

JOHN ARTHUR FRASER

(1838-1898)



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A Thesis  
in  
The Faculty  
of  
Fine Arts

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
degree of Master of Fine Arts in Art History

Concordia University  
Montreal, Québec, Canada

September 1981

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ABSTRACT

JOHN ARTHUR FRASER (1838-1898)

Kathryn L. Kollar

John Arthur Fraser worked as an artist, teacher, illustrator and tinter of portrait photographs in Montreal, Toronto and New York during the second half of the nineteenth century. His career covers that period in Canadian art when painters first sought to express national sentiments in their work and chose landscapes as the primary means of this expression. Fraser, along with many of his contemporaries, travelled the length and breadth of this country in search of those images which embodied the grandeur and wealth of Canada.

This monographic study is a biography of the artist, generally arranged in a chronological order, which examines the main periods of Fraser's versatile and varied career; within the text are analyses of major watercolours, oil paintings and illustrations. Also included are a chronology of events and a list of the works, most of them now lost, produced by the artist over a period of some forty years.

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i.

PREFACE  
AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The painting career of John Arthur Fraser (1838-1898) was rarely discussed in early histories of Canadian art, although this was a fate suffered by many, if not most, Canadian painters of the second half of the nineteenth century. Certainly, the enthusiasm for art that Fraser inspired in young artists during the Notman years, in Montreal and Toronto was acknowledged. Also Fraser's prominent role in the formation of the Society of Canadian Artists and the Ontario Society of Artists, and to some extent the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, has been dealt with at length.

However, little of the discussion has centered on Fraser's painting, except in the most cursory manner. In 1925, Newton MacTavish recognized that he "was an artist of considerable power, and a real pioneer who later rendered the Rockies in a way that has yet to be equalled."<sup>1</sup> MacTavish unfortunately did not expand this statement in any depth although one does suspect that he was referring to The Rogers Pass (NGC) of 1886 as it had been one of the most extensively exhibited works. In 1939 Graham McInnes<sup>2</sup> merely echoed most of the early sentiments expressed by MacTavish, as did William Colgate in 1943.<sup>3</sup> All of these writers were essentially repeating the same information and as a result, an unquestioned biography of the artist became established in the literature.

It was only in 1960 that R. H. Hubbard remarked on "a tendency towards a literal or photographic realism"<sup>4</sup> in Fraser's work. Presumably Hubbard based this comment on his knowledge of the artist's lengthy association with William Notman. However, it was only in 1979 with Ann Thomas'

examination of the relationship between Canadian painting and photography from 1860 to 1900 that Hubbard's notion was substantiated.<sup>5</sup> In 1963 he did revise slightly his initial statement, saying that Fraser "had more to offer than mere photographic realism"<sup>6</sup> and that, as he had worked at Notman's it was "no wonder that... (he) was a realist; the wonder (was) that he had so personal a vision."<sup>7</sup> This last statement presumably grew out of the then recently rediscovered A Shot in the Dawn - Lake Scugog (NGC) of 1872 which "raise(d) his (Fraser's) artistic reputation"<sup>8</sup> considerably; when the work was found, "art historians scrambled to reassess Fraser's talent."<sup>9</sup> In 1966 the oil was considered

probably the first Canadian landscape...  
 unmarked by deference to European taste...<sup>10</sup>  
 Fraser liked what he saw...and painted it.

Hubbard had perhaps been more accurate in 1960 when he felt that pictures by Fraser and such contemporaries as Lucius O'Brien revealed "the possibilities that the various regions of Canada offered for commercial exploitation."<sup>11</sup> J. Russell Harper stated with some authority in 1966 that the "sense of growth, of the potentialities in nationhood... finally came to the artists and gripped their artistic imagination"<sup>12</sup> at Confederation. He credited Fraser as one of those early artists who sought out "the wild and picturesque mountains and sea coasts"<sup>13</sup> and who helped to bridge this vast country with his paintings in much the same way such industrialists as William Van Horne bridged it with the railway.

Harper also placed Fraser within the questionable context of the British watercolour tradition at mid-century, seeing him as part of the large group of English immigrant artists who entered Canada during the early 1850's and 1860's. One cannot, however, truly compare Fraser to such

artists as Daniel Fowler and James Griffiths, for their delicate sense of refinement and almost gentle approach to subject matter cannot compare with the directness and immediacy evident in much of Fraser's work.

It was not until Dennis Reid's discussion of Fraser in the 1979 National Gallery of Canada exhibition Our Own Country Canada that the artist's life was examined so extensively and in such depth.<sup>14</sup> Even so, the period covered in the text does not cover the last ten years of Fraser's life in the United States. And again, because of the survey-like arrangement of the text, the works themselves were discussed only within a rather limited scope.

This monographic study of John Fraser is in essence a biography, generally arranged in a chronological order, with analyses of those major works still in existence. The text follows the artist from his first years in London, England, through his career in Canada where he was actively involved in the Montreal and Toronto art communities, to the final period in New York. In addition, Fraser's 1883 and 1886 sketching trips to western Canada are examined through the paintings and various documents. As well the artist's brief return to Great Britain during 1888-89 is discussed at length because of his production of an important collection of watercolours, some of them only known through illustrations appearing in the New York Century Magazine.

This author has also compiled a list of works done by Fraser during his career. The list (Appendix I) is divided into two sections: Section A is a compilation of oil paintings, watercolours and tinted portrait photographs in both public and private collections, and of black and white illustrations known through reproductions in various periodicals and books. Section B is a compilation of all other works which are only known today

through their titles. The identification of the paintings has been gleaned from the pages of exhibition and auction catalogues, private letters between Fraser and those individuals connected with his story, and other documents which remain in the family's hands.

The primary sources of research have been, first and foremost, the exhibition and auction catalogues and the contemporary periodical and newspaper articles. All have proved invaluable, especially the articles which often provided the only known "descriptions" of works by Fraser. Private correspondence written by or to the artist also proved a unique primary tool. Most important are the letters found in the Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives in Montreal because of Fraser's long relationship with Van Horne, Vice-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who can be considered as the artist's first and perhaps most important patron. In addition, are letters from W. Thomson Smith of London, Ontario, which can be found in the London Regional Art Gallery.

The Fraser family, both in Canada and the United States, own other documents relating to the artist's career or family life. Three are of particular importance. A diary kept by Fraser's daughter Nanette chronicles events between 1886 and 1888 and gives glimpses into family activities. As well, her compilation of a list of her father's works found in his studio after his death, with its various notations. Lastly, a sketchbook of drawings from 1883 documents the artist's travels through central and western Canada and the United States. All three documents are presently with a grand-daughter in California. While the author was unable to see the sketchbook, she was provided with a copy of the diary and the list of works.

The major problem in dealing with Fraser has been in identifying works of art by the artist. Compared with the total number of works pro-

duced during his career, those which still exist in public and private collections is small indeed. It is hoped that through this thesis and further research on Fraser, more examples will come to light.

My special thanks to Sandra R. Paikowsky, my advisor, and Laurier Lacroix, both of Concordia University, who generously provided suggestions and continuing support throughout the course of this study. My sincere thanks to Don D. Fraser, Kathryn L. (Fraser) Watson and Lotus (Fraser) Ruckle for sharing reminiscences and valuable family documents. Others who have given freely of their time and facilitated my research are Dr. Hardy George and Loren Singer of Concordia University, J. Russell Harper, Charles Hill and Sylvia Antoniou of the National Gallery of Canada, Stanley Triggs of the Notman Photographic Archives and Dennis Reid of the Art Gallery of Ontario. My thanks are also extended to Kathleen Perry and Linda Bien of Concordia University, Juanita Toupin of the Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, Joan and George Dorca of Toronto, and Michael Hermanovich for his unflinching sense of humour.

Kathryn L. Kollar  
September 1981  
Montreal

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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- II. A Shot in the Dawn - Lake Scugog
- III. September Afternoon, Eastern Townships
- IV. Unidentified Landscape
- V. A Seaside Idyl
- VI. Morning on the Beach at Percé
- VII. In Breezy October (Bay Chaleur)
- VIII. Laurentian Splendour
- IX. White Fish
- X. Fishing Station, Sand Island
- XI. Fish House and Wharf
- XII. On Shore
- XIII. An Old Window
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- XVIII. Landscape with Figures
- XIX. The Weird House in the Moat
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Art Association of Montreal
AAM Art Union 1867	Drawing of the Art Union prizes, AAM, 1867
AAM Carnival 1887	Carnival Exhibition, AAM, 1887
AAM Dominion 1880	Dominion Exhibition, AAM, 1880
AAM Loan 1914	30th Loan Exhibition, AAM, 1914
AGO	Art Gallery of Ontario (see also AGT; TAM)
AGT	Art Gallery of Toronto (see also AGO; TAM)
AGT/AAM/MPQ/NGC 1945	Development of Painting in Canada, travelling exhibition, 1945
AGT Inaugural 1926	Inaugural Exhibition of the AGT, 1926
AGT Loan 1935	Loan Exhibition, AGT, 1935
AGT Summer 1935	Summer Exhibition, AGT, 1935
Ap	April
ASPWC	American Society of Painters in Water Colors (see also AWS)
Atlanta 1895	Cotton States and International Exhibition, Atlanta, Ga., 1895
BAC	Boston Art Club
BSWP	Boston Society of Watercolor Painters
btwn.	between
BWS	Boston Watercolor Society
Canadian Club 1887	Exhibition of works by Fraser, Canadian Club, New York, 1887
Chicago 1893	World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893
Christie	Christie, Manson and Woods
CNE	Canadian National Exposition (see also TIE)
Col.	collection
Colonial 1886	Colonial and Indian Exhibition, South Kensington, London, England, 1886
CPCA	Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives, Montreal
CYMCA (Toronto) 1931	Canadian Young Men's Christian Association exhibition, Toronto, 1931
Dec	December
Detroit 1903	Special Exhibition of Oil Paintings and Water Colors by Frazer (sic), DMA, 1903
Detroit Spring 1889	Spring Exhibition, DMA, 1889
DMA	Detroit Museum of Art
Dundurn Loan 1906	Dundurn Castle Loan Exhibition, Hamilton, 1906
Ellis 1919	Sale of pictures from the collection of R. Y. Ellis, Toronto, 1919
Exbns.	exhibitions
Feb	February
Fraser Brothers	Fraser Brothers Ltd., Montreal
Jacoby	Jacoby's House, of Antiques Co. Ltd.
Jan	January
Je	June
Jl	July



