Lady Caroline Bucknall Estcourt's Album

Revealing the Expressive Discourse Concealed within a Victorian Cultural Artifact

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ABSTRACT

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Patricia Sheppard

Albums, defined when new by their barrenness, have long served as welcoming repositories for words, pictures and keepsakes. They are cultural artifacts that leave behind traces of a rhetorical impulse to express oneself in a wide range of topics including family, social, political and economic concerns. It is only recently, however, that scholars have begun to recognize their potential as a source for academic research.

Lady Bucknall Estcourt, a British aristocratic military wife, worked on such an album for nearly forty years (1837-1875), five of which were spent accompanying her husband during two military postings in Canada. Despite the lack of overtly personal content and the initial impression of randomness conveyed by the materials within the album, a detailed analysis reveals the presence of a coherent, vital, and very personal narrative. What is intriguing is that this has been accomplished as much through the absence as through the presence of its creator. Using a variety of coding techniques, she memorialized important events of her life. She engaged with the important discourses of her era by making her husband's military career and, by extension, Great Britain's much larger imperial project important subjects of her album. Through my work of decoding, this thesis sheds new light on *how* one aristocratic Victorian woman used the material and visual culture at her disposal to express her own identity. By understanding the *how*, it has been possible to gain insight into the *what*, the impact of the broader concerns of an era on one woman, and thus to provide a uniquely feminine perspective.

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I would like to thank a number of archives, including Library and Archives Canada, the University of Vermont Bailey/Howe Library Special Collections, and two archives in England: the Cornwall Records Office and the Gloucestershire County Records Office. I would also like to offer a special thanks to Sharon Thayer from the University of Vermont who worked tirelessly with me to scan 160 letters written by Caroline Bucknall Estcourt to George Perkins Marsh. These letters were invaluable.

I would like to thank Sir Richard Carew Pole, sitting baronet and great grandnephew of Lady Bucknall Estcourt who graciously invited me to visit Antony House, the country estate in Cornwall where Bucknall Estcourt grew up and spent the first thirty-one years of her life. He freely shared numerous insights into Caroline's life prior to her marriage. These have greatly enhanced my reading of the album.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. My husband, Dalius Briedis, has been steadfast in his support of my academic pursuits. His enthusiasm for my work, his willingness to brainstorm ideas and offer critiques has contributed greatly to this thesis. And last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my son Jonas who, by personifying what becomes possible when one allows an unbounded curiosity to be their guide, has inspired me to stretch the boundaries of my own intellect.

DEDICATION

In loving memory of my mother, Marjorie Sheppard (1918 – 1993)

"If I had a flower for every time I thought of you…
I could walk through my garden forever."

Alfred, Lord Tennyson

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Cornwall Records Office (Truro, UK)	CRO
George Perkins Marsh Collection (University of Vermont, VT)	GPMC
Gloucestershire Records Office (Gloucester, UK)	GRO
Library and Archives Canada	LAC

Introduction

Lady Caroline Bucknall Estcourt directed a significant portion of her creative energy from 1837 to 1875 towards compiling an album she used as a repository for drawings, watercolors, prints, letters and poems. While this album is a substantive creative production on its own, it should be noted that she was a talented amateur artist who also created at least 24 additional watercolors and lithographs depicting Canadian locales that she did not make part of the album. The National Archives of Canada acquired the album in March 1979 as part of the Lawrence M. Lande Collection,[1] but this is the first time that it has been the subject of an in-depth study. Bucknall Estcourt received the album as a wedding gift and worked on it during the 18 years in which she accompanied her military husband on postings throughout the British Empire. Four of these years were spent in Canada during the course of two separate postings, 1838-1839 and 1843-1844. This phase of her life came to an abrupt end in 1855 with her husband's death in the Crimean War, but she continued to work on the album for an additional 20 years.

The album contains approximately 120 pages. It measures 29.3 x 23.8 cm. and contains both plain and embossed paper. The folio pages vary in color and include green, pink, plain, yellow, brown, and grey sheets. At first glance, the album's contents appear to have little in the way of a chronological order. Where dates have been included they are not sequential, suggesting to the casual observer that the album may be nothing more than a random collection of memorabilia. The first 76 pages of the album (roughly two

[1] Dr. Lawrence M. Lande, inspired by his love of Canadian history, compiled a substantial collection of Canadian materials. He was interested in all aspects of Canadian history from its discovery and exploration to its historical development to the end of the 19th century. The Lande Canadiana Collection at McGill and the Lande Collection at Library and Archives Canada are repositories of Canadian historical memory.

thirds of its total) correspond with Bucknall Estcourt's life as a military wife (1837 – 1855). It is worth noting that, unlike the portion of the album that corresponds to her life as a widow, this portion of the album's contents appear to have been edited, most particularly the segment that corresponds with the period 1843-1855, beginning with the end of the couples' first Canadian posting and continuing up until the point where images of the Crimean war appear. A number of folio pages have been cut out of the album leaving behind little more than folio stubs. It is apparent that some of these removed pages contained text as fragments of words remain on some of the folio stubs, while others reveal no trace of what might have been on the deleted pages. It is also here that, in contradistinction to her more customary practice of writing directly on the album's pages, she includes for the first time narrative written on separate sheets of paper and glued into the album, suggesting that material may have been added after the fact as part of a retrospective editing process. Transcribed passages appear in a number of languages, including English, Ojibway, French, Italian and German. They consist of literary and religious material encompassing a wide range of topics and emotions, while simultaneously providing evidence of an educated and deeply religious woman.

Bucknall Estcourt was a talented amateur artist, and watercolors of the places she visited in Canada are included in her husband's album, which is also in the Library and Archives Canada collection. Because this is the first thesis to examine Bucknall Estcourt's creative practice, I have included images of these works in an appendix, to serve as a reference to future scholars. It is less these individual watercolors than her own album that will particularly interest me here, however, and from *its* pages Bucknall Estcourt's artistry is surprisingly absent. She personally created only nine of the 54 sketches and watercolors included. Most of these are scenes of Canadian locales she

herself had not visited and are clearly identified as works copied from the efforts of other amateur artists.[2] Even where she is known to have painted original compositions of locales that she had herself experienced firsthand, Bucknall Estcourt chose not to include her own works in her album, instead inserting watercolors painted by other amateur artists.[3] Similarly, all of the text in the album – which accounts for more than half of its folio pages, is comprised of borrowed and transcribed verbal material. Not a single sentence is expressed in Bucknall Estcourt's own voice. In this sense, the album serves as an example of a practice that was then known as *commonplacing*, one in which men and women "transcribed selected passages from their reading as a resource for thinking, writing and talking."

Kate Chedgzoy's analysis of women's commonplace writing situates this practice as a form of "life-writing",[4] and despite the lack of overtly personal content and the initial impression of randomness conveyed in Caroline Bucknall Estcourt's album, I wish to propose a similar interpretation of it. Indeed a careful reading of the album, supported by extensive archival research, reveals the presence of a coherent, vital, and very personal narrative. What is intriguing is that Bucknall Estcourt managed to accomplish this as much through her absence as through her presence. She is present, in the sense that she was the album's author and responsible for choosing what to include, where to include it,

[2] These are landscapes illustrating Private Townsend's account of the march of the 43rd Regiment from New Brunswick to Quebec during the winter of 1837-38, prior to Bucknall Estcourt's arrival in Canada.

[3] Watercolors depicting Niagara Falls, rural Quebec and New Brunswick painted by Caroline Bucknall Estcourt can be found in an album compiled by her husband, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt, who was also an amateur artist. His album is also part of the Lande Collection at Library and Archives Canada. LAC also has in its collection a number of additional watercolors painted by CBE depicting the New Brunswick area that have been donated by Miss Marguerite and Mrs. Yvonne Mahuzies. All these works are illustrated in the appendix to this thesis.

[4] Kate Chedgzoy, *Women's Writing in The British Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 36.

and how to group things together, yet she also absents herself in the sense that she uses pre-authored narrative and, for the most part, visual material created by others. In seeking to understand this aspect of absence, I contend that Bucknall Estcourt used a variety of coding techniques in the creation of her album that allowed her to signify the important events of her life. Some of these allowed her to incorporate, in oblique and heavily coded fashion, those elements that pertained to her deeply private self over which she would have wanted to maintain control and share only with a select few relatives and intimate acquaintances. Others allowed her to incorporate more public elements of her self in a more accessible fashion that would have been more readily understood by those of her era. Through the work of decoding Bucknall Estcourt's album, this thesis will explore the question of *how* one aristocratic Victorian woman used the material and visual culture at her disposal to both express and conceal herself in a manner consonant with the time in which she lived.

The term "album" first entered the popular vernacular in the nineteenth century to denote "unpublished sets of pages, bound or loose-leaf, either intended to have, or assembled after having, material affixed to them or writing or other images made on them."[5] The book that Bucknall Estcourt received as a wedding gift[6] was just such an album. It was a leather-bound volume containing a variety of differently colored blank pages as well as

[5] Leigh Ina Hunt, "Victorian Passion to Modern Phenomenon: A Literary and Rhetorical Analysis of Two Hundred Years of Scrapbooks and Scrapbook Making" (PhD diss. unpublished, University of Texas at Austin, 2006), 38.

[6] The dedication on the first page of the album states that it was presented to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt as a gift by her sister-in-law, Lucy on September 1, 1837, a date just after Caroline's and James' marriage in August of 1837.

pages that incorporated two types of picture frames – embossed and pre-printed. These were scattered throughout the album and were clearly intended for the display of images.

Albums had been anteceded by the so-called "commonplace books", creations within which "noteworthy literary passages, cogent quotations, poems, comments, recipes, prescriptions and other miscellaneous document types [were recorded] on paper".[7] Like the nineteenth-century album, the commonplace book would have also started as a pre-bound volume of blank pages but would have typically been somewhat smaller in size so that it might be carried around with its owner who could record passages as they were found. The act of recording was commonly referred to as "commonplacing".

The term "scrapbook" finally appeared in 1825,[8] and denotes "cultural artifacts that contain expression of the literary and rhetorical impulse to express one's self in words, pictures, and other artifacts. They contain evidence of personal writing and engage in discourses on family and society."[9] The term scrapbook identifies a "use for albums containing a variety of items, especially when those items serve as memorabilia"[10] and the act of creating a scrapbook was commonly referred to as "scrapbooking". By the nineteenth century, pre-bound albums such as Bucknall Estcourt's were widely available and were being used to create personalized volumes that incorporated aspects of both commonplacing and scrapbooking. The practice of assembling a personal album was seen as a predominantly feminine one, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was

[7] Hunt 40.

[8] Hunt 77.

[9] Hunt v.

[10] Hunt 39.

usually associated with the sort of leisure commonly possessed only within aristocratic circles. As the wealthy merchant class developed and expanded, so too do did the art of album making.

Although scholars have now begun to consider such albums to be cultural objects and vehicles for personal expression, virtually no in-depth case studies exist to support such an understanding.[11] As Kate Chedgzoy has written:

> The act of writing – in prose and verse, in prayers and commonplace books, for print publication or familial manuscript circulation – enabled women to voice experiences of belonging and displacement in a changing world. Recollecting their experiences and drawing on the resources of well-stocked memories, they created texts which mediate between history as it is lived and as it is written.[12]

Compiled over an almost forty year period, Caroline Bucknall Estcourt's album transmits the sense of a life lived and provides a portrait of one woman's experience. Viewed from such a perspective, the album may be read as autobiographical, allowing for the development of a more complex and multilayered understanding of its creator, one that left behind evidence of the intersection of the social, political and economic factors that shaped her personal reality. If the role of women throughout history is to be fully understood, it is necessary to expand our purview beyond more conventional sources of evidence. My case study provides evidence that Bucknall Estcourt's album is just such an unconventional resource that has a unique ability to shed light upon the life of its creator.

Among the complexities to be considered, is the dual identity of the self as both a public and a private entity, and my thesis necessarily engages with changing scholarly understandings of these positions. The fact that feminist and art historical scholarship has

[11] Hunt 11.

