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Landscapes of Sport, Landscapes of Exclusion: The "Sportsman's Paradise" in Late-Nineteenth-Century Canadian Painting

Lynda Jessup

This essay deals with a group of late-nineteenth-century landscape paintings that were painted for members of the sportsmen's club movement, who leased salmon rivers in Atlantic Canada for sport fishing. In Canada, as elsewhere, the removal of Native rights to the animal world, through the introduction of policies and laws restricting hunting and fishing technologies and access, went hand in hand with the aesthetic appropriation of the environment as landscape. For this reason it can be argued that in picturing Atlantic Canada as the recreational landscape of these elite tourists—"a sportsman's paradise"—paintings of the region are also products of the history of Native exclusion from the Atlantic salmon fishery. Thus they provide a point of access to the complex history of Native-settler interaction for public art galleries in Canada currently involved in the incorporation of Native North American material into the existing public narrative of Canadian art.

Le présent article porte sur un groupe de peintures paysagistes du dernier quart du XIX^e siècle qui ont été réalisées par des membres du mouvement des clubs de sportifs qui louaient des rivières à saumon dans le Canada atlantique pour faire de la pêche récréative. Au Canada, comme ailleurs, la suppression résultante des droits autochtones au monde animal—par l'introduction de politiques et lois restreignant les technologies et l'accès à la chasse et à la pêche—est allée de pair avec l'affectation esthétique de l'environnement comme paysage. Pour cette raison, on peut avancer qu'en montrant le Canada atlantique comme le paysage récréatif de ces touristes d'élite (un paradis des sportifs), les peintures de cette région sont également un produit de l'histoire de l'exclusion autochtone des pêches au saumon atlantique. Ces peintures fournissent donc un point d'accès à l'histoire complexe des interactions entre les Autochtones et les colons pour les galeries d'art publiques au Canada qui essaient présentement d'incorporer du matériel autochtone nord-américain dans le récit public actuel de l'art canadien.

Landscape as a cultural medium ... has a double role with respect to something like ideology: it naturalizes a social and cultural construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable, and it also makes that representation operational by interpellating its beholder in some more or less determinate relation to its givenness as sight and site. Thus, landscape (whether urban or rural, artificial or natural) always greets us as a space, as environment, as that within which "we" (figured as "the figures" in the landscape) find—or lose—ourselves. An account of landscape understood in this way therefore ... has to trace the process by which landscape effaces its own readability and naturalizes itself and must understand that process in relation to what might be called "the natural histories" of its own beholders. [It is a question of] what we have done and are doing to our environment, what the environment in turn does to us, how we naturalize what we do to each other, and how these "doings" are enacted in the media of representation we call "landscape."

W.J.T. Mitchell (1994, 2)

This essay focusses on a significant body of landscape paintings from the last quarter of the nineteenth century that depict, or were painted for, recreational fishermen from central Canada and the northeastern United States who leased salmon rivers in Atlantic Canada for sport fishing. The pictures, which deal with common subject matter, were painted for art patrons and collectors who were active participants in the "sportsmen's club movement" that swept northeastern North America in the mid-1870s. Each reproduces the motivating ideas of the movement, giving visual expression to contemporary notions of wilderness as a therapeutic environment, an antidote to the debilitating effects of urban-industrial civilization. It was in pursuit of this wilderness experience that the movement organized elite tourists into private clubs for the pursuit of sport, which was conceptualized as a form of personal involvement in the rhythms of nature and for the preservation of game, which they saw as threatened by the same urban-industrial capitalism that compelled their periodic retreat to wilderness. The movement thus transformed the concept of hunting and fishing in North America into a dominant pursuit of the elite—in John MacKenzie's words, "an ethos to be respected and admired by subordinate social classes"—and then "set about the separation of the human and animal worlds to promote 'preservation' (later 'conservation') as a continuing justification for its monopoly" (1988, 23, 22).

In Canada, as elsewhere, the removal of Native rights to the animal world through the introduction of policies and laws restricting hunting and fishing

technologies and access went hand in hand with this aesthetic appropriation of the environment as landscape. On an instrumental level, it was the effect of a program of natural resource management developed and enforced by the federal fisheries department in the decades after Confederation. As Bill Parenteau observes, the program was deeply influenced by the new ideology of conservation espoused by recreational fishermen, who not only actively pursued laws prohibiting spearing and other Native harvesting methods, but also reinforced their position of privilege among resource users by supporting the rehabilitation of salmon rivers and paying for the surveillance and prosecution of the “poachers” newly constituted by federal fisheries regulations. Part of a larger process of Native dispossession of the environment that came with the rise of the modern administrative state and included contemporary efforts by the federal Department of the Indian Affairs to promote agricultural settlement among Native populations in the area, the program both forced and facilitated the entry of Aboriginal men into a new, wage-based economy as fishing guides, effecting what Parenteau describes as the “transformation of Native people from active resource users to cultural commodities—there to enhance the wilderness experiences of the fly fishermen” (1998b, 3).

For this reason it can be argued that, in picturing Atlantic Canada as the recreational landscape of these elite tourists—“a sportsman’s paradise”—contemporary paintings of the region are also products of the history of Native North American exclusion from the Atlantic salmon fishery. As such, they provide a point of access to the complex history of Native-settler interaction for public art galleries in Canada currently involved in the incorporation of Native North American histories into the existing museological narrative of Canadian art. Currently, the inclusion of Aboriginal artistic production during this period focusses on exceptional examples of “tourist” or souvenir art, which flourished with changes to the Native economy brought on by systematic alienation from the salmon harvest and the concomitant rise of modern tourism. Once a deprecating term for the art commodities of colonized and marginalized peoples, but now increasingly a term describing art produced for tourist economies generally, the introduction of “tourist” art into gallery spaces represents an important moment in revisionist efforts to interrogate Western categories of aesthetic production.¹ At the same time, it could also be argued that in focussing exclusively on exceptional examples of souvenir art—and the reasons for their singularity—art galleries may obscure important aspects of the social history of art, of art and its relation to political power, and of art and questions of race, gender, and class.² In short, they run the risk of aestheticizing the historical conditions of art production, on the one hand undermining the poignancy of Native claims

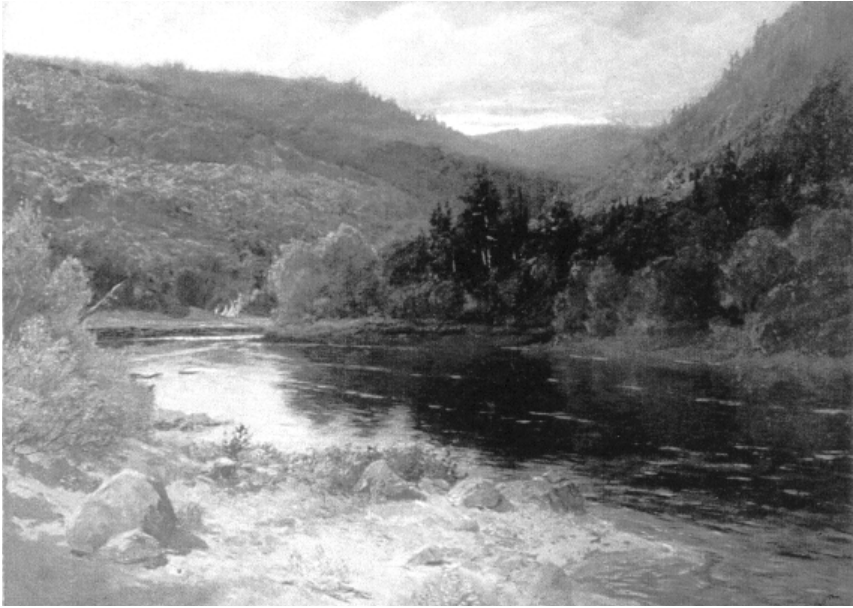


Fig 1. Henry Sandham, *On an Eastern Salmon Stream*, c. 1878; oil on canvas, 76.2 x 101.9 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1977 (18,882).



Fig. 2. Henry Sandham, *On the Godbout River*, 1874; oil on canvas, 102.2 x 153.0 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, purchased 1984 (84/54).



Fig. 3. Canadian art wing, National Gallery of Canada, 2003; installation photograph showing Henry Sandham's *On an Eastern Salmon Stream* at left.

to the handwork of Native women as central to the survival of Native cultural identities during this period of extreme oppression and, on the other, refusing to trouble the dominant, settler narrative of Canadian art, which currently features paintings of the region primarily as exceptional examples of late-nineteenth-century landscape painting in Canada.

Two works representative of what has been effectively identified as “a school” of landscape painters in late-nineteenth-century Canada, the National Gallery of Canada's *On an Eastern Salmon Stream* (fig.1) and the Art Gallery of Ontario's *On the Godbout River* (fig. 2), illustrate what I mean. Both painted by Montreal-born artist Henry Sandham, they currently occupy a prominent place in the public narrative of Canadian art that is presented in the installations of the two galleries. Each is hung in a manner consistent with the curatorial approach used throughout the Canadian art wing at each institution.

At the National Gallery, where the installation is modernist in inspiration (fig. 3), Sandham's painting is hung in a sequential arrangement of relatively isolated works on seemingly neutral walls, with a minimum of interpretive text. In such a space, there are no windows to suggest the outside world, and the ceiling is the source of light, creating an environment in which the work, seemingly “untouched by time and its vicissitudes,” is thought to be more readily appreciated, and ultimately compared with other works, on the basis of its aesthetic qualities alone. “The ideal gallery” of this type, Brian O'Doherty explains, “subtracts from the artwork all clues that interfere with the fact that it is ‘art.’... This gives the space a presence possessed by other spaces where conventions are preserved through the repetition of a closed system of values,” he continues, comparing the resulting mood specifically with the sanctity of a church (1999, 14-15). In this type of installation, the work occupies a space commonly described in curatorial circles as “the sacral white cube” (Meijers 1996, 6). In other words, it is presented in terms of modernist art-history constructs that advance progressivist arguments based on formalist aesthetics (O'Doherty 1999; Grunenburg 1999; Barker 1999).³



Fig. 4. Georgia Ridley Gallery, Canadian art wing, Art Gallery of Ontario, 1993-2004; installation photograph showing Henry Sandham's *On the Godbout River* on far wall, at middle right.

At the Art Gallery of Ontario, where the design of the Canadian wing was inspired by revisionist approaches to disciplinary and curatorial practice that emerged in the 1970s, there is more interpretive and contextualizing material, as well as evocative, sometimes historically based colours and installations. The Georgia Ridley Gallery (fig. 4), which contains Sandham's *On the Godbout River*, for instance, is intended to suggest a nineteenth-century salon of the type associated with European academies, but emulated in Canada in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by such fledgling art societies as the Royal Canadian Academy, the Ontario Society of Artists, and the Art Association of Montreal (fig. 5). Designed to evoke the public nature of the salon, the gallery is a relatively large two-storey room in which sound carries easily and where viewers not only view the objects, but also view one another viewing the objects; here, in contrast to the adjacent, carpeted galleries, wooden floors heighten the sounds of footsteps as people move across the room. Within the space, illuminated as though by a skylight, the paintings are hung almost frame to frame from below eye level to just below the ceiling. Those deemed most important, among them Sandham's work, are placed "on the line," that point midway up the wall historically regarded as the optimum level for viewing works above the crowd.⁴



Fig. 5. Art Association of Montreal Spring Exhibition, May 1879; installation photograph showing Henry Sandham's *On the Godbout River* (fig. 2 above) at the far left. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal (1051.1).

Both paintings, moreover, have been positioned in a manner consistent with the normative strategies of disciplinary art history, appropriately situated in the reconstruction of a national school of art, within which works are arranged chronologically in a seamless developmental narrative that represents the past to viewers in terms of origins, styles, major figures, and important work, most notably as the product of male genius. At the National Gallery, examples of work by Aboriginal peoples have already been added to the existent Canadian art installation without much alteration to this structuring narrative (fig. 6), while at the Art Gallery of Ontario, where curators have chosen to incorporate Native artistic production into the “storied spaces” of the museum one room at a time, only one gallery, the McLaughlin, has been reinstalled to incorporate Aboriginal material.⁵ As a result, the Georgia Ridley Gallery, which contains the Sandham piece, has continued to advance the story of Canadian art in terms of the discipline’s conventional narrative, at least until the recent closing of the Canadian art wing in connection with the building’s expansion.⁶ Thus, in both institutions, Sandham’s paintings are located in rooms devoted to late-nineteenth-century art production in Canada, where they are hung alongside works by other landscape painters in Montreal and Toronto with whom the artist is associated in academic histories of Canadian art and together with many of whom he became a founding member of the first

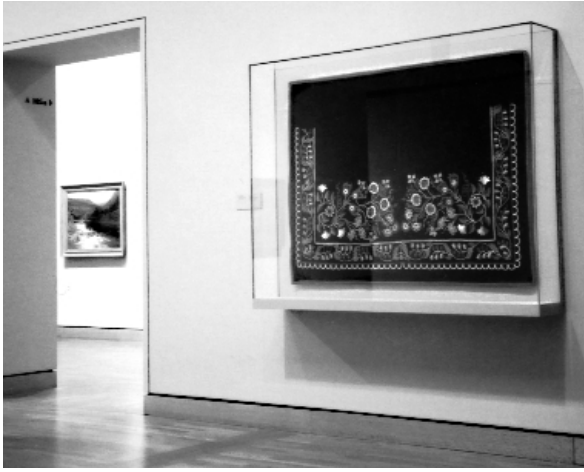


Fig. 6. Canadian art wing, National Gallery of Canada, 2003; installation photograph showing Henry's Sandham's *On an Eastern Salmon Stream* from main gallery. Cree/Métis, Beaded Piano cover, 1878, mounted on wall at right.