- Kit Kat 1901. Exhibition of Paintings in Oil and Water Colour  
by the Late J. A. Fraser, Kit Kat Club, New  
York, 1901
- Koekkoek 1887 Exhibition of Works by J. A. Fraser, Koekkoek  
Gallery, London, England, 1887
- Leys 1913 Sale of Pictures from the Leys Collection, Toronto,  
1913
- Liverpool. Autumn Autumn Exhibition, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool,  
1889. England, 1889
- Liverpool. Walker Art Exhibition of Canadian Art, Walker Art Gallery,  
Gallery 1910 Liverpool, England, July 1910
- l.l. lower left
- l.c. lower center
- l.r. lower right
- LRAG London Regional Art Gallery, London, Ontario
- MPQ Musée de la Province du Québec
- Mr March
- NAD National Academy of Design, New York
- NGC National Gallery of Canada
- NGC 1978 Our Own Country Canada, travelling exhibition, 1978
- Nov November
- NPA Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal
- NPA 1979 Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography  
- 1860-1900, NPA, McCord Museum, 1979
- NYWC New York Watercolor Club
- Oct October
- Oliver, Coate 1883 Sale of Pictures by Oliver, Coate & Co., Toronto,  
1883
- OSA Ontario Society of Artists
- OSA Benefit Auction Ontario Society of Artists First Benefit Auction,  
1877 Toronto, 1877
- OSA Benefit Auction Ontario Society of Artists Second Benefit Auction,  
1878 Toronto, 1878
- OSA Retro 1922 OSA Retrospective Exhibition, Toronto, 1922
- Pell 1888 Sale of Pictures by Augustus J. Pell, Montreal,  
1888
- Penn Academy 1892 Annual Exhibition held at the Pennsylvania Academy,  
Philadelphia, 1892
- Penn Academy 1893-94 Annual Exhibition held at the Pennsylvania Academy,  
Philadelphia, 1893-94
- Philadelphia 1876 Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1876
- PSalon Paris Salon
- Queen's Hotel Exhibition of Works by J. A. Fraser held at the  
(Toronto) 1886 Queen's Hotel, Toronto, 1886
- RA Royal Academy, London, England
- RCA Royal Canadian Academy

SAA  
Salmagundi 1882

Society of American Artists  
Black and White Exhibition, Salmagundi Club,  
New York, 1882

Salmagundi 1883

Black and White Exhibition, Salmagundi Club,  
New York, 1883

SCA  
Sept  
Sotheby  
Spooner 1907

Society of Canadian Artists  
September  
Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co., Toronto  
Sale of Pictures from the James Spooner Collection,  
Toronto, 1907

TAM  
TAM 1911

Toronto Art Museum (see also AGO; AGT)  
Fourth Loan Exhibition of Works by Deceased Cana-  
dian Artists, Toronto, 1911

TAM 1916

Exhibition of Works by J. A. Fraser, Toronto, 1916

TIE

Toronto Industrial Exhibition (see also CNE)

Townsend 1897

Watercolours by J. A. Fraser, sold at auction by  
C. J. Townsend and Co., Toronto, 1897

u.r.

upper right

Vancouver Art  
Gallery 1966

Images for a Canadian Heritage, exhibition, Vancou-  
ver Art Gallery, 1966

w/

with

CHRONOLOGY

1838.

John Arthur Fraser born 9 January in London, England, to John Fraser and Isabella Warren.

1852-1858.

Most likely studies art at the South Kensington Schools of Design (then the Department of Practical Art) although, according to family tradition, studies at the Royal Academy Schools under Richard Redgrave and Francis Topham

1858

Marries Anne Marie Sayer of Herne Bay, Kent, England, on 4 April; Fraser family emigrates to Stanstead county, Québec, BNA, on 9 April (grandfather John Fraser had emigrated there in 1831)

1859

Birth of first son, John Arthur Jr., 12 March in Stanstead

1860

Moves to Montreal and begins working for William Notman's firm, tinting photographic portraits

1861

Birth of second son, Augustus George, 11 January in Montreal

1863

December publication of volume I of Photographic Selections by William Notman, which includes photograph of lost Fraser watercolour Sunshine and Showers (NGC)

1864

Exhibits at AAM second exhibition; 22 October listed as "Art Director" in Notman wage books, earning \$61.50 every two weeks

1865

Exhibits at AAM third exhibition in February; possibly paints Sunset Harbour (Sudbury, Laurentian University)

1866

Sketching in the United States, specifically in the White Mountains of New Hampshire

1867

Formal contract of engagement with Notman drawn up in February; exhibits at AAM fourth exhibition in February; sells 2 watercolours at AAM Art Union; founder member of SCA in Montreal; paints in Eastern Townships region, and Lake Memphremagog and Mount Orford; possibly paints watercolour Laurentian Splendour (NGC); birth of third son, Donald Lovat, 12 December in Montreal; possibly exhibits at ASPWC first exhibition held in New York in December

1869

Birth of first daughter, Nanette Alice Mabel, 25 June in Toronto.

1870

Exhibits at SCA second exhibition in February; at AAM sixth exhibition in March.

1872

John Fraser (père) dies in Ottawa in June; first meeting of OSA 25 June; draws up OSA constitution and is elected Vice-President 2 July.

1873

Exhibits at OSA first exhibition held at Notman's in Toronto in April, including A Shot in the Dawn, Lake Scugog (NGC) and September Afternoon, Eastern Townships (NGC); painting and sketching during the summer months in New York State.

1874

Offers to resign from OSA 18 May; does not exhibit at OSA second exhibition in June; Lucius O'Brien elected Vice-President OSA 23 June; Fraser, Sandham, Gagen and Hammond resign from OSA in December.

1875

Speculation that OSA has dissolved is denied by O'Brien in January; does not exhibit at OSA third exhibition in May; possibly paints Unidentified Landscape (NGC) in New Hampshire.

1876

Does not exhibit at OSA fourth exhibition held June; exhibits at International Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition held July and serves as "Art Superintendent of Centennial Photographic Co. established by Notman; sends formal complaint to Canadian Commission of Philadelphia in April concerning portrait by J.C. Forbes; birth of daughter, Harriet Isabella, 15 September in Toronto.

1877

February reconciliation with OSA; re-elected to Society; exhibits at OSA fifth exhibition in May; possibly sketching in Maritimes: Study on the Spot (near Dalhousie, N.B.) (NGC); exhibits at OSA first benefit auction in December.

1878

Appears in AWS minutes 14 January; exhibits at AWS eleventh exhibition in March; name placed on AWS role of non-resident members 6 March; in charge of advertisement of OSA exhibition; exhibits at OSA sixth exhibition in May, including A Sea-Side Idyl (Toronto City Hall); birth of daughter Emily Louise, 30 August in Toronto; 16 September on OSA committee to arrange reception for Governor-General, Lord Lorne; 7 November on OSA committee to arrange second benefit auction; sends works to OSA auction held in December.

1879

Exhibits at OSA seventh exhibition in May; during summer and fall months sketching in New Brunswick, lower St. Lawrence, Gaspé and North Shore of St. Lawrence; possibly paints Landscape (AEAC); Percé Rock (MMFA); Fishing Village (Halifax, Manuge); August OSA meeting receives letter from Lord Lorne concerning the extension of OSA into a national art society; 14 August on OSA committee to arrange reception for HRH the Princess Louise; 3 September proposes OSA name change to SCA (Montreal art society defunct); 12 September special OSA meeting in which Lord Lorne suggests scheme for formation of Canadian Academy of Arts; Lorne presents constitution for Academy at 17 September OSA meeting and eight academicians chosen, including Fraser; teaches two evening art classes for 1879-80 session of the Ontario School of Art.

1880

6 January asked to take charge of evening figure drawing classes at Ontario School of Art; exhibits at Canadian Academy first exhibition in March in Ottawa, including diploma oil Laurentian Splendour (NGC) and In Breezy October (NGC); An East Ray in the White Mountains purchased by Lorne for Queen Victoria; listed as member of Academy council in catalogue; exhibits at OSA eighth exhibition in May; Low Tide, Bon Ami Rocks, Baie de Chaleur chosen 18 May for Ontario Government collection; 22 May elected to council of Ontario School of Art and to committee for OSA provident fund; during summer sketching for contributions to Picturesque Canada; bitter dispute between Fraser and the Belden brothers and O'Brien concerning sketches for Picturesque Canada which results in numerous open letters between the protagonists throughout the fall and winter months.

1881

Exhibits at AAM first black and white exhibition in February; at OSA ninth exhibition in May; 2 June paintings added to AAM gallery; exhibits at RCA second exhibition in July; at TIE in September; 13 September on OSA committee to meet with Education authorities over Ontario School of Art; 30 September appointed evening and day professor of antique class; paints Morning on the Beach at Percé (Toronto. Public Library).

1882

Exhibits at OSA tenth exhibition in May; does not exhibit at RCA third exhibition; sends letter to the RCA general assembly over non-payment of dues; member of RCA council for 1882-83; 13 June hands in protest over 17 May OSA annual election of officers and committees; exhibits at Salmagundi Sketch Club fifth black and white exhibition in December; one sketch, Mount Elephantis, appears in Volume II of Picturesque Canada.

1883

Exhibits at AWS sixteenth exhibition in February; at AAM Spring exhibition in April; auction of works 28 April at Gallery of Art, Toronto; family moves to Dorchester, Mass.; 26 July begins western trip to Wisconsin; during August travels to Rockies on CPR; trip ends in September; paints The Ferry at the Mission (Toronto. Loeb Col.); dissolves partnership with Notman in the fall; finishes teaching at the Ontario School of Art; exhibits at the Salmagundi black and white exhibition late in the year.