[12] Chedgzoy 3.

framed nineteenth-century women's biography in terms of a classed and gendered model of private versus public spheres is now well established and has, indeed, been subject to substantive critique.[13] Associated with Enlightenment ideas of privacy and the individual, the construct of a private sphere of modern bourgeois domesticity evolved in tandem with industrialization and the creation of an expanding merchant class. The contraposition of what came to be seen as binary opposites such as private/public, passive/active, and domestic/political, began to be made with regularity, but feminist history based on this premise was, eventually, criticized for the way in which it accepted bourgeois ideology as a description of historical reality. In fact, even among the bourgeoisie, women were never completely eradicated from the public sphere. More recently, K.D. Reynolds' 2008 study of women of the aristocracy in Victorian England revealed that such a notion of separate spheres, while present, was experienced somewhat differently within aristocratic circles and her analysis merits serious consideration given Bucknall Estcourt's elevated social class. Reynolds maintained that, unlike what was seen within the rising merchant class, the aristocracy continued to preserve a sense of partnership rather than of subjugation within marriages. For these aristocratic families, "the enhancement of family prestige, influence, and economic strength; the maintenance of hierarchical, paternalist society; the exercise of patronage; and the government of the country"[14] were the main priorities. As

[13] Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780-1865* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchison, 1987); Catherine Hall, *White, Male, and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992); Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 9-39; Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *Historical Journal* 36, no. 3 (1993): 383-414; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1966): 151-74; Janet Wolff, "The Invisible *Flâneuse," Theory, Culture, Society* 2, no. 3 (1985): 37-46.

[14] K.D. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 25.

women, the nature of their involvement differed from that of men of the same class, but as aristocrats their interests and priorities were commonly shared.

The complex coexistence of public and private facets of existence is foregrounded by Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, in *Reading Autobiography – A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (2001), where they argue that the life narrator is continuously navigating between the two subject positions. The public self is the individual that others see, "the social, historical person, with achievements, personal appearance, social relationships – real attributes of a person living in the world."[15] The internal self is generally more private, and is typically known only to the individual.[16] I would argue that the degree to which the internal self is known and understood by an individual is variable, as is the degree to which that individual chooses, either consciously or unconsciously, to share aspects of that self with others. As I have already suggested and will further elaborate, both of these selves, the external as well as the internal, can be found in Bucknall Estcourt's album when interpreted as an instance of autobiographical language.

But just what is autobiography, and what is its relation to language and interpretation? The French theorist Philippe Lejeune has defined autobiography as "the retrospective narrative in prose that someone makes of his own existence when he puts the principal accent upon his life, especially upon the story of his own personality."[17] Smith and Watson have expanded this definition by identifying and elaborating upon what they view as the component acts of autobiographical life narrative: memory, experience,

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[15] Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 5.

[16] Smith and Watson 5.

[17] Smith and Watson 2.

identity, embodiment, and agency.[18] As they have pointed out, an important aspect of memory is that it is selective and contains an edited and interpreted version of the past. Experience, because it is expressed through language, is also an edited and interpreted phenomenon. Further complicating the issue, Bucknall Estcourt uses language transcribed from published literary and religious passages to express her emotions, her values and her experience of life events. Although her strategy for recording memory is an approach that was commonly used during the Victorian era,[19] it makes the task of interpreting the narrative she constructed a more challenging one. Indeed, Bucknall Estcourt, in creating the album, and the reader, in reading and interpreting it, must *both* be considered as engaging in acts of interpretation. Approached hermeneutically, Bucknall Estcourt's interpretative gesture can also be considered a creative one: a process of appropriation in which she gave new meanings to previously existing materials. By selecting pictorial style, by being cognizant of the status of a particular artist, and by juxtaposing literary passages with particular images, she enabled her own creative agency to emerge.

It is only when one recognizes that the component parts of the album do not stand alone, but are interwoven one with another to create the narrative of the author's own subjective experience, that interpretation of its meaning becomes possible. Furthermore, as the concept of the hermeneutic circle[20] suggests, processes of creation and

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[18] Smith and Watson 5.

[19] Natalie M. Houston, "Reading the Victorian Souvenir: Sonnets and Photographs of the Crimean War," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14.2 (Fall 2001): 353.

[20] *The Penguin Dictionary of Critical Theory* describes the hermeneutic circle in the following way. "The paradox of any form of hermeneutics is that it is inevitably a circular process: there is no possibility of escaping the need to have already understood a verse of scripture before attempting to explain the process of understanding that verse. The detail is understood within the whole, and the whole from the detail. This is

interpretation are embedded within and inextricable from the world in which they are performed. Therefore, it is only by considering Bucknall Estcourt's creative process within the context of the Victorian era, by examining the details of her own life within that era, and by deciphering how the elements found within the album relate one to another, that it becomes possible to develop a complex and multi-layered sense of just who Caroline Bucknall Estcourt was.

Extensive archival research further supports such an analysis of the album. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt wrote more than 160 letters to the American diplomat George Perkins Marsh and his wife over a 35-year period (1849-1885) ending just one year before her death. These letters along with others written to family members, as well as a series of watercolors documenting the domestic environment of Bucknall Estcourt's youth, offer crucial contextual information that will ground my analysis of the ways in which Bucknall Estcourt chose to recollect, to interpret, and to communicate her own personal experience. These contextual artifacts contribute to better understanding the narrative she wished to communicate to those with whom she shared her album. The goal of this work is thus to investigate the album's ability to act as a vehicle of creative expression and of personal communication with those with whom she would have shared it.

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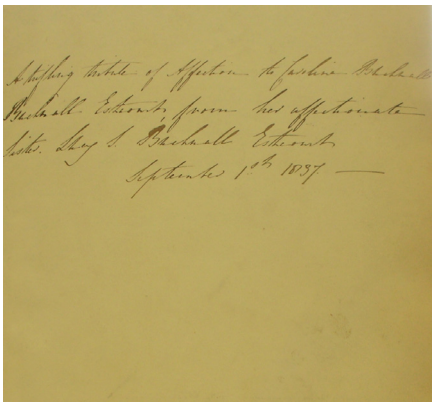
referred to as the 'hermeneutic circle', and it is impossible to step outside it. Meaning cannot be grasped from 'outside', precisely because 'there are only interpretations'." (181)

Commonplacing: Life as the Wife of a British Military Officer, 1837 – 1855

1.1 Cover, Caroline Bucknall Estcourt's Album



1.2 Dedication Page, Caroline Bucknall Estcourt's Album

Caroline Bucknall Estcourt's album (figure 1.1) was given to her by her sister-in-law, Lucy Bucknall Estcourt, as a wedding gift in 1837 (figure 1.2[21]), a year which ushered in both the coronation of Victoria as Queen of England and brought tremendous change in the life of Bucknall Estcourt who, at the comparatively late age of twenty-eight, began her life as a married woman. She left the protection of her family home, Antony House, in Cornwall, and began to navigate both the private realm of a marriage and the more public sphere that attended her position as the wife of a military officer.

Caroline had first met and fallen in love with her future husband, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt,[22] in 1828 during his frequent visits to Antony House while stationed at Devonport (1828-30). Reginald Pole Carew, her father, frequently invited James to

[21] The dedication page reads: "A trifling tribute of affection to Caroline Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt, from her affectionate sister Lucy S. Bucknall Estcourt. September 1st 1837."

[22] James' grandfather married the daughter of a viscount in 1774 and in 1823, to comply with a will in their favor from her mother's Hertfordshire family, the Estcourts took the additional surname Bucknall. James had already been given the name Bucknall as his second Christian name and thus became known as James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt. (Large 5)

Antony House along with other British military officers and various dignitaries. Upon learning of his daughter's devotion to Bucknall Estcourt and their desire to wed, her father immediately opposed the match, expressing concern over financial matters as well as the quality of life his daughter could expect as the wife of a military officer.[23] It would be almost ten years before her father's death put her in a position to follow her heart into matrimony. Then, just four months after their marriage, in December 1837, her military husband was recalled to active duty and ordered to join his regiment, the 43rd Monmouthshire Light Infantry, in Canada to provide reinforcements and help quell the uprisings that then threatened Great Britain's control over its largest and most important North American colony.

A detailed analysis of the portion of the album devoted to Bucknall Estcourt's life as a married woman and wife of a British military officer (1837-55) reveals that it can most accurately be described as an illustrated commonplace book rather than as a scrapbook. Excerpted texts predominate, and it appears that the primary purpose for inclusion of images in this section of the album was to illustrate the passages she chose to transcribe. It is worth noting that the degree to which commonplacing was used by Bucknall Estcourt, particularly at a time when scrapbooking was becoming more prevalent in popular culture, is quite likely an indicator of her elevated social class and the quality of the education she had received.

[23] Large 7-8.

1.3 Artist Unknown, *View of Drawing Room at Antony House, Cornwall,* watercolor on paper, c.1830's

1.4 Artist Unknown, *View of Drawing Room at Antony House, Cornwall,* watercolor on paper, c.1830's

Caroline Lyttelton, Bucknall Estcourt's mother, was a woman from the higher echelons of British society who could trace her lineage in a direct line back to King Edward III.[24] As such, she would have recognized the importance of ensuring a proper education for her daughters and would have been actively engaged in the process of its realization. The album, as well as archival material, provides undisputable evidence that Bucknall Estcourt reaped the full benefit of resources available to her. As a member of one of England's most privileged classes, she was one of a very small group of women of that era who had access to an education. Two watercolor paintings (figures 1.3 & 1.4) depict the sitting room at Antony House where Caroline and her sisters were taught. These images contain signifiers indicating that her education would have included training in the arts and would have been firmly grounded in the religious and political ideologies of the era. This is attested to by the presence of a British Union Jack, two religious paintings, and an elaborate tapestry prominently displayed upon the walls. Busts of

[24] Cornwall Records Office (CRO), CG/FX 11a and b. Carew Pole Family Papers – as per the family tree, in the Archives at Truro in Cornwall.

learned men, books, writing materials, as well as paints and brushes are scattered upon the desks and a harp is on display in a corner of the room. Young ladies, one of whom is presumably Caroline, are diligently at work at their desks engaging with the objects that surround them. Bucknall Estcourt's letters to George Perkins Marsh, written in later life, confirm her proficiency in four languages – English, Italian, French, and German. She was also raised in an environment that valued art. The Soho tapestries that appear on the walls of the sitting room (figures 1.3 & 1.4) are still in place today at Antony House. Reginald Pole Carew had also amassed a beautiful collection of Rembrandt etchings that were subsequently sold after his death.[25] The family also owned a home in London and had the luxury of spending part of their time in that metropolitan center enjoying the social and cultural opportunities that it offered.

The early portion of the album, when viewed as an illustrated commonplace book, can only fully make sense when its individual entries are considered in relation to others in their close proximity. Anne Higonnet observed that the "meaning [of an individual album entry] only emerges when it is considered in relationship to other pictures [or, I might add, narratives] in the same album and to where the album is situated within the life cycle of its maker and her family".[26] Furthermore, Ann Bermingham, in her analysis of the attitudes and practices that informed amateur art production in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, recalls the writing of John Locke who maintained that "a drawing's capacity to exceed the descriptive power of writing made it an ideal form of writing, a kind of figurative shorthand able to amplify, clarify, and express all that writing

[25] A Catalogue of a very beautiful collection of the etchings by Rembrandt the property of the late Rt. Hon. Reginald Pole Carew, sold by Mr. Wheatley in May 1835 after Pole Carew's death.

[26] Higonnet 36.

could not"[27], thus making the interpretation of an individual drawing critical to the understanding of the narrative contained within the album it inhabits.

The literary extracts and drawings that begin Bucknall Estcourt's album establish a narrative that is initially that of a young newlywed woman on honeymoon and constitute the first six pages of the album. Immediately following a short dedication (figure 1.2) written by her sister-in-law on the first page of the album, Bucknall Estcourt establishes the private sphere as a subject of the album by transcribing two literary extracts, one on the subject of happiness from a volume of sacred lyrics by James Edmeston[28] and the other on the meaning of love from a romantic poem by the French poet Jean de la Fontaine. Also included are two pages that contain two images by her husband and one by a family friend, John Bulteel, of the locales to which they traveled while visiting family and friends during the four-month period immediately following their marriage.[29] It is well worth noting that the selection of material representing what was, in essence, her honeymoon, was thoroughly in keeping with the feminine conventions of her era. The third page of the album was inserted retrospectively after her arrival in Canada (containing two excerpts dated November 1838 and July 1839, both from Niagara Falls), indicating Bucknall Estcourt's growing appreciation of just how important Canada would be to her new life story and, concomitantly, how her posting to Canada would herald a more public and imperial cast to the narrative of her life.

