructed Nutting and possibly McKie, was constrained to teaching a more traditional approach to painting despite his familiarity with the British picturesque, for Nova Scotian aesthetic

²⁰⁶ Joseph Howe, “Report on Indian Affairs,” *Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly 1844*, (Halifax: R. Nugent, 1844), Appendix No. 50, 127. Early Canadiana Online <http://www.canadiana.org/eco/>, Accessed June 25, 2005.

²⁰⁷ Sparling, 40.

²⁰⁸ Bermingham, 63.

tastes did not ascribe to this approach.²⁰⁹ Unlike Lady Falkland's "sparse compositions which might be seen by some as a fault in technique and by others as proof of reality,"²¹⁰ Nutting's and McKie's polished and brushless handling reinforced not only the femininity of their representations but also contributed to a certain mystification of their subjects. In her study of the pictorial strategies of colonizing artists, Linda Nochlin argues that the lush surfaces of their paintings concealed evidence of touch and the artist's presence. Such an approach used in conjunction with a highly detailed treatment allowed for the perpetuation of the fantasy of stereotypes.²¹¹ In Ellen Nutting's painting of Mary Bernard, the notion of the idealized noble Indian is evoked, while Mary McKie's sentimentalization suggests the childlike nature of her sitters.²¹² At the same time that their work sustained a mystification of their subjects, the detail in the images produced by the Nova Scotian artists would reinforce their femininity and a sense of accuracy and ethnographic authenticity.²¹³ In contrast, Lady Falkland's portraits generally lacked authenticating detail. However, as Reina Lewis argues, some viewers in the nineteenth century considered the sketchiness and a "scarcity of detail [was] simultaneously a sign of [a] painting's veracity."²¹⁴

Although Lady Falkland and Mary McKie generally used a consistent approach in their respective works, there are signs of a divergence from their typical handling in their

²⁰⁹ Sparling, 56.

²¹⁰ Lewis, 130.

²¹¹ Nochlin, 41-4.

²¹² Lewis, 176. According to Lewis, representations of children allowed artists to "tap into the market for the accurate and emotional representation of children."

²¹³ Mills, 118. Mills indicates that women's writing was often considered trivial because it contains descriptions of domestic details.

²¹⁴ Lewis, 130.

varying depictions of Peter Toney. Peter Toney appears to have been a visible member of the Mi'kmaq community, identified as a captain or political councillor within the Mi'kmaq political system.²¹⁵ His name is included twice in Joseph Howe's 1843 *Report - on Indian Affairs* which lists recipients of Miscellaneous Charities.²¹⁶ A Peter Toney Babey also "presented himself as a physician, chemist and Alchemist" making monetary claims for the medical treatment he administered to Mi'kmaq during the famine of the mid 1840s.²¹⁷ His insistence that the white community recognize his treatment, which relied on medicinal plants and herbs, demonstrates the persistence of Mi'kmaq local knowledge and resistance to complete assimilation of European medical knowledge.²¹⁸ In Mary McKie's portrait, her characteristically saccharine treatment is replaced by a somewhat severe portrayal of Toney (Figure 35). He is the only subject that McKie objectified in a side pose, fixed in a powerful gaze. Her seemingly condemnatory depiction diverges from Lady Falkland's portrayal of Peter Toney (Figure 36) who, in a three-quarter view, thoughtfully smokes a pipe. He appears less destitute than most of her other subjects. Except for his clothing, which marks him as a Mi'kmaq, there are no other details that emphasize his racial difference. Lady Falkland's divergence from her usual

²¹⁵ Nova Scotia Museum, *The Mi'kmaq Portraits Collection* <http://museum.gov.ns.ca/mikmaq/mp0163.htm>. Although the designation of captain has not been given in the National Archives of Canada record, the Nova Scotia Museum indicates "Mi'kmaq captain Peter Toney" and gives a date of ca 1845. Nova Scotia Archives, RG5, Vol. 45, No. 144. Petition of Peter Toney on behalf of himself and the Mi'kmaq residing at Merigomish, Pictou County, for relief from distress. His name also appears on numerous petitions prepared on behalf of a group of Mi'kmaq in Pictou.

²¹⁶ Joseph Howe, "Report on Indian Affairs," *Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly 1844*, (Halifax: R. Nugent, 1844), Appendix No. 50, 127. Early Canadiana Online, Accessed June 25, 2005.

²¹⁷ L.F.S. Upton, "Babey, Peter Paul Toney," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), Vol. VIII, 32-33.

²¹⁸ Nova Scotia Archives, RG1 Vol. 432, 152. Letter from Howe to Dawson, 1 October 1842, 83. Howe is recorded as saying that "in general Indians are better doctors than whites."

approach leads to a reading that alludes to a recognition of Toney's position and knowledge. The departure from their customary approaches suggests that these women held a range of positions concerning the Mi'kmaq people.

Despite these variations, the general effect of the portraits taken together points to a split between the representations of the Nova Scotia women and Lady Falkland, suggesting differences based on national belonging. The feminine subject matter and handling of the local artists contrasts with Lady Falkland's less idealized and unsentimental approach. Lady Falkland's inclusion of these seemingly dichotomous images in the construction of her album may be understood in relation to Homi Bhabha's notion of splitting and multiple belief as "a non-repressive form of knowledge that allows for the possibility of simultaneously embracing two contradictory beliefs."²¹⁹ The ambivalence implied in the contradictions of multiple belief is clearly represented in the written account of British travel writer Isabelle Bird who described her travels through Nova Scotia en route to the United States.²²⁰ While visiting a Mi'kmaq camp, a popular tourist activity, she wrote: "After scrambling through the woods, we came upon an Indian village, consisting of fifteen wigwams." Following a detailed description of the people she encountered, she summarized: "I sighed over the degeneracy of the race. These people are mendicant and loquacious." Yet, in the following paragraph, she contradicted her initial observations, writing that she was "received in one *camp* by two very handsome squaws, mother and daughter, who spoke broken English, and were very neat and clean." After her visit of "half an hour" she concluded: "These Indians retain few of

²¹⁹ Bhabha, 80.

²²⁰ Isabella Bird, *The Englishwoman in America*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966; reprint of John Murray, London, England, 1856).

their ancient characteristics, except their dark complexions and their comfortless nomade [sic] way of life. They are not represented in the Legislative Assembly.”²²¹ While there is no indication that Lady Falkland shared Bird’s concern about political representation of the Mi’kmaq people, she appears to have held similar ambivalent positions about racial difference as her compatriot. The positions Mary McKie and Ellen Nutting occupied were based on different experiences and knowledge.

In spite of the different knowledge bases of these women, their shared gender position remains a major factor in considering their work. These images, inscribed with signs of feminine concern for the personal as well as traces of colonial power through distance, are difficult to read as categorically colonial or feminine. The contradictory positions these women occupied as a result of their gender difference are related to the “social spaces open to and occupied by women artists and are linked not only to the spaces they represent but also to the viewing positions inscribed in the paintings.”²²² I will attempt to demonstrate that the subject matter and viewing positions chosen by the three women artists reveal the complexity of their positions in a colonial context where discourses of the imminent disappearance of the indigenous race were prevalent. I will focus this part of my discussion on the four works including paintings and watercolours of Mi’kmaq women to demonstrate that despite the shared gender of the women artists and their subjects, their relations were also defined by racial difference.

²²¹ Ibid, 48-49.

²²² Griselda Pollock, “Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity,” in *Framing Feminism: Art and the Women's Movement, 1970-85*, Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, eds. (London and New York: Pandora, 1987), 66; cited in Lewis, 121.

In her study of Mi'kmaq women textile artists, Joan Acland writes: "Beyond the key signifier of skin pigmentation, it is through clothing difference that the marginalized and colonized female subject was historically identified."²²³ Whereas all three women artists highlighted the dark skin colour of their subjects, the variant depictions of costume reveal the diverse discourses that structure their work. Although Mi'kmaq women had adopted European elements in their clothing as early as the eighteenth century, vestiges of pre-contact costume remained.²²⁴

Ellen Nutting depicted Mary Bernard in a traditional costume (Figure 30); the detail on the peaked cap, one of the most visible markers of Mi'kmaq women's identity, shows the decorative appliqué, which "probably evolved out of a desire to create on cloth the same type of designs formerly painted on leather."²²⁵ Traditional costume, generally worn for ceremonial occasions or when selling crafts, was a component of indigenous people's "performance of ethnicity as a selling strategy [which] began remarkably early in the northeast," according to Ruth Phillips.²²⁶ At the same time that the detailed treatment of the traditional costume points to the feminine, it also inscribes a sense of timelessness in the image, especially in the absence of signs of the socio-historical context, and thus links Mary Bernard to a distant past and colonial discourses of the noble

²²³ Joan Acland, "Elitekey: the Artistic Production of Mi'kmaq Women," *RACAR Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review*, Vol. 25-26 (1998-99), 7.

²²⁴ Ruth Whitehead, *Elitekey: Micmac Material Culture from 1600 A.D. to the Present*, (Halifax: The Nova Scotia Museum, 1980), 20.

²²⁵ *Ibid*, 24.

²²⁶ Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: the Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 25.

savage.²²⁷ The effects of such temporal ambiguity in the painting of Mary Bernard served to distance Ellen Nutting from her subject. According to Phillips, the contradictions inherent to dominant discourses which required the Mi'kmaq to produce their Indianness according to stereotypes and at the same time to assimilate were connected to "the idea of their imminent and inevitable disappearance."²²⁸

By contrast, Mary McKie more clearly situated her subject (Figure 31) in a contemporaneous timeframe; the everyday dress resembles European clothing alluding to a degree of assimilation. The picturesque detailing of the blouse and skirt correspond to those represented in numerous visual and textual accounts. In her discussion of Mi'kmaq dress, Whitehead describes the jacket which was usually cotton, chintz, satin, or silk brocade that looked like a bolero jacket.²²⁹ However, the typical peaked cap, which includes little decorative detail, is unusual, for it is covered with a kerchief. Although Mi'kmaq women did wear "handkerchief[s] thrown loosely round the head"²³⁰ the visual representations I have studied from this period do not include them. McKie's departure from the highly coded peaked cap can be read as implying a degree of assimilation to European dress and potentially alludes to miscegenation in the represented subject. This latter possibility emerges in light of another work by Mary McKie entitled *Micmac Girl* (Figure 42) held by Library and Archives Canada.²³¹ This image is also included in the

²²⁷ Ibid, 25. "The trope of the noble savage was the dominant text of Indianness for Euro-North Americans from a very early period."

²²⁸ Ibid, 14.

²²⁹ Whitehead, 20.

²³⁰ Bird, 48.

²³¹ Library and Archives Canada, Record 1985-52-4.

Mi'kmaq Portraits Collection of the Nova Scotia Museum but is described by the museum as “probably an Acadian girl... A shawl is tied around her head, and her clothing does not represent the nineteenth-century Mi'kmaq style.”²³² The conflicting interpretations of the archives concerning racial identity and costume suggest a parallel ambiguity surrounding the racial and ethnic identity of the Mi'kmaq girl in McKie's image from the *Lady Falkland Album*. As intermarriage between Mi'kmaq and French Acadians had been widely accepted since the seventeenth century, it is possible that the sitter was of mixed racial background, which was condemned as morally questionable in the nineteenth century. As Sylvia Van Kirk writes in her study of mixed marriage during Canada's colonial period, “settler society had always been ambivalent about its desirability, and as Euro-Canadian patterns of settlement were solidified, intermarriage was increasingly denigrated and marginalized.”²³³ H.L. Machow also discusses the British view of mixed marriages “not as an improved (and useful) species but as a curious, unstable and inconvenient, perhaps dangerous anomaly.”²³⁴ The effect of covering the highly significant cap with a kerchief, probably still worn by Acadian and possibly English settlers, can be read as an allusion to a less absolute racial difference but it is not necessarily less condemnatory for that. In any case a distance from the artist of English descent is preserved.

²³² Nova Scotia Museum, *The Mi'kmaq Portraits Collection*
<http://museum.gov.ns.ca/mikmaq/mp0166.htm>.

²³³ S. Van Kirk, “From Marrying In to Marrying Out” Changing Patterns of Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada,” *Frontiers*, Vol. 23 No. 3 (2002), 8.

²³⁴ H.L. Malchow, “The Half-breed as Gothic Unnatural,” *The Victorians and Race*, Shearer West, ed. (West Brookfield, Vt: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1996), 105.