"national" society for the visual arts in Canada, the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, in 1880.⁷

As Donald Preziosi points out, art history and museology are closely allied in what he describes as "this fixing-in-place of individual objects within the ideal horizons of a (potentially universal) history of artistic form." They operate together to explain the work, on one level, in terms of its "relationship to an evolving stylistic system manifested either by an individual artist (a particular

corpus of work or *oeuvre*) or by a broader aesthetic school or movement." This has been effected, for example, when Sandham's work is treated alongside what becomes, through stylistic association, a "generation" or "school" of Montreal and Toronto landscape painters in the late nineteenth century. The work is also explained through what Preziosi describes as "the articulation of interrelationships between stylistic development and the unfolding of an artist's biography, or a regional or national style culminating in the synthetic work of a great artist (like Michelangelo)" or, in the case of Canadian art, what is identified as the definitive landscape painting produced by the Group of Seven, beginning in the 1920s. Lastly, explanatory adequacy is advanced through "the articulation of an object's larger historical 'contexts,' foregrounding the work's documentary or representational status and its circumstances of production and reception," which, in the case of Sandham's work, is the developing art scene in Canada's urban centres indexed at both institutions through reference to the Royal Canadian Academy and, in the hanging at the Art Gallery of Ontario, designed to evoke the public function of the salon, to the annual exhibition of pictures associated with the academy's establishment (Preziosi 1998a, 16, 14; Bal 1996).

Articulating Larger Historical Contexts

Of course, the subject matter of Sandham's paintings is also key to their documentary or representational value, which, although not eclipsed at the National Gallery and Art Gallery of Ontario, is clearly subordinated to explanatory criteria that better facilitate a history of artistic form. After all, both are pictures of Atlantic salmon streams, the Art Gallery of Ontario's a view of the Godbout River on the north shore of the St. Lawrence showing a fisherman and his companion in the foreground, the National Gallery's "eastern salmon stream" a view of what can be identified as the Restigouche River on the Quebec-New Brunswick border. As such, they suggest the existence of a relationship between the pictures and the cultural histories of region, gender, race, and class, as well as that of the environment—of the interlocking human and natural communities that constitute the landscape at any given moment. In this case, they also refer directly to a particular landscape and the social relations that brought it into being, both in eastern Canada and in the late-nineteenth-century pictures of it that now occupy a prominent place in the public history of Canadian art.

Specifically, the paintings can be related to the rise of an elite male sports culture in the late nineteenth century, particularly the "sportsmen's club movement," which brought together elites from central Canada and the northeastern United States in pursuit of recreational salmon fishing on the rivers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and on the St. Lawrence watershed, beginning in earnest in the 1870s (see Rieger 1975; Parenteau 2004; Hughes 2001b; Parenteau 1998a). Like many of their contemporaries, those involved in the sportsmen's club movement saw wilderness as a recuperative environment, an escape from what were perceived to be the enervating effects of modern, urban-industrial society. Best described perhaps as wilderness nostalgia, this sentiment was most pronounced among more educated and affluent urbanites—especially male elites, whose very manliness was thought to be particularly afflicted by the ills and artificiality of modern life. Like other forms of anti-modernism in this period, it embodied what T.J. Jackson Lears has described as a "recoil from an 'overcivilized' modern existence to more intense forms of physical and spiritual existence," giving expression to a perceived lack in the present that co-existed at this time with an enthusiasm for science, modernization, and material progress. In effect a critique of the modern, such anti-modernist nostalgia represented an attempt to come to terms with modernity, not by its wholesale rejection, but by its moderation through the inclusion of pre-modern physical and psychological zones of retreat (1981, xv; Jessup 2001; McKay 1994, 30-31; Sackett 1995, 68-9).

Imagined as an elemental environment untainted by civilization, wilderness emerged in this context as the ultimate landscape of authenticity, taking shape as a pre-modern space within the broader borders of the modern world (Cronon 1995; Adams 2003, 33-42). On a more theoretical level, the wilderness of these elite tourists was like tourism itself, which, Kevin Meethen points out, can be seen "as a consequence of the differentiation of modernity, of dividing society into discrete areas of social activity which are also mapped out in actual uses of space" (2001, 16). Seen in terms of modern social organization, wilderness was enacted as a place of recreation and leisure activity, distinguishing it not only from the contemporary urban spaces of modern industrial capitalism, but also, at the site of this new wilderness, from an existing idea of nature based on rural traditions and utilitarian concepts of land use. In this sense, wilderness was an artifact of modernity, part of what has been described as the capitalist transformation of the North American countryside that took place at this time (Jacoby 2001, 4). Differentiated from the workaday world of the city, it was a space within which leisure activity not only took place, but was also commoditized in the development of the tourism economy that came with the extension of the essential logic of industrial capitalism into the realm of modern social life. It was in terms of this recreational concept of land use, based on a Romantic vision of landscape, that nature was projected, as it often is today, as immutable and discrete from human activity.⁸

What was understood as human activity, of course, was activity other than recreation; in reality, sport fishing was predicated on this idea of "uninhabited wilderness." It embodied a Romantic notion of nature, which placed emphasis on solitude and an intimate, semi-spiritual relationship with what was perceived to be undisturbed natural beauty. As such, it was based on an aesthetic experience of nature, on seeing the physical environment as "landscape," conceived as scenery and views for visual consumption. According to Romanticism, as J.A. Walter puts it, nature is where humanity is not; it envisions nature as a place for restorative, solitary consumption of landscape, if not by the individual, then, at most, by the individual's own companions (1982, 297; see also Cronon 1995, 72-76; Urry 1990, 45). Like that of other elites, the sportsman's experience of the environment was founded on this belief in the recuperative effects of aesthetically pleasing views, which were identified through the exercise of "taste"—the ability of those in the social position to make such distinctions to judge one aspect of the physical environment "as interesting, beautiful or otherwise worth attention [while] rejecting others as not" (Ousby 1990, 5). As John Reiger points out, "even when it came to basic guide books, hunting and angling locations were continually rated in terms of their picturesque qualities," and every angler and hunter not

only had his own favourite microcosm of forest and stream but felt an attachment as well to the characteristic topography and picturesque features of the larger region he identified as "his territory" (1975, 35).

It could even be argued that the spiritual rewards the angler derived from sport fishing, which are mentioned by historians but left largely unexplored, were cultivated imaginative and emotional pleasures in keeping with the aestheticization of the physical environment in which field sports were pursued. Reiger notes, for example, that participants in the sportsmen's club movement conceptualized field sports as a form of solitary, personal involvement in the rhythms of nature, undertaken in pursuit of what he describes as "a momentary fragment of that beauty," seized in the form of fish or fowl (1975, 35). Thus, recreational field sports combined Romantic ideas of nature as an entity wholly independent of human institutions, not only uninhabited, but also inherently stable, self-regulating, and predictable—a place of cycles and "rhythms"—with nostalgic desire for what became as a result of immersion in these rhythms an authentic, "natural" existence.⁹ In this sense, the sportsman was part of the landscape, where landscape was a physical environment perceived in terms of its aesthetic and affective features. Certainly, this is consistent with the accounts of sportsmen in contemporary sporting literature, where emphasis is placed on feelings, imaginative responses and sensual experiences as both the source of enjoyment engendered by this landscape experience and a reaction to what was posited, although in different words, as the increasing rationality and self-constraint of modernity. Alfred Mayer put it another way in 1883: the sportsman who retreats from civilization, "its artificial pleasures and its mechanical life," to spend time in the wilderness, "will learn how few are the real wants of a happy life in the midst of uncivilized nature. His troubles, if he carried any with him, will vanish; time will seem as little value to him as to the savage, and like all true sportsmen and 'honest anglers,' he will return to his home with a calmed spirit and a contented mind" (11).¹⁰

Key to Mayer's and other sportsmen's ability to experience field sports in aesthetic and emotional terms was the fact that, by the late nineteenth century, hunting and fishing had been cultivated and refined as transcendent activities. Members of the club movement, for example, actively portrayed themselves as naturalists as well as anglers, elevating their practice above what became as a result "the ordinary" by emphasizing both appreciation and knowledge of their quarry and its natural environment as central to sport (Reiger 1975, 25-36). Harriet Ritvo points out that British sport hunting was similarly refined when the growing effectiveness of hunting technology in the late 1800s made the accumulation of killed animals relatively easy. At that time, British sportsmen

worldwide developed “modes of accumulation based on connoisseurship, rather than simple arithmetic,” placing increased emphasis on both the beauty of the animal and its size as indication of its value as a trophy and of the prowess of the hunter, whose activity could now be evaluated, according to these criteria, in terms of “taste,” as well as skill (1987, 272-75). Although she is writing about hunting, and the pursuit of big game in particular, her arguments also apply to fishing, particularly angling for salmon, “the King of the Game Fish.” In the cultivation of fishing as a rarified activity, calculation of the sportsman’s “score” in terms of the size of the catch and measurement of the fishes’ weight, together with emphasis on the study of the salmon and its habitat, effectively combined quantitative standards and science with aesthetic discriminations based on perception of the environment as landscape. Together, they helped to distinguish practitioners who fished for recreation—for spiritual satisfaction—from those who fished to gratify material needs.¹¹

In this respect, the sportsmen’s club movement reflected late-nineteenth-century British imperial culture, which was imported to the movement directly through its members’ enthusiastic adoption of the British concept of sportsmanship, with its aristocratic overtones and sophisticated, ultimately exclusive, “sportsman’s code.” Through it, they introduced an elaborate etiquette to hunting and fishing in North America that effectively transformed the concept of the activity, changing it, as John MacKenzie writes, from “a pioneering survival system into an elite ritual” (1988, 182). At its most fundamental level, the “code” was used to define “sporting” and “unsporting” methods of hunting animals, including fish.¹² It distinguished what were identified as the “sporting” technologies of the elite (among the angling fraternity most notably fly-fishing) from utilitarian modes of killing, including both the traditional forage fishing of settlers and Native peoples, and the practices of commercial fishermen (Parenteau 1998b, 2004; Judd 1997, 168-222; Jacoby 2001). In reality, of course, sport fishing was not an activity divorced from the economic realm; it ultimately constituted a basis for the development of a tourism economy, which initially existed alongside already established local and indigenous economies.

Defined in contrast to the activities of sportsmen, however, who saw fishing as a means to satisfy their spiritual needs, the practices of other resource users carried negative associations, specifically, those assigned to fishing for practical gain, whether for subsistence or commercial profit. On a more abstract level, this differentiation effected what has been described as “the Kantian opposition between human freedom and the constraints imposed by the material world,” making sport fishing into one of the arts of taste by defining it, in terms akin to those of fine art, as an activity through which its practitioners

could overcome their and the rest of humanity's ordinary relationship with the material world (Podro 1982, xxi, quoted in Phillips and Steiner 1999, 6). "Within the realm of the aesthetic...", Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner explain, "the highest forms are those that are the most free [of connection with humanity's physical dependancy on nature,] and the lowest are those that are the most utilitarian" (1999, 6). Seen in these terms, fishing defined by the concept of sportsmanship and the sportsman's code was not only a means through which its practitioners distinguished themselves from those who fished for utilitarian purposes; it was also projected as a means through which its practitioners could transcend the perceived constraints of the material world of urban-industrial capitalism that compelled their periodic retreat to wilderness. In other words, sport fishing constituted its practitioners as a metropolitan elite, where class was understood in terms of cultural, as well as economic, capital.