1884

Exhibits at BAC thirtieth exhibition in April; illustrations appear in April issue of Century Magazine; illustrated article appears in November issue of Outing describing the 1883 western trip; meets William Cornelius Van Horne, Vice-President CPR in November; Fraser and Sons formed in Toronto.

1885

Exhibits at AWS eighteenth exhibition in February; at BAC thirty-second exhibition in April; becomes member BAC; illustrations appear in September and October issues of Century; 12 October letter to Van Horne concerning guide-book for CPR; 25 November letter to Van Horne's assistant, A. Piers, concerning work completed for the former; founder member BWS (1885-92); exhibits at BWS first exhibition in December; possibly paints Canadian Indians at Hand Crafts (NGC).

1886

Arranges with Van Horne to paint watercolour views of western Canada for Sir George Stephen, President CPR, to be exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London, England; said watercolours painted up from Alexander Henderson photographs; correspondence between Fraser, Van Horne, Piers, Boswell and Alex. Begg, G.E. agent of CPR in London, concerning the production of the watercolours and their exhibition at the Colonial (6 January; 12, 19 February; 1, 22, 24, 30 March; 2, 27 April; 11, 31 May); exhibits at RCA seventh exhibition in February; at AWS nineteenth exhibition; at AAM Spring exhibition; at BAC thirty-fourth exhibition held from April to May; at the Colonial exhibition which opened 4 May, including the Stephen watercolours The Rogers Pass (NGC) and Mount Stephen Near Leanoil Canadian Pacific Railway (Montreal. Mr. and Mrs. G. Douglas Baxter); illustrations appear in the May issue of Century; exhibits at OSA fourteenth exhibition; in Montreal in June, possibly to see Van Horne; sets out for Rockies 8 June as part of "promotional scheme" to paint views for the CPR; reaches Winnipeg 15 June; correspondence with Van Horne detailing the trip (15, 16 June; 20, 27 July); returns to Toronto 19 October; in Montreal 24 October; reception of works held at Toronto's Queen's Hotel 10-11 November; same works exhibited sometime during November at Scott and Sons in Montreal; 27 November returns to Boston; does some illustration work for Van Horne (correspondence: 8, 11, 22 December; 8 January 1887); leaves Fraser and Sons.

1887

Exhibition of works from 1886 sketching trip held at the Canadian Club in New York during March; favourable reviews in The World (May); talk at the Club, which is later published in Canadian Leaves, History, Art, Science and Literature; in London, England, with same collection for exhibition during April; letter from Van Horne to Moody, CPR representative in London, asks latter to contact potential buyers; Fraser arranges exhibition at Koekkoek Gallery in Piccadilly; favourable reviews in London Daily News (May) and Times (June); returns to Boston in August or September; exhibits at AAM Carnival.

1888

Auction at Pell's in Montreal in January, with poor results; exhibits at AWS twenty-first exhibition in February; illustrations appear in August issue of Century; returns to Great Britain, possibly by mid April, on an extended sketching trip (1888-89); paints A Trip to the British Isles (Oshawa, Joan Murray); The Highlands of Scotland (NGC); The Heart of Scotland (AGO).

1889

January letter to Van Horne describes success in Great Britain; exhibits at Royal Academy, and at the Liverpool Autumn Exhibition held at the Walker Gallery; paints Grey Weather in Haytime and The Weird House in Moat (both Toronto, Ontario Art Col.); and At the Solemn Hour (London Regional Art Gallery); returns to New York, possibly by mid August; name transferred to AWS list of resident members.

1890

February announcement in Toronto Week that Fraser under contract to Knoedler and Co., N.Y.; possible one-man show at Boussod, Valadon and Co. in New York in March; exhibits at SAA twelfth exhibition held during April and May; at RCA eleventh exhibition in May; at OSA eighteenth exhibition in June; illustrations appear in August, September and October issues of Century; exhibits at NYWC first exhibition held in November; at NAD.

1891

Exhibits at Salmagundi in January; at AWS twenty-fourth exhibition in February; at RCA twelfth exhibition in March; at BAC in April; at OSA nineteenth exhibition in April; at Paris Salon during spring, and receives favourable reviews in Moniteur des Arts and Le Journal des Arts; at NYWC second exhibition; September auction of works by Canadian artists at Pell's in Montreal; illustrations appear in October issue of Century; elected to NYWC in December.

1892

Exhibits at Pennsylvania Academy sixty-second exhibition in January; at AWS twenty-fifth in February; elected to AWS Board of Control in March; exhibits at BSWP during March and April; at NYWC third exhibition from December to January 1893; at NAD.

1893

Elected to NYWC Board of Control and Jury of Selection for the autumn show in January; exhibits at AWS twenty-sixth exhibition during January and February; at RCA fourteenth exhibition in February; elected to AWS Board of Control in March; exhibits at Chicago World's Columbian Fair during summer, under the Canadian and American sections; wins medals at Chicago; exhibits at September TIE; at NYWC fourth exhibition during November and December; at Pennsylvania Academy sixty-third exhibition from December to February 1894; at NAD; RCA purchases The Highlands of Scotland for permanent exhibition at the NGC.

1894

Exhibits at AWS twenty-seventh exhibition from February to March; at RCA fifteenth exhibition in March; at AAM Spring held from April to May; wins best watercolour prize at AAM; exhibits at September TIE; at NAD.

1895

Exhibits at BAC from January to February; at AWS twenty-eighth exhibition from February to March; illustrations appear in June issue of Century; exhibits at Cotton States and International Exhibition, in Atlanta, Georgia from September to December, and wins silver medal which he receives the following year.

1896

Exhibits at AWS twenty-ninth exhibition in February; at BAC from April to May.

1897

Exhibits at AAM Loan Exhibition in January; at AWS thirtieth exhibition in February; at the TIE; illustrations appear in February, April and August issues of Century; auction of works by Townsend and Co. held in Toronto in October.

1898

Dies 1 January in New York City and is buried in Woodlawn Cemetery from the Church of the Beloved Disciple on 3 January.



## CHAPTER I

### THE EARLY YEARS : 1838-1868

John Arthur Fraser was born in London, England, on 9 January 1838<sup>1</sup> to Scottish parents.<sup>2</sup> His father John (1810-1872)<sup>3</sup> from Portsoy, Banffshire, Scotland, was both a London merchant tailor and noted political writer on the English Chartist reform movement.<sup>4</sup> His mother, Isabella Warren, was a native of London.<sup>5</sup> The Fraser family also included two other sons, William Lewis (1841-1905)<sup>6</sup> and James,<sup>7</sup> and two daughters, Margaret Isabella (b. 1836)<sup>8</sup> and Agnes Amelia (1843-1906).<sup>9</sup>

As commonly occurs in the study of Canadian painters, few facts are known about the artist's early life or his artistic training. According to family tradition<sup>10</sup> (which has become part of the artist's accepted biography) Fraser attended evening art classes as early as 1852 at the Royal Academy Schools under Richard Redgrave<sup>11</sup> and Francis William Topham.<sup>12</sup> However, there is no mention of Fraser's name in its Register of Students.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, as Redgrave was a visitor in the Schools only in 1852 and 1853, this means that he taught just one month each year.<sup>14</sup> Topham on the other hand was not an Academician, therefore he could not have given any courses.<sup>15</sup> For various reasons, it is more likely that Fraser studied art at the South Kensington Government Schools of Design.<sup>16</sup> Although he is not mentioned in the surviving Government Schools' records, which are admittedly somewhat incomplete,<sup>17</sup> the possibility of his attending South Kensington becomes all the more realized on several accounts, one of which is an early, and hence probably more accurate, review of his works in the Montreal Witness. This states unequivocally that Fraser had studied there:

A young painter name Fraser, now at work here - a pupil of the South Kensington School... 18

In addition, Fraser's future activities in Canadian art circles suggest attitudes and patterns more reflective of the outlook of South Kensington.

However, other, albeit more speculative possibilities support the hypothesis of his attending these schools. The Government Schools of Design were the first state-supported art schools in England, established on 1 June 1837 as the result of a growing desire in England during the first half of the nineteenth century to promote "Good Design" in the applied arts.<sup>19</sup> Thus the schools were of a highly practical nature. Fraser's background, which was middleclass (with the head of the family "an extreme liberal very rigid in his ideals")<sup>20</sup> as well as his own conservative, pragmatic character (as would become more obvious later in Canada) would have made it quite likely that he would be attracted to the secure, utilitarian course offered by the Government Schools rather than to the more uncertain route offered by the Royal Academy.

Certainly there were significant differences between the two institutions. The R.A. Schools provided a traditional curriculum in the fine arts, with a strong emphasis on drawing and the study of the human figure as the foundation of academic training.<sup>21</sup> The Government Schools, on the other hand, offered a more utilitarian programme and were primarily concerned with training designers for industry in the hope of improving the state of British manufactures. As such, students were not encouraged to become artists but artisans. Significantly, the study of the human figure, whether from the antique cast or the live model, was forbidden, except for the most advanced students.<sup>22</sup>

In 1852, about the time when Fraser may have begun his courses at the Government Schools, Henry Cole (1808-1882) was the Superintendent and Richard Redgrave the Art Superintendent in charge of the teaching staff.<sup>23</sup> The Schools had been totally reorganized by Cole that year according to a comprehensive, highly conservative plan committed to the practical application of art to manufactures, obviously to the benefit of these future employers.<sup>24</sup> The academic implication of the curriculum was an almost total disregard for and appreciation of "High Art", and a complete concentration on the teaching of industrial techniques, the making of patterns and even the practical use of machinery.<sup>25</sup>

However, despite Cole's programme, the largest classes were in fact elementary drawing and modelling. This may have been because many of the students had minimal or no previous training in art. Elementary drawing at the Government Schools consisted of little more than repetitive, uninspiring copying of geometrical lines until the student developed "the accuracy of eye and skill of hand" needed to reproduce such images easily.<sup>26</sup> William Dyce's (1806-1868) Drawing Book was used throughout the 1850's, 60's and 70's as the teaching text.<sup>27</sup> Thus it can be pointedly stated that aesthetic invention and imagination held little importance to the School's administration: "fact and fact alone was to be considered."<sup>28</sup> But the majority of the students, perhaps Fraser as one of them, regarded the Government classes as but a stepping stone to the Royal Academy Schools.<sup>29</sup> If so, then Cole's new vocational curriculum may have held little interest for the ambitious student.