Unlike Mary McKie, Lady Falkland depicted costumes which marked the unequivocal racial difference of her sitters. The clothing of the subject in *Full-length Portrait of a Mi'kmaq Woman* (Figure 40) resembles that in McKie's image but with the crucial difference that the peaked cap is not covered. In the painting of *Nancy Lewis* (Figure 39), there are also ostensible references to McKie's work with the incorporation of a kerchief over the peaked cap. In Falkland's work this divergence from conventional codes is further augmented by the unusual turquoise colour of the kerchief; most representations utilized the traditional red or blue. This image also differs from most visual representations, including *Micmacs Conversing with a European* (Figure 43), in the depiction of the blanket coat which was painted in brown and black, dividing the costume in two.²³⁵ Blankets, often used to confection coats and other forms of dress, were highly significant, for they constituted one of the important gifts the Mi'kmaq had received from the British since the eighteenth century.²³⁶ While such presents initially symbolized an exchange of goods between the British and Mi'kmaq, by the middle of the nineteenth century, they signified Mi'kmaq dependence on charity. The representation of Nancy Lewis in a blanket coat reveals traces of colonial discourses linked to philanthropic activities of the civilizing mission. Both of Lady Falkland's paintings evoke racial difference which clearly distanced her from her subjects.

Another important marker of racial difference linked to costume was the ornamentation worn by indigenous men and women which also signaled religious affiliation. Although of European origin, the crucifix along with trade silver brooches and pendants, were "dispersed by trade through the New World [and] were uniquely Indian in

²³⁵ Whitehead, 16, 20. According to Whitehead, blankets were usually white, red, or black.

²³⁶ *Ibid*, 16.

their cultural significance.”²³⁷ Introduced into the material culture as exchange items during the fur trade, these accessories remained an important element of indigenous dress throughout most of North America. The varying representations of typical ornamentation by the three women artists, furnish allusions to their different attitudes towards religious affiliation. Mi’kmaq identity was linked with Catholicism and although the British had reluctantly accepted this, after fruitless attempts at conversion to Protestantism, religion was still a contentious issue in the mid-nineteenth century. In Ellen Nutting’s representation of Mary Bernard, the relationship between the crucifix and the trade silver pendant might be read as obscuring Bernard’s Catholicism. The crucifix is blended with the decorative beads through the use of similar colors. Rather than the typical emphasis on the Catholic cross as a visible marker, Nutting places her emphasis on the large trade silver brooch, thus reinforcing Bernard’s racial difference. This difference not only evokes a distance between artist and sitter but also potentially alludes to Nutting’s religious position as a protestant who may have questioned the effectiveness of Catholicism.²³⁸ While Mary McKie’s religious position is not known, she chose to highlight the Catholic crucifix. She placed it in a central position emphasizing her subject’s Catholic affiliation and underlining her adoption of French Acadian mores, whereas the trade silver brooch serves a decorative and functional role fastening the garment. This would reinforce the link between the sitter’s indigenous and Acadian background. The ornamentation in Lady Falkland’s *Full Length Portrait of a Micmac*

²³⁷ N. Jaye Fredrickson, *The Covenant Chain: Indian Ceremonial and Trade Silver*, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1980), 49.

²³⁸ Upton, 154. Protestants in the colonies frequently criticized French Catholics for the inadequate job they had done in terms of conversion.

Woman resembles that in McKie's work; however, she included two crosses which appears to subvert their religious significance highlighting them as decorative.

Conversely, in the painting of Nancy Lewis, these conventional markers are absent which could be readily explained by the blanket coat which would potentially cover these accessories. The presence of two crosses in the first work and the complete absence in the second allude to Lady Falkland's anti-Catholic sentiments. She not only referred to Catholicism as espousing superstitious practices but also linked it to the French. In one passage of her journal, she ironically described the 'relics' of an "old French lady she met while travelling on the same boat" indicating that "...she held up her rosary, shaking it triumphantly at me."²³⁹ The effect of these various representations of ornamentation and costume worked to establish different degrees of distance between the women artists and the Mi'kmaq women they painted.

In examining the viewing positions deployed in the portraits by the three artists, we discover different dynamics that allude to their varying viewpoints. According to Reina Lewis "the limited viewing positions available to women artists contributed in various ways to their particular framing."²⁴⁰ Although we do not know the specific context in which these women produced the portraits, it is possible, as Reina Lewis suggests in her discussion of the female gaze, "to tease out the relationship between the woman artist's look and viewing position constructed by paintings."²⁴¹

²³⁹ Falkland, Vol. 2, 286.

²⁴⁰ Lewis, 182.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 162.

The viewing position in Mary McKie's image invokes signs of categorical asymmetrical power relations. By positioning her subject sitting on the ground, she emphasized her "foreignness [which] is marked by posture."²⁴² The Mi'kmaq girl is subject to the dominant gaze of the viewer who looks down at her slightly crouched body, fixed in a submissive and passive position which is amplified by her averted eyes and folded arms. Paradoxically, the distance she represents in the viewing position appears somewhat tempered in the Europeanizing of her sitters' facial features. This transformation becomes evident when we compare some of the drawings of Mi'kmaq women in her sketchbook with her paintings. In a number of the sketches (Figure 44), the physiognomy of her Mi'kmaq sitters were exaggerated, almost ugly and deformed. In still other drawings, we find examples (Figure 45) of heavily traced eyes, nose and mouth which imply a particular concern with these features which often defined racial difference. The apparent changes to the physiognomy in the sketches and the paintings suggest a concern to diminish racial difference. Although this might be read as lessening the distance between artist and sitter, the hierarchical relationship in the viewing position undercuts this possibility. Moreover, the childlike status of her sitter fits with discourses that constructed indigenous peoples as children who were reliant on the patriarchal interventions of the colonizer. An example of this pervasive discourse is found in Moses Perley's report on Indian Affairs in 1842: "The sovereigns of Britain have always been accustomed to calling and to treating the Indians of North America as their children, and in this there has been manifest justice as well as advantages to the Indian. His situation

²⁴² Ibid, 172.

has been precisely that of an Infant requiring a guardian.”²⁴³ In Mary McKie’s image, there are signs of powerful colonial discourses; however, these become blurred with notions of the civilizing mission through a maternal caretaking.

Ellen Nutting drew on other discourses in her portrait of Mary Bernard (Figure 30) who, although fixed in a powerful gaze that positioned her in an objectified view, is not portrayed in a categorical relationship of dominant power. The profile position, which contrasts with the frontal or three-quarter position she generally used in her drawings of Euro-Canadian women, reveals Bernard’s physiognomy and highlights her racial difference. According to Anne McClintock in her study of race and gender, “in the logic of the racial narratives of the time, the profile of the face is the most eloquent sign of the essence of the “race”.”²⁴⁴ However, Nutting breaks the power dynamics of the gaze to an extent through the “position and posture [which] flout conventions of representation and suggest dignity and self-possession.”²⁴⁵ The upright posture of Mary Bernard delineated in the vertical movement defined by the highly visible markers of her Mi’kmaq identity (tip of the hat, the trade silver brooch, and the quillbox) reinforces this sense of distinction which is further augmented by placing her at the same eye-level as the viewer. Although Bernard is caught in an objectified gaze, her position is not necessarily presented as inferior. In her discussion of women Orientalist artists, Reina Lewis proposes that at the same time their work retained signs of racial difference as crucial, they sometimes provided an alternative discourse in their treatment of difference which

²⁴³ Moses Perley, “Report on Indian Affairs,” *The Native People of Atlantic Canada: a History of Ethnic Interaction*, H. F. McGee, Jr., ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 84.

²⁴⁴ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*, (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 104.

²⁴⁵ Lewis, 84.

did not necessarily condemn it.²⁴⁶ In the portrait of Mary Bernard, one of numerous images that represented the motif of basketmaking, the highly valuable skill for which women were recognized was highlighted.²⁴⁷ Unlike most images which typically showed women in the process of making baskets or transporting and selling their wares at market, Mary Bernard is portrayed in a slightly different position. Bernard gazes out of the picture frame; her outstretched arm and hand, the only movement in an otherwise static image, is truncated. We can speculate that the absent hand was extended in reception of payment from a tourist or collector for the “favourite quilled article ... the pear shaped purse or lady’s reticule” which she holds in her left hand.²⁴⁸ In alluding to the moment of exchange between Mary Bernard and her buyer, who would in all likelihood be white, Nutting suggests recognition of Bernard’s valued production. Despite Bernard’s position as racially different, the implied dialogic relationship with her buyer attenuates a categorical position of inferiority and powerlessness. Ruth Phillips discusses the dialogic nature of souvenir exchanges as “continually destabilizing the stereotypes by stimulating new appropriative acts that threatened, in turn, to blur the outlines of otherness that defined each of the parties involved.”²⁴⁹ Nutting’s alternative approach to a stereotypical motif destabilizes the absolute hierarchical power relations of colonial discourses. However, the effect of the traditional costume also invokes discourses of the noble

²⁴⁶ Ibid, 164.

²⁴⁷ Ruth Holmes Whitehead, “Christina Morris: Micmac Artist and Artist’s Model,” *Material History Bulletin*, (National Museum of Man, Ottawa, Spring 1977), 1-14. Whitehead discusses the life of craftswoman Mary Christianne Paul Morris (1814-1884) whose basketmaking skills were widely recognized. According to Whitehead she was personal friends with two mayors of Halifax and had sent examples of her work to Queen Victoria. Her work was included in Provincial Exhibitions in 1854 and 1868.

²⁴⁸ Whitehead, 41.

²⁴⁹ Phillips, 10.

savage which continued to circulate in the colony. In his study of images of the American Indian, Robert Berkhofer discusses the emergence of the stereotype of the Noble Indian as a means “to pity truly the poor dying Indian.”²⁵⁰ At the same time that Nutting’s image intimates signs of a feminine empathy, a requisite distance is retained in the allusion to an anachronistic past.

Lady Falkland’s representations situate her subjects in the present, deploying a viewing position which does not categorically objectify them. They are both placed at eye level and gaze out of the picture plane suggesting a degree of exchange between artist and sitter. Nancy Lewis, for example, is shown gazing back at the viewer, and her frontal pose potentially alludes to a dialogic exchange. In the *Full-length Portrait of a Micmac Woman* elements of McKie’s work in terms of costume appear to have been appropriated; however, the viewing position Lady Falkland employed is in total contrast to that of the seemingly submissive subject in McKie’s image. Lady Falkland framed the Mi’kmaq woman in a picturesque and distant landscape. The composition is somewhat unusual, for it is rare to see a lone indigenous woman as a dominant point in a landscape setting, unless she holds a particular status. It is reminiscent of paintings by Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788) where portraits of nobles as well as some picturesque studies of the rural poor, including *A Peasant Girl Gathering Faggots* (Figure 46), were set against decorative landscape backgrounds. Gainsborough was influenced by Van Dyck’s work, which we know Lady Falkland copied.²⁵¹ She may have drawn on the

²⁵⁰ Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 88.

²⁵¹ National Archives of Canada, Record 1990-207-60. Among the copy work attributed to Lady Falkland in the album, there is a drawing of a *Portrait of George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham* by Van Dyck which was the source for Thomas Gainsborough’s portrait of *Jonathan Buttal*.

compositional structure of their works which suggests a certain conflation of the Mi'kmaq with European peasantry. Ruth Phillips writes that European travellers tended to liken Aboriginal people and gypsies: "this comparison, however, colourful and picturesque, reinforced the image of the Indian as permanently marginal, dispossessed, and unproductive member of society."²⁵² While Lady Falkland clearly created a distance in the delineation of her subject's racial difference, the viewing position she incorporates does not allow a categorical colonial gaze of power.

Attempts to view the painting of Nancy Lewis in terms of feminine proximity are confounded by the insistence placed on her racial difference as evidenced in the heavy almost excessive tracings of the facial features which define an indigenous physiognomy. The elderly status of the women, which is rarely found in representations of Mi'kmaq women, sets this image apart. This in conjunction with the colourless costume suggest an unusual position. In her discussion of the Mi'kmaq, Reid states that "like many humans who are relegated to the margins of social patterning, they were at times feared and at other times endowed with magical qualities."²⁵³

Such characteristics might be read in the portrait of Nancy Lewis when we consider the object that Lady Falkland incorporated in the painting in the transition from the original sketch. The object has proven ambiguous in contemporary descriptions of the work, variably designated as a pipe and as a pipukwaqn flute.²⁵⁴ While the inability to

²⁵² Phillips, 34.

²⁵³ Arnald van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 26; cited by Reid, 64.