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[27] Ann Bermingham, "An Exquisite Practise': The Institution of Drawing as a Polite Art in Britain," in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1995), 55.

[28] James Edmeston, *Sacred Lyrics* (London: B.J. Holdsworth, 1820), 5.

[29] George Perkins Marsh Collection (GPMC), (University of Vermont Bailey/Howe Library Special Collections) Carton (C) 2, Folder (F) 40. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to George Perkins Marsh, dated April 21, 1856.

Between 1837 and 1842 the British government dispatched an unprecedented number of troops to both Upper and Lower Canada in response to rebellions seeking greater independence from British authority and rule. This proved a pivotal juncture in Bucknall Estcourt's life, as she later described:

> [The day on which James received his orders], he took me into another room and told me he must leave me behind. There was at least a possibility of a war – and he knew nothing of Canada or America and thought I should be safest in England and his own mind most at ease by leaving me under his father's roof. I had much to be thankful for in this parting, being so different from the last. I had now a right to follow him whenever he could see an opportunity for me doing so, but we did not expect that to occur till the summer, and in case of tranquility being restored. […] However, we were spared that separation I am thankful to say. The kind captain of *The Hercules* offered to accommodate the Commissioned Officer's wife if he had one in the cabins his own wife had been occupying till the vessel was ordered to sea, where our English Captains are not allowed to take their wives. My dearest James' complete unselfishness and humility came out quite amusingly on this offer being made. He could scarcely believe that even his wife could wish to go so far to be with him, and though he did know and believe this in his heart he could not make up his mind that it was best for her that he should allow it. He wrote two letters a day with different decisions and at last referred the matter to her and his father to decide for him.[30]

This series of events is significant on a number of levels. It was the first time in the ten years Bucknall Estcourt had known James that she *could* accompany him on a posting. In addition, as her letter indicates, her husband was irresolute and deferred to his wife's wishes, albeit in consultation with his father, allowing her a higher degree of self-determination than many married women experienced at this time, and quite probably, than she herself had previously known. Finally, she was embarking for the first time on a mission in support of the imperial interests of Great Britain.

[30] GPMC, C2/F40. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to George Perkins Marsh, dated April 21, 1856.

The manner in which Bucknall Estcourt chose to memorialize this critical juncture of her life in her album is not easily decipherable at first glance, for it is represented by an excerpt from a poem by Samuel Rogers eulogizing the death of Lord Byron in the Greek War of Independence. The desire of Greece in 1821 to free itself from Turkish rule accorded well with the British government's interest in reducing Turkish geopolitical strength. Approached by British officials, Lord Byron willingly agreed to assist the Greeks, chartered the ship *Hercules,* sailed to Greece, and fought and died in 1824.[31] Only fourteen years later, Bucknall Estcourt sailed on the very same *Hercules* to reach her first imperial posting as wife of a British military officer. The *Hercules* was destined on both these voyages for locales where the interests of imperial Great Britain were at stake, an irony that was clearly not lost on Bucknall Estcourt and one which also clearly telegraphed the extent of her knowledge of British politics and history. Equally, like Byron, her husband was a military man – presumably her "hero" – and he too was heading to a locale where political rebellion was underway. Although in reality James' life would not be in any great danger, Bucknall Estcourt could not have known this at the time.

The reason underlying such a heavily coded reference to Bucknall Estcourt's personal life comes into focus alongside consideration of the sphere in which the album would have circulated. The drawing room, a feminine space and the room where albums were put on display and shared with visitors, was one of the most public rooms in the house. As Di Bello writes, "the room and its contents were seen beyond the hostess's circle of family and friends, by a range of visitors keen to assess the status she had

[31] Ian Ousby, *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 141-142.

achieved."[32] Visitors' ability to read and accurately interpret an album's contents would depend greatly on their knowledge of its creator. As an indicator of her personal identity, one that was likely gaining in strength and perhaps still somewhat unsure of itself, Bucknall Estcourt recorded the decision to accompany her husband in a heavily coded fashion, possibly to ensure control over those with whom she would have chosen to share it.

Given Bucknall Estcourt's elevated social class, the men and women who would have frequented her drawing room would likely often have been capable of exerting considerable influence. Although scrapbook making was viewed as a primarily feminine pastime, men also engaged in the practice and were keen to view a host's scrapbook whenever themselves visiting a drawing room. Victorian albums were certainly a source of entertainment and literary discussion, but were also important vehicles through which their creators could express opinions on current events. Hunt describes Lady Diana Madelaine Stracey's scrapbook as playful, but also as a place where she engaged with important discourses of her era. Sharing her book with visitors provided her an opportunity to attempt to influence the opinions and attitudes of her readers.[33] Scrapbook making was extremely popular during the nineteenth century, and was a practice that was widely discussed in the print media greatly contributing to its popularity. As Hunt so aptly summarizes, scrapbooks "acted as vehicles for artistic expression, entertainment, social commentary, biography and eulogy. They provided evidence of class and

[32] Patrizia Di Bello, "Photocollage, Fun and Flirtations," in *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*, ed. Elizabeth Siegel (New Haven and London: Art Institute of Chicago in association with Yale University Press, 2010), 49-62.

[33] Hunt 87-90.

ideology… and became creative compositions and expressions of individual perspectives on the world."[34]

If Bucknall Estcourt's choice to accompany her husband to Canada entailed a degree of self-determination all too infrequent for Victorian married women, her emotional response to her journey into the unknown was more conventional and – perhaps not coincidentally – its expression was also less heavily coded. The Bucknall Estcourts sailed from Cork on February 28, 1838 and endured a "rough winter passage of four weeks".[35] A sense of the range of Bucknall Estcourt's emotions is reflected in the excerpts she chose to transcribe into her album. The first two are passages that examine just how little control that we, as individuals, have over our own lives and the disastrous events that can overtake us as a result of minor occurrences. *Dirge on the memory of Miss Ellen Gee of Kew* is a satirical poem that takes a comical look at how Miss Gee died of being stung in the eye by a bee. *The Gatherer* is a very amusing parody that had been widely circulated in the local media of the era. It is based on the report of the Privy Council investigation of the great London fire of 1834 that destroyed the two Houses of Parliament, the Palace of Westminster, and the official residences of the Speaker and Clerk of the House of Commons. While *The Gatherer* makes fun of the tortuous and excessively long and boring report that was produced, it also highlights the senselessness of the fire responsible for such devastation, a fire which was caused by chimney flues

[34] Hunt 102.

[35] GPMC, C2/F40. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to George Perkins Marsh, dated April 21, 1856.

overheated by the burning of massive numbers of wooden tally sticks – the by-then-obsolete memory devices for keeping track of numbers.[36]

Two more passages, ones that convey a more serious tone, follow these two. The first, *On an Altar Tomb*, a poem by Felicia Dorothea Browne Hemans speaks not only of the bravery of warriors who die in battle, but also of the costs accruing to the women who love them and endure the consequences of their loss. Hemans (1793 – 1835) was a well-known Irish poet who tried to give voice to women's trials and tribulations.[37] The second, *Epitaph on Captain Conway Shipley*[38] by Reginald Heber pays homage to the death of Shipley, third son of the Dean of St. Asaph's Cathedral, in a British naval battle aboard the frigate *La Nymphe* in 1808 at just 26 years of age.

These passages are significant from a number of perspectives. In their emphasis on the haphazardness and unpredictability of death, the passages chosen by Bucknall Estcourt resonate with the risks that she herself had to run in choosing to accompany her husband on his posting to Canada in the midst of a political rebellion. Certainly, the selections attest to her lively sense of the dangers of a military career and the violence that accompanies political rebellions, and they should be seen in context with the tragic fate of the *Hercules'* previous illustrious passenger. Simultaneously, the texts invoke a higher religious power and relinquish control of fate to God through their acknowledgement of just how little sense can be made of our lives on earth and our ultimate fates. Most obviously, in her choice of military-themed verses, Bucknall Estcourt establishes herself

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[36] "The Gatherer", in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, 24 (1834): 431-32.

[37] Michael T. Williamson, "Impure Affections: Felicia Hemans's Elegiac Poetry and Contaminated Grief," in *Felicia Hemans – Reimagining Poetry in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Nanora Sweet and Julia Melnyk (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 19-35.

[38] Reginald Herber, *The Poetical Works of Reginald Herber* (London: John Murray, 1870), 324.

in the role of a military wife and draws attention to the consequences that her husband's career might have on her own well-being and the sacrifices that British men and women are called upon to make in the service of England's imperial project.

James joined his regiment in June 1838 at La Prairie just outside of Montreal. The disturbances in Lower Canada had been quickly brought under control and the regiment left on June 30 for Upper Canada where more rebellion was brewing. Making their way by steamer where the St. Lawrence River allowed and by land where it did not, the regiment arrived at the Niagara frontier without serious incident and remained there throughout 1839.[39]

If Bucknall Estcourt had been circumspect to the point of being cryptic in the manner of alluding to the personal choices and emotions that surrounded her husband's military posting, then upon her arrival in Canada she began wearing her imperialist heart on her sleeve as she recorded her experiences as a participant in the very public project of Empire. Reginald Pole Carew, Bucknall Estcourt's father, played an important role in her indoctrination as an imperialist, beginning from a very young age. She benefited from a very close relationship with her father as the firstborn child from his second marriage. The Pole Carews, though an untitled family, were part of the upper echelons of Cornwall society, owned an estate that exceeded 4,000 acres, and benefited from the not insubstantial income derived from so large an estate.[40] Reginald Pole Carew was an astute businessman as well and continued the work first begun by his ancestor, Sir Coventry Carew, to plan and develop a village at Torpoint, a locale within their estate

[39] Large 7-8.

[40] Ed Jaggard, *An Exceptional Man: Reginald Pole Carew of Antony* (London: Filmer, 2011), vii.

directly opposite the Plymouth Naval Dockyards. What had begun as a small village had been transformed by the end of the Napoleonic Wars into a thriving town owned by and paying rent to the Pole Carews.[41] Reginald Pole Carew retired from his seat in Parliament at the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1816 when he was 63 years of age and Caroline was only seven, choosing instead to immerse himself in family and local political affairs. In his youth, Pole Carew had, after completing university, spent seven years in Europe, a number of these as a British diplomat, including a sojourn at The Hague and considerable time in Scandinavia and Russia. Prior to his retirement he had led a very active career, one in which he had served in the House of Commons for 30 years, had held ministerial office, and had enjoyed close ties with the British Admiralty.[42] Pole Carew's experience and reputation were such that his advice and opinions were frequently sought even after his retirement and he often entertained British naval officers and other dignitaries at Antony House.[43] It is clear that Bucknall Estcourt grew up in an environment wherein the imperial concerns of Great Britain were an integral part of everyday life.

The beginning of her first residential posting in Canada at the Niagara frontier as part of a military married couple was commemorated by Caroline Bucknall Estcourt through the rare addition to her album of a watercolor that she herself painted, *Our Cottage near the Falls of Niagara* (figure 1.5) depicting the house in which the couple lived on Lundy's Lane, a house that was significant in that it was the first independent

[41] Jaggard x.

[42] Jaggard ix-x.