The pragmatic optimism of the Government Schools was highly reflective of Victorian sensibility. The 1850's in England were a period of internal balance and relative stability, dominated by the

ideal of progress as exemplified by the 1851 Great Exhibition. It was a decade marked by its economic prosperity as England once again became the workshop of the world.<sup>30</sup> However, it was also a decade of mass emigration reaching its peak about 1855.<sup>31</sup> Large numbers of people left for "the land opportunity" to escape over-crowded cities or to enter a "classless" society. Others had little or no choice but to emigrate, for the decade could not wholly eradicate the depression left by the "hungry forties." National upsets happened periodically and the bankruptcy of many small businesses was a common occurrence.<sup>32</sup>

Reflecting the national condition, John Fraser (père) emigrated to Canada with his family in 1858. The accepted story is that his tailor business had failed, although only a search of bankruptcy notices in London would verify this premise. In addition, it may have been John Fraser's public life and his connection with the Chartist movement that further precipitated his departure.<sup>33</sup> His prominent political position on

the different agitations of the day served to bring down upon him the enmity of many who had been his friends and customers. Reverse followed reverse, and, his circumstances becoming much reduced, he contemplated going abroad.<sup>34</sup>

A further inducement to settle in Canada, more particularly to settle in the Eastern Townships of Québec, was that members of the Fraser family had earlier emigrated to the county of Stanstead. In 1831 John Fraser (1774-1857)<sup>35</sup> and his wife Isabella Forbes (b. 1786),<sup>36</sup> as part of the original Scottish and Irish settlers of the region; had come to the village of Beebe Plains on the Derby line border of the United States.<sup>37</sup>

The second or next generation of the Fraser family, including

John's new wife, Anne Marie Sayer,<sup>38</sup> set out from England on 9 April 1858, although the date of their arrival is uncertain.<sup>39</sup> Despite the recent death of Fraser (grandpère),<sup>40</sup> his son John established himself in the community first as a tailor and then as a political figure. Under the pseudonym of "Cousin Sandy" he published articles in various newspapers, including the editorially opposing Montreal Herald and Northern Journal.<sup>41</sup>

We can only speculate as to why the young artist decided to accompany his father to North America. Perhaps he was similarly induced by the prospects and possible opportunities of a country where artistic competition was less threatening than in England. However, in the Eastern Townships the population was itself composed of recent immigrants with few prospects for patronage. If Fraser indeed intended to pursue a career as an artist in Canada, the only immediate outlet for his profession seems to have been the painting of the common kitchen chair, and cutters and wagons, with cowhair brushes. According to Robert Ford Gagen,<sup>42</sup> Fraser was only moderately successful at this venture, in large part due to his unfamiliarity with the proper use of primings and other "secrets" of this peculiar art.<sup>43</sup> Also this rather lowly form of his art undoubtedly held little interest or inducement for the artist.

Gagen further states that in his spare time Fraser did water-colour sketches of the surrounding landscape. Gagen describes his method as "very direct...In colour they were strong, and their general effect was on the hard side,"<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, no work can be definitely ascribed to these first years in Stanstead. Nevertheless, such sketching trips would have provided a variety of subjects to paint

and also gave the artist an early familiarity with the landscape.

Despite our lack of concrete evidence, Fraser must have produced some work to attract attention. In 1860 he was presumably invited to Montreal by William Notman (1826-1891) to work in the photographer's studio at 11 Bleury Street.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, it is equally possible, and more likely, that Fraser may have presented himself with work in hand to Notman on his own initiative. He may have already been residing in Montreal by this time because of his father's

passion for public affairs and the impartial manner in which he directed his shafts against friend and foe alike, when he deemed they deserved them, his position in Stanstead became not the most desirable, and accordingly he removed his family to Montreal...<sup>46</sup>

Notman, who had emigrated to Montreal from his native Scotland in 1856,<sup>47</sup> had by 1869 established a photography firm whose specialty was the tinted portrait photograph. Oil and watercolour had been used by the firm for tinting the photographs, but after Fraser's hiring the latter became the preferred medium.<sup>48</sup> Fraser's process was quite simple: the artist laid down transparent washes of watercolour over a pale photographic image; the printed image of the photograph was always respected, with the result that the original line and tone were still evident.<sup>49</sup> The transition from photograph to watercolour was so delicately rendered that the results resembled "in every way the real thing on ivory." Fraser's work suggests that he possessed an obvious dexterity and lightness of touch, resulting in a coloured likeness so fine that it was "difficult for even artists to detect the photographic base."<sup>50</sup>

Many examples of Fraser's tinted portrait photographs are still in existence: Colonel Dyde, 1861 (67);<sup>51</sup> Hon. John Hillyard Cameron,

1862 (68); Mr. Greenshields, 1867 (83); Mr. Atwater, 1868 (85); Miss Mary McCord, 1869 (88); Mr. William Notman Sr. (87) and Mrs. William Notman Sr. (86), both 1868: all are located in the Notman Photographic Archives of the McCord Museum, Montreal. The portrait of the Hon. E. Brown, 1867 (84) and the Hon. J.S. McCord (90) are owned by Bishop's University in Lennoxville; and a portrait of the artist's wife is still with the family.<sup>52</sup>

The portrait of William Theodore Benson, 1863 (74) is the only known composite<sup>53</sup> tinted portrait photograph by Fraser. The image was taken from Notman's Mrs. Benson and Baby, 1863. The young child in his mother's arms in the source photograph becomes the primary subject in the Fraser miniature. The portrait successfully demonstrates the delicate handling of paints by which Fraser gained repute. The tiny cherubic face, the center of attention, is animated and sensitively captured in clear colours. The tones of the original photograph have been allowed to carefully play their part in the modulation and delineation of the figure. Fraser added a new background landscape scene of a heavily painted tree trunk and leaves which "crown" the head in a more painterly manner.

Because of examples like this, it was highly fashionable for Montrealers to possess tinted likenesses and Fraser's talents were greatly appreciated by the community. And because of Fraser's efforts in this direction the tinted photograph became so popular that Notman was forced to hire more studio artists to do the colouring.

Fraser's success at Notman's continued and in February 1867 a formal contract of engagement between the two was drawn up.<sup>54</sup> The terms were most generous for the artist: a four year contract, it

called for Fraser to work eight to five (with one hour for dinner); two week holidays every year; \$61.50 every two weeks; \$2,000.00 as a "gift" every year; \$100.25 at the end of each quarter. The contract clearly reveals that the artist's talents were highly prized by his employer.

His popularity can also be measured by the almost yearly rise in his social position, if simply by following the artist's move from commercial to residential areas as indicated in Lovell's Montreal directories.<sup>55</sup>

Thus Fraser became one of the highest paid studio artists. For comparison's sake, the 8 October 1864 wage book<sup>56</sup> lists the artist's salary as \$50.000 every two weeks. By 22 October 1864 he was earning \$61.50 whereas the artist J. Henry Sandham earned only \$18.00. Fraser was also promoted to the position of "Art Director" in charge of the other studio artists. They were regularly hired by Notman to sketch landscape backgrounds, tint portrait photographs and paint the settings against which the patrons were posed. This particular department of studio artists eventually included such later well-known painters as Sandham (1842-1919), Adolph Vogt (1842-1871) and Fraser's own brother, William Lewis.

Notman's role in the development of Canadian photography is well known, but he also furthered the careers of many young, aspiring artists by providing financial, and even moral, support at a very crucial point in their lives. When Notman's clients preferred "old-fashioned" paintings to portrait photographs, he would not hesitate to pass along the portrait commissions to his own artists.<sup>57</sup> The painters accepted their new role with remarkable equanimity: working in a photography studio was considered by all as only a temporary means of livelihood until their professional careers in art became more financially stable. After



business hours, they met to discuss their latest paintings and provide each other with mutual support. During the summer months they often organized sketching trips of the surrounding countryside.<sup>58</sup>

Fraser became the natural leader of the studio artists because of their respect for his artistic talents and organizing abilities. He was also fast becoming an outspoken proponent of Canadian art. Certainly he appreciated his own abilities and did not hesitate to say so. Once when he had finished a particularly satisfying piece, Fraser was quoted as saying that "a man that can paint like that should wear a gold hat."<sup>59</sup> While Fraser's forceful personality did not make him universally well-liked, there was no denying that he was a source of inspiration to many of the younger artists at Notman's.

As the photographic firm became more successful, it became increasingly ambitious in its endeavours. In December of 1863 it published a collection of forty-six photographs of landscape scenes under the title of Photographic Selections by William Notman. Dedicated to the Governor-General, Lord Stanley, the first volume was published "in order to foster the increasingly growing taste for works of art in Canada."<sup>60</sup> In volume one are two photographs "from nature" by Notman and the remaining forty-four are either photographs of engravings of "old master" paintings, or photographs of works by contemporary artists.<sup>61</sup> A review from one of the Montreal newspapers of the day states that the publication possessed an important function because, through the use of photography, it "...put within the reach of the many, faithful translations of the works of the best masters, ancient and modern..."<sup>62</sup> and thus enabled "art to go hand in hand with literature - - the cheap picture thus keeping pace with the cheap newspaper and the cheap book."<sup>63</sup>

Interestingly, only three Canadian painters were involved with the project: Robert S. Duncanson (1817/22-1872) contributed two; C(harles) J(ones) Way (1835-1919) one; and Fraser with Sunshine and Shower (I ; 1). Fraser's painting is the earliest known example of a landscape work, now available only in an albumen print, and the preface of Photographic Selections notes: "This is one of the few landscapes that the artist has produced since his residence in Canada."<sup>64</sup> The brief accompanying comments in the book suggest that it had been painted in the open air at a particular spot. However, the work bears little resemblance to a "typical" Canadian scene where the topographical character of the landscape usually dominates. In this respect, it is also quite different from the artist's work in subsequent years. The image with its leafy, drooping trees, quiet pond and gently rolling background hills is more reflective of the landscapes one sees in English painting, as typified by the works of John Snell Cotman (1782-1842) and John Constable (1776-1837). Fraser creates the mood of quietude and serenity through composition and line; nothing disturbs or interferes with this lyrical, dream-world, a place more in the mind's eye than in reality. The great cloudy sky gives a heavy, almost languid atmosphere that permeates the landscape. The painting is almost symmetrical, but the slightly off-center axis helps create a relaxed mood and sense of uniformity. Space extends easily from the foreground foliage to the background hills. The trees play an important role in convincingly creating this depth and in setting the mood. Their boughs spread protectively over the scene, enclosing the area in a private idyllic world of its own. The only awkward feature is the inclusion of three figures in the lower right who seem almost "pasted on" rather than integrated with the

surrounding foliage. Perhaps they were a later addition.