²⁵⁴ Library and Archives Canada, Record 1990-207-76. The record indicates that the object is a pipe. In the Nova Scotia Museum's *Mi'kmaq Portraits Collection* the record states that the object is a pipukwuaqn flute.

clearly identify the object may be explained, in part, by Lady Falkland's sketchy handling and limited technique, the divergent interpretations also allude to the stereotypes and fantasies surrounding images of indigenous peoples. We understand the labeling of the object as a pipe, for innumerable images repeatedly insisted on the stereotype of Mi'kmaq women smoking. However, this portrait is unusual, for Nancy Lewis was not portrayed as smoking, which breaks with the majority of stereotypical motifs, and the long pipe contrasts with the short pipe found in most representations, including Robert Petley's ethnographic study entitled *Squaws of the Micmac Tribe* (Figure 47). Although the Mi'kmaq did produce long pipes, they were often decorated and intended for ceremonial purposes. Decorative techniques often gave the effect of a flute-like instrument (Figure 48) which may explain the reading of the object as a flute.²⁵⁵ If Lady Falkland's intention was to depict a flute, it would be a rare visual representation of Mi'kmaq musical activities. According to anthropologist Wallis, pipukwaqn flutes did exist; however, the description he provides of the instrument as "a thin piece of bark fastened like the tip of a flute" used by children does not correspond to the object in the portrait.²⁵⁶ In more recent research by music ethnologists, the pipukwaqn flute is discussed as an imaginary instrument represented in Mi'kmaq legends associated with a trickster spirit.²⁵⁷ Still another reference to a 'pe-be'gwan' flute is found in the popular

²⁵⁵ Phillips, 156. The photograph is a portrait of Kahkewaquonabi (Rev. Peter Jones). The photograph was produced by Hill and Adamson in England, 1843-48, and is held by the National Portrait Gallery, London. Whitehead, 12. Whitehead discusses other decorative techniques used by Mi'kmaq craftsmen including the use of quillwork which was wrapped around pipes.

²⁵⁶ Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth S. Wallis, *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1955), 191.

²⁵⁷ Beverley Diamond, M. Sam Cronk, and F. Von Rosen, *Visions of Sound: Musical Instruments of First Nations Communities in Northeastern America*, (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press,

captivity account of John Tanner published in 1830, a work that Lady Falkland could conceivably have read.²⁵⁸

While it is possible that Lady Falkland drew on such fictions, I believe it is equally conceivable that her painting is based on the idea of ceremonial pipes which had been represented in numerous textual and visual accounts of North American indigenous peoples since early contact.²⁵⁹ If the object in the painting was intended as a ceremonial pipe, it would imply that Nancy Lewis occupied a certain position of power, for in the context of Mi'kmaq mores, "it is generally agreed that elders were respected and listened to in meetings and that old women spoke out freely on community matters."²⁶⁰ It is the combination of the unusual representation of an elderly woman and the ambiguous object that leads me to consider yet another reading of the image as possibly representing a sacred pipe used in indigenous shamanistic rituals. In a study of North American sacred pipes, their distinguishing characteristics are described: "the bowl is separable from the stem and the two parts are kept apart except during ritual use. That the pipe consists of two parts is itself of symbolic importance and signifies to many Native cultures a pipe of

1994), 186. "The flute (pipukwaqn) is widely mentioned in Micmac mythology in association with the Mi'kmwesu spirit where sound is used as the means of transforming the listener."

²⁵⁸ John Tanner, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. interpreter at the Salut de Ste. Marie) during Thirty Years Residence among the Indians in the Interior of North America*, (Minneapolis, Ross & Haines, 1956; reprint of John Tanner's Narrative published by G. & C.H. Carvill, 1830), 237.

²⁵⁹ Among the numerous textual accounts, Marc Lescarbot's journal of his travels to Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1607, indicated that "the first sign of hospitality and friendship was the proffered pipe." In visual representations, it was usually men who were portrayed holding pipes, and often their powerful status as chief was implied.

²⁶⁰ Philip K. Bock, "Micmac," *Handbook of North American Indians*, W. Sturtevant, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian, 1978), Vol. 15, 114.

religious consequence.”²⁶¹ This description accords with the object in Lady Falkland’s image which includes what appears to be the stem of a pipe; there is no bowl which may also explain the interpretation as a flute. From Lady Falkland’s journal, we know that she had a strong interest in religious customs. Among her discussions of practices in India, she wrote: “This reminds me of a religious sect in North America, of which I so often heard.”²⁶² As was the case in India, Lady Falkland probably heard stories or would have read about religious practices among the indigenous people of North America.²⁶³ One early account from the seventeenth century indicated that “At one time most of the buoin (Mi’kmaq shamans) were women. They could do anything. They talked like any ordinary person, but they had a power somewhere.”²⁶⁴ Shamans were associated with medicine and healing as well as trickery and magic, and pipes were an integral part of their identity.²⁶⁵ If the object in this image linked Nancy Lewis to such ritualistic activities, it would be one of the rare representations of a Mi’kmaq woman in such a powerful position, at the same time revealing a form of resistance to British mores. However, shamanistic or ceremonial practices would necessarily be viewed as superstitious and heathen by Lady Falkland. The close up view of this Mi’kmaq woman would be the pretext for moralizing which, according to Leask, was associated with proximate views in

²⁶¹ Jordan Paper, *Offering Smoke: the Sacred Pipe and Native American Religion*, (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1989), 11.

²⁶² Falkland, Vol. 1, 282.

²⁶³ Ibid, 320. She read widely about religious rituals and traditions and gained information from male friends in India, including the following: “I cannot of course speak as an eyewitness the ceremony is not one I could attend to satisfy my curiosity but I have been assured by a gentleman...”

²⁶⁴ Prins, 93. Prins quotes from the seventeenth century journal of Father LeClercq who wrote about early shamanistic practices and particularly about one woman.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 156-157.

the colonial context.²⁶⁶ It is impossible to know Lady Falkland's intentions in incorporating the object, whether a flute or pipe, in the painting. The alternative take on stereotypical images interjects a sense of fantasy and myth surrounding racial difference in an otherwise realist representation.

This painting along with the sketch of *An Indian Cripple* (Figure 41) are among the most anomalous works in the album. Although anomaly was considered an important element of travel representation, the seeming digression from feminine conventions in these works is surprising. If we consider them in the context of the period when they were produced, probably around 1845, a period of acute famine and illness among the Mi'kmaq, it is possible to explain these seemingly unconventional works in relationship to feminine philanthropy and the civilizing mission. Moreover, Lady Falkland would be able to draw on "the respectability of her social position" which would go "a long way to compensating for her more unfeminine works."²⁶⁷ During this period Lady Falkland continued to hold an esteemed position in the eyes of the local population despite the unfavorable political position of her husband. In this conjuncture, it is possible to consider that, in the same way Lady Falkland made categorical colonial statements when in India, using her relatively powerful role while standing in for her husband, she drew on her position in Nova Scotia to circumvent conventions she generally ascribed to.

By including the ostensibly feminine representations by Ellen Nutting and Mary McKie, Lady Falkland could obviate her own less conventional images. The picturesque detail in their paintings lent an authenticity which displaced Lady Falkland's more

²⁶⁶ Leask, 208.

²⁶⁷ Lewis, 167.

realistic and sometimes anomalous representations. Their works would also lend an authority to the album, for as Nova Scotians they had a more extensive experience of the indigenous peoples. Framed by the two major discourses concerning indigenous peoples circulating during the nineteenth century, their works sustained the myth of the noble Indian or childlike innocence while Lady Falkland engaged more directly with pervasive discourses of the vanishing Indian. Although the Nova Scotia women's images initially appear less ambivalent, like Lady Falkland's portraits, they contain signs of tensions and contradictions inherent in "women's accession to colonial subjectivity filtered through discourses of femininity as well as nation...."²⁶⁸ The various ways the three women resolved the powerful colonial discourses with their feminine position demonstrates that it is not possible to reduce their representations of racial difference to a single feminine strategy. Taken together these images provide a view of the complexity of colonizers representations of the Mi'kmaq in the nineteenth century.

The heterogeneity of these images underlines the complex positions these women occupied. The range of portrayals can be considered in relation to Bhabha's definition of colonial discourses as a "form a discourse crucial to the binding of a range of differences and discriminations that inform the discursive and political practices of racial and cultural hierarchization."²⁶⁹ Although Lady Falkland's album would not inform public practices, its circulation in private settings would serve to confirm the stereotypical discourses of the vanishing indigenous peoples.

²⁶⁸ Lewis, 115.

²⁶⁹ Bhabha, 67.

CONCLUSION

Lady Falkland marked the return home from Nova Scotia in her album with the drawing, *Individual Figure Sketches and a Building in Liverpool* (Figure 49), which was inscribed with the date August 13, 1846. The drawing resembles a lithograph (Figure 50) by Samuel Prout (1783-1852), taken from the publication, *The Artist's Sketch-Book of Groups, Figures, Shipping and Picturesque Objects*.²⁷⁰ Prout, who was noted for his picturesque works of the English countryside as well as views of continental Europe, was also a court painter to King George IV, Queen Victoria as well as King William IV.²⁷¹ Lady Falkland had probably known Prout in the context of the court. In the choice to use a compositional structure generally associated with travel and the picturesque depiction of everyday people engaged in daily occupations, Lady Falkland framed her return home with a traveller's view of the unfamiliar. Although she would inevitably have found much that resembled life in England while in Nova Scotia, the blurring of clear class distinctions among European settlers in the colony would possibly have been destabilizing. Many British writers described the familiarity of Nova Scotians in travel journals: "the lack of ceremony and the "equal intercourse" between different classes appeared to be a distinctive feature of North American society."²⁷² Travel journals also mentioned the lack of homogeneity that "led many travellers to view the inhabitants of

²⁷⁰ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 123. In the illustration Figure 122, there is an example of Prout's lithograph.

²⁷¹ Luke Herrmann, *Nineteenth Century British Painting*, (London: Giles de la Mare Publishers Limited, 2000), 83-86.

²⁷² Chiasson, 76.

the colony not as Nova Scotians but as Indians, Blacks, French, English, Yankee, Irish, Scots or Germans. No single group was typically Nova Scotian.”²⁷³ While it may have been destabilizing for Lady Falkland to compose with these various differences, continually shifting positions in her highly visible role as the Lieutenant Governor’s wife, race would have been the most marked difference. The images from Nova Scotia, comprised principally of the highly visible indigenous people as well as emptied landscapes, displaced any references to the differences of nationality, religion, and class of the settler population.

Despite the gender position Lady Falkland shared with local artists Ellen Nutting and Mary McKie, the study of their representations of Mi’kmaq people, where signs of feminine empathy commingle with colonial distance, reveal that their complex positions also stemmed from differences of national belonging. The discourses that structured the images of Ellen Nutting and Mary McKie appear to be linked to a knowledge that was relatively more entrenched in terms of racial difference. The various images by Lady Falkland, on the other hand, suggest that she held a more ambivalent and contradictory position.

In recent interventions to the album where a number of images have been displaced from their original place disturbing the narrative constructed by Lady Falkland, the seeming divergence between the works of the Nova Scotian artists, which remain affixed in the album, and those by Lady Falkland, which are now loosely inserted, is further emphasized. The images incorporating discourses of noble Indian or patriarchal discourses that infantilized the Mi’kmaq have remained fixed in the album while Lady

²⁷³ Ibid, 79.

Falkland's more anomalous images alluding to discourses of a disappearing race have been removed, reinforcing the seeming split between the images.

The recent addition of Mary McKie's and Ellen Nutting's works from the album to the purview of Canadian visual culture and the exclusion of Lady Falkland's representations would seem to further confirm the dichotomous split. While the works of the Nova Scotia artists have probably been selected, in part, because of their national position as early Canadians, we note that representations by British travellers are also considered within these contexts.²⁷⁴ There seems to be something else at play in the exclusion of Lady Falkland's representations. It is my impression that Lady Falkland's unusual and sometimes disturbing images, which alluded to the marginalization of the Mi'kmaq in the nineteenth century, have been dismissed because they unsettle the fantasies and myths which link indigenous peoples to the past. This exclusion suggests that there is still an apparent need to sustain a distance from EuroCanadian complicity in the discrimination against First Nations peoples.

²⁷⁴ See: Michael Bell, *Painters in a New Land: From Annapolis Royal to the Klondike*, (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1972); Jim Burant, *A Place in History: Twenty Years of Acquiring Paintings, Drawings and Prints at the National Archives of Canada*, Jim Burant, ed. (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1991); Maria Tippett, *By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women*, (Toronto: Viking, 1992); Mary Sparling, *Great Expectations: the European Vision in Nova Scotia, 1749-1848*, (Halifax: Art Gallery, Mount Saint Vincent University, 1980).

APPENDIX A

Images originally mounted in the album.