[43] Jaggard 110-111.

home James and Caroline had established together.[44] The painting has been executed in a style approaching the topographical, one that was used to represent the physical features

1.5 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Our Cottage Near the Falls of Niagara,* watercolor over pencil on paper, 1838
(Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album)

1.6 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Cottage in Lundy's Lane, which we lived in from Aug. 1838 to Aug. 1839,* pencil & watercolor over pencil on paper, 1839
(James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album)

of a landscape.[45] The location is identified directly on the page, "*Our cottage near the Falls of Niagara: Lived there from August 20, 1838 – August 30, 1839".* The house itself dominates the picture plane and the painting lacks any extraneous context such as nearby buildings or surrounding countryside. It quite simply records the house in which the couple lived. This factual approach to landscape, a style closely allied to that of military conquest and the surveying of newly appropriated lands, seems an appropriate style for portraying the artist's first home in one of Great Britain's colonies and fits well with an image of herself as an imperialist. While not substantively different in composition compared to the watercolor she painted of their home for inclusion in her husband's album (figure 1.6), the watercolor in her album appears less finished. The barren and

[44] GPMC, C2/F40. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to George Perkins Marsh, dated April 21, 1856.
[45] David Macey, *The Penguin Dictionary of Critical Theory* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 384.

1.7 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Autumnal Tints – Road Behind Lundy's Lane Falls of Niagara,* 1838, watercolor over pencil on wove paper, 14.0 cm. x 20.0 cm. (James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album)

functional military style used to depict the couple's Lundy's Lane house and its surrounding environs is brought into even sharper focus when compared with the rich and lush landscape of the area found in a watercolor Bucknall Estcourt painted for inclusion in her husband's album, *Autumnal Tints – Road Behind Lundy's Lane Falls of Niagara* (figure 1.7). Bucknall Estcourt embedded the watercolor of their home within a series of pages upon which she had transcribed a religious passage asking "God to preserve those who travel, to protect soldiers who face battle, and to care for young children and women who labor". The watercolor illustrates this narrative, creating continuity between the realms of domesticity and imperial goals, and highlights their consecration by a higher religious power. One might argue that together, image and extract provide both an apologia for and perhaps also a legitimization of Britain's appropriation of foreign lands.

Bucknall Estcourt, by using her artistic skill to commemorate her husband's first military posting as a married man with an image accentuating the domestic realm, was in reality inserting herself into the very public realm of Empire and her husband's military

career as an important figure and partner, thus simultaneously occupying both the private and public spheres. Although they were not themselves actually members of the aristocracy, the couple's elevated social class was such that they would have lived according to aristocratic social norms and been occupied by similar concerns. As K.D. Reynolds' study has demonstrated, the aristocracy required the women as well as the men to be fully functional in pursuit of the family goals. Family took precedence over the individual, whatever their gender. Identifying themselves primarily as aristocrats and only secondarily as women, women of the aristocracy worked in partnership with their husbands to further the interests both of their families and of themselves.

> "Aristocratic women were actively engaged (or 'incorporated') in the pursuits of their families – whether on their estates, in local institutions, in national politics, or at the court – in partnership with the other members of their families. As women, the nature of their involvement differed from that of men of the same class, but as aristocrats, their interests were shared. Unlike other Victorian institutions, a working aristocracy required women as well as men to function fully, and not simply for the hereditary dimension."[46]

Women who traveled throughout the British Empire experienced similar expectations, and a similar confounding of a conventionally Victorian gendered sensibility. The analysis of women's travel writing undertaken by Sara Mills, and others,[47] has amply explored the contradicting ideological thrusts experienced by women whose implication in the colonial project cast them in active, and very public roles as representatives of Empire, while such roles were frequently denied to them as women in England. The tension was frequently enabling, however, and Bucknall Estcourt's full

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[46] Reynolds 220.

[47] See Sara Mills; Kate Chedgzoy; S. Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth Century Women Travellers and Their Writings,* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990); Janet Wolff, *Feminine Sentences Essays on Women and Culture*, (Los Angeles: UCLA Berkeley Press, 1990).

participation in the imperial adventure is apparent in another sequence in the album during the period of the couple's first Canadian posting. Here she transcribes two excerpts that were published in *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book 1836*[48]: (1) *Horse Shoe Fall Niagara*, a passage that describes the Falls; and (2) *The Indian Girl*, a poem that writes of an Indian girl who lost her life when her canoe went over the falls and she plummeted to her death. These excerpts are immediately followed by a watercolor, *The Crescent Fall at Niagara from near the Clifton* (figure 1.7), painted by a senior military officer, Sir William John Codrington, a lieutenant colonel in the Coldstream Guards at the time of the 1838 rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada.

While Niagara Falls represents a sublime aspect of Canada's landscape, it is here depicted in something more closely approximating a picturesque style. Drawing and painting were important elements of a British upper class education and the depiction of landscape according to the beautiful, sublime, and picturesque modes was recognized as distinctly British. It is therefore noteworthy that, as Marilyn J. McKay writes, British

1.8 Sir William J. Codrington, *The Crescent Fall at Niagara from near the Clifton,* watercolor over pencil on paper, n.d.

[48] Patrizia Di Bello. PhD Dissertation. An example of niche marketing from the era, Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book was one of a number of published pre-made scrapbooks that targeted the rising middle classes who desired not only the visible indicators of wealth, but also tangible indicators of knowledge. These pre-made scrapbooks contained poetry, prose and images. Publishers also used them as vehicles through which to showcase new authors. (80-81)

"landscape artists in Canada were using beautiful, sublime, and picturesque drawings and watercolors to 'make' Canada English for themselves and for their English audiences."[49] In this particular scene (figure 1.8), two individuals, possibly an adult accompanied by a child, are dressed in Western attire. Their presence attests to the ease of accessibility of the site and, by extension, also to the ease with which British colonizers had access to North America. The figures are standing at the shore. Despite their proximity to the falls, they seem to be protected by the greenery that surrounds them and frames the painting. The sun shines brightly suggesting all is well. Including this image in the album would have allowed family and friends to visualize a notable feature of an important British imperial colony, depicted in a style recognizable as their own. However, when viewed in conjunction with the narrative of the poems, it would also have allowed Bucknall Estcourt to suggest that the colonizing British knew how to deal with the threatening landscape safely, unlike the indigenous peoples who were "in need of protection". As Colin Coates has written, the use of the picturesque style to portray imperial landscapes allowed colonists and metropolitans to not only maintain their identity but also to preserve their personal dignity by viewing themselves as a civilized and civilizing people.[50]

Codrington's watercolor also provides confirmation that political harmony has been restored and the rebellions successfully quelled. Britain's imperial rule in North America was once again secure. To quote W.J.T. Mitchell:

> Landscape is a medium in the fullest sense of the word. It is a material "means" (to borrow Aristotle's terminology) like language or paint, embedded in a tradition of cultural signification and communication, a

[49]Marylin J. McKay, *Picturing the Land – Narrating Territories in Canadian Landscape Art, 1500-1950* (Montreal and Kingston; London; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 48-9.
[50] Colin Coates, "Like 'The Thames towards Putney': The Appropriation of Landscape in Lower Canada." *Canadian Historical Review* 74 (1994): 317-43.

> body of symbolic forms capable of being invoked and reshaped to express meanings and values. As a medium for expressing value, it has a semiotic structure.[51]

The scenic beauty of the falls and the serenity manifest within the two individuals who inhabit the picture mitigate the cruel reality of Britain's appropriation of the Canadian landscape and the upheaval and exploitation of its indigenous peoples that ensued.

The question as to why Bucknall Estcourt chose to include an image of Niagara Falls painted by a British military artist in her album rather than one she herself had painted needs to be addressed, particularly given the existence of watercolors of the same subject attributed to her (figure 1.9 & 1.10)[52] and included in her husband's album. Perhaps the very gendered implications of the narrative of Empire that she was constructing in her album (as distinct from the nature of her contributions to her husband's album) can best explain it, in that by absenting herself from the telling, Bucknall Estcourt allowed her public imperialist identity to be very present without simultaneously compromising the nurturing feminine identity of her private self. As Ann Bermingham has suggested, "when [an] accomplished woman is imagined as an active agent, she is seen as a morally subversive and socially disruptive force; however, when the accomplished woman is perceived as a passive object of commodity exchange,

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[51] W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape" in *Landscape and Power,* W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 14.

[52] I have attributed both of these watercolors to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, despite the National Archive's database designation that *James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt painted The Great Horseshoe Fall from the Pavilion Hotel and The Horseshoe Fall from Goat Island*. This album has been disassembled with the watercolors individually mounted on separate paper along with cutouts of writing from the album pages where they were originally mounted. Both of the cutouts included with these watercolors clearly identify CBE (Caroline Bucknall Estcourt) as the artist. Wherever James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt is the artist, he is clearly identified by the initials JBBE.

1.9 Attributed to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *The Great Horseshoe Fall from the Pavilion Hotel, Niagara,* watercolor over pencil with scraping out on paper, 1838

1.10 Attributed to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *The Horseshoe Fall from Goat Island, Niagara,* watercolor over pencil on paper with scraping out and gum arabic on paper, 1838

[…] she is valued for her elegance and refinement."[53] As signifiers in her husband's album, Caroline Bucknall Estcourt's watercolors could unproblematically stand as indicators of his wife's talents and affection, while the larger colonial tale could remain his to tell. In her own album, however, the conflictive elements of femininity and colonialism were differently navigated: through an erasure of her personal involvement.

It is necessary, one again, to return to a contemplation of how such albums were used to understand Bucknall Estcourt's strategy for depicting her narrative. They frequently served as the basis and focus of drawing-room conversations as they were shared with family, friends and acquaintances. Albums were cultural artifacts wherein their creators captured words and images of the discourses relevant to their lives. In order that they might be used in this way, it was important that they reflect the author's personal values and views on life while simultaneously respecting the feminine conventions of the era. It was to further such values and goals that items were often selected for incorporation such that they might stimulate conversation directed toward topics

[53] Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 193.

considered to be of importance to the album's creator. If analysis of the album thus far has revealed that a dominant optic through which Bucknall Estcourt viewed and depicted her life was one of British imperialism, it is also clear that many who viewed and participated in the album's production also shared this interest. A noteworthy feature of the portion of the album that represents Bucknall Estcourt's first Canadian posting is the number of images included that were painted by various British military artists directly or were the source for copies created by Bucknall Estcourt herself. A number of these individuals are themselves well known as talented amateur artists within Canadian art history scholarly writing.[54] They include Sir William John Codrington, Richard George Augustus Levinge, Godfrey Charles Mundy and William Robert Herries. During the Bucknall Estcourts' first posting to Canada an informal group of amateur artists, primarily consisting of British military artists and their wives, came to associate with one another, initially in the Quebec City area, but later relocating to the Niagara area as British troops were displaced in response to political unrest. These artists became known as the Group of 1838 and it is believed that they frequently exchanged and copied one another's watercolor sketches and possibly participated together in sketching excursions.[55] Although concrete evidence does not exist to support such a claim, the volume of works produced and shared, as evidenced by the number of copies that have been identified, does support the likelihood of such an informal association. Both Herries and Levinge were part of this group, as were a number of women including Millicent Mary Chaplin,

[54] Mario Béland. *Painting in Quebec 1820-1850 New Views, New Perspectives* (Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1992); Michael Bell, *Painters in a New Land: From Annapolis Royal to the Klondike* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973); Ian G. Lumsden, *Early Views of British North America* (Fredericton: Beaverbrook Art Gallery, 1994).

[55] Parkinson 124.

Fanny Bayfield and Katherine Jane Ellice.[56] Bucknall Estcourt has not hitherto been numbered amongst its members[57] but, given that the group was an informal organization with limited record keeping and the works of known members of the group are represented by works in her album, it seems highly probable that Bucknall Estcourt interacted with this group during her time in Niagara. In fact, Captain Mundy wrote a brief humorous passage illustrated with an ink sketch directly on one of the album's pages. This not only confirms Bucknall Estcourt's direct contact with at least one of the group's members, but also provides evidence that she had shared the contents of her album with him.

As an upper class British military wife, however, Bucknall Estcourt's concern for the imperial interests of Great Britain marched hand in hand with the advancement of her husband's military career. Nowhere is this conjunction of public and private interests more apparent than in her decision to include the 3500-word first person account by one Private Townsend of an overland trek undertaken by the 43rd Light Infantry from New Brunswick to Quebec during the dead of winter in December of 1837 before the Bucknall Estcourts had even arrived in Canada.