This picture presents an interesting possibility: was it perhaps done in England? The subject alone would support this hypothesis, let alone the style. The mature handling of space and interpretation of the composition also suggest that Fraser's art training in England was not severely restricted by his possible attendance at the South Kensington Government Schools of Design. On the whole, the entire picture has a cohesive composition and displays a certain artistic sophistication and sensibility. Thus it was with some insight that the writer of the preface of Notman's Photographic Selections regretted that the artist "has not had more opportunity of following a branch of art in which he would be successful."<sup>65</sup>

Fraser seems to have found more time to paint landscapes by 1864. Two of his oils were exhibited at the second exhibition of the AAM which opened 11 February for two weeks. The works exhibited had previously been sold and were lent by their current owners: On the St. Henry (183) was contributed by Augustus J. Pell (active 1859-1885)<sup>66</sup> and A Corn Field (543) by William Notman. The reviews were rather uncomplimentary saying that although the artist had "shown evidence of a good deal of ability... there are marks of hurry and task-work in most that he exhibits. He seems nowhere to have done what he is capable of."<sup>67</sup>

It was only in 1865<sup>68</sup> at the third exhibition of the AAM that Fraser's paintings received favourable reviews. Four works were shown. An oil sketch of Owl's Head Mountain (181) was loaned by T.D. King. An oil, Portrait of the Bishop of Montreal (670), Bishop Fulford,<sup>69</sup> was presented to the AAM by Notman at the opening ceremonies. At this occasion the photographer expressed the hope that the Association would

have a gallery of its own within five years, with not less than twenty-five pictures as the nucleus of a permanent collection.<sup>70</sup> Fraser's painting was assigned to a place of honour and attracted much attention. However, contemporary reviews differed in respect to the work's success. The Montreal Herald praised it highly, saying:

The handling of the whole is bold and masterly, yet the effect of everything is so perfectly natural that the manner does not in any way intrude itself upon our notice.<sup>71</sup>

The Montreal Gazette was less enthusiastic. It admitted that most artists would find the portrait a "correct one" (that is, lifelike) and thus seemed to imply that Fraser had used a photograph of the sitter as a source. The same portrait was exhibited in 1870 at the sixth exhibition of the AAM and again attracted considerable attention. Unfortunately the painting is now lost.

There are few references to oil portraits by Fraser and these only occur during the first few years that he exhibited. A single example exists, Hon. J.S. McCord (90), but it is not known whether the artist used a source photograph or perhaps even painted over a portrait photograph, although this is suspected. Various writers<sup>72</sup> claim that Fraser was a portraitist in England before emigrating to Canada, but this has yet to be substantiated. Fraser may indeed have painted portraits during those years when he worked for Notman. Since he was actively involved in tinting portrait photos he may have felt a certain security in tackling a painting commission on his own, but again his portrait painting career is still in question.

Another portrait that Fraser sent to the 1865 AAM exhibition was Portrait of Lord Metcalfe (671), a copy after the painting by

Alvah Bradish<sup>73</sup> and loaned by C. A. Low. The fourth entry was a coloured portrait photograph (668) of an unknown sitter, loaned by Notman. Thus the true extent of the artist's painting for these years is still largely unknown.<sup>74</sup>

In February 1867 the largest collection of Fraser landscape paintings to date was shown at the fourth exhibition of the AAM.<sup>75</sup> The three watercolours were all loaned by Pell and were for sale.<sup>76</sup> The Brook (534) was available for \$150.00, while Storm on Mount Jefferson (347) and Study near Mt. Royal (185) were priced at \$40.00 each, implying that these latter two were probably larger in size. There is no indication that any of these watercolours were purchased. However, two other watercolours were sold by Fraser to the AAM as prizes for the Art Union.<sup>77</sup> Mount Washington (346) was won by John Caverhill, while Lilacs (675) was won by J. W. Mumford of New York.<sup>78</sup> Each work had a value of \$25.00. Some of the titles of the works on exhibition at the AAM for 1867 indicate that Fraser had taken a sketching trip in the summer of 1866 to the White Mountains of northern New Hampshire, using the recently completed Grand Trunk Railway.<sup>79</sup>

During the summer months of 1867 Fraser, Sandham and Notman visited the Lake Memphremagog and Mount Orford region of the Eastern Townships to sketch.<sup>80</sup> These sketching trips became an annual occurrence and provided the artist with inspiration for larger paintings to be completed during the winter months.

In February 1868 Fraser exhibited one oil and eight watercolours, including a "sketch", at the fifth exhibition of the AAM (162; 172; 173; 175; 179; 182; 186; 646). The paintings represented various scenes from the northern Quebec countryside and the Eastern Townships where the artist had visited the previous year. The oil, Kamouraska (168), loaned by

Fraser, was favourably received as it "had some very pleasant points about it, the best being the execution of the over-hanging cliff on the distance which is finely managed."<sup>81</sup> All the watercolours were loaned by Notman, again proving his substantial support of the artist.

Contemporary comments on Fraser's works by the Montreal Gazette are particularly interesting. In the reviews the paintings were accused by "others" of being hard and crude in tone and finish. It was noted, however, that these were "mere sketches dashed in on the spot, and not retouched since,"<sup>82</sup> hence the criticism was quite unfair. If Fraser had presented them as "finished" works, then the criticism would have been justified. Considering all of this, they did "display great breadth of treatment, freedom of touch and richness of colour."<sup>83</sup>

It is highly possible that one of the watercolour sketches exhibited in 1868 was Laurentian Splendour(18). For many years this particular work was considered to be the direct study for Fraser's RCA diploma-piece of the same title as both are similar in subject and composition. It is more likely that the early watercolour served as a source for the later oil, and should therefore be considered as a separate, complete entity.<sup>84</sup>

The lower half of the watercolour is loosely painted, with only the suggestion of forms, and the pencil lines are still evident. The upper half is more complete and detailed, and Fraser here uses denser washes of colour to modulate and shape the forms.

The work has a planar composition, with its three separate areas remaining distinct but not disjointed from one another. Space works back and gently up, and is quite competently handled. The background mountain, with its apex placed on the central vertical axis, sits fully

in the upper half. Its prominence is further emphasized by the strong contrasts of lighted and shadowed areas which give the mountain volume and weight.

The clear evening light softly illuminates the forms. Those in the right half of the work appear flatter where the dying sun strikes its hardest. The left half is thrown into shadow, but it has been carefully modulated and built up into a comparatively more three-dimensional area. The deep earthy palette is dominated by the solid blue of the sky.

## CHAPTER II

TORONTO : 1868-1882

On the 31 October, 1868 Fraser drew his last pay from Notman's in Montreal and moved to Toronto.<sup>1</sup> For the next twelve years of his career the artist became actively involved in the art scene in that city, founding and exhibiting at the Ontario Society of Artists and teaching at the Ontario School of Art. At the same time he kept strong ties with Montreal by exhibiting at the Art Association of Montreal and the Society of Canadian Artists.

It has been frequently stated that Fraser was sent to Ottawa in 1868 to manage Notman's first branch in the nation's capital. However, there is no proof to support this statement. Rather it was W(illiam) J(ames) Topley (1845-1930) who became the manager there,<sup>2</sup> although Fraser, with his experience, might have been asked to give advice. However, that year Notman did send the artist to Toronto to open a branch office, and in recognition of his value, made him a partner in the firm, known in that city as Notman and Fraser's.<sup>3</sup>

Fraser's success in Toronto with Notman was as rapid as it had been in Montreal, and one can again follow that artist's change of residence, from 99 Gerrard Street in 1871 to the more elegant Wilton Crescent in 1872, and safely presume that photography had its material advantages. Again he attracted numerous young artists to work in the photography business until their intended careers were established; and again, he did not just direct these men in the day to day concerns of a photography studio, he encouraged them to sketch and paint in their spare time, to develop their talents.<sup>4</sup> In short, he again played the



role of "pater familias." Unfortunately, he was not exhibiting as regularly as he had done in Montreal during the early 1860's, but this poor showing could be attributed to his involvement with Notman and Fraser's.

However, he did find the time to send paintings to the first annual exhibition of the Society of Canadian Artists held in Montreal in December 1868 in the AAM gallery, then located in the Hall of the Mercantile Library Association. The most important event in art circles to occur in 1867 was the establishment of this society in Montreal.<sup>5</sup> Fraser was a founding member along with J. Henry Sandham, William Raphael (1833-1881), Adolph Vogt, James D. Duncanson (1806-1881), F.M. Bell-Smith (1846-1923) and William Lewis Fraser.

A loosely knit group, they had organized this professional art society in order to support each other spiritually, and, if possible, financially. The founding of the society may have also been prompted by the ideologically-opposing aims and attitudes of the AAM. The primary concern of the SCA members was to promote their own art which was in marked contrast to the AAM, where the events were essentially loan exhibitions. These were usually overcrowded with works by established European artists, where, in fact, the owner of the painting was held in higher esteem than the painter, substantiating the view that the AAM was little more than a social club, with minimal interest in supporting Canadian artists. The artists exhibiting with the SCA, on the other hand, were mostly young Montrealers with their professional careers still in the future. Their first exhibition, held in December 1868, was one of the earliest attempts to hold an exhibition depending exclusively on artists living in Canada. The society had been created

expressly by and for these artists whereas the AAM was the doyen of Montreal art patrons, dealers and critics.