Folio	Title	Inscription	Image Details	Artist
1	No image			
2	Pencil Study of Two Groups of Middle Eastern Figures	Lord Falkland/1837	pencil on wove paper 11.2 x 26.1 cm	Lord Falkland
3	Landscape with Ruins of Rivaulx Abbey, Yorkshire	Rivaulx Abbey, Yorkshire. E. Santagn[ello]: Feby. 20th. 1828	pencil on cardboard 23.3 x 20.5 cm	A.E. Santagnello
4	Half Length Portrait of a Woman Holding a Book	Mr. Rintoul	watercolour on cardboard 13.0 x cm	William Rintoul
5	Tower of Rama, Syria	Lady Falkland, Rama Syria/1854	pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white gouache on blue-grey tinted wove paper 8.0 x 18.0 cm	Lady Falkland
6	Half Length Portrait Sketch of a Woman	Mr. Ziegler	pen and brown and red ink, brown and red wash, and white gouache on cardboard 20.0 x 18.0 cm	Henry B. Ziegler
7	No image	Dome Wall, India		
8	Marine View in the Levant	Captain Courtenay Boyle	watercolour on wove paper 13.8 x 22.4 cm	Captain Boyle
9	Marine Scene with Architectural Backdrop	Mr. Burgess	pencil on cardboard 11.5 x 15.1 cm	William Burgess
10	Lady thou Weepst for the Maniac's Woe	Olivia C.F. de Roos Lady thou weepst for the maniac's woe/And thou art fair, & thou like me, art young/Oh! may thy bosom never, never know/The pangs with which my wretched heart is wrung	pen and grey ink on wove paper 16.5 x 13.3 cm	Olivia De Roos
11	Three Commedia dell'arte Figures Playing Cards	Bologna, Venezia, Napoli; Mr. Hudson	watercolour over pencil on wove paper 13.8 x 16.0 cm	Sir James Hudson

12	Doge's Palace, Venice from the Dogana, or Custom's House	Venice – Frederic Merger: given to me by the Queen Adelaide; given to me by the Queen Dowager	watercolour on wove paper 9.7 x 4.6 cm	Frederic Mercer
13	Page cut out of album			
14	Pencil Study of Two Middle Eastern Groups, and a Foot	Lord Falkland	pencil on wove paper 21.8 x 27.1 cm	Lord Falkland
15	A Country House	Lady de L'Isle	watercolour on wove paper 19.6 x 27.6 cm	Sophia Sidney
16	Djenin, Syria	Djenen [sic] Syria: Lady Falkland	pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, brown wash, and white gouache on blue-grey tinted wove paper 17.0 x 29.0 cm	Lady Falkland
17	Ruins of Tiberias from the Plain	Tiberias. Syria/Lady Falkland	pen and brown ink, coloured washes, and white gouache on blue-grey tinted wove paper 34.9 x 35.4 cm	Lady Falkland
18	Three Views of St. Ursula, Cologne	Bonn/St. Ursula Cologne Here came a very ugly/Store house and shut St. Ursula & her 11,000 Virgins from/my sight/St. Ursula – Cologne: Lady Falkland	pen and brown ink over pencil on wove paper 18.0 x 14.5 cm	Lady Falkland
19	Chakun India	A recollection of Chakun India/Lady Falkland	watercolour with gum arabic on the figures on wove paper 9.1 x 4.6 cm	Lady Falkland
20	Toontuna, an Indian Musical Instrument	Toontuna/Mahratta Musica/Instrument/Waee. Nour/1851: Lady Falkland	watercolour over pencil on beige tinted wove paper 23.2 x 14. cm	Lady Falkland
21	The Deccan Plain near Dapoonie, India	On the plain near Dapoonie. E. India/Lady Falkland	pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white gouache on wove paper 13.6 x 21.2 cm	Lady Falkland
22	No image	A window in the temple at Wace		
23	Study of a Dendrobium	"My form is in the Wild, music/Granted & Giving/ ...I will all apart from/[earthly] things/Like from [illegible] & Guild": Mahabaeshwur. Dendrobium/March 1851	watercolour over pencil on wove paper 26.0 x 22.0 cm	Unknown artist

24	Norwood House	Norwood Captain Cary	watercolour on wove paper 9.3 x 14.0 cm	Captain Plantagenet- Pierpont Cary
25	No image			
26	Path in the Mahabaleshwur Hills	Lady Falkland/Mahabale[c]hum	pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, brown wash, and gum arabic in the darker areas. on wove paper 13.1 x 22.6 cm	Lady Falkland
27	Pertaubhur in the Mahabaleshwur Hills	Pertaubhur/in the Ghaut near the Mahabaleshum Hills [sic]	Pertaubhur in the Mahabaleshwur Hills, India 13.7 x 22.8 cm	Lady Falkland
28	Landscape with Bridge, Ruins and Animals at River		watercolour on laid paper 7.2 x 11.5 cm	Unknown
29	Landscape with Village Church		watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 28.2 x 36.0 cm	Attr Lady Falkland
30	Two Figures Fishing at a River	H.W. Burgee delt 1834: Mr Burgess	pencil and white gouache on grey wove paper 11.5 x 15.1 cm	Henry Burgess
31	Monk Drinking from a Cask	JH./[Roma]: Mr. Hudson	watercolour over pencil on wove paper 18.0 x 12.0 cm	James Hudson
32	Village of Banias, Syria	Banias/Syria from my tent/April 21 st /54 th Lady Falkland	pen and brown ink, brown wash, white gouache, and gum arabic in the dark brown areas on blue- grey tinted wove paper 19.0 x 26.0 cm	Lady Falkland
33	Page cut out			
34	Page cut out			
35	Eastern Landscape with Temple and Other Structures		brush and brown ink, brown wash, and grey wash over pencil with gum arabic in the dark brown areas on grey tinted wove paper 16.5 x 22.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
36	Mary Bernard Whykokamagh (Nova Scotia)	Mary Bernard Whykokamagh/Cape Breton	watercolour and gum arabic over pencil on wove paper 10.5 x 8.5 cm	Ellen Nutting
37	European Landscape		watercolour and white gouache	Unknown

				over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 19.0 x 30.1 cm	artist
38	Young Girl Holding Flowers			pencil with white gouache and red pencil on wove paper 23.0 x 20.0 cm	Unknown artist
39	Peter Toney	Bought by Lady Falkland: M.R. McKie Fecit: Peter Toney: Miss McKie		watercolour with gum arabic on cardboard 12.0 x 10.0 cm	Mary McKie
40	Figure in a Forest Path	Mr. Rintoul		watercolour on wove paper 16.5 x 12.7 cm	William Rintoul,
41	Portrait of a Micmac Man	Bought by Lady Falkland: Mary R. McKie		watercolour on wove paper 11.0 x 9.0 cm	McKie, Mary
41 (b)	Landscape	Mr. Leech		watercolour on wove paper 11.1 x 12.5 cm	Leech
42	No image				
43	Half Length Portrait of a Young Girl			pencil, pen and grey ink, grey and brown wash on wove paper 19.5 x 15.9 cm	Unknown artist
44	No image	Lady Falkland Mahaba			
45	Two Women at Dover on a Windy Day	Dover May 4 th 1840 easterly breeze: A view at Dover/Captain Cary		watercolour, white gouache, and gum arabic, all over pencil on wove paper 14.1 x 25.2 cm	Captain Plantagenet-Pierpont Cary
46	Country House by a Stream			watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 28.5 x 26.8 cm	Unknown artist
47	Page cut out				
48	The Isle of Wight from Milford	Lady Falkland: Isle of Wight – from Milford – Hampshire Coast – March 30 th – 43/W Phillips		watercolour over pencil on wove paper 6.1 x 31.8 cm	W. Phillips
49	Middle Eastern or Mediterranean Peasant group			watercolour, white gouache, and gum arabic over pencil on purple tinted wove paper 13.3 x 19.0 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
50	Landscape at Sunrise or Sunset	Mr. Leech		watercolour on wove paper 10.9 x 15.2 cm	Leech

51	Copy of a Portrait of Genoese Noblewoman and Her Daughter of Anthony van Dyck	Lady Falkland: No. 5	black and red pencil with white gouache on wove paper 19.0 x 18.0 cm	Lady Falkland
52	Copy of Rubens 1623 Self-portraits Rubens		pen and brown and red ink; brown, red, and grey wash; white gouache; pencil underneath some areas on brown tinted wove paper 20.0 x 19.7 cm	Unknown copyist
52	Copy of a Male Portrait Bust		pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white gouache on brown tinted wove paper 11.0 x 10.0 cm	Unknown
53	Micmac Indian Girl of Nova Scotia	An Indian of Nova Scotia Miss McKie	watercolour and gum arabic over pencil 14.0 x 16.5 cm	Mary McKie
54	Country House by a River		watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 17.8 x 26.4 cm	Unknown
55	Boats Tied up at the Shore at Richmond	Richmond Capt Cary	watercolour over pencil on wove paper 13.4 x 19.4 cm	Captain Plantagenet-Pierpont Cary
56	Individual Figure Sketches and a Building in Liverpool	Old Woman. Liverpool C[or]ry Chimney at Liverpool: August 13 th /1846/Liverpool: Lady Falkland/Liverpool	pencil and white gouache on wove paper 17.4 x 25.4 cm	Lady Falkland
57	Village on a Lake Below a Mountain Range		watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 7.9 x 25.1 cm	Unknown
58	Three Italian Men in Conversation	alloc[ia]mento del Vicario Collegrini con Pozzamenta/Capo di Briganti Re[illegible] A french Peasant Girl; Mrs Wyatt/Pau	pencil on wove paper 18.0 x 23.5 cm	Unknown
58	Village on a lake below a mountain range		watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 16.5 x 30.0 cm	Unknown
59	Sketch of a wooded area with several figures under one tree	H.W. Burgess delt 1834: Mr. Burgess	pencil on beige tinted wove paper 11.5 x 15.1 cm	Burgess, Henryt
60	Landscape with a Castle		pen and brown ink and brown wash on laid paper 7.2 x 11.4 cm	Unknown

61	Portrait of a Woman (Nova Scotia)	Miss McKie Jr.	watercolour with gum arabic in the dark areas, over pencil on wove paper 18.0 x 18.5 cm	McKie, Mary
62	European view with a town		watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 20.3 x 30.2 cm	Unknown
63	No image	Mary McKie Halifax		
64	Person in a Rural Landscape		watercolour over pencil on wove paper 17.1 x 24.2 cm	Unknown
65	Copy portrait of Lord Algernon Percy, 10 th Earl of Northumberland copy of Anthony Van Dyck	Lady Falkland ft.	pencil, white gouache, and red wash on grey tinted wove paper 16.0 x 13.0 cm	Lady Falkland
66	Cart and Figure in a Hill Landscape		pencil on wove paper 21.2 x 27.8 cm	Unknown
67	Portrait (copy?) of a Young Woman of Noly	No 17 Noly [?] 62 encircled	black and red pencil and white gouache on buff wove paper 16.0 x 17.0 cm	Unknown copyist
68	Riverbank Scene in a European City		watercolour on wove paper 17.9 x 10.9 cm	Unknown
69	Left Profile of a Woman		pencil, red wash, and white gouache on grey tinted wove paper 10.0 x 7.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
70	Copy of a Portrait of George Villier, 2 nd Duke of Buckingham		black and red pencil, and white gouache on grey tinted wove paper 25.3 x 13.1 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
71	Mediterranean Port Scene		monochrome brown pen and ink and wash on cardboard 12.3 x 17.8 cm	Unknown
71	Country Village		watercolour over pencil on wove paper 13.5 x 19.5 cm	Attributed Sophia Sidney
72	Lookout on a Cliff		watercolour on wove paper 23.4 x 15.3 cm	Unknown
73	Full Length Profile of a Seated Woman		brown wash and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 20.9 x 19.3 cm	Unknown
74	Two trees on a hillside		pencil on wove paper 17.5 x 18.2 cm	Attributed to Henry Burgess

75	Goatherd and Goats in a Landscape			brush and brown ink, and brown wash on wove paper 7.5 x 11.2 cm	Unknown
75	Coastal Scene			watercolour on wove paper 10.2 x 15.0 cm	Unknown
76	Lady Amelia Falkland		John Hayter 1830/Pavilion	pencil with red, white, blue, and black chalk on beige tinted wove paper 21.4 x 18.5 cm	John Hayter
77	Chair designed by Pillow		Chair in our sitting room at/Bushy, Created by Dear/Pillow	pencil on wove paper 11.9 x 8.1 cm	Unknown
77	Young Girl with a Bird			pen and brown ink, brown wash on wove paper 11.1 x 11.2 cm	Unknown

Images originally mounted in the album, but are now loose.