The Luxury of Salmon Fishing

Although the class base underpinning the refinement of sport fishing as a "civilized" art may be apparent to historians today, Gail Bederman has noted that such classist ideologies were obscured in late-nineteenth-century discourses of civilization. North American adherents to the hegemonic version of civilization insisted that what were posited as the refined tastes and practices of the more privileged classes were a product of race and gender and, as such, biologically determined. In this formulation, "civilization" was not only understood in explicitly racial terms, and thus as related to human racial evolution, but, within the context of race, it was also seen in terms of gender, where the evolution of pronounced sexual differences became one measure of racial "advancement." Such discourses of civilization linked white racial dominance and male power to evolutionary millennialism. Put another way, "civilization" was couched as evidence of white racial supremacy and, because evolved sexual difference was seen to be one measure of this racial superiority, of the apparently inherited ability of white men, above all others, to cultivate and ultimately achieve the ideal of male perfectibility—"manliness." Effectively coding class-based differences as racial, Bederman explains, "this millennial version of perfected racial evolution and gender specialization was what people meant when they referred to 'the advancement of civilization'" (1995, 26).

For this reason, it is important to keep in mind what historians are arguing when they point out that more affluent male urbanites took up field sports in increasing numbers at the end of the nineteenth century as one means among many of revitalizing manhood, which was seen as increasingly enervated, both

physically and morally, by the bureaucratic institutions and sedentary work routines of everyday life in urban-industrial society (Bederman 1995, 10-23, 73-4; Rotundo 1987, 1993, 22-46; Kimmel 1996, 181-88; MacKenzie 1987; Parenteau and Kealey 2004; Parenteau 1998b; Loo 2001a, 2001b). As they put it, sportsmen may have sought what they saw as a more authentic existence in "uncivilized nature" in response to a growing belief among the more privileged classes that true manhood included primal virility as well as all the honourable, moral attributes they admired in a man. The social authority they felt slipping away with the social, cultural, and economic changes wrought by an increasingly corporate capitalism could be regained, they imagined, through reassertion of their dominance in the "natural world"; they believed that "all males—civilized or not—shared in the same primordial instincts for survival" and, with those instincts, in what E. Anthony Rotundo has called the "masculine primitive" (1987, 40). As historians also point out, however, these sportsmen were not devolving into what they saw as man's natural condition, that primitive state they attributed to Aboriginal men they encountered in the wilderness. Rather, they saw themselves, so Alfred Mayer put it in 1883, as "civilized savages," their contact with nature always already mediated by discourses of civilization, which they mobilized as sportsmen to maintain their race, gender, and class authority (11).

Perceived in this way, field sports, including angling, effectively constituted practitioners simultaneously as masculine, white, and elite, or, to be more specific, as manly. On one level, hunting and fishing were seen as masculine pursuits. They involved "the love of the chase," Mayer insisted, "deeply imbedded in man's nature" (1883, 11), and were characterized, his contemporaries inform us, if not by the exclusion of women, then at least by what was portrayed as their general disinclination and ineptitude at field sports (Parenteau and Kealey 2004; MacKenzie 1987, 179-80; Loo 2001b, 301). The pursuit of game exercised what was seen as men's "natural," masculine inclination for competition, conquest, and display, involving other men as well as their quarry, which was generally the male of the species. The male trophy was valued for its size and beauty, insofar as these were seen not only as evidence of the sportsman's discriminating taste, but also as a manifestation of male physical and mental strength and vigour, whether those of the quarry or of the sportsman who vanquished it (Ritvo 1987, 275; MacKenzie 1987; Loo 2001b; Rotundo 1987, 40-42). Thus the salmon, appropriately gendered by its identification as the King of the Game Fish, was described in contemporary fishing accounts as a "noble creature," one author describing a salmon "who ... fought so long and so bravely, and displayed so much reasoning power and skill ..." that "we, his victors," the author wrote inclusively, "feel half regret as we gaze upon the prize we have captured" ([Sandham] 1884,

90; see also Ritvo 1987, 259-69). John MacKenzie has gone so far as to argue that big-game sports "can readily be interpreted as sexual sublimation" by drawing upon contemporary descriptions of them as involving physical agonies, emotional exaltation, and the ecstasy of release, while Tina Loo points out that the competition for trophies, "which were symbols of male potency," clearly marked it as "an occasion in which male sexuality was on display for other men" (1987, 180; 2001b, 310).

In other words, field sports were seen as a masculine practice because they were a form of hunting at a time when "the love of the chase" generally, like masculinity itself, was seen as intrinsic to all men. On another level, however, field sports also served to distinguish among men. The exclusive etiquette of this form of ritualized hunting and fishing determined that participants were seen to possess those qualities of character identified by the metropolitan elite with Victorian ideals of manhood, among them self-discipline, resourcefulness, honour, endurance, courage, and, of course, sportsmanship. According to a writer in the *American Sportsman*,

The pastimes of stream and woodland, champaign and valley, are the characteristic exercises of many of the noblest properties of man's nature. They call into exertion courage, perseverance, sagacity, strength, activity, caution; they are the wholesome machinery of excitement; of hope and fear, and joy and sorrow, regret and rejoicing; they are at once the appetite and the food of manhood. The progress of science and civilization has taken from the pursuit of field sports many of the natural and moral ills to which they were once exposed. *Instead of being antagonist meanings, the sportsman and the gentleman are become synonymous terms.* ([Parker] 1872; emphasis in the original)

As he puts it, the hunting and fishing they practised, while rejuvenating their innate masculinity, were also aestheticized activities that served to exercise this typical maleness through cultivation and enjoyment of hunting's moral, imaginative, and affective dimensions. Accordingly, the writer continued, the true sportsman only "pursues his game for pleasure" and "makes no profit of his success, giving to his friends more than he retains, shoots invariably upon the wing and never takes mean advantage of bird or man. It is his pride to kill what he does kill elegantly, scientifically, and mercifully." Never, the writer concludes, does he regard his catch "as representing so much money value ... to be converted into it as soon as possible" ([Parker] 1872).¹³

In reality, of course, the sportsman's code had established the rules of this social competition and restricted access to those who possessed not only the

financial resources necessary to pursue field sports, but also what has been aptly described as “a ‘social sense’ of the do’s and don’ts involved ” (Reiger 1975, 26). None the less, Bederman reminds us, the cultural distinctions that resulted would have been seen in the light of contemporary discourses of civilization, in which manliness was understood as something that “only the most civilized men could attain” (1995, 27). It is not surprising as a result that, even in the wilderness, the sporting fraternity’s affluence was everywhere in evidence; among other things, it expressed the perceived causal relationship between a man’s “civilized manliness” and his material success. Enabling the expression of field sports as a refined, ultimately exclusive form of male gratification, its use also indicates the degree to which the primitive experience at the heart of the urbanite’s wilderness encounter was physically moderated as it was aestheticized. *Forest and Stream* editor Charles Hallock described the result in 1890 as the “luxury of salmon fishing” (95). He even devoted a chapter of his book, *The Salmon Fisher*, to the idea, which he advanced in a testimonial to Ottawa industrialist Allan Gilmour, whose private fishing club on the Godbout River he had visited in 1879. Marshalling what he saw as both symbolic and material evidence of Gilmour’s manliness, “that prince of anglers,” Hallock began,

owns the river and 5,000 acres of adjacent lands ... going and coming each year in his private steam yacht, whose luxurious appointments royalty might envy, and accompanied always by invited guests of approved status as anglers and high social position, sometimes by noblemen and bishops, and once by Earl Dufferin, the Governor General of the Dominion, whom he has entertained for weeks together with luxuries brought to his distant fishing camp, 300 miles below Quebec, on his steam tender. The lavish expenditure laid out upon his extensive domain ... [has] excited the admiration and astonishment of men who have seen him. His tackle is of the most approved and expensive kind, and his skill as a salmon angler perhaps unsurpassed on either continent. A considerable hamlet of *habitans* and half-breed Indians has been dependent upon his patronage for a livelihood until their babies have grown to men and women. And yet, notwithstanding that possession of wealth, position, associations and attainments which conspire to make a man conspicuous, I dare say the name of Allan Gilmour, of Ottawa, Canada, is little known to the fraternity of gentlemen fishermen at large. (1990, 95-97)¹⁴

Maintaining that, despite this anonymity, “there are perhaps few others in the United States and Canada who are his peers,” Hallock continued at length to describe what he saw as material evidence of Gilmour’s distinction. His argument

is notable in that he not only mobilized hegemonic notions of white supremacy and male power in his initial assessment of Gilmour's status as a "gentleman fisherman." He also went on to equate the degree of gender separation effected in the pursuit of salmon fishing on the Godbout—which he measured in terms of its implicit inaccessibility to women—with the type of wilderness the region offered the male elite. This he accomplished in a lengthy comparison between "the luxury of salmon fishing" on the Godbout (on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River in Quebec), and angling in New Brunswick, where, Hallock maintained, there was "another princely salmon preserve of entirely different characteristics," this one "located on the Restigouche River ... a half mile or so below the waters of the Restigouche Club." According to Hallock,

Mr. Gilmour's establishment is an oasis of luxury in a desert of wilderness, far beyond the ordinary intercourse of men, and is isolated by climatic rigors for eight months of the year. Its chief charm consists of its unkempt and savage grandeur. Here are rocks projecting, precipices overhanging, fir trees clinging to perpendicular heights, huge boulders piled in mid stream, walls contracting into gorges and ravines.... And in the midst of it all is that supervening sense of triumph and comfortable enjoyment which the master feels who has been able to surmount all the savage inhospitality of the place, and make himself snug and independent by the abundant provision which he has gathered for creature wants and mental diversion.... And the camp itself, two miles up the river [from the estuary], where so many distinguished people have domiciled, is not the canvas makeshift or riven hemlock *cabane* of the chance angler on the coast. It is the goodly mansion with a tempting verandah, and a tower three stories high surmounted by a staff from which red bunting flies when the quarters are occupied. Then there is the ice house and kitchen, the smoke house, boat house, woodhouse, men's quarters, and other adjoining buildings, so that there is quite a hamlet....

Very different is the "bungalow" of the aesthetic Dr. Baxter on the broad water of the Restigouche. A mansion which cost \$11,000 to build, with spacious verandahs and all modern appointments, overlooks the pool or swim which rounds out his private stretch of water.... Right under the ridge on which the house stands, and between it and the river, is the railroad; and when the mood to leave comes on, the Doctor has only to get aboard a Pullman coach at his door and ride continuously to his home in Washington. He has no expense of chartering a steamer to carry his plunder some hundreds of miles to camp, for hard by is the thrifty village of Campbellton, which can amply provide for all his creature comforts. There is

at his rancherie abundant and suitable accommodation for lady guests, and no end of civilization within easy reach, when desired; and if *ennui* comes, or hard luck with the rod overtakes him, he can easily seek consolation at the club house, up stream, where congenial company can be found.

The Godbout is the home of the bachelor! The Restigouche of the Benedict, happy in connubial possession, who never leaves his wife behind. (107-11)

Peter Thomas interprets Hallock's position regarding the presence of women in the wilderness as an expression of "the conflict between an ideal wilderness to be entered only by the spiritually adept male, like some game-crammed Masonic Temple, and tourism," which increasingly encouraged sportsmen to invite women, specifically their female relatives, to visit camp for a few weeks into the season (P. Thomas 2001, 187). As he points out, the completion of the Intercolonial Railway through New Brunswick in 1876 made salmon rivers in the region easily accessible from both central Canada and the northeastern United States.¹⁵ Doubtless, this was the reason Hallock reconceptualized the Restigouche wilderness after the completion of the railroad, presenting it, in comparison to untamed Godbout wilderness, as the relatively tempered, yet still masculine, domain of connubial virility. The Intercolonial had opened the area to "wives and daughters," who, Hallock explained to his male readers, "always take a warm interest in anything that affects us ... and mould their tastes to ours," even as the social restrictions on the time of their arrival, as well as on the nature and extent of their stay and participation in salmon fishing, effectively reinforced the male symbolism of the sport (Hallock 1873, ix; MacKenzie 1987, 180; P. Thomas 2001, 199; Parenteau and Kealey 2004).¹⁶

As Hallock's account makes clear, sportsmen, who had been fishing rivers in the region before the railway was constructed, increased in number substantially after its completion, the Restigouche having become the most convenient salmon-fishing river in New Brunswick for both Canadian and American anglers (P. Thomas 2001, 184-85). It was at this time that members of the sporting fraternity began to form private fishing clubs, buy land, and build permanent camps on the river for their seasonal visits to the region. Many, if not most of the clubs, were exclusive, among the most prominent in this respect the Ristigouche Salmon Club to which Hallock refers, which in the mid-1880s boasted a membership fee of \$5,000, the equivalent of US\$100,000 in today's currency. It was estimated at the time that, including money spent on canoes, guides, provisions, outfits, horses, and barges, the cost of salmon fishing was about \$350 per rod, which amounted to an annual total expenditure by anglers of over \$50,000 on the Restigouche alone, and \$100,000 in the larger region