Although the exhibition in 1868 was not large in quantity, when compared to previous AAM exhibitions,<sup>6</sup> it was felt that the contents "certainly made up in quality."<sup>7</sup> Contemporary reviews stated that the exhibition was a step in the right direction for Canadian art, and considered the difference with AAM exhibitions as "marvelous." The Montreal Herald stated:

The attempt to set up an exhibition of this kind, depending exclusively on artists living in Canada, was looked upon as chimerical, and the result was considered anything but hopeful... (However) the present exhibition is a triumphant answer to the doubters.<sup>8</sup>

The attendance at the opening ceremonies was relatively high given that invitations were confined only to subscribers in order to assure an advance revenue.

Fraser sent two oil landscapes. Misty, Moist Day on the Missisquoi River, Eastern Townships (170), offered for sale at a hefty \$150.00, was not a pure landscape scene as it included the narrative element of a fisherman.<sup>9</sup> The Herald felt that the work revealed much talent on the part of the artist, and the Gazette called it the best landscape in the entire exhibition. But the Herald also felt that the painting's chief defect was a "want of toning down, and were the greens in this picture somewhat more subdued, it would undoubtedly add much to the value of the work."<sup>10</sup>

The "want of toning down" seems to have been a common criticism of Fraser's early painting. This might have been due to his early work in the Eastern Townships when the artist may have used crude, harsh carriage oil.<sup>11</sup> It might also have been the result of his as yet

unfamiliarity with the new chemical paints, which added a brilliant array of colours to the earthy palette previously used by artists until mid-century.<sup>12</sup> Fraser's later work does prove that, with experience, he became more subtle in his handling of colours.

The Gazette failed to see the harshness of Misty, Moist Day... and instead complimented the work for its softness and transparency. It further stated that the painting had "more freshness and vigour and (was) a picture which any one might covet."<sup>13</sup> The review went on to describe Landscape Autumn Morning (584) as "painted with the freshness, which is one of the pleasing characteristics of this artist."<sup>14</sup>

In February 1870<sup>15</sup> Fraser sent an oil, A Gleam of Morning Sunlight, Sargeant's Landing, E.T. (166) to the second exhibition of the SCA.

Reviews from this exhibition are more sketchy and do not single out the artist or his work. It was noted, however, that the watercolours were "as a whole, exceedingly creditable to Canadian art,"<sup>16</sup> and that one of the most encouraging signs of the future of the society was the "attention paid to outdoor sketching of most of the artists."<sup>17</sup>

Fraser did not exhibit at the successful third SCA show held in 1871 and his absence was commented upon:

We regret that John A. Fraser, one of the founders of this institution, is not represented in this year's exhibition. We believe his numerous engagements have frustrated the possibility of his exhibiting.<sup>18</sup>

Neither did he exhibit at the Joint AAM/SCA exhibition held in Montreal in 1872.<sup>19</sup> The Society of Canadian Artists does not seem to have survived past 1872, as there is no record of any further exhibitions.

Daniel Fowler would later write to James Spooner:

Montreal seems to be as dull as ditch water. There seems to be absolutely nothing stirring in that way... and no exhibition from the Association, none from the Society, which seems to be defunct.<sup>20</sup>

The failure of the SCA may have been caused by Fraser's move to Toronto, since he had been a man of much energy, drive and ambition. The nation-wide Depression of the early 1870's, which would hit Montreal the hardest, could only have added more difficulties for the struggling young art society.

Events in Toronto in the 1870's indicated that there was sufficient interest in organizing a professional art society similar to that of Montreal. As Fraser presumably missed the excitement of a viable exhibiting society in Toronto, it was not long before he took steps to fill the void. His first attempts to form a comparable society met with little initial encouragement;<sup>21</sup> his aggressive, often overbearing personality and his obviously successful career might have made some men jealous of his ambition and aspirations. After consulting with local artists<sup>22</sup> and seeking the advice of two "critics", George Gilbert (act. 1864-1871)<sup>23</sup> and James Spooner (act. 1867-1888),<sup>24</sup> a new professional body of artists developed under Fraser's direction: the Ontario Society of Artists.<sup>25</sup>

On 25 June 1872 Fraser invited to his home Marmaduke Matthews (1837-1913), Thomas Mower Martin (1838-1934), J.W. Bridgman (act. 1861-1907), Charles S. Millard (1837-1917), James Hoch (1827-1878) and R.F. Gagen, and presented his plan for an art society. The minutes<sup>26</sup> from that first meeting reveal that Fraser proposed three resolutions: that the society be independent of the one in Montreal;<sup>27</sup> that it be entirely conducted by artists; and that it be called the Ontario Society of Artists. Bridgman proposed that honorary members be admitted from the

public and that an art union be established, to be held in connection with the annual exhibition. As for the election of officers, Martin proposed that the President and Treasurer be annually elected from "among our Citizens who do not follow Art as a profession,"<sup>28</sup> and that the Vice-President and Secretary be elected from the artist-members. The final proposal, from Hoch, concerned the formation of a "permanent public exhibition or National Gallery."<sup>29</sup> These principles were all accepted. Fraser was then asked to draw up a constitution and rules similar to those of the SCA and present them at the next meeting.

On 2 July a constitution with sixteen articles was offered to the membership. The most important articles were those concerned with the annual exhibition: said exhibition was to consist of works of members and others, "in all instances to be original and the work of the Exhibitor."<sup>30</sup> Further to the recommendation of the previous meeting, it was decided to establish an art gallery in which "each member of the Society...(would) donate one or more works executed by him or herself,"<sup>31</sup> said works to form the nucleus of a National Gallery whenever the Provincial Government (or through public and private generosity) could make arrangements.

After several "alterations," the draft of the constitution was unanimously accepted. At the ensuing elections, Fraser was elected Vice-President and Hancock, Secretary.<sup>32</sup> W.H. Howland eventually accepted the position of President<sup>33</sup> and Samuel Morse, a local coal merchant, Treasurer. Activity immediately centered on the first exhibition and the attendant art union which like others of its type, offered a chromolithograph to subscribers.<sup>34</sup>

The successful first annual exhibition of the OSA opened on Easter Monday, 14 April 1873, in the galleries of Notman and Fraser's on King Street East.<sup>35</sup> Upwards of two hundred fifty paintings were exhibited in a room some thirty by fifty feet long, and over the course of the event, which lasted two weeks, some five thousand visitors spent \$6,665.00 for over one hundred paintings.<sup>36</sup> W.H. Howland, in his opening address, felt that it was important for the public to actively encourage and assist their artists to ensure that "Canada...produce artists who will achieve a world-fame and help to ennoble our country through their ability."<sup>37</sup>

The characteristic feature of the exhibition was the preponderance of landscape subjects, surpassing genre and figures in both number and size. Fraser contributed five oils and one watercolour, all landscapes, which he had been working on in his studio as late as March 1873. That same month the Canadian Monthly had noted:

...Fraser...amidst the many calls upon his time, still snatches a quiet hour now and again to portray the beauties of out-door nature. It is likely he will send about 6 pictures...His other pictures are somewhat unfinished as yet, but an artist of Mr. Fraser's versatile powers and ready knowledge, will be certain to shew us good work in all of them.<sup>38</sup>

All of Fraser's works were painted from sketches made in the Eastern Townships<sup>39</sup> with the exception of A Shot in the Dawn - Lake Scugog (II ; 4) describing a hunting scene in the region north-east of Toronto. The planar recession is divided by the cornfield, the central band of trees which contrast in size from left to right, and the distant and hidden lake and hills. There is an underlying quadrant grid which separates the painting into four equal areas. The grid is divided

centrally by the thick stump and towering tree, and is divided horizontally at mid-height. Each area is essentially a picture within a picture and is highly descriptive and detailed due to its minute delineation. This grid-like structure occurs often in his work and results in the total scene remaining rather disjointed and segmented. The lack of a specific point of visual interest increases the sense of disjuncture in the picture. This is an almost unnecessary complication since the straightforward three horizontal planes move evenly into one another with the result that planar depth is convincingly achieved. The painting is also divided bilaterally, the lower half is filled with the landscape and figures, and the upper part with a brilliant, early morning sky.

This work should not be considered a pure landscape painting as the duck hunters play a predominant role. They are strongly incorporated into the landscape and because of their central positioning give the entire work a strong narrative element. It is tempting to consider the main hunter as a self-portrait of the artist.

Fraser concentrated on the atmospheric effects of a sunrise, possibly to evoke a "romantic" quality. The sky certainly dominates through light and colour, as well as by taking up three-fifths of the picture surface. The shimmering, luminous quality of the painting is an indication of the artist's interest in the quality of light, a concern shared by other Canadian painters at this time.<sup>40</sup> Although the light source is effectively and dramatically hidden behind a thick bank of clouds, it is centrally positioned and thus gives an even illumination to the whole scene. The colours are bright and strongly contrasting with little subtlety of tone. However, the overall result is a "freshness and vigour" not often seen in Canadian painting of the

period. Despite its uneven distribution of interest, and bright, even jarring colours, the work possesses a vitality and sense of immediacy not characteristic of Fraser's work as a whole. He has produced a completely different vision from that found earlier in Sunshine and Shower.

The clarity of a warm, late afternoon atmosphere, and the sense of vitality and immediacy produced in September Afternoon, Eastern Townships (III ; 3) is also the result of describing a Canadian rather than an English climate. The bright autumnal colours are high keyed and "bold,"<sup>41</sup> producing a startling contrast to the more earthy, subdued colours usually used in Canadian painting. This characteristic may reflect a knowledge of a Pre-Raphaelite palette on Fraser's part. Certainly in the 1850's, while still a student, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were at the apex of their careers, and their raw, almost garish colours made an indelible imprint on the minds and sensibilities of all artists. By the late 1860's and 1870's Canadian artists were also responding to this period of English painting.