Title	Inscription	Image Details	Artist
Mountain Landscape with Stream		watercolour, white gouache, and brown ink on grey tinted wove paper 30.4 x 20.2 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Peter Toney	Peter Toney	watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 23.8 x 19.7 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Nancy Lewis, left profile		watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 13.0 x 11.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Nancy Lewis	Nancy Lewis	pencil with watercolour and white gouache on grey tinted wove paper 14.5 x 16.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Anne Alexis	Anne Alexis 1845	watercolour and brown ink over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 13.0 x 7.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Full length Portrait of a Mi'kmaq Woman		oil on canvas 30.9 x 20.3 cm	Unknown artist
Nancy Lewis		oil on canvas 21.6 x 20.3 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
A Negro Male	1845	pencil, red wash, and white gouache on wove paper 31.6 x 25.1 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland (this does not appear to be done by Lady Falkland)
Unidentified Portrait of a Negro Youth (probably on page 63)	Miss McKie ft/ Halifax Nova Scotia	watercolour and gum arabic over pencil / aquarelle avec gomme arabique sur crayon on cardboard 8.0 x 7.0 cm	Mary McKie
Unfinished Nova Scotian Landscape		pencil and brown wash on wove paper 25.1 x 28.8 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
View of the Gas Works, Halifax		pencil on wove paper 28.8 x 25.1 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Trees and Houses in Nova Scotia		pencil on grey tinted wove paper 11.0 x 11.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Eastern family, with tent		watercolour, white gouache, pen and brown ink, and gum arabic, all over pencil on wove paper 15.2 x 25.3 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
South American Fruit Tree (Anorea Cherinolia?)	Anorea Cher[illeg.] Jolia	watercolour over pencil on wove paper 20.5 x 9.5 cm	Unknown artist

View Looking out to Sea	watercolour on wove paper 4.0 x 6.5 cm	Unknown artist
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Images cut out off the album.

Two figures in a boat on a body of water below a chain of Hills		pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, brown wash, grey wash, and white gouache, all over pencil on beige tinted wove paper 20.5 x 28.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Judge Haliburton on Horseback	Judge Haliburton/ Mr Torre Halifax Nova Scotia	pencil on wove paper 16.8 x 23.3 cm	Mr. Torre
Duke of Kent's Music Room	The Rotunda or the music room/in the D. of Kent's time-/N. Scotia/1844	watercolour over pencil on wove paper 19.7 x 29.8 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Four Ladies in Evening Dress Nova Scotia	Emma Haliburton	watercolour over pencil on wove paper 5.5 x 4.3 cm	Emma Haliburton
Ten women and Four Men in Evening Dress	Emma Haliburton	pencil with watercolour over pencil on wove paper 13.5 x 17.2 cm	Emma Haliburton
Luncheon at the Mess Room on the Day of the Sham Fight	Luncheon at the Mess Room the day of the/Sham fight/July 26 th / Emma Haliburton/ Halifax Nova Scotia	pencil, and watercolour over pencil on wove paper 14.3 x 27.0 cm	Emma Haliburton
Eleven Figures waiting at a Wharf	Sketch on/Steam Boat Wharf	watercolour over pencil on wove paper 20.2 x 27.8 cm	Unknown artist
Falkland Village	Sketch of the Church/at Falkland Village,/Ferguson's Cove	watercolour with gum arabic in two areas, over pencil on wove paper 20.2 x 27.7 cm	Unknown artist

Images from another album, inserted loosely.

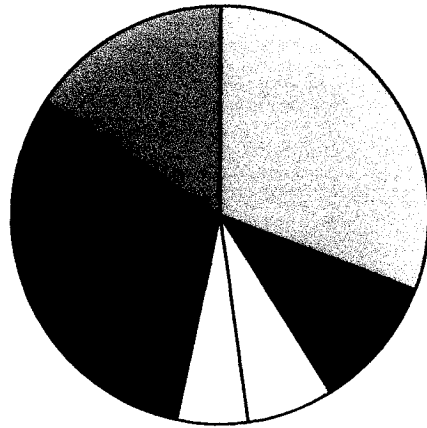
Title	Inscription	Image Details	Artist
Dartmouth	Augusta, U, [U is crossed out] and Ellen N./with me/ Dartmouth N. Scotia/1844	pencil on beige tinted wove paper 16.2 x 23.3 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Rural Windsor	Windsor Nova Scotia 1844/ Susan, Augusta & Laura with me/ Windsor from Mrs. Tongue's (?) Hill	pencil on beige tinted wove paper 25.1 x 34.0 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Annapolis Royal Harbour	Augusta with me/ Annapolis N. Scotia. 1844	pencil on beige tinted wove paper 14.2 x 25.1 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Town and Harbour of Pictou	Augusta, Lord [F], and Lucius/with me/ Pictou. N. Scotia 1844	pencil on wove paper 25.1 x 32.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Governor's Farm, Halifax	Susan with me/ The Governor's farm Halifax/N. Scotia 1844	pencil on beige tinted wove paper 25.0 x 33.8 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland

Images that were originally inserted loosely in the album.

Title	Inscription	Image Details	Artist
Aragonese Peasant	Arragonez [sic] Peasant/a sketch from nature	pencil, pen and brown ink, brown wash on grey tinted wove paper 29.3 x 17.8 cm	Lady Falkland
French Woman Washing Clothes	Eaux bonnes/1840	brown wash and gum arabic over pencil on wove paper 27.4 x 21.2 cm	Lady Falkland
Old French Beggar	Quand j'étois jeune j'étois joli/comme vous! in pencil on support recto, l.l. partially under wash:An old french beggar/Pau 1840	watercolour over pencil on brown tinted wove paper 21.0 x 31.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
View from Place Royale, Pau	View from Place royale 1839 Sept./Pau	pencil and white gouache on brown tinted wove paper 20.0 x 27.2 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
View of Pau from Montebello	Town of Pau taken near Montebello/[feb] 1839	pencil and white gouache on beige tinted wove paper 23.6 x 32.1 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Indian Cripple (Nova Scotia)		watercolour and gum arabic over pencil on grey tinted wove paper 30.4 x 20.3 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Three Mile Church (Nova Scotia)	Sketch of Three Mile Church	watercolour over pencil on wove paper 20.2 x 27.8 cm	Unknown artist
Street through a Village, possibly Nova Scotia		pencil on wove paper 18.4 x 26.5 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland
Landscape with trees		pen and brown ink; brush and brown ink on wove paper 12.5 x 11.2 cm	Unknown Artist
Sketch of a Woman's Head		pencil on brown tinted wove paper 21.0 x 14.0 cm	Attributed to Lady Falkland

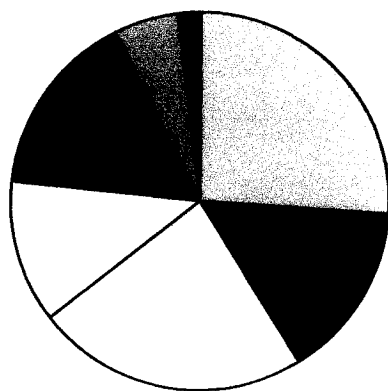
APPENDIX B

Lady Falkland Album: Images by Location



- Great Britain
- Europe
- ▨ Middle East
- ▩ India
- Nova Scotia
- ▧ Unidentified

Lady Falkland Album: Types of Images



- Individual figures/ Portraits
- Landscape with figures
- ▨ Landscape/Townscape
- ▩ Genre mostly figures
- Genre
- ▧ Copy
- Botanical

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FIGURES



Figure 1. Sir George Hayter. *Fitzclarence Children at Bushy*, c. 1830.
House of Dun, National Trust of Scotland.



Figure 2. John Hayter, *Lady Amelia Falkland*, 1830, pen and brown ink, brown wash on wove paper, 11.1 cm. x 11.2 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

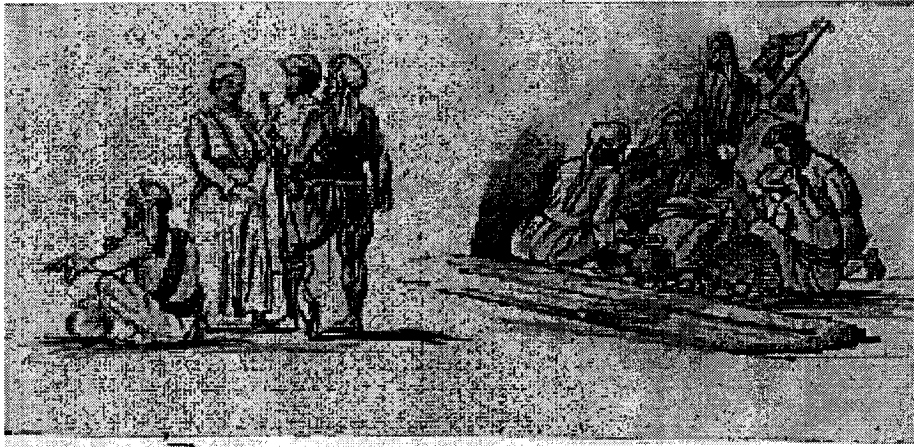


Figure 3. Lord Falkland, *Two Groups of Men in the Middle East*, pencil on wove paper, 1837, 11.2 cm. x 26.1 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 4. Lord Falkland, *Two Middle Eastern Figure Groups, and a Foot*, 1837, pencil on wove paper, 21.8 cm. x 27.1 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



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Figure 5. Anonymous, *Half-length Portrait Sketch of a Young Girl*, n.d. pencil, pen and grey ink, grey and brown wash on wove paper, 19.5 cm. x 15.9 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 6. Mary McKie, *Portrait of a Woman*, n.d., watercolour with gum arabic in the dark areas, over pencil on wove paper, 18.0 cm. X 18.5 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 7. Anonymous, Drawing of Augusta and Amelia Fitzclarence, c. 1820.
From Claire Tomalin, *Mrs. Jordan's Profession: the Actress and the Prince*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), unpagged.



Figure 8. Captain Plantagenet-Pierpont Cary, *Two Women at Dover on a Windy Day*, 1840, watercolour, white gouache, and gum arabic, all over pencil on wove paper, 14.1 cm. x 25.2 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 9. Anonymous, *Middle Eastern or Mediterranean Peasant Group*, n.d., watercolour, white gouache, and gum arabic over pencil on purple tinted wove paper, 13.3 cm. x 19.0 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 10. Lady Falkland, *Aragonese Peasant*, n.d., pencil, pen and brown ink, brown wash on grey tinted wove paper, 29.3 cm. x 17.8 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

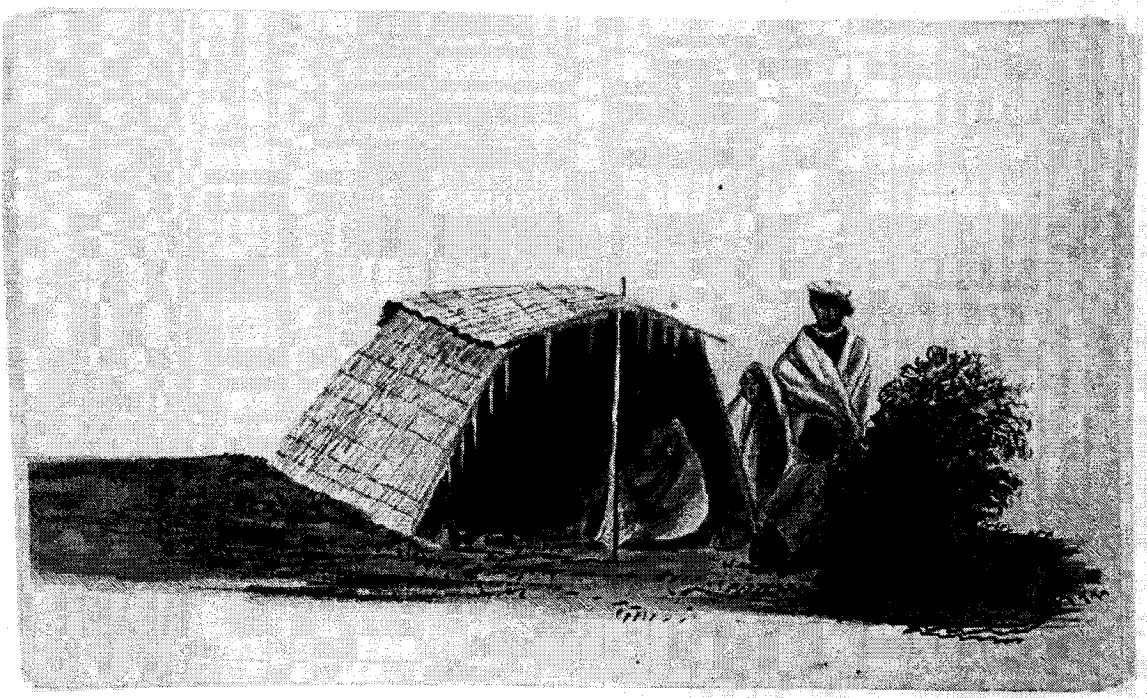


Figure 11. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Eastern Family with Tent*, n.d., watercolour, white gouache, pen and brown ink, and gum Arabic, all over pencil on wove paper, 15.2 cm. x 25.3 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 12. Lady Falkland, *Path in the Mahabaleshwur Hills*, n.d., pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, brown wash, and gum arabic on wove paper, 13.1 cm. x 22.6 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