(Mowat 1888, 8).¹⁷ There was also the practice of leasing exclusive fishing rights from the province to non-tidal waters owned by the crown, the cost of a lease ranging generally from \$200 to \$600 a year (P. Thomas 2001, 195). Canadian Pacific Railway president George Stephen and the Intercolonial's chief engineer, Sandford Fleming, were among the first central Canadian elite to lease such harvesting rights and buy property on the Restigouche, Fleming later lending his waters to the Ristigouche Salmon Club, of which prominent Montreal financier and politician Donald Smith was a member (Ristigouche Salmon Club [1987]; Sage 1888, 12; P. Thomas 2001, 188; Gingras 1994, 46).¹⁸

The club's early membership, which was predominantly American, also included such conspicuous capitalists as C.L. Tiffany, William Dodge, Charles L. Whitney, Robert Goelet, and William K. Vanderbilt. Celebrated New York architect Stanford White, who was also a member, designed three elaborate fishing lodges on the Restigouche for this clientele, all of them expressive of the soft primitivism that characterized the luxury of salmon fishing. So, while they were extravagant structures for their location, and sympathetic in plan, situation, and materials to the classicist sensibilities of the Beaux-Arts school within which White's firm was working at the time, their symbolic character was appropriately rustic, featuring in each case adzed half-timber walls, debarked log verandahs, and shingle roofs compatible with the primitivist aesthetic underpinning the male urbanite's wilderness experience (Hughes 2001a).¹⁹ In this sense, they were distinctively gendered spaces, although it would be imprecise to describe them simply as masculine, since masculinity was seen at the time as something shared by all men—a primal, "natural" power that could be recuperated by the enervated male through renewed contact with nature. To be more precise, they were constituted as distinctively manly spaces, embodying the masculine tastes and practices of the more affluent, the most "civilized" of men. Their metropolitan equivalent was the den, that urban domestic space Tina Loo has identified with this "particular kind of male power and virility" (2001b, 297; MacKenzie 1987, 180-81). Both were architectural expressions of the sexual separation thought at the time to distinguish the "advanced" white races, with evolved sexual difference in this case represented not only in the gender-based use of such spaces, but also through domestic aesthetics. Prominent in the interior decoration of these spaces were such emblems of sport as horns, animal heads, mounted fish, and pelts (fig. 7). Although rarely mentioned in this context by historians, landscape paintings were also present, having already become a significant part of the iconography of sport that was constituting the wilderness as a male preserve.²⁰



Fig. 7. The interior of the main lodge at Kedgwick Lodge, summer 1999; photograph, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, NB. Stanford White, who designed and built Kedgwick Lodge in New Brunswick for William K. Vanderbilt in 1896-97, may also have provided the moose head above the fireplace.

Landscapes of Sport

Today, a number of paintings can be related to the rise of elite male sport culture in the late nineteenth century and, with it, the development of a tourism economy in post-Confederation Atlantic Canada, among them Sandham's *On an Eastern Salmon Stream* (fig. 1) and *On the Godbout River* (fig. 2). Together with others of their kind, they belong to what has been called "the iconography of the Hunt," the wealth of late-nineteenth-century images devoted to aspects of sport hunting, whether portraits of wildlife, scenes of the chase, or pictures of trophies—dead game conventionally rendered in the form of a still life (MacKenzie 1987, 182). What is unusual about these works, at least in terms of established understandings of hunting iconography, is that they break conventions still commonly associated with such imagery, which were popularized in the Victorian era primarily by artists dealing with animal subjects; prominent among these artists in mid-nineteenth-century Britain was Sir Edwin Landseer,



Fig. 8. Frederick Verner, *Salmon*, 1877; oil on canvas, 50.0 x 90.0 cm, private collection, Toronto.

who produced paintings of animals at bay, being killed, or as carcasses (Ormand 1981; Wonders 2001). Certainly, there are examples of this type of subject matter among the works produced by the art community in central Canada to which Sandham belonged. Toronto artist Frederick Verner's 1877 painting, *Salmon* (fig. 8), is among them, the product of his trip to the Godbout River that year as a guest of Allan Gilmour, who, in addition to the distinctions Hallock claimed for him as a gentleman fisher, was an active art patron and president of the Art Association of Ottawa.²¹ Purchased at auction in the 1980s to hang in the den of a contemporary member of the salmon fishing club Gilmour established in the 1860s (Sotheby Parke Bernet [Canada] Inc. 1987, lot 98), it is a picture of a trophy, expressive in handling and detail of the animal's status among sportsmen as an object of both beauty and scientific interest.²²

For the most part, however, the paintings produced in this context were landscapes, designed to appeal to sportsmen and other art patrons and collectors in central Canada and the northeastern United States who, as armchair tourists, shared an interest in the landscape and the claim it established to the region as their aesthetic property. Often the staffage in a painting—the small figures added to animate the landscape—includes fly fishermen, sometimes wearing hats associated with their private clubs, as they are in an 1878 view by Verner of the Godbout River (fig. 9), which includes members of the club to



Fig. 9. Frederick Verner, *Fosse à saumons sur la rivière Godbout*, 1877; oil on canvas, 68.1 x 122.1 cm, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Québec (48.115). Photographer: Jean-Guy Kérouac.

which Gilmour belonged. It is even possible that Verner's invitation to Gilmour's camp on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, accessible only by private steamship, was prompted by increasing metropolitan interest in recreational salmon fishing that came with the completion of the Intercolonial Railway and the easy access it provided to New Brunswick's salmon-fishing rivers on the coast. Such contemporary pictures of New Brunswick salmon streams as *Morning on the Restigouche River* (fig. 10), an 1876 watercolour by Montreal artist Allan Edson, and *On the Nouvelle River, Bay of Chaleurs* (fig. 11), an 1881 oil by Toronto artist Forshaw Day, also contain anglers who underscore the character of the landscape as one of recreation. In these, the Mi'kmaq canoe, distinguished by the distinctive curve of its gunwales, serves the iconography of sport as well, its appropriation by anglers as a recreational technology accompanying increasing displacement at the local level of existing utilitarian concepts of land use by that of recreation, with its emphasis on the consumption of wilderness landscape as both visual and experiential commodity.²³

In keeping with this emphasis, artists, like fly fishermen, conceptualized the landscape in terms of the river, perceived as angling stream. They pictorialized what had become, in the process of perceiving the landscape through its salmon-fishing rivers, the characteristic topography of each region. Pictures of



Fig. 10. Allan Edson, *Morning on the Restigouche River*, c. 1876; watercolour on paper, 32.4 x 59.1 cm, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, NB (54.173).



Fig. 11. Forshaw Day, *On the Nouvelle River, Bay of Chaleurs*, 1881; oil on canvas, 56.0 x 101.3 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts diploma work, deposited by the artist, Kingston, Ontario, 1881 (93).

the Godbout River as an environment of steep, heavily-wooded hills and tumultuous water, for instance, are easily distinguished from those of the Restigouche and its tributaries, with their shallow, relatively quiet rapids. In this manner, the artists of the sport fishery produced pictures that, as seemingly disinterested representations of objective reality, effaced the fact that landscape is always already culturally mediated. It would be a mistake, in other words, to view either the artists' work or their audience's response to it in terms of what Nicholas Green has characterized as art history's "rather facile debate about realism as a mode of representation" naively premised on the idea that the thing represented in a picture—in this case, the landscape—is "an objective stratum of reality preceding artistic or social interpretation" (1995, 2). In reality, the environment "out there" had been apprehended by this social constituency through the cultivation of aesthetic, sensual, and imaginative responses to landscape, both visually and through the practices of recreation, among them, in this instance, angling.²⁴ For this reason wilderness, in pictures or as environment, effectively reproduced the experience and identities of those who consumed it: "Though constructed as solitary, even private," Green explains, "this was a profoundly social relationship ... which placed the participant in a very specific relation to existing categories of class and gender," and, it should be added, of race (1995, 39).

In the urban centres of central Canada and the northeastern United States, it follows, this relationship was most meaningful to those who had both the socioeconomic capital and leisure necessary to pursue recreational field sports and who identified, whether personally or imaginatively, with what were perceived to be the degenerative, emasculating effects of capitalist modernity.²⁵ When looking at paintings of rivers on the St. Lawrence watershed and in Atlantic Canada, few viewers (other than those who had spent time angling in one or other of these territories) would have realized that many of the works depict not just salmon rivers but, more specifically, salmon pools. Among them is the panoramic view by Sandham now at the Art Gallery of Ontario, which is a painting of the Upper Pool on the Godbout River, the first of 15 pools marking the descent of the Godbout to the St. Lawrence. All of them (or, to be more precise, the landscape to which they seemingly give rise) are described in luxurious detail by Hallock, whose guidebooks and fishing accounts exemplify the wealth of contemporary texts through which the sporting fraternity and its constituency also envisaged what there was to be seen. In addition to his rapturous description of the Glassy Pool, pictured by Verner (fig. 9 above), Hallock represents the tidewaters of the Godbout, which appear as a sweeping view of the river's mouth in an 1873 Sandham painting (fig. 12), in terms of the salmon pools that constitute it: the Kaley Stone, Kelt Point, the Heights, the Bear, and the Cross pools successively.



Fig. 12. Henry Sandham, *Mouth of the Godbout River*, 1873; oil on canvas, 61.5 x 92.2 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, purchased 1986 (86/2).



Fig. 13. Detail, showing fishermen in middle ground.

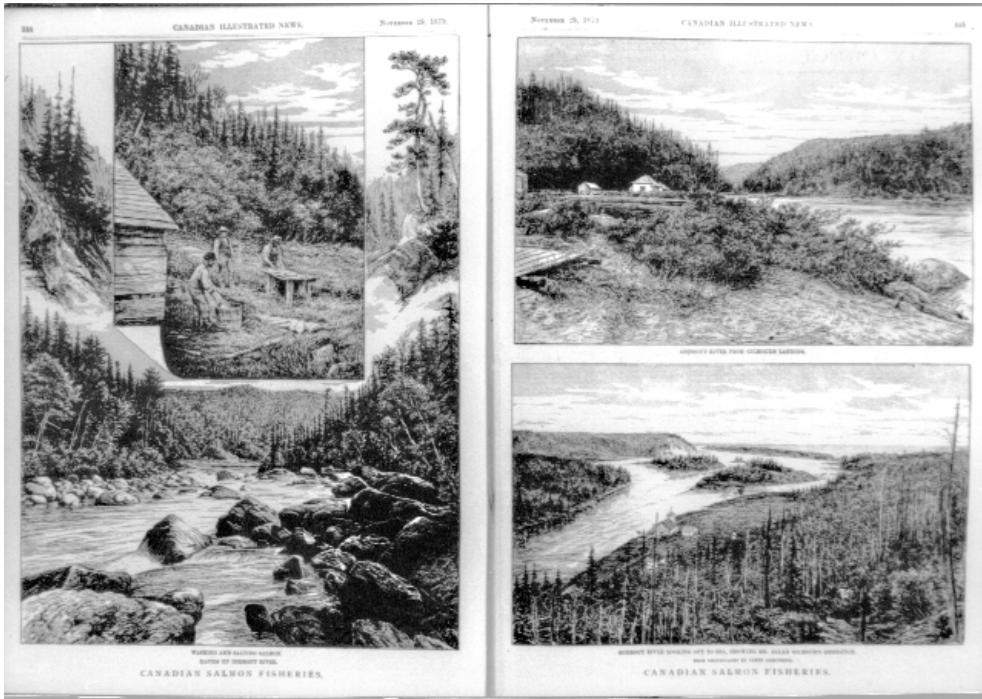


Fig. 14. “Canadian Salmon Fisheries.” 1879. *Canadian Illustrated News*, 29 November, 344-45; wood-engraving on paper after photographs by James Armstrong. “Rapids on Godbout River,” right; “Washing and Salting Salmon,” inset right; “Godbout River from Gilmour’s Landing,” top left; “Godbout River Looking Out to Sea, Showing Mr. Allan Gilmour’s Residence,” lower left.

In Sandham’s canvas, the tiny figures of the recreational fishermen in the middle ground (fig. 13) underscore this reading, their significance enhanced by the knowledge that “all of these lower pools are fished from Castle-Connell punts, of the patterns used in Scotland, the angler standing in the bow and the gaffer keeping the craft in favourable position with his setting pole and drag” (Hallock 1890, 101-107).²⁶

Hallock identifies the view represented in Sandham’s painting as the prospect from the hill overlooking Gilmour’s camp, a designation reiterated in an 1879 *Canadian Illustrated News* feature, “Canadian Salmon Fisheries” (fig. 14), based on photographs by James Armstrong, a professional photographer and member of the Art Association of Ottawa (Hallock 1890, 108-109; Art Association of Ottawa 1888). The two-page layout of engraved shots of the Godbout, including a view of



Fig. 15. Henry Sandham, *On the River Godbout*, 1873; oil on canvas, 45.7 x 68.6 cm, private collection, Montreal.

the river from what was called Gilmour's Landing and, at the lower right, "Godbout River Looking Out to Sea, Showing Mr. Allan Gilmour's Residence," like the painting and Hallock's description, structured the viewer's gaze by identifying the spectator with the sportsman as proprietor of the salmon fishery. In other words, readers of the *Canadian Illustrated News* participated in the provided gaze "and, on cue, [followed] its lead in the structuring of space, culture and the spectacle," the written text informing the visual content and, together with it, prescribing both the visual structure of the landscape experience and the social position of those who engaged in it (Crouch 2003, 8).