The light in September Afternoon... is crystal clear and evenly distributed so that figures and objects are distinctly outlined and remain separate, almost isolated, from one another. Textures are strongly emphasized in this light: the roughness of the rocks, the wooliness of the sheep, the glassiness of the lake surface.

The artist again uses a planar recession to construct space, although diagonal lines in the foreground help lead the eye into the scene. Space does not recede here in the traditional pictorial method: the three separate spatial areas hang together in an abrupt way, riding one on top of the other, and working backwards as well as up. As a result,



the mountain, stretched almost to the edges of the composition, seems to float serenely above the entire scene. The negative space created by the lake in the middleground isolates the land areas in the foreground and background. There is also a "tipped" effect to the foreground which is rather disconcerting. The shoreline, where two fishermen recline, is obviously below the grassy ledge with sheep; however, the line of the large rock, just off center to the left, continues along the back of the standing sheep and runs into the line of the shore. This foreground compositional error by the artist disrupts our reading of the depth of space in the area. The awkwardly delineated fishermen also contribute to the spatial antipathy.

Fraser's familiarity with various photographic images might have lead him to experiment with spatial effects. There is, however, another possible reason for the peculiar handling seen here. A painting was considered a success at an exhibition if it was hung "on the line" - that is, at the best possible place or position for it to be seen. According to Oppé, this meant that the bottom of the frame was approximately five feet from the floor, unusually high by today's standards.<sup>42</sup> If one could view September Afternoon... from such a position, the space would work more competently and would recede in a more accepted, traditional manner. Fraser was certainly aware of the importance of hanging a picture properly. In a 31 May 1886 letter from Sir William Cornelius Van Horne to the CPR agent in London, England, concerning the artist's contributions to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, Van Horne quoted Fraser as saying that the picture had to be hung in the right line, that is, "that the bottom of the frame should be only between three and four feet from the ground."<sup>43</sup> While there is an obvious disparity here

of at least a one to two foot difference in the correct placement of the works from the ground, it should be remembered that these later works were watercolours, and hence much smaller than the large oil. Nevertheless, Fraser knew that the works could only be properly appreciated from a certain angle as they had been painted with an "on the line" position in mind.

Dry Bed of a Mountain Stream, Androscoggin (341) was considered the gem of the first OSA exhibition. Once again the artist used light effects to establish objects' positions in space, and the description of the atmosphere won plaudits from contemporary reviewers:

...the Canadian atmosphere is well rendered; the outline of the mountains stands out clearly, as it should do in our clear air, and the whole is delightfully Canadian.<sup>44</sup>

...thoroughly true to nature, even in a certain clearness, if not hardness of distant outline, illustrative of the contrast, and the hazy, vaporous distances of England.<sup>45</sup>

Fraser's ability to convey various moods through his interest in atmospheric effects, light and colour were evident in two other paintings. Carrying the Oats, Threatening Weather, E.T. (164) was considered a striking contrast to A Shot in the Dawn... as both were studies of light effects at different hours of the day. The only watercolour in the exhibition, In the Wilderness (665), was "much enhanced by the weird light from the lurid rays of the setting sun, as seen streaming vividly through the trees."<sup>46</sup> A Smile in the Storm (641) was an "ordinary incident strikingly told."<sup>47</sup>

The first exhibition of the OSA proved a creditable success both for the Society and for Fraser. Thus it was with much regret that the artist's absence was noted from the second exhibition, held June 1874.<sup>48</sup> In fact, Fraser did not exhibit again with the OSA until 1877 when he

energetically participated in the fifth annual OSA show held in May, showing seven oils and two illustrations in watercolour (611; 672).

At least three of the oils, Morning near Georgeville, E.T. (171), Evening on the Peabody, N.H. (342) and On the Burroughs River, E.T. (163) had probably been worked up from sketches on one of the artist's sketching trips to the Eastern Townships.<sup>49</sup> Fraser received mixed reviews: Off in the Morning Mists (6) (Brooklyn, NY. Private Col.) was called "a mistake, in colour, drawing, everything; the canoes are obviously going not only up stream, but up hill as well."<sup>50</sup> While the reviewer considered it the artist's most ambitious piece, it was "not the one we should select as the best example of his powers."<sup>51</sup> In the Mountain Mists (600) and Quiet Afternoon (617) were described as "overburdened with a massiveness of gilt surroundings,"<sup>52</sup> although the reviewer for the Canadian Monthly considered the latter a "careful study of sands and sea."<sup>53</sup> Morning near Georgeville (171) and On the Burroughs... (163) were considered by the same reviewer to "have quiet delicacy that is refreshing"<sup>54</sup> and the former was described as "very good and cool."<sup>55</sup>

But the greatest praise seems to have been reserved for the works of Lucius O'Brien (1832-1899), whose watercolours were described as

...so truthful, clear and harmonious...the evident handiwork of a man keenly alive to the beauties of Nature, and enthusiastically anxious to do faithful work...how thorough is the sympathy between artist and his work! No other painter seems to understand Nature like Mr. O'Brien<sup>56</sup>.

One can only surmise how this adulation might have goaded Fraser. What was probably the most insulting was that O'Brien was essentially self-taught and had painted as an amateur from 1852 until 1872, and became a professional only with the founding of the OSA. Perhaps with

the rather contradictory latest reviews still fresh in his mind, Fraser was prompted to seriously reconsider his career.

In the fall of 1877 he took a sketching trip to the Maritimes, specifically to New Brunswick and the lower St. Lawrence region around the Baie des Chaleurs.<sup>57</sup> Of the four works which the artist exhibited at the first benefit auction of the OSA held in December 1877,<sup>58</sup> three had probably been painted during this trip. Coast Scene, Tide Out (538). Coast Scene, Rising Tide (587) and Blowing Fresh Over the Bar (530) were all watercolours and were all sold.

The oil, Twilight in the Androscoggin, was probably put up for sale the following December at the second benefit auction when it was retitled Twilight in the White Mountains.<sup>59</sup> When acquired by the NGC in 1956<sup>60</sup> it was once again retitled In the Rocky Mountains and dated 1886. Current research, however, suggests that the work was painted approximately eleven years earlier and it is presently listed at the NGC as Unidentified Landscape (IV ; 5) ca. 1875.<sup>61</sup> Fraser might have painted the scene on one of his numerous trips east to the White Mountains in northern New Hampshire in the 1870's. The mountain depicted is not one of the young, rugged peaks of the Rockies, but more likely one of the older hills of the Appalachian Range.

This is the largest oil to date by Fraser still in existence, measuring 114.3 x 127 cm. It is an imposing scene with a deep, brooding atmosphere created by the rough, almost portrait-like features of the mountain. The mountain dominates the scene by its sheer size, by its undulating silhouette and by the contrasting light and dark areas reinforcing its volume. The artist's use of light and colour also adds to the atmosphere of the work. A particular, even peculiar, quality

of light is produced which is almost transcendental in effect. Figures and objects in the foreground are delineated in clear, distinct outlines, suggesting the use of the camera to capture what the human eye could not. Strong, brightly white areas add extra highlights and become distinctly separate areas within the scene; the effect is rather like spotlights aimed at these individual subjects. The deep, rich colours dominated by the solid wall of turquoise sky, are harsh in tone and strong in contrast; in this respect the painting compares with A Shot in the Dawn - Lake Scugog, hence the possibility of the earlier date from the 1870's. The colours are also strikingly luminous, as the light seems to emanate from within.

The divisionalism of earlier works has been reduced, although the composition is still emphatically horizontal and vertical. There is a greater use of diagonal lines to lead the eye into the scene and to create space, and a less apparent use of planar construction. The depth is, however, thwarted by the strong vertical thrust of the background mountains.

Once again the foreground and background dominate, while the middleground is compressed, suggesting the use of a stereoscope<sup>62</sup> or some other mechanical aid to transcribe the scene. The minute, accurate detailing of the foreground is in marked contrast to the undefined, almost indistinct delineation of the mountains, betraying the use of photographs. The internal scale of the scene is fairly accurate, although the small figures in the center tend to disrupt the overall harmony. However, considering all of this, there is greater homogeneity of parts in this work than in any of the artist's previous landscapes.

The large oil was obviously reworked in Fraser's studio to the

point where any immediate interpretation of nature has been lost in the translation. The physical size, the contrasting internal scale and the spotlight technique all serve to give the work a certain theatrical air.

Fraser made his strongest showing ever at the OSA at the sixth annual exhibition held from 21 May 1878. He sent five oils and ten watercolours, all new works resulting from the previous year's sketching trip to the east. Four of the oils, Herring Fishers Setting Nets at Early Sunrise (210), Low Tide at Dalhousie (214), A Morning Glow, Low Tide, Bay Chaleur (216) and Study for Sea-Side Idyl (245), all for sale at \$40.00 each, received favourable reviews in the Daily Mail as

very desirable little works, particularly to those who do not value a painting by the square yard, but look for vigour and truth of colour rather than for the extent of gilt frame.<sup>63</sup>

A Seaside Idyl (V ; 7) was given perhaps the strongest praise ever received by Fraser and was considered his major painting of the year.<sup>64</sup> The work had previously been exhibited for a few days at the rooms of Notman and Fraser's for a private showing.<sup>65</sup> The scene is of the New Brunswick shore of the Baie des Chaleurs, with a view of the Tracadieash Mountains on the opposite shore. A "very picturesque group of men and women in genuine old Norman attire"<sup>66</sup> stand on the shoreline in the left foreground as small fishing boats pull into harbour for the evening. The figures are the predominant element in the composition rather than the landscape which has been reduced to a bare minimum. The narrative content is as strong as that produced in A Shot in the Dawn - Lake Scugog, thus the work can truly be considered as a "genre scene in an outdoor setting."<sup>67</sup>

Although the landscape plays such a minor, almost incidental role in the painting, its presence is strongly felt by the viewer. This is primarily due to the peculiar quality of light and colour which seems to emanate from within the work. The light is deep, dark, but even, and caresses each figure and object. A deep, warm combination of orange and pink suffuses the entire scene as twilight sets in. The colours dominate the sky, permeate the background mountains and tinge the outlines of the figures in the left foreground. The artist's colours were commented upon by reviewers who stated:

One hears occasionally the remark that the colouring is too strong, but such criticisms can come only from those who have never seen the natural landscape bathed in the rich, warm glow of a genuine Indian summer sun, while every object is seen as through a gorgeous haze.<sup>68</sup>

This is quite a change from earlier works where the colours tended to be crisp, fresh and vigorous. Through the emulation of a twilight atmosphere a truly dreamy, magical quality is evoked. It is even reflected in the calm, detached attitudes of the figures who appear to be in "stopped-time" poses.