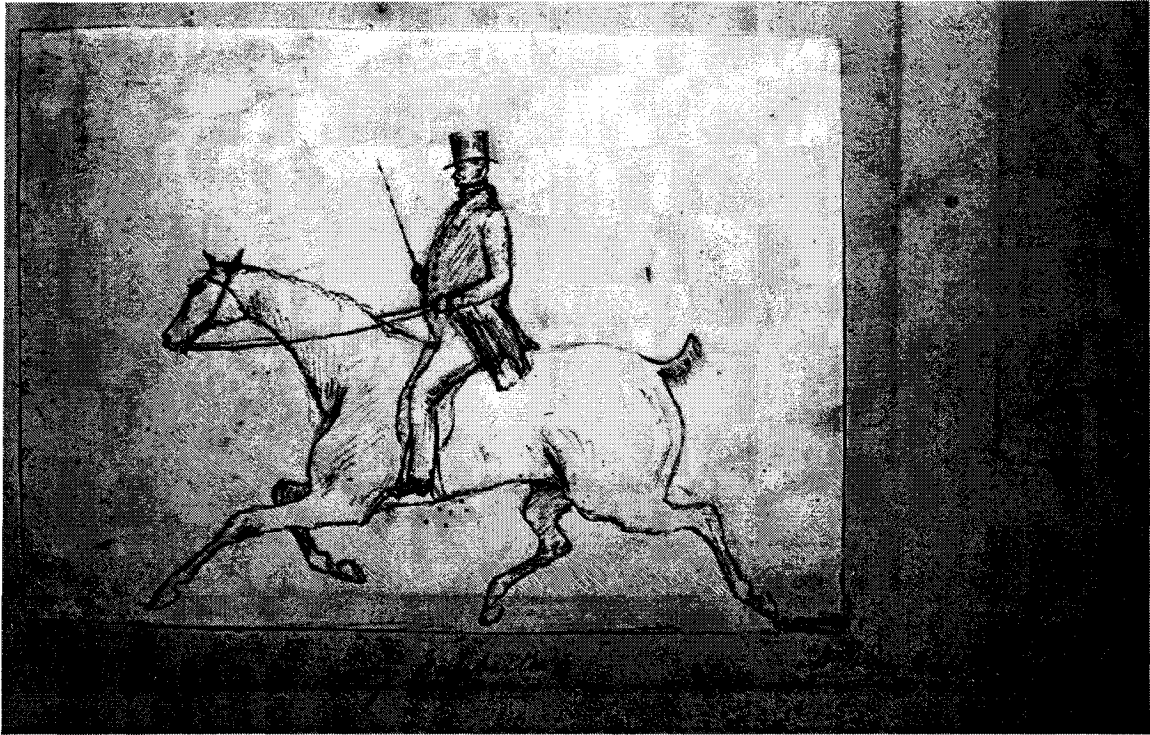


Figure 13. Mr. Torre, *Judge Haliburton on Horseback*, n.d., pencil on wove paper, 16.8 cm. x 23.3 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

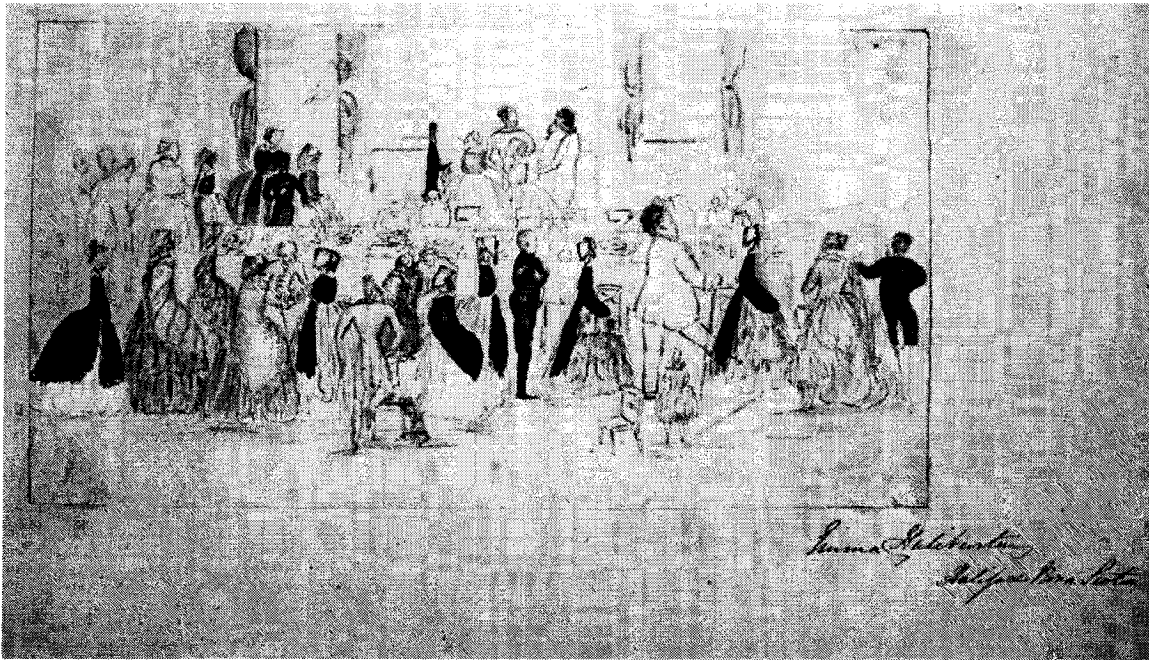


Figure 14. Emma Haliburton, *Luncheon at the Mess Room on the Day of the Sham Fight*, 1844, pencil, and watercolour over pencil on wove paper, 14.3cm. x 27.0 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 15. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Rural Windsor*, 1844, pencil on beige tinted wove paper, 25.1 cm. x 34.0 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 16. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Duke of Kent's Music Room*, 1844, watercolour over pencil on wove paper, 19.7 cm. x 29.8 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 17. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Governor's Farm*, 1844, pencil on beige tinted wove paper, 25.0 cm. x 33.8 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 18. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Town and Harbour of Pictou*, 1844, pencil on wove paper, 25.1 cm. x 32.5 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

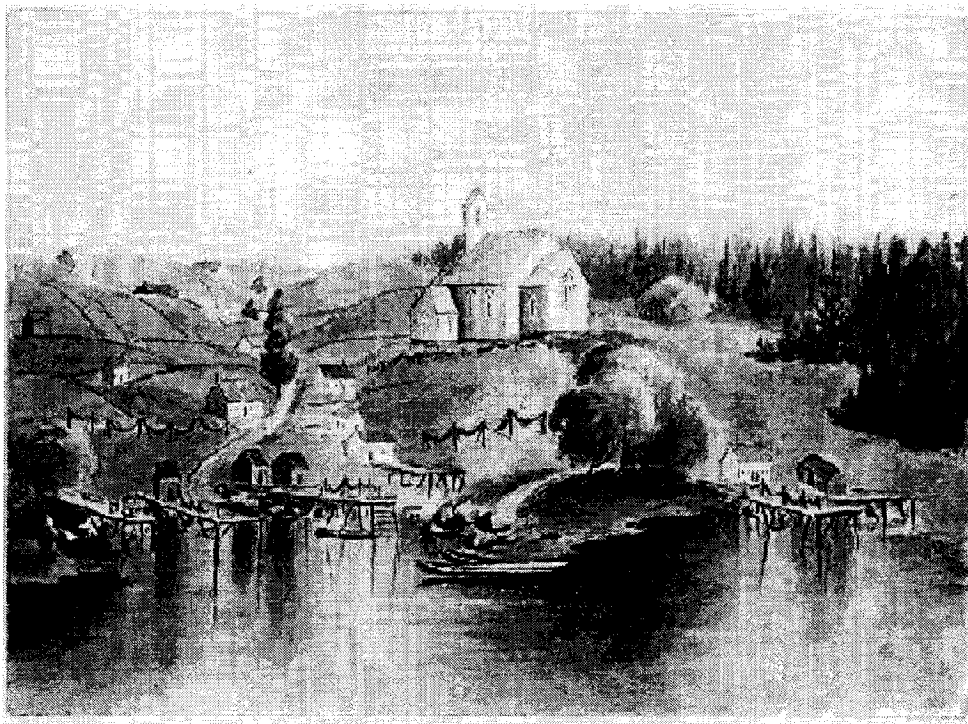


Figure 19. Anonymous, *Falkland Village, Ferguson's Cove*, n.d., watercolour with gum arabic in two areas, over pencil on wove paper, 20.2 cm. x 27.7 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

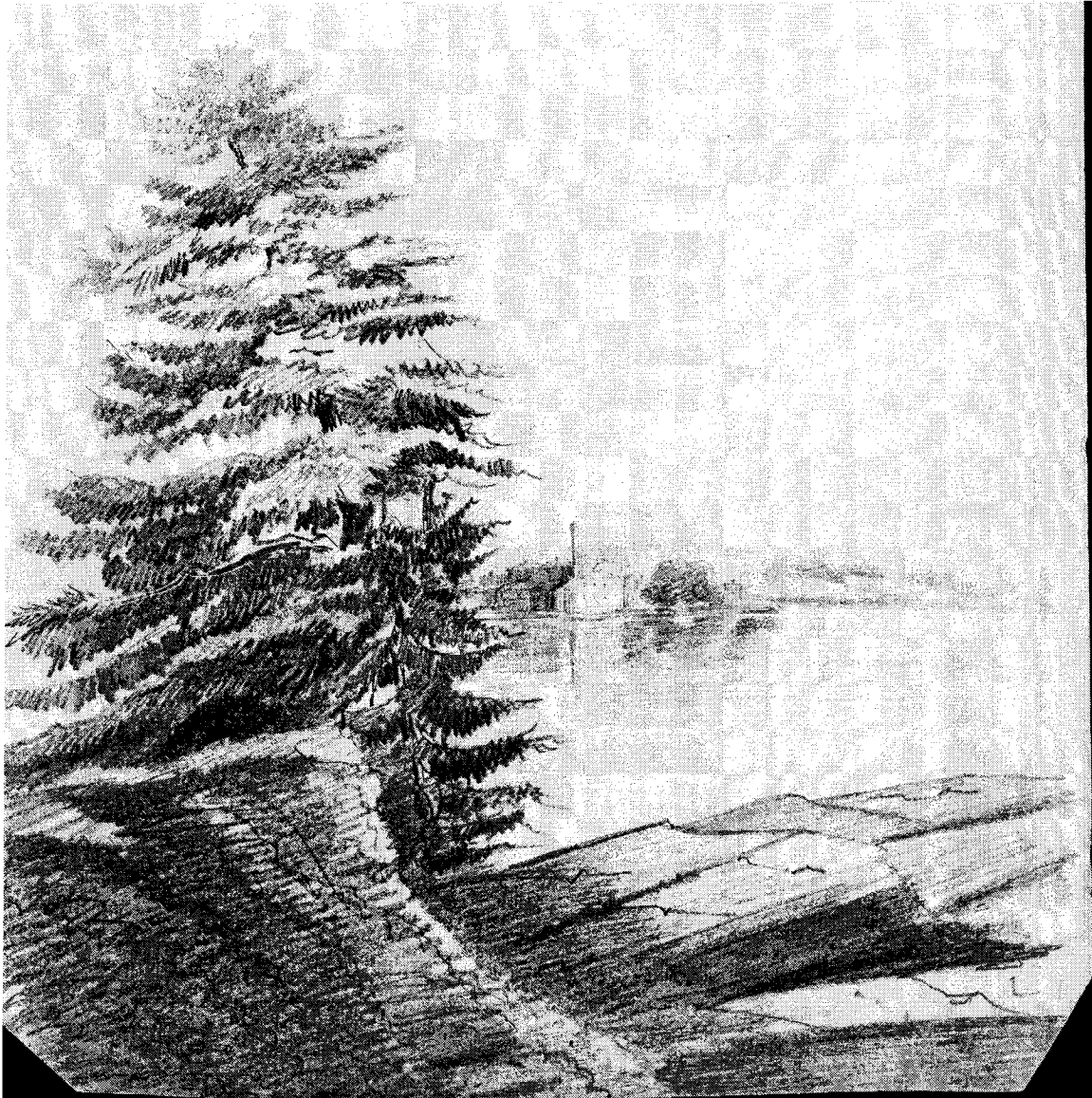


Figure 20. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *View of the Gas Works, Halifax*, n.d., pencil on wove paper, 28.8 cm. x 25.1 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