In this way, reference to the fishing lodge, whether textual or visual, served to constitute the landscape in terms of these resource users, while at the same time mapping it through the construction of particular places, where place was embodied in the presence of a fishing lodge. This was the effect of the camp in Sandham's 1873 canvas, *On the River Godbout* (fig 15); following its exhibition, it hung for almost a century in Gilmour's place on the river, where it mapped for those inside the camp their position in the larger landscape and the location from which it was spatially structured and understood.²⁷ Art organizes the landscape in the same way in *The Duke of Beaufort's Fishing Camp at the Mouth*

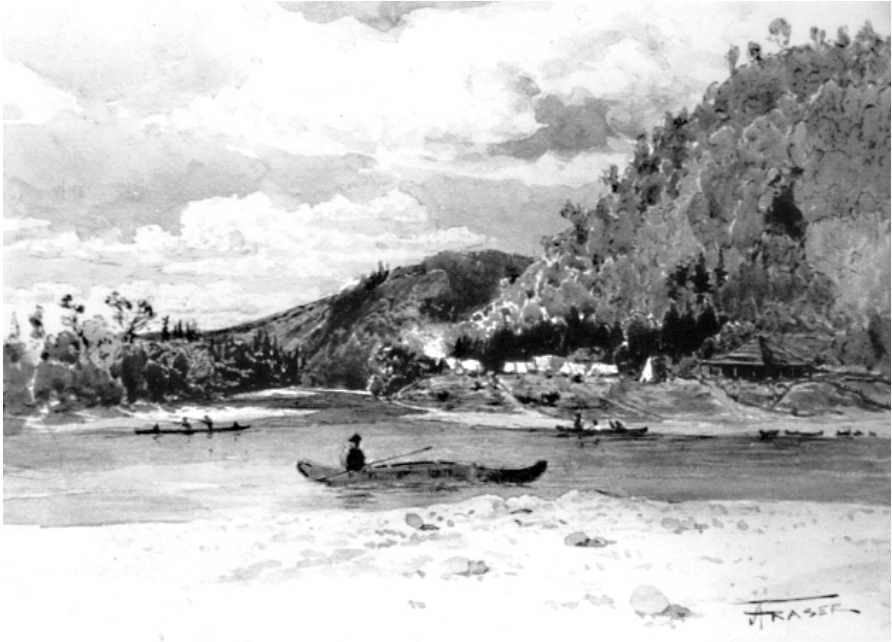


Fig. 16. John Fraser, *The Duke of Beaufort's Fishing Camp at the Mouth of the Upsalquitch, N.B.*, 1880; watercolour on paper, 21.6 x 31.1 cm, location unknown. Photograph courtesy Sotheby Parke Bernet (Canada) Inc.

of the Upsalquitch, N.B. (fig. 16), which was one of a number of landscape views produced by Sandham's brother-in-law, prominent Toronto artist John Fraser, after a tour of the Restigouche and its tributaries in 1880. In reality, it is a view of Camp Harmony, where Beaufort stayed that summer as guest of Dean Sage of Albany, New York, owner of the lodge and one of the most influential members of the river's sporting fraternity. It is one of at least two views by Fraser of fishing lodges in the region, which was visualized in turn by a writer for the Toronto *Globe* who, after visiting the artist's studio that fall, reconstituted the landscape in terms of the fishing lodges from which the artist's views were made, including in his description a watercolour he was doubtless prompted by Fraser to describe as a view of "the junction of the Restigouche and Matapedia rivers, where the 'Salmon Club' of New York millionaires have taken up their summer quarters" (*Globe* 1880).²⁸ One of the best known views of the landscape among sportsmen who fished in the region, it was painted again in 1882 by Fraser and Sandham's contemporary, Lucius O'Brien, then president of the

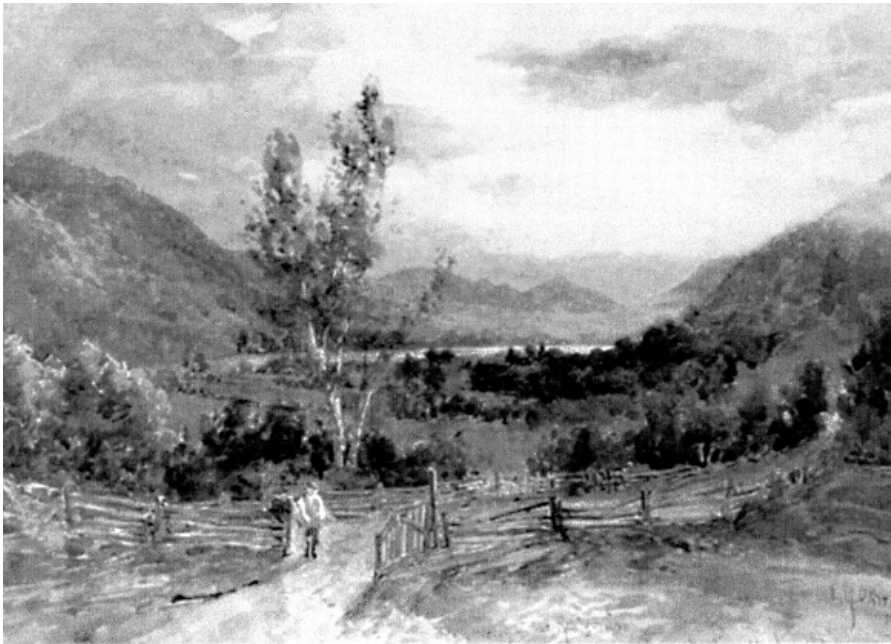


Fig. 17. Lucius O'Brien, *Valley of the Restigouche*, 1882; watercolour on paper, 26.0 x 38.1 cm, also inscribed "Restigouche from Fraser's Farm." Reproduced from Sotheby Parke Bernet (Canada) Inc. 1987, no. 98.

Royal Canadian Academy, who identified it for public consumption as "Valley of the Restigouche" (fig. 17). Also inscribed "Restigouche from Fraser's Farm" by O'Brien, it represents the landscape as it was seen from what sportsmen knew as the farmhouse-cum-hostelry at the junction of the Restigouche and Matapedia rivers that the club had purchased in 1880 as its headquarters.²⁹

What all this makes apparent, of course, is that even seemingly generalized landscape views were probably identified as particular spots by those who fished for salmon, if not with accuracy, at least with conviction, and certainly with proprietary pride. This was likely the appeal of a painting such as the one by Sandham now in the National Gallery (fig. 1), an interpretation substantiated by its reappearance in a work by the artist reproduced for publication in 1888, but now lost (fig. 18; Robinson 1888, opp. 40). This later version includes what is clearly a portrait of the fisherman who owned the painting and also claimed the landscape, probably one of the members of Camp Harmony or the Ristigouche Salmon Club, a number of whom purchased works by Sandham.³⁰

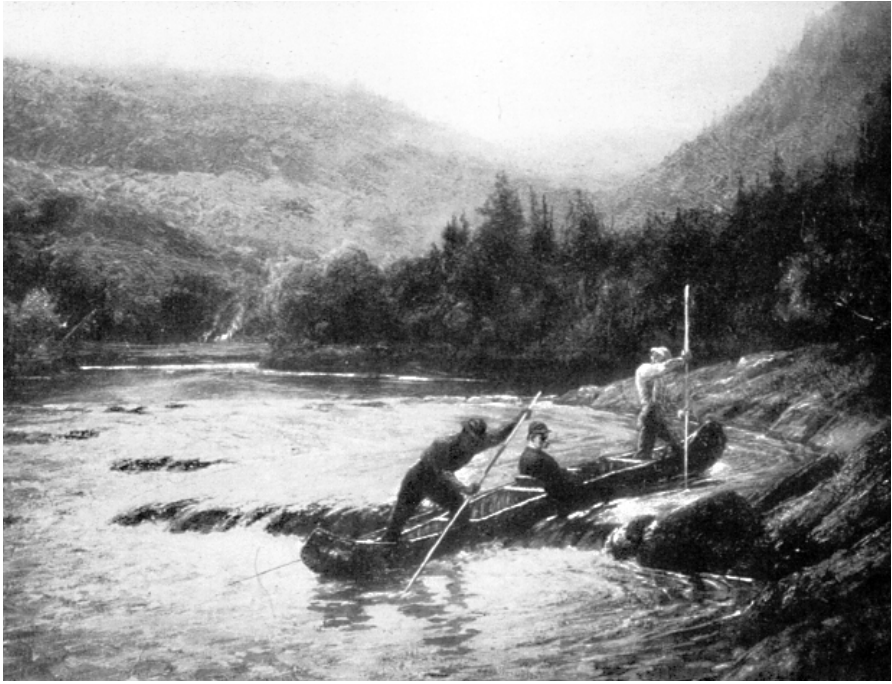


Fig. 18. Henry Sandham, *Canoeing*, location unknown. Reproduced from Robinson 1888, opposite 149.

Wearing fishing tweeds characteristic of anglers on the river, his physiognomy distinct, he is seated in the canoe between two Aboriginal guides, their faces obscured in keeping with the subordinate role assigned them in both the painting and the new landscape vision it reproduced.³¹ In this sense, the work makes explicit what is implicit in the other landscape paintings associated with the rise of the sportsmen's club movement at the end of the nineteenth century. It enacts this urban elite's aesthetic appropriation of the physical environment as landscape, in this case, projected as uninhabited wilderness. The painting, of course, also flaunts the irony at the heart of this Romantic vision of nature—of the landscape as uninhabited, and thus as wilderness, an entity existing wholly apart from humanity. In reality an artifact of the capitalist conversion of the countryside and the rise of a tourism economy in post-Confederation Atlantic Canada, this wilderness was uninhabited only in the eyes of the tourist, in this case the sportsman at the centre of the picture.

Landscapes of Exclusion

As part of the iconography of recreational land use, Sandham's painting also records the entry of Mi'kmaq men into this new economy as wage labour, which came with the contemporary alienation of Aboriginal peoples from the salmon harvest. In doing so, it documents what environmental historians have explained as one of the results of the new ideology of conservation then being advanced by sportsmen, which gave rise in late-nineteenth-century North America to state management of the salmon fishery and, with it, the closing of common property fish resources through the introduction of policies and laws restricting fishing technologies and access. As environmental historians point out, tourism in the late 1800s grew from the same conceptual ground as the nascent "conservation movement," to use the term employed to distinguish this new ideology of fisheries management from existing moral economies of resource use. Fostered by sportsmen, both tourism and the conservation movement were predicated on the urban-based, Romantic idea of nature as immutable and discrete from human activity, not only undisturbed by humanity in what was reified as its "natural" state, but also innately stable, predictable, and self-regulating. Karl Jacoby notes that this idea of nature was central to the degradation discourse that would inform conservationist narratives about environmental change for the next century, the concept of nature as an independent, self-perpetuating entity giving rise to the attendant belief that environmental decline was almost exclusively the result of human intrusion (2001, 2-3, 195-97; see also Adams 2003, 29-33; Parenteau 1998a, 1998b, 2004; Parenteau and Judd 2005; Judd 1997, 197-228).

As Jacoby points out, it was this perceived relationship between nature and human activity that justified dismissal of local-use rights to the environment following what were consistently portrayed by sportsmen and other conservationists as the reckless environmental practices of Native peoples and other local populations (Jacoby 2001, 196). Among them in northeastern North America were not only what sportsmen saw as the unwise environmental practices of industrial developers, who, as Richard Judd puts it, saw rivers only "in terms of water power and waste disposal" (1997, 172), but also modes of fishing associated with the traditional forage practices of local residents, both Native and settler. The belief that local populations had squandered, and were continuing to threaten, depleted natural resources prompted the sporting fraternity to call for state intervention in resource use. In Atlantic Canada, this intervention began in earnest the year after Confederation in 1867, when the Canadian federal government, building on two decades of colonial legislation, passed its first

fisheries legislation (Parenteau 2004, 1998b, 1998a; Parenteau and Judd 2005; Judd 1997, 197-228). Subsequently mythologized as an effort on the part of the emergent conservation movement to “bring order to a chaotic, unstructured situation,” in reality such legislation effected the replacement of “a local, informal set of rules and customs relating to the natural world with a formal code of law, created and administered by the bureaucratic state” (Jacoby 2001, 195; Adams 2003; Griffiths and Libby 1997).