In Lower Canada, the *Parti patriote* led by Louis-Joseph Papineau had called for constitutional change that would give the locally elected government greater power. When word reached Lower Canada that not only had their request been denied, but the British Parliament had moreover reappropriated a number of previously delegated financial powers, armed conflict broke out in Quebec. In November 1837, 300 British

[56] Parkinson Appendix A.

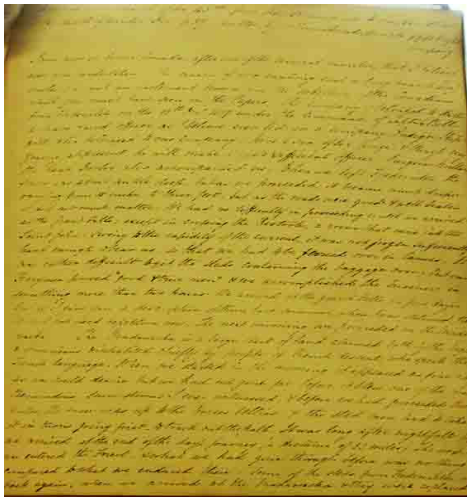
[57] Parkinson Appendix A.

soldiers marched into the Richelieu Valley expecting to make quick work of the rebels but had, instead, been dealt an unforeseen defeat at St. Denis. The British military authorities reacted by declaring martial law and calling for reinforcements. Several regiments hitherto stationed in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, including the 43rd Light Infantry, were ordered to urgently march to Quebec during the bleakest and harshest part of the Canadian winter.

The fact that this trek actually predated Bucknall Estcourt's arrival in Canada and bore absolutely no direct relation to either the military career of her husband or to the couples' time in Canada helps to demonstrate that Bucknall Estcourt had an absolute commitment to the cause of British imperialism and to the advancement of the British Empire. The quickness with which the British military successfully responded to the uprisings in Canada despite the extreme winter conditions stood as impressive evidence of British imperial strength and likely explains why Bucknall Estcourt devoted 14 pages of her album to events that might be described as heroic.

The textual narrative as told by Private Townsend of Captain Wright's company of the 43rd and illustrated by the accompanying images, provides a robust and comprehensive understanding of what the soldiers of the 43rd regiment endured that winter. The narrative of the march begins with an ink drawing entitled *1st Division of the 43rd crossing the River St. Johns, New Brunswick, on the ice* (December 1837) (figure 1.11) by Godfrey Charles Mundy of the 43rd and is immediately followed by the beginning of the transcription of Private Townsend's narrative (figure 1.12). Mundy's ink drawing immediately and

1.11 Godfrey Charles Mundy, *1st Division of the 43rd Crossing the River St. John, New Brunswick on the Ice*, brown ink, 1837



1.12 First page of Townsend's account of the march of the 43rd

powerfully acquaints the viewer with both the vastness and the ominous portent inherent within the frozen landscape. In the foreground, a rough sled pulled by two horses carries soldiers bundled up against the cold as it begins traversing the frozen river. Jagged floes of ice ram up against the river's edge and provide obstacles to the sled as it follows a long and winding caravan of similar sleds ahead of it. The frozen river occupies most of the picture plane. Ice floes piled haphazardly in the foreground are depicted at sharp angles one to another. This, combined with the indistinctness with which the distant shore of the river blurs with the horizon, allows Mundy to create an image that conveys the magnitude of the task with which his regiment was charged. Not only is it a topographical ink sketch depicting the early part of their trek, but it also successfully captures a sense of the sublime. The image provides the viewer of the album with a powerful entry point for envisioning a journey subsequently described as "one of the most remarkable movements

on record."[58] Watercolors and ink drawings by Caroline Bucknall Estcourt and William Robert Herries are interspersed throughout and serve to illustrate Townsend's narrative.

One of these illustrations, a watercolor by Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Winter Scene with Men Warming Themselves at a Fire* (figure 1.13) is, in fact, a copy of another watercolor, *Troops Leaving a Forest Encampment at Dawn* (figure 1.14), done by William Robert Herries, an officer who had himself participated in the march. The latter is currently part of the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM). The scene depicted by Herries and copied by Bucknall Estcourt is one of a military encampment beside a lake (possibly Lake Temiscouata). Soldiers partly sheltered by a lean-to constructed of tree branches are seen warming themselves around a fire in the left foreground. Light spills from barracks that surround the lake and soldiers are seen to be preparing sleds on the frozen ice. Tall evergreens surround the scene and merge in the distance with the horizon. The golden light of the sky reflected on the snow-covered roofs as well as upon the frozen lake suggests that it is early dawn. A keen sense of observation and an adept use of color allow the light of this early dawn and the magnificence of nature to be captured beautifully. Herries and Bucknall Estcourt once again direct our attention to the power, the majesty, and the danger inherent within the Canadian winter, creating a landscape that is simultaneously both sublime and picturesque. McKay has identified this to be a common trait found in Canadian landscape painting done by British amateur artists during this period, and suggests that it expresses "a sense of 'place and displacement', or tension."[59] The smallness of the foreground

[58] Sir R. G. A. Levinge, *Historical Records of The Forty-Third Regiment, Monmouthshire Light Infantry* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1868), 237.

[59] McKay 51.

1.13 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Winter Scene with Men Warming Themselves at a Fire*, watercolor, 1838

1.14 Robert William Herries, *Troops Leaving Forest Encampment at Dawn*, watercolor, 1837

figures of the soldiers in relation to the vastness of the natural world that surrounds them creates a certain tension, possibly referencing the uncertainty surrounding England's control over their resource rich Canadian colony. At the same time, the recognition of the beauty of the Canadian scenery reinforced the value of Britain's territorial acquisitions. Townsend's account describes this forest scene eloquently:

> The fourth day in the woods brought us in view of the beautiful Lake Temiscouata and a more lovely sheet of water, (or ice rather) I never beheld. The sun too was just rising, and gilding with his beams the tops of the tallest Pines that grew on its bank leaving the rest of the scene in the holy and calm twilight which always precedes the rising of the sun on a clear morning in this part of the world. It was the first water of any extent we had seen since we entered the woods, and the sensations it produced in the minds of us all, are much easier imagined than described. The effect was simultaneous, a universal silence around, broken only by the movement of the sleds, or an exclamation of rapture occasioned by the beauty of the scene, from of the men. Embossed in the forest, it appeared as though we were the first human beings that had ever invaded its solitude. […] The effect was grand in the extreme.

It is interesting to note that while Estcourt's image is a copy of Herries' in terms of composition, there is a substantial difference in the color palette used by the two artists.

While the colors used in Herries' image suggests that the time of day is roughly early morning after the sun has risen, Estcourt's palette uses a predominance of orange that more accurately reflects the early dawn light so beautifully described by Townsend in his narrative.

An important question to ask, however, is why Bucknall Estcourt would have devoted 14 pages of her album to a trek in which her husband had not participated. In a written history of the 43rd Light Infantry, the author Sir Richard G.A. Levinge, himself a participant in the march, wrote that:

> The moral influence of this march was immense. It convinced the world that there is no season at which Britain cannot reinforce her colonies, while she possesses soldiers whose dauntless spirits never quailed before a foe, or recoiled from any trial or exertion.[60]

The significance of the military response to the rebellions in Great Britain's remaining North American colonies comes into sharper focus when placed within the broader historical context of the times. Imperialists in Great Britain had not yet forgotten the American Revolution and its rejection of British authority.[61] Great Britain was determined that such history should not repeat itself in relation to Canada and the natural resources it provided. The result was a disproportionate and perhaps an overly vigorous military response to the Canadian rebellions.

Bucknall Estcourt, as a newly minted military wife traveling on her first overseas posting with her husband, may have simply been keen to document what was assuredly viewed as a heroic achievement of her husband's regiment. The winter march of the 43rd

[60] Levinge 37-8.

[61] Gerald Hallowel ed., *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History,* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2004), 530-31.

is, however, the only military action depicted in the album during their first Canadian posting and it is one in which James Bucknall Estcourt did not personally participate. Was Bucknall Estcourt trying to in some way associate her husband with the march? Such an association would have cast him in a positive light to those who would view her album, and would certainly have made his first Canadian posting far more impressive from a military careerist point of view. By the time he joined the regiment in Montreal in June of 1838, the rebellion in Lower Canada had been suppressed and the rumblings that subsequently sent the regiment to Upper Canada never resulted in open confrontation. In fact, James' time in Niagara was, for the most part, spent in doing road survey work.

Yet the sequence in which the events are portrayed in the album suggests that Bucknall Estcourt's inclusion of the march might have had little to do with her husband, although he was by no means unaware of his own value in the colonial enterprise. We have seen that Bucknall Estcourt's first depiction of her and her husband's first posting to Canada is a watercolor of their home on the Niagara frontier and this is immediately followed by a watercolor depicting the waterfalls at Niagara. It is only after this that the fourteen pages relating to the march appear. Such a dramatic reversal of chronology occurs nowhere else in the first part of the album and suggests that Bucknall Estcourt only became aware of the narrative and the existing images of the march at some point after her arrival at Niagara. Thus, their inclusion in her album is faithful to the chronology of events as she herself experienced them. Whether or not James was enabled to bask in the reflected glory of his regiment's accomplishment, the narrative and images of the march function as a paean to British imperial might and an expression of Bucknall Estcourt's own vested interest and pride in the power of the British military to protect British imperial interests.

For the most part, it has been possible to discern a chronology in this part of the album. However, in the interest of presenting as complete a picture of the album's contents as possible, it must also be stated that at times the compilation appears random. For example, the story of the march of the 43rd is told on seven densely transcribed pages similar to figure 1.12 and, as I have described, a number of watercolors do an excellent job of illustrating the narrative. However, also included amongst the pages of the narrative, most particularly during the second half, are items that seem to have little of no relation to the march. For example there are two lithographs, one of Antony Church as well as another of Antony House. A watercolor of the Antony gardens painted by Bucknall Estcourt's sister can also be found. One explanation might be that these were images sent to her while in Canada and she simply wanted to preserve them. Equally, they might have been inserted as a diversion to provide a brief respite to the album's reader from Townsend's detailed account. They may have also merely been spontaneous acts, and serve as evidence of the freedom afforded the authors of these newly popular compilations, a freedom that most certainly would have resonated with changes in Bucknall Estcourt's own life.

The Bucknall Estcourts returned to England at the beginning of 1840, and were soon thereafter posted to Ireland for three years, but there does not appear to be anything in the album that specifically references this period. One possible explanation might be that it was a peaceful time, one that had little to contribute in terms of the imperial interests of Great Britain or the advancement of her husband's military career. The couple rented a home, bought a small carriage for outings and sketching expeditions and enjoyed a

satisfying social life.[62] Between 1843 and 1846 the couple returned to Canada when James was appointed British Boundary Commissioner, charged with working with the Americans to survey and permanently mark the Canada-US boundary from the source of the St. Croix River to the intersection of Hall's Stream with the 45th Parallel. Upon the couple's subsequent return to England, James entered the House of Commons in 1848 as Conservative MP for Devizes, his family borough.[63]

The role of the 1842 Boundary Commissioner was an important one, an assignment that had likely been given to James via his family connections. In fact, a relation, Henry Unwin Addington, had just been appointed permanent under-secretary at the Foreign Office when the posting became available.[64] From an imperialist perspective this posting would most certainly have been worthy of inclusion in the album and would have been much in keeping with Bucknall Estcourt's declared subject for the album. The border between Upper and Lower Canada and the United States, originally defined by the 1783 Treaty of Paris and executed by the Jay Treaty of 1794, had become a source of dispute over its interpretation and a cause of increasing conflict between Canada and the United States.[65] The Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 had redefined the border separating Canada from New Hampshire, Vermont and New York. James Bucknall Estcourt, along with an American counterpart, was charged with resurveying and permanently establishing this portion of the Canada-U.S. border. It was just the kind of

[62] Large 13. Gloucestershire County Records Office, D 1571/F485: James' diary 22 March 1854.

[63] Large 13.

[64] Large 13.

[65] Hallowell 46.

imperialist project that the early pages of Bucknall Estcourt's album so enthusiastically celebrated.