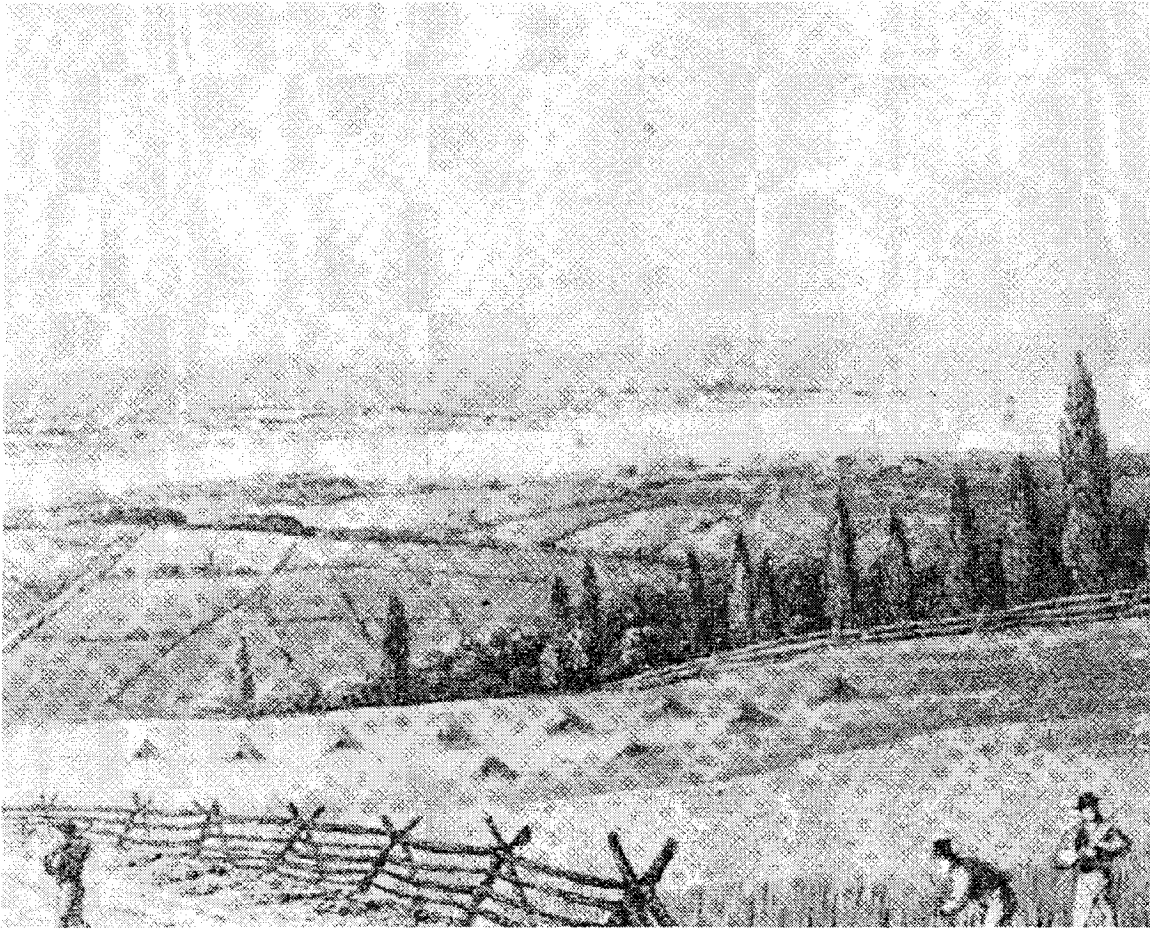


Figure 21. William Moorsom, *Cape Blow-Me-Down, and the Bason of Mines, from the Horton Mountains*, 1830, drawing. From William Moorsom, *Letters from Nova Scotia*, (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1830).



Figure 22. John Woolford, *Perspective View of the Province Building*, 1819, etching with aquatint, finished with watercolour. Published in Halifax, 1819.

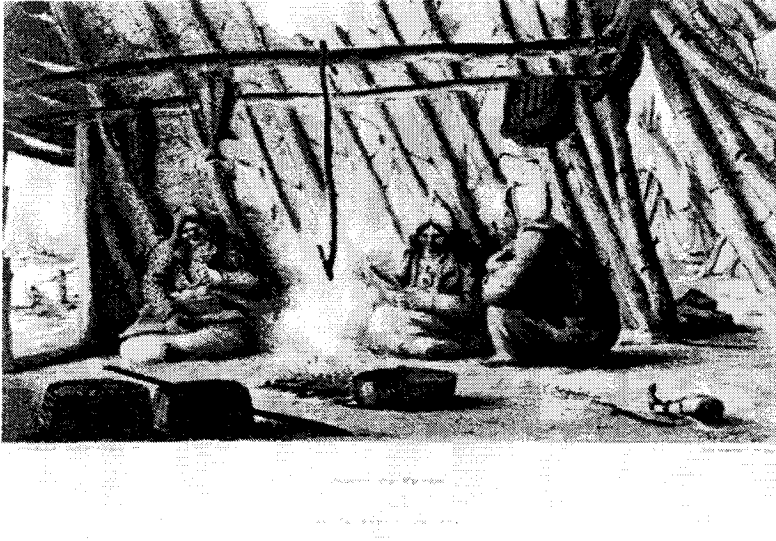


Figure 23. Robert Petley, *Interior of a Wigwam*, 1837, lithograph, 16.9 cm. x 28.7 cm. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 24. Robert Petley, *Indian of the MicMac Tribe*, 1837, lithograph, 21.0 cm. x 16.5 cm. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 25. Robert Petley, *View of Halifax from the Indian Encampment at Dartmouth*, 1836, lithograph. Published in London: Day & Hughe, 1837.

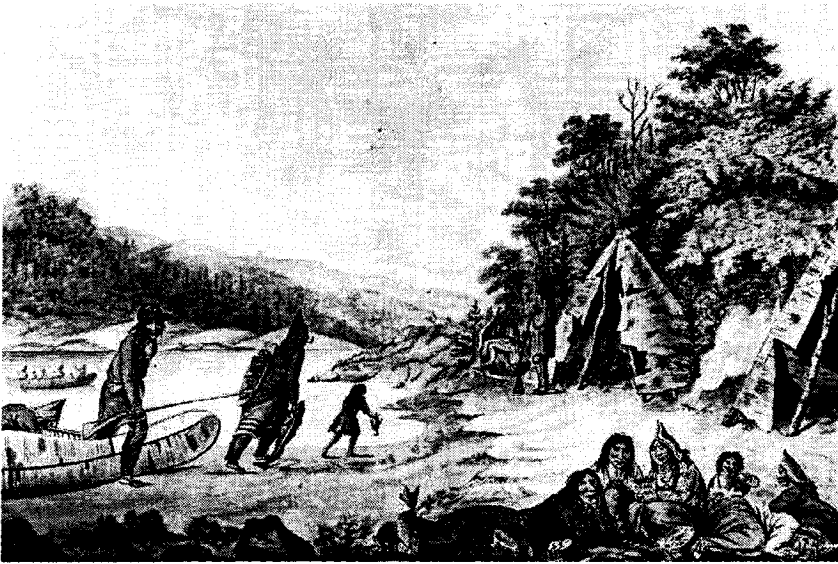


Figure 26. Hibbert Binney, *Mi'kmaq Encampment*, c. 1791, watercolour, pencil and ink, Nova Scotia Museum.

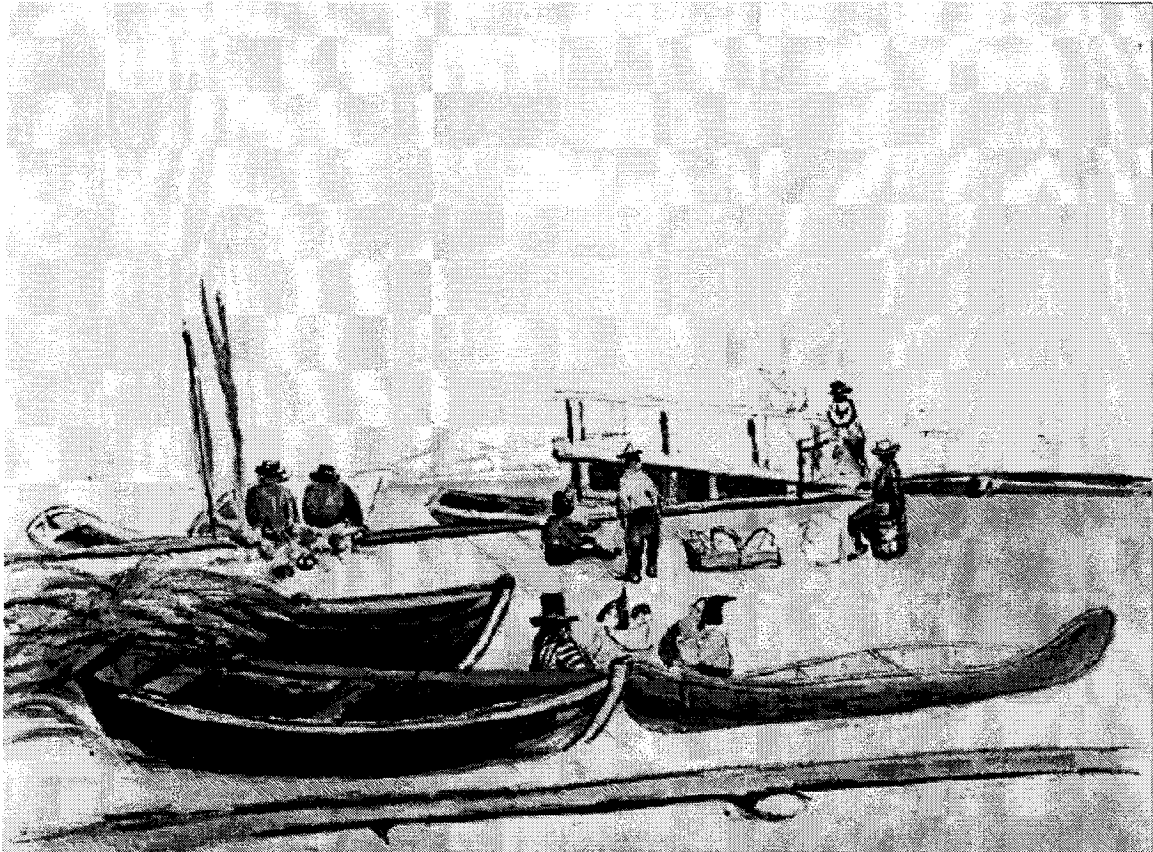


Figure 27. Anonymous, *Eleven Figures Waiting at the Steam Boat Wharf*, n.d., watercolour over pencil on wove paper, 20.2 cm. x 27.8 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

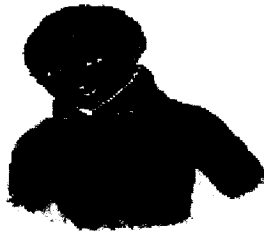


Figure 28. Mary McKie, *Unidentified Portrait of Negro Youth*, n.d., watercolour and gum arabic over pencil, 8.0 cm. x 7.0 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 29. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *A Negro Male*, 1845, pencil, red wash, and white gouache on wove paper, 31.6 cm. x 25.1 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 30. Ellen Nutting, *Mary Bernard Whykokamagh/Cape Breton*, n.d., watercolour and gum arabic over pencil on wove paper, Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 31. Mary McKie, *Micmac Indian Girl of Nova Scotia*, n.d., watercolour and gum arabic over pencil, 14.0 cm. x 16.5 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 32. Mary McKie, *Portrait of a Micmac Man*, n.d., watercolour on wove paper, 11.0 cm. x 9.0 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

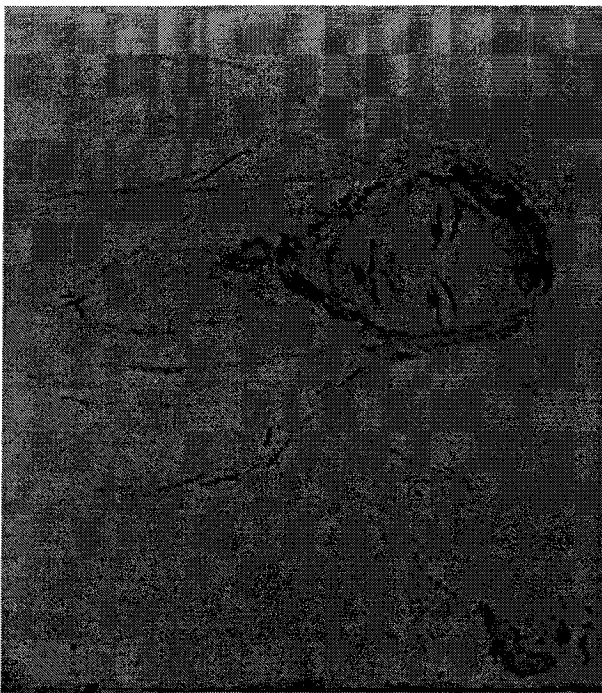


Figure 33. Mary McKie, [*Alex Alexis*]. From *Sketchbook*, unpublished, p. 165. Nova Scotia Museum.