In Atlantic Canada, two regulations in particular had a major effect on resource users who harvested salmon above the head of tide on rivers along the coast and on the St. Lawrence watershed. The first was a ban on fishing above the head of tide, except with a fly rod; the second, provision for leasing exclusive fishing rights on the fluvial portions of rivers adjacent to Crown land. In identifying the impact of these regulations on local-use rights, Bill Parenteau has emphasized the degree to which they reflected the increasing influence of fly fishermen on the development of natural resource management in Canada. In effect, they marked the implementation of the “sportsman’s code” as public policy, criminalizing spearing, netting, and what anglers saw as other “unsportsmanlike” harvesting methods, while at the same time restricting access to the fishery, through privatization, to those constituted through late-nineteenth-century discourses of civilization as “responsible persons.” As Parenteau points out, sportsmen not only possessed the economic power and political connections to advance their interests at the governmental level, but they also reinforced their privileged position among resource users by supporting the rehabilitation of salmon rivers through the new “science” of artificial propagation and, in compliance with the terms of their leases, by employing private guardians to enforce their exclusive fishing rights (1998b, 4-22; 2004 par. 1-35; 1998a, 16; Parenteau and Judd 2005, par. 8-20). By 1890, with the costs involved in pursuing the prosecution of poachers newly created by fisheries regulations, the Ristigouche Salmon Club, for example, was spending more than \$5,000 per year to protect its leasehold, which had grown so much over the decade that fellow leaseholder Dean Sage could report that the club was “gradually getting the substantial management of the execution of the fishery regulations for the entire length of the river and its tributaries” (1888, 6; Parenteau 1998b, 10; Parenteau and Judd 2005, par 19).

The consequences for local residents were immediate, although, over the long term, the impact of this new ideology of fisheries management came not from the sporting fraternity’s financial investment in the salmon rivers, but from the emphasis anglers placed on state involvement and scientific theory as a way to manage the salmon resource rationally. In this, they took an essentially modern approach towards the environment, ironically one based on a

Romantic idea of nature and the desire for a restorative experience in which nature was projected as temporary escape from an increasingly alienating, modern existence (Jacoby 2001, 16; Loo 2001a, 93-95; Merchant 2003, 142-44; Judd 1997, 197-98). On a cultural level, such an approach was consistent with the enthusiasm for science, technology, and modernization that co-existed at the time with a variety of anti-modern responses to the perceived artificiality of modern life, among them wilderness nostalgia and the rise of an elite, male sports culture. On a theoretical level, this vision of a "rational, state-managed landscape" (Jacoby 2001, 2) helped to establish the environment as a tourist space, which as a product of the differentiation of modernity—of dividing society into distinct areas of social activity—was being constituted as wilderness that now required management. In other words, when the code of the sportsmen became the basis for laws that effectively reinforced the moral position of the sporting constituency, the state privileged a Romantic vision of nature and a recreational concept of land use that facilitated the production of tourist spaces as part of the process of commodification that marked the extension of the general principle of capitalism into the realm of modern social life.

Framed in terms of what became as a result the hegemonic ideology of natural resource use in twentieth-century North America, conventional narratives of conservation have privileged the idea that the program of environmental management instituted by the federal fisheries department ultimately had a positive effect on depleted salmon stocks. Only recently have historians of the region emphasized that state legislation also instituted "a hierarchy of use that favoured recreational over subsistence and commercial forms of resource exploitation," or, as one of them puts it, that environmental quality has often been pursued at the expense of social justice (Jacoby 2001, 198; Parenteau and Judd 2005, par. 17).³² The treatment of Native populations, particularly that of people in the Restigouche River region and on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River, is a case in point. The Montagnais, for instance, living on tributaries of the St. Lawrence—the Godbout River among them—were facing destitution by the 1870s, what was by then the ongoing destruction of their hunting and gathering economy making the loss of the salmon harvest devastating (Parenteau 1998b, 14-15). Excluded from the fishery and facing starvation, they were subject to the *noblesse oblige* of leaseholders whose charity, most often in the form of salmon, reproduced arrangements of authority and power while at the same time distinguishing recreational salmon fishing as a "sportsmanlike" activity in which practitioners differentiated themselves from those engaged in the mean, "uncivilized" pursuit of meat by giving some of their catch away. Parenteau has carefully noted contemporary reports by fisheries officers that make reference to instances in which

anglers heartlessly denied assistance to starving Natives, among them one in which an officer reported a leaseholder who “fed his dogs on food which would have kept them alive” (1998b, 14-15). For the most part, however, elite anglers and writers—among them Hallock—lauded the charity of sportsmen and articulated class-based differences in terms of racial “evolution”—in Hallock’s case, finding evidence as well of Allan Gilmour’s manliness in what he described as “the *habitans* and half-breed Montagnais” on the Godbout who survived on their meagre lot only through “the additional largess of their river patron” (1890, 109).

On the Restigouche, where the criminalization of spearfishing effectively wiped out a substantial part of the economy of Mission Point Mi’kmaq living at the river’s estuary, the riparian owners actually formalized this arrangement. In the 1870s, they established what they described as “a fund for the benefit of the Indians on the river.” To generate this “Indian Fund,” as they called it, sportsmen were levied charges per rod and three cents per pound of salmon caught; the fact that three rods could land more than 1,000 pounds of salmon over six days not only suggests the size of the fund each season, but also reveals that anglers exploited as much of the resource annually as the Mi’kmaq whose allegedly careless use of the fishery they sought to prevent.³³ Although it is not known how long the fund was in operation, it was specifically designed to alleviate what were described as the “straitened circumstances” of the Mi’kmaq by compensating them for the loss of their spearing rights. The funds were to be expended chiefly for the purchase of flour in winter, when, sportsmen acknowledged, as a result of the loss the Mi’kmaq “experience great difficulty in obtaining the means of subsistence.” Anglers also hoped, in return for benefits provided by the fund, to enlist the aid of the men in guarding against poaching, doubtless by lessening the imperative to fish. In conjunction with the increasing participation of Mi’kmaq men in the market economy—in particular the market for wage labour—they also wanted to secure what was described as “their best help” as fishing guides “by giving them (in addition to their ordinary wages) a direct interest in the ‘catch’ of each gentleman they may accompany” (Fleming and Mowat 1878).³⁴

Charity born of paternalism, the fund was thus consistent in its underlying logic with the policies of the Department of Indian Affairs, which, like the federal fisheries department, was part of growing state involvement in the rural periphery at the end of the nineteenth century. This is worth noting, given that the sporting fraternity’s employment of Mi’kmaq men as fishing guides alone seems to run counter to what were by this time established efforts by the Department of Indian Affairs to remove indigenous peoples from the larger landscape to reserves as part of a general process of transforming them from nomadic hunters and gatherers

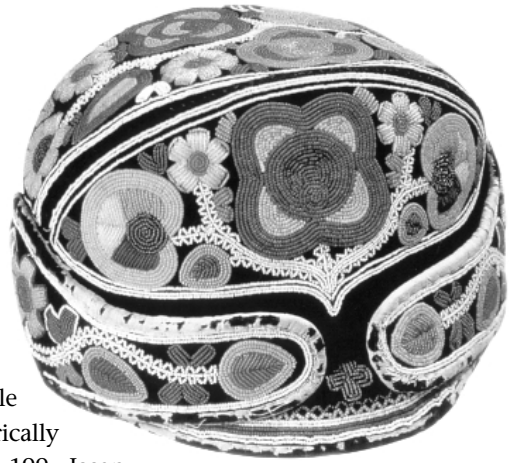
into settled agriculturalists. Fashioned in the light of then-dominant discourses of civilization, the department's policies were designed to assimilate Native populations through a slow process of tutelage that, over generations it was thought, would cultivate those qualities associated with "responsible persons" (Miller 2000, 254-82). The untamed masculinity Victorians attributed to those they identified as primitive men, moreover, made Aboriginal guides an attractive, ultimately authenticating aspect of the wilderness experience through which sportsmen sought to revitalize their manhood. As contemporary guide books and sporting narratives attest, it was even possible within this discourse to glorify the masculine vitality of Native guides; on another level, Bederman reminds us, they were seen as lacking the racial ability to advance civilization, fettered by the Victorian belief that so-called primitive men were biologically incapable of cultivating, at least without ongoing tutelage, the moral attributes Victorians most admired in a man, or, to be more precise, in the most civilized of men (Bederman 1995, 20-23; Parenteau and Kealey 2004, 8-9; Parenteau 1998b, 22-34; Jasen 1995, 133-49).

Instead, Native men were constituted as lacking the self-restraint identified with hegemonic ideals of manliness; in effect, its absence was a distinguishing feature of primitive masculinity. Contemporary sporting literature abounds with anecdotes portraying Native guides as instinctual, unsophisticated men, "capable of great feats of stamina," and, although normally reserved and taciturn, easily excited—sometimes rendered "half-crazed"—by the thrill of the chase (Sage 1888, 222; Parenteau 1998b, 22-34; Loo 2001b, 312-29; Jasen 1995, 133-35). In the eyes of fly fishermen, there was perhaps no better evidence of the Native's lack of self-control than what anglers perceived to be the reckless environmental practices of Native men, local residents whose corresponding characterization as "irresponsible persons" was then being instituted through fisheries regulations that redefined fishing and foraging as poaching and trespassing. Articulating the moral position of the angling constituency, it was not unusual for contemporary sports writers to claim that "before the fishery laws were enacted in the year 1868, there seemed to be a mad desire on the part of the natives to destroy the salmon in all seasons and in every possible way" ([Sandham] 1884, 84). In this context, the *noblesse oblige* of anglers was constituted as a moral corrective, the paternalism of charity like the Indian Fund glossing power relations between sportsmen and Native guides that were being ratified by the modern administrative state. Alienated from active resource use, the Native man was transformed into a cultural commodity, a human resource available for exploitation by fly fishermen who wanted the Native guide's "best help" and "direct interest" in the fulfillment of their wilderness experiences (Parenteau 1998b, 3).³⁵

It could be argued that this growing demand for “Indianness” as part of the tourist experience, however, also created social space at the point of Native-settler exchange, one that Aboriginal peoples exploited to negotiate the shifting social and economic situation in which they found themselves at the end of the nineteenth century. Guiding, for example, was relatively well paid, earning Native men in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Quebec up to three dollars per day at a time when the average labourer normally earned less than a dollar. In the face of systematic repression then being instituted by the state, Native men were able as a result to take advantage of the economic power guiding offered in order to assert their autonomy and agency. A practicable alternative to farming, guiding was a means of resistance both to Indian Affairs department policies designed to convert Native peoples from seasonal hunters and gatherers into settled agriculturalists and to fishing prohibitions that reinforced these policies by undermining the viability of their traditional lifestyles, thought by settlers to inhibit their development as responsible persons. Although inescapably defined by dominant discourses of civilization, it appears that Native men also used guiding to exercise their dignity and to command respect, the loss of which, together with diminishment of autonomy and agency, has been identified by James Scott as equal in importance to material exploitation in historical accounts of subordinate groups (1990, xi; Bederman 1995, 5-10). While Native accounts of guiding are almost non-existent, contemporary sporting literature suggests that guiding provided Native men with an opportunity to display both their knowledge of the local environment and the skill necessary to negotiate it, both of which, recast by Victorians as ethnic traits, were publicly acknowledged in demand for their services into the 1890s.³⁶

Tourist interest in the performance and commoditization of Native ethnicity also generated a market for the production of trade goods and art objects—otherwise known as “Indian wares.” Like guiding, commodity production effectively exploited existing subsistence strategies in the face of radical changes in the indigenous economy wrought by contemporary government policies, chief among them the new fisheries regulations. Although the degree of its intensification at the end of the nineteenth century has previously obscured scholarly recognition of its origins, occasional artisanal trade had supplemented the seasonal hunting and gathering that characterized Native peoples’ traditional lifestyles for centuries, as Ruth Phillips explains. With the repression of that lifestyle at the end of the nineteenth century, this pattern shifted to one of increasing reliance on commodity production, of which art commodities in the form of tourist souvenirs were an important part (1998, 23). Seemingly all kinds of porcupine-quill work and beaded items, from moccasins and fancy boxes to men’s caps (fig. 19), were popular among tourists. To them, the Indian souvenir was a trace both of the

Fig. 19. Mary Ann Geneace, Cap,
late nineteenth century;
l. 27 x w. 14 x h. 12 cm,
New Brunswick Museum,
Saint John, NB (15351).



tourist's experience of nature and, through essentialist belief in the object as a function of the maker's ethnic identity, of people who were perceived to be historically closer to nature (Phillips 1998, 199; Jasen

1995, 81-104; Stewart 1993, 132-51).³⁷ To Native sellers, souvenir production and exchange were means of addressing economic need in a manner that was also compatible with their traditional lifestyle, in which trading—formerly in furs and other goods—was embedded in larger social processes involving both family and community life. For this reason, souvenir production provided a basis for what became in the last decades of the century a successful art-commodities market that, like guiding, generated both economic power and respect for those involved (Phillips 1998, 159, 256-57).