It is noteworthy and surprising then that nothing remains within the album that relates to any part of this period of their second Canadian posting. In fact, between the last image of Niagara Falls and those of the Crimean War, all that exists are three short poems, a letter and a lithograph *The Breakwater from Borisand Kay Plymouth* (artist and date unknown). The couple's first year of their second Canadian posting was spent in a tiny settlement near Grand Falls on the St. John River consisting of two inns, a barracks and a cottage. Bucknall Estcourt lived in the cottage while her husband spent considerable time in the wild working on mapping the boundary. Bucknall Estcourt remained in Grand Falls until February 1844 when she finally moved to Quebec. In fact, her winter in the wild became something of a legend in England, so much so that when the couple was presented to the Queen in 1854, Victoria identified Caroline as "the intrepid lady who had endured the Canadian wilderness".[66] The most likely explanation for such an omission from the album is that Bucknall Estcourt believed that her husband's career had been irreparably damaged by the negative reviews he received upon its completion.[67] These related to how the project, despite having been successfully brought to conclusion, had gone considerably over budget and had extended far beyond the time allotted to it. Germane to such a supposition, is the fact that this portion of the album appears to have been tampered with[68] after its compilation suggesting that content relating

[66] Large 14.

[67] Large 15.

[68] Close examination of the photographs taken of the album suggests that possibly eight pages have been removed. This assessment is, at best very rough, and is in part from remaining stubs and in part from

to the couple's second Canadian posting may have originally been included but later deleted. It is here that the album demonstrates how Bucknall Estcourt, through her absence, attempted to manage her very public roles as military wife and champion of Empire. For the first time in the album, this omission suggests the existence of a clear prioritization of her public identities as military wife first and imperialist second.

It is also significant that Bucknall Estcourt chose to omit all mention of her own noteworthy achievement in enduring the harsh Canadian winter, an achievement deemed remarkable by the Queen herself and dramatically demonstrating Bucknall Estcourt's own contribution and commitment to the imperial project. In the same way that Bucknall Estcourt had strongly asserted her role during her first Canadian posting, it is not unlikely that a similar assertion of her role during that harsh winter may have been present at one point but was retroactively deemed secondary in importance to concerns over the public persona of her husband. As we shall see, such concerns became dramatically foregrounded at the end of his military career, and in light of this, material related to the second Canadian posting might therefore have been removed once Bucknall Estcourt determined that it had become an impediment to further career advancement for her husband, and possibly a detriment to his memory.

Likely compounding her disappointment over the negative comments circulating in regard to her husband's career and the ensuing lack of opportunities for him, was the generally poor state of his health as reflected in a letter she wrote to George Perkins Marsh on October 27, 1849:

> I am too old in feeling now to wish to go anywhere to see places or things but people are still attractive to me provided my husband is well enough to

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determination of normal sequencing of page colors. However, it would be necessary to again physically examine the album to confirm the exact number of missing pages.

> enjoy traveling. […] Do not say much about my dear husband's health in your letter as he suffers more from nerves than anything else I think and it is not good for them to always be aware of the anxiety of others.[69]

Although Bucknall Estcourt would have only been 40 years old when she wrote this letter, she sounds much older in her lack of enthusiasm and the apparent loss of the lust for life that is so apparent in the earlier part of her album. It is almost inconceivable that only twelve years had passed since her marriage to James. I have been unable to find a single reference in the album, deeply coded or otherwise, that records this somewhat sadder set of circumstances. Yet again Bucknall Estcourt has chosen to remain silent, expressing in her album nothing equivalent to her veiled celebration of the circumstances surrounding her decision to accompany her husband on his first Canadian posting. As her letter to Marsh indicates, this was a deeply personal part of her marriage and it was likely something she did not want to share.

Unfortunately, the couple's public life was not yet over. James was once again recalled to active duty as Great Britain prepared for war with Russia. Early in 1854, after some years in Parliament, Bucknall Estcourt's husband was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and appointed Adjutant-General to the British expeditionary force in the Crimea.[70] Again Bucknall Estcourt chose to be close to her husband, spending the winter of 1854-1855 on board the ship that brought her and her sister-in-law Maryanne to the Black Sea from Rome where they had been vacationing with James when he received

[69] GPMC, C1/F24-32. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to George Perkins Marsh, dated October 27, 1849.

[70] Large 16.

his orders.[71] She was given permission to visit her husband in camp in the Crimea when he was taken ill and she was present at his side when he died of cholera on June 24, 1855.[72] Fanny Duberly, who had similarly accompanied her husband to the Crimea, kept a diary of her time there that was subsequently first published in December 1855. Unlike the wives of other officers, Duberly managed to maneuver so as to remain in camp for the duration of the war and on June 24, 1855 she wrote: "Poor General Estcourt died this morning. It strikes us that Death has taken the recall of those in authority into his own stern hands."[73] James Bucknall Estcourt had come to a very undignified end. As Duberly wrote in a private letter to her sister Selina Marx, "Poor Estcourt, I told you his wife went to the funeral. Instead of his being buried as the Adjutant General should have been – they merely dug a nice little hole in his garden and put him in all bagged – just as you'd bury a pet dog."[74]

Bucknall Estcourt commemorated the death of her husband in her album on a single page bearing two images relating to the Crimean War and an immediately following page containing an extract from Manzoni's poem *Ode to Bonaparte.* As with the poem about Byron, the rationale for this second inclusion is not immediately apparent, but in fact Bucknall Estcourt was choosing to record the end of husband's life by recounting the event that most memorably marked the beginning of her own development

[71] GPMC, C2/F29-39. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to George Perkins Marsh, dated June 2, 1855.

[72] Large 17.

[73] Christine Kelly, ed., *Mrs. Duberly's War - Journal and Letters from the Crimea 1854-6* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 196.

[74] Fanny Duberly was known for her outrageous style of recounting the events of the Crimean War, as is reflected in this quote. Many viewed it as an invasion of privacy and to others it signaled the abandonment of gentility. Cholera was responsible for more deaths than war related causes in the Crimea. At the time, it was a disease that was little understood and, hence, instilled great fear.

as an imperialist. That development had begun at an early age. On a July morning in 1815, when she was six years old, the British ship *Bellerophon* was discovered moored in Torbay, a locale not far from her home. It soon became widely known that the *Bellerophon* was carrying Napoleon Bonaparte as prisoner following his defeat at Waterloo. The *Bellerophon* remained moored in Torbay for roughly three weeks prior to Bonaparte's conveyance to exile and imprisonment on the island of St. Helena where he was to remain until his death in 1821. This happening drew thousands of spectators to the region to witness Bonaparte's prison ship as well as the defeated Emperor's daily walks on deck. His defeated figure was most assuredly viewed as symbolic of the tremendous imperial strength of the British Crown. The pageantry and excitement surrounding this event would almost certainly have had a powerful impact upon the young Caroline, and it is thus fascinating to see that the page in her album upon which she includes imagery of the Crimea where her husband died is immediately followed by another with Manzoni's *Ode to Bonaparte*. Without explicitly saying so, Bucknall Estcourt has linked the death of her husband during a British imperial war to the imperial and martial glory of both Napoleon himself and the empire that defeated him, thus dramatizing both the significance of her husband's career and the profundity of the loss she had experienced. She could not have chosen a grander figure or a more grandiose imperial history with which to link her husband and commemorate his own imperial stature and career.

Scrapbooking: Life as a Widow, 1856 – 1885

After the death of her husband, Bucknall Estcourt made living arrangements in company with her never married sister-in-law Maryanne at Tetbury in Gloucestershire with the two women sharing a house. Much of her subsequent social life was passed in company with her large extended family comprised of both Bucknall Estcourts and Pole Carews and she continued going to London every year to attend the social season in town.

The portion of the album compiled after the death of Bucknall Estcourt's husband is approximately 45 pages in length (the final third of the album) and is much more difficult to decipher. Twenty-three of those pages contain some form of image (sketch, watercolor, postcard, or newspaper clipping), while the remaining pages contain some form of narrative (letters and transcribed literary or religious passages). Unlike earlier parts of the album, wherein images are juxtaposed closely to literary passages and serve primarily as illustrations, the transcribed passages and images now appear to bear little or no relation one to another. Where dates have been inscribed, they seem only to confuse the reader as there is no obvious chronological order and they vary widely in terms of their range. Some of them apparently refer to when a given page was actually being worked on, other dates relate to past times during Bucknall Estcourt's life as a married woman, while still others predate even her marriage. Up to this point, the album's processes of memorialization and remembrance had been performed through combinations of writing with pictures in an approach most closely comparable to that of an illustrated commonplace book. At this juncture, its narrative begins to wander away from coherence and the album begins to take on more of the characteristics of a scrapbook by incorporating more of such keepsakes as letters, postcards and newspaper clippings.

With the assistance of the many letters available in the George Perkins Marsh Collection, it has been possible to determine that Bucknall Estcourt's life during this period was subject to a similar loss of cohesion. The grieving process resulting from the death of her husband was arduous and extremely long for her. It was only in June 1872, a full seventeen years after James' death, that she wrote in a letter to Mrs. Marsh "that resignation has come at last".[75] During the two years immediately following James' death, Bucknall Estcourt was intensely involved in a process aimed at ensuring that her husband would be well remembered in the writing of the history of his era. She followed media coverage of the Crimean War very closely and paid close attention to the accusations that were leveled at the military's senior officers. Upon her husband's death, she played an instrumental role in having a number of eulogies published in England, Canada, and the United States.[76] Despite her bereavement, however, her life did go on and she seems to have begun a process of memorialization within her album of certain of the more significant events in her life as a widow. Finally, in a letter to Mr. Marsh in June 1862, she wrote that she had begun to review all of her husband's journals, letters and documents with a view towards writing a biography of his life.[77] As she navigated this process, she began to incorporate some of her discoveries into her album. These three distinct tracks – acute mourning that included damage control in response to negative press over her husband's role in the demise of British soldiers in the Crimea, life as a widow, and, finally, a more long term perspective aimed at recording the full extent of her husband's military career did not occur sequentially but instead coexisted with one

[75] GPMC, C6/F1-13. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to Mrs. Marsh, dated June 24, 1872.

[76] GPMC, C1-2/F29-40, C3/F9. In letters from Bucknall Estcourt to the Marsh family, date 1855 – 1856.

[77] GPMC, C4/F22-34. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to Mr. George Perkins Marsh, dated June 15, 1862.

another, thus explaining the confusion that appears to have overtaken the album. It is also worth noting that the album seems to have become much more personal during these years as evidenced by the very dark tone of a number of the transcriptions. For example, on page 97 of the album Bucknall Estcourt transcribed an excerpt from the German poem *Des Mädchens Klage* by Friedrich Schiller, first in German and then in an English translation:

> The oak forest moaned, the heavens look'd grim,
> The maiden walk'd forth by the angry stream,
> It rush'd on its way with right, with might
> And she sang, as she gaz'd on the stormy night
> With a dim and tearful eye:
> "My heart is dead – the world's a void –
> Each wish extinct – each hope enjoy'd
> My God! Take back the poor child's breath,
> Life's joys are spent – Oh! Give me death!
> I have lov'd – Oh! Let me die!"

Viewed from a contemporary perspective it becomes possible to speculate that at this point the album likely became a book solely for her own private use rather than something she shared with family and friends in her drawing room. However, as Dr. Catherine MacKenzie has so aptly pointed out, the way in which Victorian widows mourned the loss of loved ones was possibly quite different from that of our contemporary experience. Dr. MacKenzie cites Elizabeth Simcoe's journals as being replete with dark depressive commentary after her husband's death and reminds us that Queen Victoria almost permanently retreated to Balmoral Castle after Prince Albert's death and wore mourning black for the rest of her life.[78] While a contemporary reader of the album might perhaps be concerned about the state of the author's mental health (something likely to have been

[78] Dr. Catherine MacKenzie, as second reader of this thesis, raised this as an interesting avenue for future research and consideration.

kept private), a Victorian reader might have considered it quite normal. Before concluding that the private outweighed the public function of the album at this juncture, further research would be required.