Figure 34. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Anne Alexis*, 1845, watercolour and brown ink over pencil on grey tinted wove paper, 13.0 cm. x 7.5 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 35. Mary McKie, *Peter Toney*, n.d., watercolour with gum arabic on cardboard, 12.0 cm. x 10.0 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 36. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Peter Toney*, n.d., watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove, 23.8 cm. x 19.7 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 37. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Nancy Lewis, Left Profile*, n.d., watercolour and white gouache over pencil on grey tinted wove paper, 13.0 cm. x 11.5 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 38. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Nancy Lewis*, n.d., pencil with watercolour and white gouache on grey tinted wove paper, 14.5 cm. x 16.5 cm , Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 39. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Nancy Lewis*,
n.d., oil on canvas, 21.6 cm. x 20.3 cm. Lady Falkland
Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 40. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Full length Portrait of a Micmac Woman*, n.d., oil on canvas, 30.9 cm. x 20.3 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 41. Lady Falkland (Attributed to), *Indian Cripple*, n.d., watercolour and gum Arabic over pencil on grey tinted wove paper, 30.4 cm. x 20.3 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 42. Mary McKie, *Micmac Girl*, 1849, watercolour over pencil on heavy wove paper laid down on grey album folio, 11.6 cm. x 9.5 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

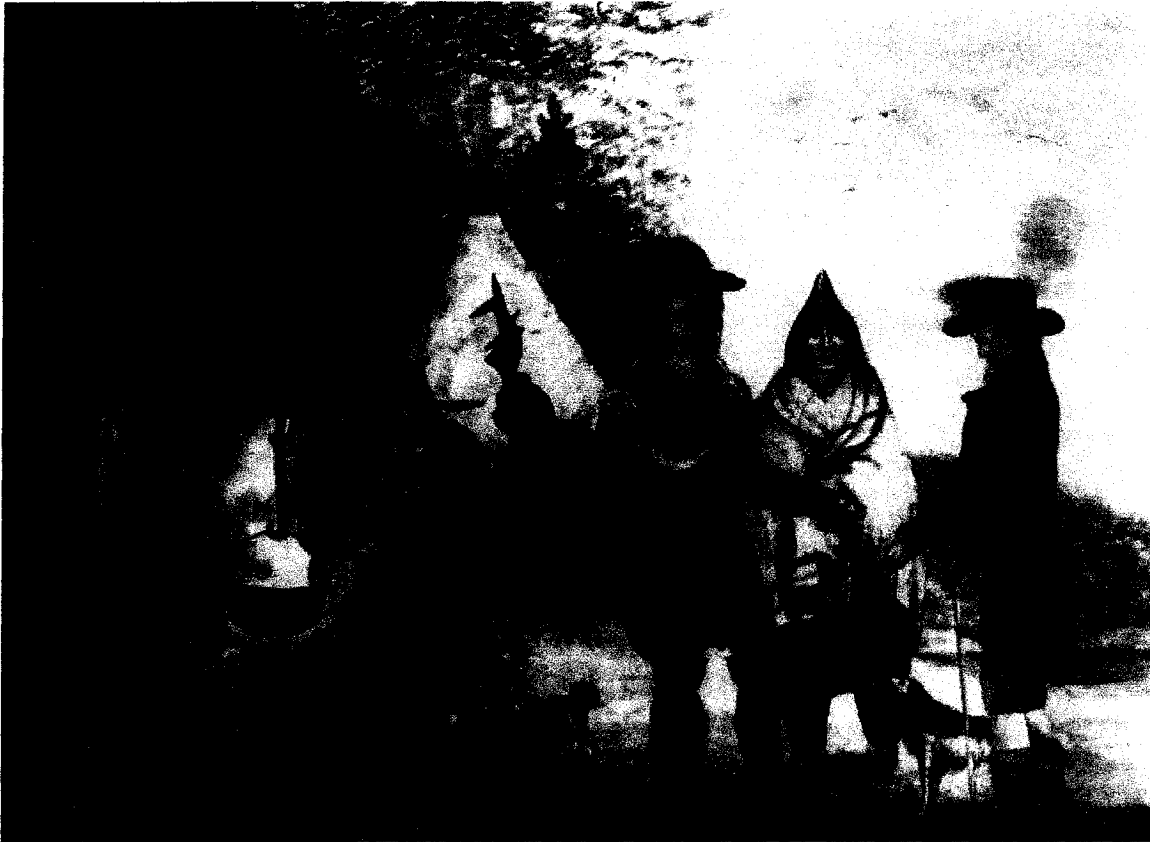


Figure 43. John Cunningham (Attributed to), *Micmacs Conversing with a European*,
c. 1790, watercolour on paper, 23 cm. x 34.5 cm. Art Gallery of Nova Scotia.



Figure 44. Mary McKie, [*Sketch*] From *Sketchbook*, unpublished, p. 117, Nova Scotia Museum.

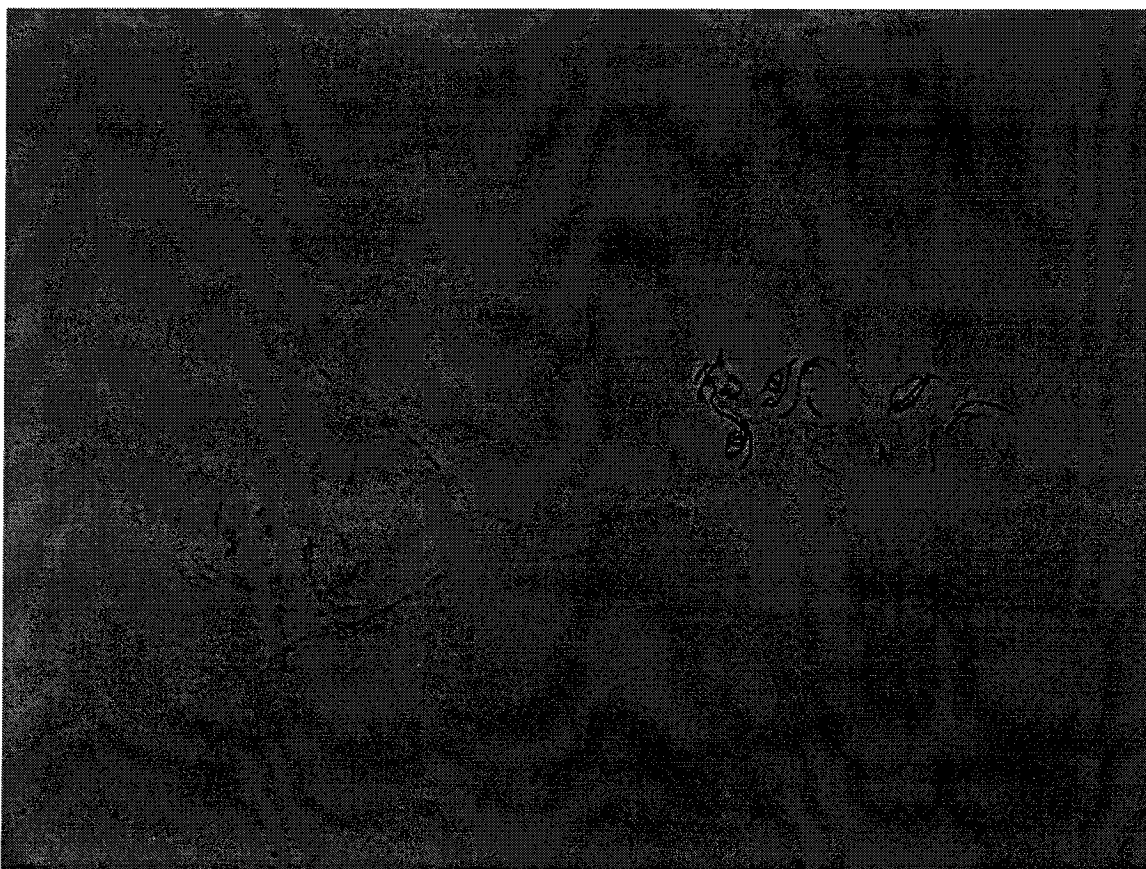


Figure 45. Mary McKie, [*Sketch*] From *Sketchbook*, unpublished, p. 127, Nova Scotia Museum.



Figure 46. Thomas Gainsborough, *Peasant Girl Gathering Faggots*, 1782, oil on canvas, 123 cm. X 169 cm. Manchester Art Gallery.



Figure 47. Robert Petley, *Squaws of the Micmac Tribe*, c. 1837, coloured dlithograph on chine colle paper, 29.2 cm. X 37.4 cm.. Library and Archives Canada.



Figure 48. Photograph of Kahkewaquonabi (Rev. Peter Jones),
Photographed by Hill and Adamson, 1843-48.
National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 49. Lady Falkland, *Individual Figure Sketches and a Building in Liverpool*, 1846, pencil and white gouache on wove paper, 17.4 cm. x 25.4 cm. Lady Falkland Album. Library and Archives Canada.

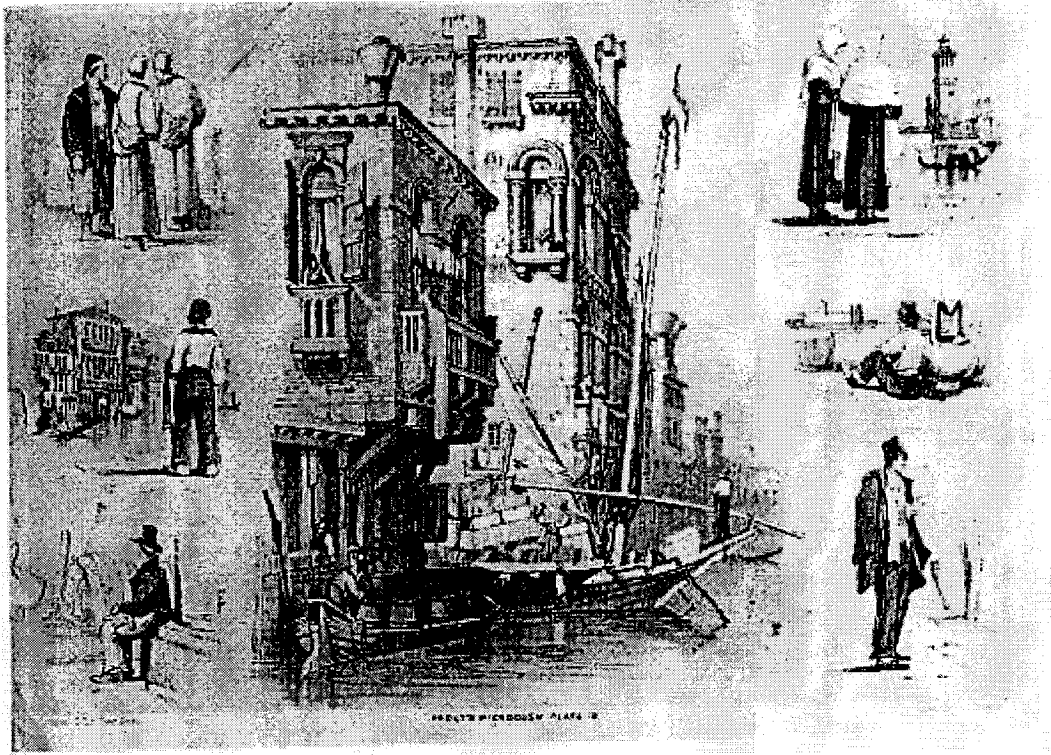


Figure 50. Samuel Prout, Plate XXVII, lithograph. From Prout's *Microcosm: The Artist's Sketchbook of Groups of Figures, Shipping, and Other Picturesque Objects*, 1841. From Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 123.