What is significant in the context of this discussion is the evidence souvenir art also presents of cultural, as well as economic, resistance to repressive federal policies. Phillips points out, for instance, that despite negative associations generally assigned to work identified as "tourist art," the designs of souvenirs were seldom simple replicas of the Victorian items upon which they were often modelled; rather they inventively negotiated the conceptual and aesthetic differences that arose in the process of Native-settler exchange. The cap by Mi'kmaq beadworker Mary Ann Geneace, for example, was an innovative version of a Victorian man's sporting cap, its horizontal panels and vestigial bill referencing its prototype even as its variation in design set it apart from conventional types. Its floral imagery had transcultural significance as well, on the one hand reflecting its widespread popularity among consumers for whom floral motifs had specific meanings associated with contemporary notions of the feminine and the folk. In this case, rich colouring worked together with such associations to produce an accessory quite unlike the almost exclusively black clothing worn by Victorian men, an object for use in spaces where men were released from the pressures of "work, thrift and sobriety" otherwise expressed in their drab attire (Phillips 1998,

155-96, 240-45; Wilson 2003, 30). At the same time, for Native producers floral imagery, sometimes combined with cross motifs as it is in Geneace's piece, quietly effected the cultural continuity of indigenous values; it carried sacred signification, Phillips explains, "through the disguised expression of animist beliefs during a period when more explicit expressions were severely repressed" (1998, 198). In doing so, it effectively expressed the proactive dimension of cultural adaptation. As part of larger processes of commodity production and exchange at the end of the century, it was a means through which Native peoples accommodated their economies and lifestyles to the capitalist market economy, while at the same time it advanced ongoing cultural recognition of the traditional social and environmental relationships out of which their art had developed over centuries (195-98).

Conclusion

From this perspective, an art souvenir such as Geneace's beaded sportsman's cap constitutes a non-elite document both of Native-settler relations and of relations with the physical environment at the end of the nineteenth century, of aesthetic appropriation of the environment by a metropolitan elite and of Native response to the accompanying changes to the indigenous economy evidenced elsewhere in such elite documents as Sandham's landscape paintings now in the National Gallery of Canada and Art Gallery of Ontario. In this new context, the association of these two types of documents brings together what can be seen as two kinds of tourist art. One is identified with the elite white male, the metropolitan centre, a Romantic vision of nature and the emergent conservation movement in post-Confederation Canada. The other is a product of an Aboriginal woman, of the rural and the indigenous, of the dispossessed yet culturally resilient, and of another relationship with the physical environment evidenced today, as then, in the floral beadwork of articles produced for the tourist market (Rickard 1992, 110).³⁸

The new proximity of these objects, in Canada resulting from the incorporation of Aboriginal work into selected displays of Canadian historical art, also increases the already existing potential to reread seemingly innocuous, pleasantly constituted landscapes against this other experience of the environment, and, in the process, to denaturalize what is still, for the majority of exhibition-goers, the landscape ideology of which Sandham's paintings are an expression. At its fullest (to use W.J.T. Mitchell's articulation) such a rereading would undermine the effectiveness of these representations to situate their beholders in relation to landscape "as sight and site." It would reinstate landscape's readability, where previously it was effaced and represented "as if it were simply

given and inevitable." In working to make the culturally constructed nature of landscape apparent to viewers, in other words, this rereading recognizes them as historically constituted subjects and works to emancipate them from this relationship with the past, as well as, in the majority of cases, from the totalizing effect of the urban-based, Romantic vision of nature conventionally naturalized in the operation of these landscape representations in the art museum.

Such a rereading is possible, however, only if efforts on the part of major institutions in Canada "to bring Aboriginal art into the expansive story" of Canadian visual culture, as curators put it, are also interrogated, perhaps first by reviewing the nature of the story that is currently being told at the National Gallery of Canada and the Art Gallery of Ontario, the two authoritative galleries in Canada now engaged in integrating Native visual culture into their installations. The present conceptualization of the process does not suggest—let alone insist upon—a dialogic relationship between Native and settler art, one that would conceivably necessitate a radical rethinking of settler art history as we currently know it. If we reconceptualize the project in another way, the inequalities of power that underlie it can be made apparent. Curators have not, in contrast, conceived of the project as one of bringing settler art into the expansive story of Aboriginal visual culture. Both galleries have established Native North American traditions as the "starting point" of their respective stories of Canadian art. Neither, however, has undertaken revision of the settler art history or its normative strategies in response to the new presence in the art gallery of both Native North American art and its disciplinary history (Art Gallery of Ontario 2003; Hudson 2003).

It could be argued, for example, that the history of Native North American art, as it has been written to date, is sensitive to questions of gender, race, and environment; to visual culture as an expression of agency and cross-cultural exchange; and to issues of community, nation, and sovereignty in ways that settler history is not, but might well become under the more immediate influence of Native North American art history's disciplinary practices and normative strategies. Native art history's attention to the contribution of women cultural producers, for instance, animates the corresponding silence in the settler history. Perhaps of more immediate consequence, its attention to issues of identity, nation, and sovereignty, both as they find expression in visual culture and as they come into play in the discipline's structuring narratives, should be recognized as the location of a potentially powerful critique of settler history focussed on the chronological narrative, the nationalist art history, and the grand synthesis within which both galleries now plan to subordinate Aboriginal nations, instead making them part of an expansive story of Canadian art.

It is not a matter of placing Native North American art or history in the service of settler art and its history. Rather, it is a matter of acknowledging that their very presence in the gallery troubles the existing narrative of settler art and the ways in which it is structured and understood. They demand revision of Western categories of aesthetic production and object valuation, a revision that cannot easily, or perhaps ever, be addressed by simply adding objects and the histories and people they reference to an ever-expanding and yet, by its very nature, hierarchical art-historical “canon” (Steiner 1996). Nor, once begun, can such a revision of the narrative easily, if ever, provide a story that integrates all Canadian art, as one historian puts it, “into an account that, in the best of all worlds, would be acceptable to everyone” (McKay 2000, 621). It may be time, instead, to conceive of the public history of art in Canada in terms of sequences of individual, issue-based displays isolated from the demands of a continuous national history—installations that encourage consideration of the ways in which that history has been written and visualized over time and space, and that allow expansion not of the history per se, but of the range of historical conditions of art production deemed worthy of consideration.

Notes

A grant from the Advisory Research Committee, Queen’s University, supported research for this essay. I am grateful to Bill Parenteau and Gary Hughes for their help in the completion of this research, and to Alan MacEachern and Blaine Allan for reading earlier versions of this paper.

1. For critical discussion of the term “tourist” art and its place in Western categories of artistic production see Phillips and Steiner (1999).
2. I owe this formulation to Wallach (1998, 126).
3. Historically, white walls were also characteristic of modernist installations and, until recently, the rooms in the Canadian art wing at the National Gallery were white. Although they were recently painted different colours, thereby lessening the stridency of the installation style, the space remains modernist in inspiration and effect.
4. Dennis Reid, in conversation with the author. For discussion of the design and installation of the Canadian art wing, which opened in January 1993 following the last expansion of the building, see Hargittay (1993), Milroy (1992), Weiler (1991), and Worts (1991). For detailed discussion of nineteenth-century installations and exhibition culture see Solkin (2001, 1-8), Sunderland and Solkin (2001, 23-37), Murdoch (2001, 16-17), and Hemingway (1995).

5. The difficulties in, if not impossibility of, effectively situating Native North American work within narratives, installations, and art histories based on Western notions of the artist, art, artistic production, and object valuation is dealt with at length in the collection *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg (2002). The Canadian art installation at the National Gallery of Canada, renamed Art of this Land in recognition of the inclusion of historical art by Aboriginal peoples, reopened April 2003. At the Art Gallery of Ontario, Meeting Ground, the new installation of early Canadian art (1600-1845) in the McLaughlin Gallery, opened in January 2003. It should be noted that both galleries have well-established collections and installations devoted to Inuit art, which, historically, has been treated separately from the work of other Native North American peoples.
6. The wing is scheduled to reopen in 2007. For discussion of the installation of settler art history in the wing prior to its closing in 2003, see Thomas and Hudson (2002, 131-33). For discussion of plans to bring Native North American art into the institution, see Hill (2002, 68-72).
7. Sandham's work has been situated within the dominant narrative of Canadian art in both specialized studies and general surveys (see Reid 1979; A. Thomas 1979; Reid 1988, 78-90; Harper 1977, 179-200).
8. Discussion of this concept of land use is provided in Cronon (1995), Judd (1997, 197-228), Jacoby (2001, 195-97), and MacKenzie (1988, 264-65). For discussion of the reification of nature (of which "wilderness" is a type) see Evernden (1992). On the social construction of nature see also Soulé and Lease (1995), and Cronon (1995).
9. To make a similar point, Campbell (1989) also provides a detailed analysis of the cultural construction of the sportsman's equipment, methods, and experience as more "natural" than those of other types of fishing. See Jacoby (2001, 14-15, 195-97), for discussion of the idea of nature as self-regulating and predictable.
10. For a contemporary account that deals specifically with the aesthetic and affective qualities of fishing in the Restigouche River region see Sage (1888). For a similar account of fishing on the Godbout River see Hallock (1890) and Sandham (1884).
11. Fishing scores were published regularly, and served to establish a standard for comparison similar to those found in big game hunting. See, for example, *Forest and Stream* (1874), Hallock (1890, 99), Ritvo (1987, 272), and Campbell (1989). In light of Campbell's discussion, the late-nineteenth-century fisherman's interest in natural science can be seen as a type of mediation that allowed him—at least imaginatively—access to the "natural condition." "While the sportsman intends to gain access to the subsurface world of the fish in order to remove the fish from it," Campbell explains, "he is careful not to introduce himself into this setting. Rather, he employs sophisticated means to insure that he does not violate the relationship between man and nature where nature is defined by man's absence. Nature must, on the one hand, exclude man, and on the other, reveal itself to him" (87).

12. The etiquette of sport hunting, otherwise known as the sportsman's code, is dealt with by Reiger (1975), Tober (1981), Parenteau (1998b), MacKenzie (1987), and Ritvo (1987).
13. The writer is quoting an unidentified author. Qualities that defined the sportsman and sportsmanship are discussed by Ritvo (1987, 259-69), MacKenzie (1987), and Loo (2001b).
14. Hallock also dedicated the book to Gilmour, describing him as "eminent among salmon fishers."
15. Peter Thomas (2001, 185-87) makes this assessment in connection with an earlier discussion of the place of women in the wilderness that Hallock provides in *The Fishing Tourist* (1873). The railway actively promoted the region and, immediately upon the completion of the road, issued a lavish promotional brochure stressing both the scenery and the opportunities for recreational salmon fishing (Intercolonial Railway of Canada 1877).
16. Merchant (2003, 142) also discusses late-nineteenth-century wilderness as a domain for men to test their maleness, virility, and strength, and points out that, in terms of gender, it was a "male encounter with female nature to restore the frontier ruggedness lost to the soft, civilized, city life also gendered as female." In this sense, Hallock's association of different types of wilderness topography with different types of male sexual libido—coded as male marital status—expresses the heteronormative nature of the wilderness encounter.
17. Thomas quotes Mowat's contemporary, American angler Dean Sage, who estimated that, during the 1883 season, the Ristigouche Salmon Club alone employed enough men, horses, canoes, and towboats to produce "a weekly payroll of upwards of \$800, and a seasonal expenditure of \$60,000" (Sage 1888, quoted in P. Thomas 2001, 197). Based on information provided in the Canadian government's 1891 *Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries*, Parenteau and Judd calculate that, in 1890, a two-week trip to one of the better rivers in New Brunswick cost approximately \$450, not including costs for rods and other personal gear, an amount, they point out, that "was in excess of the average yearly income in the rural areas of the province" (Parenteau and Judd 2005, par 8). By 1890, as well, the Ristigouche Salmon Club's initial membership fee had risen to \$7,500 (Parenteau 1998b, 26; 1998a, 14).
18. Parenteau (1998b, 25-26), points out that "overall the pursuit of sporting activities in Canada became more inclusive in the decades after Confederation, but salmon fishing remained the exception. Virtually all the major salmon rivers in New Brunswick and Quebec were colonized by the wealthy and politically connected by 1890." In effect, he notes, "there were precious few opportunities for good salmon fishing open even to the middle-level executive."
19. White designed and built Camp Harmony at the confluence of the Restigouche and Upsalquitch Rivers for W.C. Whitney and Oliver Payne of New York and Dean Sage of Albany in 1895-96; Kedgwick Lodge in New Brunswick for William K. Vanderbilt in 1896-97, and Toadbrook Lodge on the Quebec shore of the river for Robert Goelet, beginning in 1897. The membership of the Ristigouche Club is provided in Ristigouche