Not only was Bucknall Estcourt emotionally devastated by her husband's death, but also she felt tremendous guilt at not having done more to demand that he spend more time resting during the days leading up to his demise. As she wrote to Mrs. Marsh on September 29, 1855, she felt torn between her desire to protect her husband's health on the one hand and not wanting him to appear unfit for the tasks with which he had been charged on the other. She was fully aware that criticisms had already been directed against senior officers blaming their incompetence for the inhuman conditions their men were forced to endure. [79]

It is during this period that Bucknall Estcourt's own personal loss and sacrifice in the service of Great Britain's imperial interests becomes most evident. One marvels at the complexity of the emotions she must have felt given the poor state of James' health when they had left England for a rest in Italy a few years earlier.[80] Bucknall Estcourt's life, once a well-managed and tightly choreographed dance between the public and private spheres, now began to break down. What had earlier been private now became public. The character and moral integrity of her husband as a determinant of his ability to occupy a leadership role in the Crimea was now being laid bare to public scrutiny. The intrusion of the public realm was thus strongly felt within her very private sphere of grieving. This

[79] GPMC C2/F29-39. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to Mrs. Marsh, dated Sept. 29, 1855.

[80] GPMC C1/F24-32. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to Mrs. Marsh, dated July 23, 1849, explains why they are leaving London for Italy. "My health is the pretext … [JBBE's doctor] desired him to be as idle as possible … says he is overworked in mind and body and spoke very seriously of the necessity of rest for both."

turn of events would surely have sorely tested the sternest of characters. Transcriptions of religious passages relinquishing control to God now began to appear more frequently in

2.1 Sir Thomas Lawrence, *Portrait of Miss Croker,* Sir Thomas Lawrence, Print after the portrait, 1827

the album. Especially iconic in this regard is her inclusion of an image of the painting of Rosamund Croker by Sir Thomas Lawrence (figure 2.1) that had been given to her by an officer of the 43rd Regiment. The original painting, of which a number of lithograph copies were made and distributed, had been shown in the Academy Exhibition of 1827. Although all who saw the painting remarked on Miss Croker's ravishing beauty, Bucknall Estcourt quite likely identified with something very different. Miss Croker had chosen to live a pious life, dedicating herself to religious and philanthropic work believing that it was for this purpose that God had chosen to bless her with her good looks and excellent health. The painting had caused quite a stir at the exhibition and was commented upon by King George IV as well as by the public at large. The king was quoted in British papers at the time as saying that it was Miss Croker's character, and not her looks, which was

best representative of English beauty.[81] Bucknall Estcourt's total immersion within her religious beliefs may thus not only have allowed her to assuage the guilt she felt but also may have helped her to endure the tremendous sacrifices she had made in her efforts to further the imperial interests of Great Britain. She seemed also to take great comfort in her belief in the hereafter, as is reflected in the following passage from "The Stream of Time" transcribed into the album:

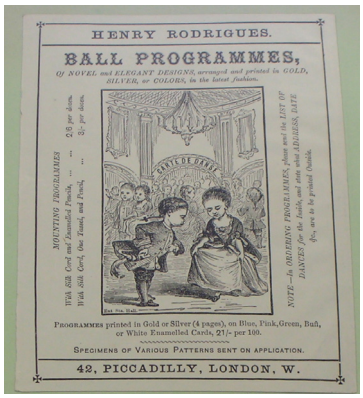
> Methought I saw a stream
> The dark bed choked with many ruin'd things,
> And all along its' Banks, were cities high,
> And villages, and crests of lofty trees,
> But the Stream pass'd them, then I look'd again,
> And all was gone, but mid decaying piles
> Of homes and towns, and villages, and dwellings fair,
> Vast heaps of smouldering ashes met my eye
> These were the relics of the mortal frame,
> Once full of beauty, and of life, and health,
> But there was <u>something</u> which the stream of time
> Could never reach – the deathless human soul
> It winged its' way thro' boundless realms of space
> Mid which the mortal eye may never pierce
> Where nought but pure immortal rivers flow,
> And Time shrinks back from bright eternity.

Throughout Bucknall Estcourt's mourning process traces, albeit few, of a continuing social life may be found in the album. For example, she attended a ball during the fall of 1862 and memorialized this in her album in cryptic fashion by including two newspaper clippings of advertisements. The first is that of a London printer who designed and printed programs for balls while the other is an advertisement for Osborne House, a private hotel for "families of distinction", likely the venue of the event she attended. She wrote of her experience in a letter to Mrs. Marsh on December 19, 1862:

> I went away for three weeks during which I actually went to a Ball! A thing I never expected to do again. It was on a most interesting occasion to

[81] "The Beautiful Miss Croker", published in *The Nelson Evening Mail*, 6 October 1905, page 1.

> our family: my mother's family. The grandson of her only brother attained his 21st birthday […] and his father who is Lord Lieutenant of the county of Worcester and a very useful public man […] took the occasion of his son's "coming of age" to show his gratitude to all his friends and neighbors to him.



2.2 Newspaper clippings advertising a Program Printer and Osborne House

What is most remarkable about this is that, a full seven years after her husband's death, Bucknall Estcourt seems surprised that she should experience joy again. She almost seems to feel a need to justify what she considers self-indulgence by explaining at length the significance and great import of the event. For a brief moment, a spark of spontaneity has emerged, only to be quickly transmuted into what would have been viewed as a more appropriate attitude for a Victorian widow of her class.

Another event she chose to memorialize was the death of her eldest brother-in-law, Edward Bucknall Estcourt, in 1876. She recorded this in the album by including a brief note that had been written to Edward from George Perkins Marsh in 1875 in which he passed along an interesting insight regarding Shakespeare's Hamlet: "Knowing the excessive literariness of your family [I pass along the following.] Hamlet […] was probably a journeyman who in his early youth had been poisoned by the Roman Catholics

probably by order of King Henry VIII of England!!!" I am only able to infer why Bucknall Estcourt might have included such a keepsake in her album from what she wrote to Mrs. Marsh.

> [He] had an excellent library and was very well read. [...] We have lost in him a living example [… of a man with a] brilliancy of wit and memory which was more like your husband's than that of anybody else I know, which made him the most delightful companion and the most improving you can imagine.[82]

Bucknall Estcourt clearly considered both of these men with whom she had had a close relationship to be figures of great intellect who had provided her with guidance and stimulation as she pursued her own intellectual development, a pursuit that offered her considerable pleasure during this later phase of her life.

The level of sophistication she achieved in her intellectual pursuits is well illustrated by the inclusion in the album of an extract from Thomas Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus", a book that had propelled Carlyle to the status of a leading literary figure of Great Britain during the nineteenth century.[83] The book purports to be a commentary on the life of the fictional Diogenes Teufelsdrockh, supposedly compiled from scraps of diaries, journals and letters. In reality, the work allegorically addresses much deeper concerns of social injustice within society, how we should live our lives in this world, and how larger questions of faith and spirituality impact upon both daily life and larger societal questions. The metaphoric parallels with Bucknall Estcourt's life are noteworthy – the use of commonplacing and scrapbooking to memorialize her own life in the album,

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[82] GPMC C6/F53-65. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to Mrs. Marsh, dated January 5, 1876.

[83] University of California Press book review, accessed January 4, 2012 http://www.ucpress.edu/book.php?isbn=9780520209282/.

the consciousness she applied to living her life and the degree to which she relinquished her fate to a higher power.

The third pursuit to which Bucknall Estcourt devoted substantial energy during this period was the work of reviewing her husband's journals, letters and documents in the hope of writing a biography of his life. It is likely for this reason that the second half of the album contains a wide variety of images, some predating her marriage, that relate one way or another to James Bucknall Estcourt's military career. Although her labors never led to publication, the material she gathered together is today part of the Sotheron Estcourt papers in the Archives in Gloucestershire.[84] Her work also lives on within the album that is now part of the holdings of the National Archives Canada. She discussed her undertaking frequently and at great length with George Perkins Marsh. As a writer himself, he provided her with guidance and inspiration as she navigated her way through this monumental task. Her process of selecting elements for inclusion in the album was perhaps one way in which Bucknall Estcourt found meaning in her widowhood and was able to come to terms with the great loss she had incurred.

As an upper class woman of the Victorian era, it would have been viewed as being highly appropriate for Bucknall Estcourt to be involved in philanthropic and religious works. As a devoted imperialist and deeply religious woman, it is somewhat surprising that nothing appears in the earlier part of the album in reference to her involvement with missionary work during her time in Canada. Instead, it is only towards the very end of the album that she has incorporated a number of subtle indications that she might have been

[84] Gloucestershire Records Office (GRO), D1571/F495.

2.3 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Traveling Scene in Canada*, print, wood engraving on wove paper, 1849

involved in such work.[85] The first consists of translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Collect for Grace, and the Blessing translated into Ojibwe that had been given to her in 1839 by the Governor of Upper Canada, Sir George Arthur. The second is a publication of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" dating from 1849. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt was the artist responsible for the image on the first page, *Traveling Scene in Canada* (figure 2.3).[86] As minor as these traces seem, particularly when considered within the context of the album in its entirety, they remain evidence of and testament to what was likely some form of missionary work she was involved with during her two postings to Canada.[87] Certainly, she developed close ties with a number of

[85] I have been unable to confirm what that involvement might have consisted of other than to confirm that two of the lithographs she produced while in Canada were done to raise money for the church. These lithographs are now in the possession of the National Archives of Canada. They are: (1) *Winter Scene on the St. Lawrence Near Quebec City*, 1844 (ICON1526) and *Snowshoeing Near Quebec City,* 1844 (ICON49180).

[86] MIKAN no. 3931341, Library and Archives Canada.

[87] This is based on dates recorded in the album. Bucknall Estcourt obtained the Ojibwe translations during her first posting and created the lithographs during her second posting.

the missionaries working in North America and expressed concern for their safety during the American Civil War.[88] The time she spent together during her years as a widow with her sister-in-law, Maryanne Bucknall Estcourt, working together to organize educational lectures for the women of their parish may have influenced her in this regard. Although Bucknall Estcourt busied herself with the religious components of the program, her sister-in-law Maryanne organized lectures promoting the rights of women.[89] Perhaps such a process of beginning to think about women in a different light allowed her finally to grant herself permission to memorialize her own work in furthering the interests of imperial Great Britain.

[88] GPMC C4/F36-47. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to Mrs. Marsh, dated July 20, 1863.

[89] GPMC C5/F1-13. In a letter from Bucknall Estcourt to Mrs. Marsh, dated October 11, 1866.

Conclusion

Post-structuralist theory states that a poem or a literary work must be viewed as "irreducibly plural, an endless play of signifiers which can never be finally nailed down to a single centre, essence or meaning."[90] In other words, a single definitive interpretation of any given literary work is quite simply not possible. Equally, Sara Mills in *Discourse of Difference* has identified a number of issues involved in the reading of women's travel writing as autobiographical, that reflect challenges similar to the ones I have faced in the interpretation of Bucknall Estcourt's album. The first question she raises asks how we know that what has been included in the album is an accurate representation of the subject's reality.[91] Was Bucknall Estcourt really displaying her life or was she simply displaying how she wanted that life to be seen? In my effort to unearth the self of Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, I have repeatedly encountered ambiguity. I would argue that, over the almost forty year period that she worked on the album, the degree to which she understood and was comfortable with openly displaying her self varied tremendously. Furthermore, I would also argue that the self she understood herself to be, evolved and changed over time. Mills also points out that the self is not a coherent entity, nor is it always under the conscious control of the writer. The limitations of narrative and pictorial representation make the self somewhat elusive. She argues that a coherent self, in textual terms, and for my purposes pictorial as well, is well nigh impossible. To quote Mills, "the range of meanings which the unstable self of the writer attempts to encode are never

[90] Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory – An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 146.

[91] Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: New York: Routledge, 1991), 36.

decoded in predictable ways by the unstable self of the reader." [92] To draw again on the fact that the portion of Bucknall Estcourt's album that was dedicated to her years as a married woman and wife of a British military officer has folio pages removed in numerous places as well as other folio pages that appear to have been added retrospectively, it seems clear that the narrative that she depicts was not only a constructed one, but one that was altered over time.

Mills has contended that women "constructed their texts within a range of power nexuses: the power of patriarchy which acted upon them, […] through discourses of femininity and that of colonialism, which acted upon them in relation to the people of the countries"[93] they encountered during their travels. Those elements that were considered feminine: relationships, the domestic realm, and a concern with religion and morality, were often a focus of their efforts.[94] Women were known to be "concerned with interaction with others, […] because of their socialization as sexualized objects of a male gaze, [and they were] generally more aware of the way the narrator appears to others, of themselves as objects."[95] How a Victorian woman constructed her album would have been influenced not only by the interplay of power relations, but also by how such an album might have been received by the friends and family with whom it was shared.

Bucknall Estcourt most certainly constructed her album in a manner that respected the feminine conventions of her era, particularly that portion of the album that centered on her life as a married woman. This was likely the period in her life during which she

[92] Mills 36.

[93] Mills 18.

[94] Mills 98.

[95] Mills 98.

shared its contents with family and friends. I have identified two social networks through which this was likely to have occurred. The first was with family and friends through drawing room social interactions common during the Victorian era. The second was likely via informal interactions with like-minded amateur artists with whom she had contact during military postings. One piece of evidence comes via Captain Mundy's directly drawing and writing upon one of the album's pages. Another is the number of watercolors she painted herself for inclusion in the album that were copies of works produced by amateur British military officers. My analysis has revealed that Bucknall Estcourt, even when treating events that fell well within the realm of the private sphere, exercised considerable control over who had access to that which she chose to memorialize by the degree to which they were encoded. This would have been important given the wide range of people who might view her album. I would argue, however, that respect for feminine convention did not limit the bounds of the narrative that she constructed. Bucknall Estcourt was very creative in employing a wide range of strategies that permitted her to articulate strong colonial and imperial perspectives while simultaneously ensuring that she would not be criticized for such efforts. These subtle yet powerful strategies included such things as the topographical style in which she represented her home in Niagara, the use of poetry that communicated a strong colonialist perspective, the voice of Private Townsend in recounting the 43rd Regiments heroic trek, and the hand of military artists to depict the Canadian landscape in a way that not only illustrated the narrative being told but also appropriated the Canadian landscape in the name of Great Britain and justified the upheaval and exploitation of its indigenous peoples.

Bucknall Estcourt made her husband's military career and, by extension, Great Britain's much larger imperial project important subjects of her album. This case study, through detailed analysis of its contents, has shed new light on *how* one Victorian aristocratic woman simultaneously inhabited the realms of the private femininized sphere and the public masculinized sphere, all the while working from within a framework of what are today understood to be the aristocratic feminine conventions of her era. By understanding the *how*, it has been possible to gain insight into the *what*, the impact of the broader concerns of an era (political, social and economic) on one woman, thus permitting a reading of the historical period from a uniquely feminine perspective. In so doing, this case study has identified a productive avenue for further study of such cultural artifacts. It goes without saying that this analysis has been greatly enhanced by the extent of the archival material to which I was able to achieve access. Without such access, it would most certainly not have been possible to unravel the meaning inherent within the portion of the album created after the death of Bucknall Estcourt's husband nor to decode the autobiographical acts contained therein, which in turn would have greatly diminished the degree of clarity achievable in deciphering the narrative she constructed during her life as a military wife. These archival materials became the Rosetta Stone that allowed the hieroglyphs of Bucknall Estcourt's album to be read and understood.

The time to pursue such research is now. As Hunt has written, albums are "valuable artifacts of literary and rhetorical acts with much to contribute to our profession and to our understanding of individual participation in our culture and our history."[96] Their ongoing deterioration, the lack of recognition of their importance, and, therefore, the urgent need for their preservation is of considerable import. Let us not forget that the

[96] Hunt 16.

most likely explanation for the preservation of Bucknall Estcourt's album is that it contained a superficially patriarchal perspective upon Canadian history in verisimilitude with that held by British military men.

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Appendix - Plates:

Sketches, Watercolors and Lithographs Attributed to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt

This appendix includes all of Caroline Bucknall Estcourt's known artworks – not only those included in her own album. A number of the plates have been *attributed* to her, either by Library and Archives Canada or myself. I have maintained all of the attributions made to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt by Library and Archives Canada, although some of these may be worth revisiting. For example, plates 3, 6, 7 appear to be executed with less skill and/or in a style that differs from works known with certainty to have been done by her. Plate 6, moreover, is inscribed "CBE from JAR", suggesting that another artist may have executed the sketch and given it to her. Likewise, in plate 27 from James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt's album, a handwritten notation appears at the bottom/center of the paper stating "JBBE fecit", which translates to "JBBE made it" and was often inscribed next to artists' names during that era. In this case, however, the lower right corner of the image also has Caroline Bucknall Estcourt's initials.

I *have* changed the attribution of a number of watercolors from her husband's album that Library and Archives Canada had attributed to James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt. Plates 21, 23, 24, 25, and 26 I have now attributed to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt. The style and skill with which they are executed is much more in keeping with works painted by Caroline Bucknall Estcourt than by her husband. The husband's album has furthermore been disassembled and watercolors have been individually mounted on separate papers along with cutouts from the album pages where they were originally mounted. For each of these plates, the cutouts clearly identify CBE (Caroline Bucknall

Estcourt) as the artist in contradistinction to the initials JBBE, which appear whenever the artist is James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt.

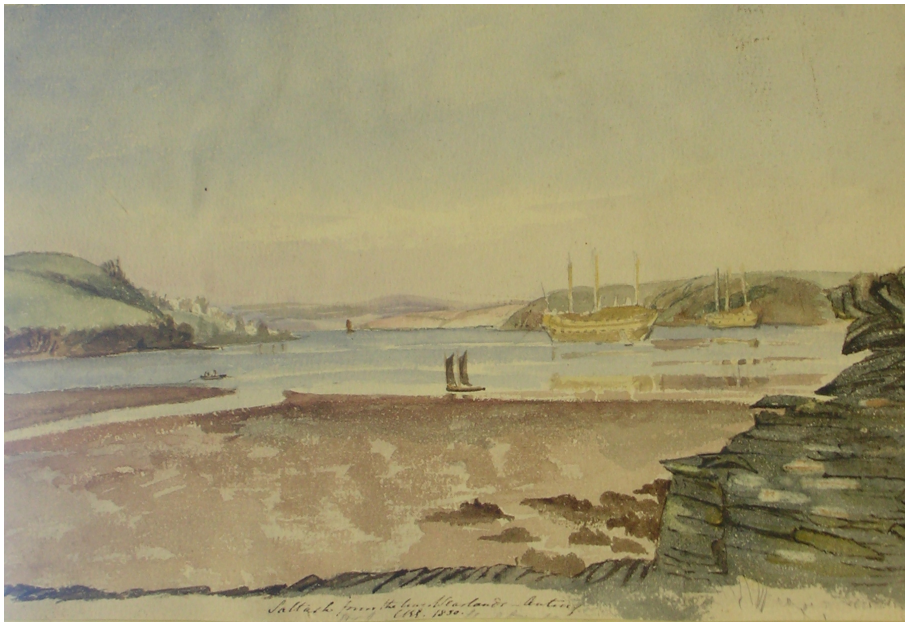

Plate 1 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Saltash from the […] Antony,* 1830, watercolor over pencil on paper, 17.8 cm. x 26.1 cm. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 2 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Our Cottage near the Falls of Niagara*, 1838, watercolor over pencil on wove paper, 11.4 cm. x 16.5 cm. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 3 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Man Sitting Cross-legged in Ethnic Costume*, n.d., pencil drawing on paper, 11.2 cm. x 74 cm. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 4 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt copied from William Robert Herries, *Winter Scene with Men Warming Themselves at a Fire,* 1838, watercolor over pencil on paper, 19.4 cm. x 27.7 cm. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 5 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt copied from George R.A. Levinge, *First View of the St. Lawrence after Crossing the Portage, St. André,* 1838, watercolor over pencil on paper, 16.9 cm. x 24.7 cm. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 6 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Crenellated Buildings,* 1839, watercolor over pencil on paper, 17.9 cm. x 26.4 cm. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 7 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt copied from Capt. Mundy, *Madras Palanquin Bearers,* 1838, brown ink on paper, 14.2 cm. x 23.4 cm. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 8 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt copied from Miss Corbans, *Portrait of a Boy,* 1852, watercolor with scraping out on paper, 21.4 cm. x 17.2 cm. Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 9 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Traveling Scene in Canada*, 1849, print: wood engraving on wove paper, published in The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Caroline Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 10 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Autumnal Tints – Road Behind Lundy's Lane Falls of Niagara,* 1838, watercolor over pencil on wove paper, 14.0 cm. x 20.0 cm. James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 11 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Cottage in Lundy's Lane, which we lived in from Aug. 1838 to Aug. 1839,* 1839, pencil and watercolor over pencil on paper, 11.5 cm. x 16.7 cm. James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 12 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *H.M.S. Pique – Ice Bound,* 1838, watercolor over pencil on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 13 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt*, The Good Woman of Color,* 1838-9, watercolor and pencil on wove paper, 21.9 cm x 27.0 cm. James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate14 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *From the Upper Windows of Our House at Montreal,* 1838, watercolor over pencil heightened with gum Arabic and scraping out on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 15 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Near Colonel Delatre's, a Road Parallel with Lundy's Lane, Niagara Falls,* 1838, watercolor over pencil on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 16 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *The 43rd Encampment at Niagara Opposite the American Fall,* 1838, watercolor over pencil on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 17 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt*, Habitant in his Traineau, near Quebec City,* 1838, watercolor over pencil with scraping out and gum arabic on paper, 30.5 cm. x 20.3 cm. James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 18 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Untitled View,* 1838/39, watercolor over pencil on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 19 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt*, James' Tent on the Horseshoe Falls from Goat Island,* 1838, watercolor over pencil, with scraping out on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 20 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *View from the Head of the Whirlpool Falls of Niagara,* 1839, watercolor on wove paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 21 Attributed to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Part of Montreal, the Quebec Suburbs with the Island of St. Helens and the Hills towards the Richelieu River,* 1838, watercolor over pencil with gum arabic on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 22 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Restigouche,* 1840, watercolor: monochrome brown watercolor wash over pencil on paper, 25.6 cm. x 18.2 cm., James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 23 Attributed to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *The Great Horseshoe Fall from the Pavilion Hotel, Niagara Falls,* 1838, watercolor over pencil with scraping out on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 24 Attributed to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *The Horseshoe Fall from Goat Island, Niagara Falls,* 1838, watercolor over pencil with scraping out and gum arabic on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 25 Attributed to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Niagara Falls,* 1839, watercolor over pencil with scraping on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 26 Attributed to Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *From Between Two Mountains at Montreal Looking at the St. Lawrence in the Direction of Nun's Island,* 1838/9, watercolor over pencil with scraping on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt Album, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 27 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *James Estcourt in His Cariole, near Quebec City,* 1844, pencil on paper, James Bucknall Bucknall Estcourt and family collection, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 28 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *The Grand Falls, St. John,* 1843, watercolor over pencil on paper, 28.5 cm. x 20.5 cm. Gift of Miss Marguerite and Mrs. Yvonne Mahuzies, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 29 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Near Fredericton,* 1843, watercolor over pencil with scraping out and gum arabic on paper, 35.3 cm. x 25.2 cm. Gift of Miss Marguerite and Mrs. Yvonne Mahuzies, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 30 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Unidentified Landscape,* 1843, watercolor over pencil with opaque white on light grey paper, 27.2 cm. x 19 cm. Gift of Miss Marguerite and Mrs. Yvonne Mahuzies, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 31 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Winter Scene on the St. Lawrence, near Quebec City,* 1844, lithograph in grey and black, coloured by hand on paper, 36.2 cm x 23.6 cm, W.H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana, Manoir Richelieu Collection, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 32 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt, *Snowshoeing, near Quebec City,* 1844 lithograph in grey and black, coloured by hand on paper, 36.9 cm. x 24.4 cm. W.H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana, Manoir Richelieu Collection, Library and Archives Canada.

Plate 33 Caroline Bucknall Estcourt (lithograph by T. Picken), *Indian Woman and Child,* n.d. lithograph on wove paper, Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana, National Archives of Canada.