- Salmon Club ([1987]; see also P. Thomas 2001, 193-228; Gingras 1994, 46-69). My thanks to H. Al Carter, who, as manager of the Ristigouche Salmon Club, provided me with a copy of the membership list.
20. Hughes (2001a, 9-10), notes that the stuffed deer heads decorating each section of wall in the main lodge of Camp Harmony were provided by Stanford White as a gift. White may also have provided the moose head above the fireplace at Kedgwick Lodge, which he also designed. As far as pictures are concerned, Dean Sage lists the hanging "of works of art anew to the walls" as one of the tasks involved in opening up his camp each season (1888, 186). Alan Gilmour also hung works of art in his camp on the Godbout River (see below note 27).
 21. Verner exhibited the painting using this title in 1879, first at the Ontario Society of Artists exhibition in May, and then at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition in September (see Ontario Society of Artists 1879, no. 69; Toronto Industrial Exhibition 1879, no. 178). Dated paintings resulting from his trip indicate that Verner travelled to the Godbout River in 1877. Sandham's earliest paintings of the river date to 1873, which was likely the year he visited the region. A history of the Godbout fishing club is provided by Comeau (1925).
 22. Walter Brackett, a Boston artist, also painted salmon for this clientele. A work by the artist of a salmon and grilse on a beach, signed and dated 1878 and now in the collection of the New Brunswick Museum (43.51), is reproduced in Hughes (2001b). Hallock (1890, 112) mentions the artist, whom he identifies as "Walter M. Brockett, the Boston artist, superlative in fish painting." He notes that, beginning about 1875, the artist annually rented one of six cabins built by a Quebec city hotel owner on the Marguerite tributary of the Saguenay River on the north shore of the St. Lawrence.
 23. A number of leading artists travelled from Montreal and Toronto to New Brunswick immediately upon the completion of the railroad in 1876. Verner and Alan Edson travelled out on the line in 1876, and prominent Toronto artists John Fraser and Lucius O'Brien in October 1877 and again in 1880 and 1882, respectively. Given the 1879 date of his painting, *Gathering Sea-weed, Coast of Nova Scotia*, Sandham probably made his first trip in 1878. (The painting, now titled *Gathering Sea-weed, Cow Bay, Nova Scotia*, is in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, acc. no. 924.392.) Well-known photographer Alexander Henderson was hired by Intercolonial Railway chief engineer Sandford Fleming in 1875 to make pictures along the route for promotional purposes. Photographs resulting from Henderson's trip were subsequently published in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, the Intercolonial Railway's *Guidebook to the Intercolonial Railway*, and even in the 1876-77 Montreal City Directory. As part of his activities as a professional photographer, Henderson also sold and exhibited the photographs that, in addition to pictures of scenery, included views of salmon-fishing camps (Reid 1979, 246, 178-81, 159-64; Reid 1990, 37-38, 55-56; Fleming 1875a, 1875b; *Canadian Illustrated News* 1877a, 1877b, 1877c, 1878, 1877-78; Lovell 1876, 34; Henderson 1878, 118-19). The Princess Louise Album [1878-1883], held in Library and Archives Canada, includes views by Henderson of Sir George Stephen's fishing camp on the Matapedia River.

24. As Crouch puts it, "vision happens alongside, or amongst multisensual encounters" because individuals encounter the world "in the act of doing and [draw] upon numerous contexts in the process" (2003, 7).
25. This point is made by Green (1995, 39) in his discussion of early-nineteenth-century French landscape, although he characterizes the affected constituency in this case, in addition to its affluence, in terms of its identification with the environmental deterioration of Paris.
26. As Green (1995, 31-42) points out, the "visual" is deeply informed as well by the textual, his discussion of French landscape in the early nineteenth century stressing the importance, alongside images, of the textual descriptions of landscapes in tourist brochures in cultivating ways of "looking at landscape."
27. It was titled *On the River Godbout* when it was exhibited at the International Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, and *Salmon Fishing, Godbout* in a list Sandham supplied of his major works in 1888 (see Canada, Department of Agriculture 1877, 21; Robinson 188, 151). My thanks to Hugh Turnbull of the Godbout fishing club for bringing this work to my attention. A photograph of another view of Gilmour's camp, a watercolour by Verner of 1884, is in the Andrew Taylor file in the National Gallery of Canada Dealer Files. Once titled *The Trading Post*, it can more probably be identified as a view of the camp from Gilmour's Landing, a scene pictured by James Armstrong and visualized by Hallock (1890, 102-103). Typically, Hallock also describes the scene in terms of salmon fishing, as does Verner; according to both, the view is also one of the Camp Pool, just below "the double rapid, which is formed by the outflow of the Belle and the Kate, where a pretty wooded islet divides the twin pools."
28. For the Duke of Beaufort's stays at Camp Harmony see Gingras (1994, 51), P. Thomas (2001, 198). The camp can be identified as Camp Harmony in comparison to an etching of the camp illustrated in the chapter devoted to Camp Harmony in Sage (1888, 44, illus. 22). Fraser also painted *River Scene with Mountains*, 1880 (watercolour on paper, 22.0 x 34.9 cm, Samuel Weir Collection, Queenston, Ontario [982.350]), which contains a camp in the centre ground.
29. Daniel Fraser's farm is referred to consistently in contemporary fishing accounts, guide-books, and promotional literature, first as a makeshift hotel catering to sportsmen, and then as the new home of the Ristigouche Salmon Club. Significantly, its location at the junction of the Matapedia and Restigouche Rivers also made the site a jumping-off point from the Intercolonial Railway for anglers travelling to salmon rivers in the interior. As such, "Fraser's Farm" achieved the status of a landmark among sportsmen (King 1866, 228; Hallock 1873, 154-55; 1877, 201; 1890, 69; Sage 1888, 5, 124-25; Intercolonial Railway of Canada 1876; Hamilton 1876, 23-26; P. Thomas 2001, 76-79, 125, 197). There is another, related view by Sandham, which is now in a private collection in Ottawa. The painting, now entitled *Indian Camp on a River* (n.d., oil on canvas, 45.7 x 68.6 cm), was reproduced by Sandham as an engraving, entitled *Junction of the Matapedia and Restigouche Rivers* (1880, 433). His painting, *On the Godbout River* (fig. 2), is also reproduced in Grant's article "Dominion of Canada" (1880, 94), where it is titled

View on the Godbout, A Canadian Salmon River. Because they are engravings, both images are reversed.

30. A list of Sandham's "most important works," which he prepared for inclusion in Frank Robinson's *Living New England Artists* (1888, 151), contains a number of paintings owned by anglers. Among them are *Salmon Fishing, Godbout*, which was owned by Allan Gilmour; *Happy Moments*, an oil on canvas which was purchased by F. Wolferston Thomas, whose position as manager of Molson's Bank in Montreal indicates that the painting was the product of Sandham's trip to the Godbout River, where John H. Molson and F. Stewart Molson also fished; *Fishing Camp, Restigouche*, a watercolour owned by Dean Sage's close friend, C.F. Lawrence of New York, who was a founding member of Restigouche Salmon Club; *Salmon Fishing*, a watercolour purchased by Sage's brother, W.H. Sage of Ithaca, New York, who also fished in the region; and *Camp Steps, Camp Harmony*, an oil on canvas owned by Dean Sage. Although none of these works except Gilmour's has come to light, *Camp Steps, Camp Harmony* is reproduced in Sage (1888, 198, illus. 61), where it is titled *Reaching Home* and is listed as drawn and etched by Sandham, who provided a number of illustrations for Sage's book. The illustration is reproduced in Gary Hughes's "The Lure of the River" (2001b).
31. This subordinate position is visualized as well in *Camp Steps, Camp Harmony*, which shows a fisherman, bearing a close resemblance to the angler in *Canoeing*, and who is doubtless Sage, standing halfway up steps leading to the verandah of Camp Harmony. As though pausing as he ascends the steps, he turns and looks down on two men, who can be identified from portraits in the book as Alexis Marchand and Jacques Vicaire, Sage's two "senior" Mi'kmaq guides. They stand at the bottom of the steps holding salmon, which are clearly intended to be read as the product of the fishing trip from which the party has just returned. The hierarchical structure of the picture is completed by two anglers, who stand on the verandah above the group and look down on the steps that Sage ascends. That the guides in this case are distinguished as portrait subjects is a good illustration of Parenteau's observation that, having proven a reputation for good service, guides did "forge more intimate relationships with their clients," although even these operated within "rigid boundaries defined by class and race" and, in this case as well, gender (1998b, 25). Peter Thomas (2001, 219-22) makes similar observations, with direct reference to Sage's relationship with Marchand and Vicaire (see also Sage 1888, 17-39, 87-132).
32. Parenteau (1998a, 16) credits the positive impact on salmon stocks primarily to a program of artificial propagation that, by 1900, included nine hatcheries in Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. See also Evernden (1992, 3-35), who discusses the relationship between pollution—and, thus, by extension, other perceived threats to the environment—and social control.
33. A detailed description of the fund appears as a "Note" in Fleming and Mowat (1878), a permission form entitled "Restigouche Salmon Fishing, Mr. Fleming's Waters." It is dated 28 May 1878, grants permission to fish to Norman Ritchie and J. Morrow, and is signed by Sandford Fleming and John Mowat, the river warden. Attached to it is

"Memo of Salmon Taken by I.N. Ritchie and J.S. Morrow in Restigouche River June 1878," which lists the catch for two rods, over six days, as 33 fish or 742 pounds—over 350 pounds per rod. Sage, who notes that the average size of a salmon was 20 to 30 pounds, records his party's catch in 1886 as 230 salmon and 16 grilse (at least 4,600 pounds), adding that "all the stations on the river did very well" (1888, 229, 210). He also notes that, in 1885, anglers pulled 817 fish (at least 16,340 pounds) from the waters of the Ristigouche Salmon Club, a total that would have been "largely increased" had more fishermen been on the river after high water in July. According to John Mowat, who is cited in Parenteau (1998b, 19), in 1872, the Mission Point Mi'kmaq caught in comparison an estimated 10,000 to 16,000 pounds of salmon, which, at market prices, would have yielded between \$600 and \$900 (Canada, Department of Marine and Fisheries 1873). For yields on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, see Parenteau (1998b, 35 n91).

34. Anglers also gave salmon to members of the Native community and, at least on one occasion, a cash donation towards the repair of the community church of Ste. Anne of Ristigouche (Sage 1888, 49; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1883).
35. For an in-depth analysis of the moral complexities involved in the conversion of local residents into outlaws, see Jacoby (2001), Parenteau (1998b), and Parenteau and Judd (2005).
36. For discussion of guiding in Atlantic Canada at the end of the nineteenth century see Parenteau (1998b, 22-34), Jasen (1995, 133-49), and Loo (2001b, 312-19). Despite the scarcity of accounts by indigenous peoples, it is possible to "reread" what Scott (1990, ix-xiii) calls the "public transcript" of Native-settler relations for additional evidence of Native resistance to the exclusionary nature of the fishery regulations. The annual reports of the Department of the Interior and, beginning in 1880, of the Department of Indian Affairs, for instance, contain many complaints, registered by Native peoples through Indian agents, about the discriminatory nature of the fisheries regulations. The fact that Indian agents included references to these complaints in their reports suggests a level of complicity with Native peoples' efforts to register their response to legislation (see, for example, Canada, Department of the Interior 1875; Canada, Department of the Interior 1876). Contemporary sporting literature is also rife with stories that can be "reread" as evidence of resistance on the part of Native guides and camp servants to the subordinate position in which they operated, all of them evidence to sportsmen of the Native's laziness, sullenness, or simplicity. For demonstrations of resistance to the fishery regulations in the form of newly defined "illegal" action see Parenteau (1998b) and, for examination of the response of local settlers to the regulations as well, see Parenteau and Judd (2005, par 21-43). Thomas (2001, 222) notes that by the turn of the twentieth century, the establishment of guides of mainly Scottish descent on the Restigouche River had served to marginalize Mi'kmaq guides.
37. The term "Indian wares" was used by Victorians to describe both utilitarian goods produced by Aboriginal peoples, such as axe handles, snowshoes, and undecorated baskets and moccasins, and art souvenirs, which, Phillips explains, are "those items

whose iconographic features and elaboration and refinement of form elicit the visual, tactile, and intellectual pleasure that we call aesthetic" (1998, 4). Characteristically, one Indian agent described both types of commodities in essentialistic terms as "those wares which are peculiar to their race" (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1881). For discussion of the art commodity and its place in Western systems of object valuation and aesthetics see Phillips and Steiner (1999).

38. Although beadwork is identified with the production of Native women, Phillips (1998, 183) points out that Native men also participated in the creation of souvenir art.

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