A Seaside Idyl was pronounced a "glorious picture,"<sup>69</sup> the gem of the exhibition, "if not the finest landscape, take it for all in all, ever painted in Canada,"<sup>70</sup> and a great advance on anything Fraser had previously painted

...though those who have been familiar with his style in the past can easily see it is only the result of a bolder flight and more assiduous practice. The difference between it and former landscapes is less one of kind than of degree.<sup>71</sup>

It was strongly felt that the work had to be seen to be appreciated "for no verbal description can do justice to the combined effect

of mountain, sea, shore and figures, which all play an important part in the ensemble."<sup>72</sup> This painting was also compared quite favourably to an oil of a similar scene by Lucius O'Brien, The Mountain in Shadow, and the review comments:

Although the subject of Mr. O'Brien's picture is the same as that of Mr. Fraser's there is, as its name partially indicates, a marked difference, or rather contrast between the two. In the former the mountainous background appears in a [illegible] and somewhat cold light, and the sea gives one the impression of a [illegible] rather than of that perfect repose which is so well described in the lines quoted above. The foreground of Mr. O'Brien's picture is an unoccupied beach; that of Mr. Fraser's is a calm but busy fishing scene. In the former one two fishing boats are seen on the water, in the latter there is close in shore a group of boats, with a very picturesque group of men and women in genuine old Norman attire - both boats and figures being as true to nature as one could well conceive. It will thus be seen that Mr. Fraser's attempt, apart altogether from the size of his canvas, is the much more ambitious and difficult of the two. It must be said, however, that Mr. O'Brien has succeeded most admirably in realising his ideal. The different atmospheric condition was undoubtedly chosen deliberately, and many will prefer, like the artist, the somber effect to the gorgeous one. Like Mr. Fraser's landscape, that of Mr. O'Brien's is not only ahead of anything he has in the present Exhibition, but is quite in advance of anything he has hitherto produced.<sup>73</sup>

Fraser received excellent reviews for his other oils: Study for Sea-Side Idyl (245) was called "a beautiful little piece of landscape,"<sup>74</sup> and together with its companions, Herring Fishers Setting Nets at Early Sunrise (210), Low Tide at Dalhousie (214) and A Morning Glow, Low Tide, Bay Chaleur (216), formed a "quartette of sufficient excellence to stamp their author a genuine artist."<sup>75</sup>

The watercolours received similar approval. Early Morning at Dalhousie (196) and Black Cape, Bay Chaleur (189) were strongly commended as



...a pair of very powerful drawings. Daring in treatment, honest and uncompromising as to atmospheric effect, and displaying a command of tint as well as truth, which is truly surprising. We in Toronto have become accustomed somewhat to Mr. Fraser, at least those of us who frequent the art circle to any extent, and therefore look for something startling and vigorous when we approach his work. This perhaps prepared us for what we see, but the effect of it upon one coming upon it for the first time would be rather interesting and worth studying. There can be no doubt about his having chromatic skill, more probably than any other of our artists.<sup>76</sup>

Quiet Morning, Low Tide, Dalhousie (231) was described as "a beautiful and thoroughly characteristic landscape, in which the objects are reproduced with startling fidelity to nature,"<sup>77</sup> and Early Morning at Dalhousie (196) was "equally good in its own way, and equally characteristic."<sup>78</sup> Black Cape, Bay Chaleur (189) depicted the same scene as the oil of the same title by O'Brien, but "the difference of treatment, apart altogether from any questions of material used, is quite striking."<sup>79</sup> At the Mouth of the Restigouche (218) and Herring Fishers off Bon Ami Rock (209) "formed a beautiful pair of miniature landscapes."<sup>80</sup> Tide Rolling, Bay Chaleur (251), Low Tide at Dalhousie and Sea-Side Landing (237) were three small works in one frame. The final watercolour was Mouth of the Restigouche (219).

Similarly the reviewer noted the differences between Fraser's and O'Brien's watercolours corresponded to those found in the oils:

Mr. Fraser's colouring being much brighter than the colour and effect in Mr. O'Brien's pictures. It would be invidious as it is gratuitous to say which style is most desirable, for each has its votaries, and "de gustibus non disputam."<sup>81</sup>

Study on the Spot was retitled Study on the Spot (near Dalhousie, N.B.) (19).<sup>82</sup> It is interesting for its colouring and composition and the total effect is very striking, although the reviewer for the Globe.

considered it "...in some respects the least attractive of the collection, not because the artist's work shows any falling off."<sup>83</sup> The colours are bright and rich, and although earth tones predominate, they have been keyed up so that the overall effect is luminous and faintly shimmering. Spots of white have been added to accentuate and highlight certain areas. The colours have been applied in fairly dry watercolour, dabbed on in some places in small, measured strokes or layered on in broad washes in others. The left foreground is a fine example of the former procedure: the sandy shore is littered with small rocks, the shapes of which have been suggested rather than carefully described. The rock arches in the left background have been modulated with longer, thicker strokes.

The composition is an open-close construction, and depth is at an acute angle to the picture plane, from the left foreground to the right background. The focal point of the scene occurs in the left foreground where three figures are grouped around a small beached boat. Three ducks in the lower right add to the strong narrative element of the scene, which in no way detracts from the power and visual interest generated by the landscape. The natural arches created by the elements form fascinating, undulating shapes. The twisted, gnarled trees which cling precariously to their perches directly above the arches, echo the forms in the lower half of the scene. This same movement is found in the rolling seashore. An overall "muscular"<sup>84</sup> effect is created.

The light is strong and clear and casts definite shadows. But while forms are distinct, the "photographic realism" of the artist's earlier works, such as can be found in September Afternoon, Eastern Townships and in A Shot in the Dawn - Lake Scugog, has not been

repeated here.

Fraser also contributed three watercolours and three oils to the second OSA benefit auction held in 1878,<sup>85</sup> although Challener states that two of the former, Seaweed Rock at Low Water (633) and Squally Autumn Day, Bay Chaleur (242), were eventually withdrawn.<sup>86</sup> His other works were the watercolour Early Morning, Low Tide (549), and the oils Sunrise, Bay Chaleur (246), Squally Sunrise (642) and Twilight in the White Mountains (5), probably, all painted during previous sketching trips. At the seventh annual OSA exhibition held in 1879 the artist sent only one watercolour, The Glory of the Fall (563).

It was not until 1881 that Fraser again made any significant contribution to the OSA. At the ninth annual exhibition held in May he sent five works. Three watercolours, A Roadside Bit at Percé (234), A Percé Study Painted on the Spot (228) and On the Shingly Shore (Percé) (238), all listed NFS, were probably little more than rough sketches. Of the two oils, French Flour Mill (309) was also not for sale.

The second oil, Morning on the Beach at Percé (VI ; 10) was listed with the phenomenal price of \$600.00. It attracted the most attention and praise in contemporary reviews, and was considered to be "in some respects the best (Fraser)...ever produced...his pièce de résistance."<sup>87</sup> Fraser had always been intrigued by the natural phenomenon of the rock at Percé and had painted it many times before, however, never on such a grand scale. While this particular scene illustrates the more traditional side viewpoint than that recorded in a later MMFA work (24), it is more dramatic simply by virtue of the sheer size of the work.

The construction is a simple, uncomplicated planar one with the painting divided into three distinct grounds. The descriptive, almost

topographical foreground is

filled with a crowd of men and women, some of whom are lounging in attitudes as picturesque as their garbs, while most of them are busy getting the fish ashore or cleaning and carrying them off after they have been landed.<sup>88</sup>

The middleground is compressed, across which "stretches a broad, still expanse of sea, dotted with red and white sails of fishing boats"<sup>89</sup>.

Across the background sits the majestic Percé Rock "with its natural tunnel...from every point of view a most picturesque and interesting object."<sup>90</sup>

While the rock dominates the scene, it is difficult to pick out a main focal point. The busy, minutely delineated foreground dissipates the viewer's interest effectively. As in September Afternoon..... one feels that two distinct, separate paintings have been fused together. The foreground, with its strong genre character, contrasts with the middleground and background landscape.

The foreground represents and reflects the continuing success of the country's industry in the early 1880's. For all the bustle and activity recorded here, however, an eerie silence pervades the scene. The figures are involved in a common task, yet they remain aloof and separate from one another, with little or no interaction amongst themselves. It is as if they had been fitted into a vacuum, artfully posed to capture the appearance of activity without any of its essence. This feature is reminiscent of that found in composite photographs, and while there is no evidence to support the hypothesis that Fraser ever used photographs of figures and then "arranged" them within the scene, the suggestion that he was well aware of this device is strongly felt. Also, the many figures are all equally described in great detail and are cer-

tainly more competently rendered than those found in A Seaside Idyl. Certainly a precedent had been set at Notman's in the construction of such a scene and Fraser undoubtedly knew the procedure. However, there is a major problem concerning the spacing between the many groups of figures and it is often difficult to read the space. This suggests that the artist may have never actually worked on composite photographs while employed with the photographic firm.

There are two different kinds of light in the painting which further serve to divide the work into two halves. That of the foreground is quite bright, almost hard, and clearly delineates the outlines and features of every figure and object it strikes. This contrasts with the more diffused, soft light which falls into the middleground and background. Some of the figures who stand along the shoreline have been caught in this softer light and an area of transition has been created. Fraser's interest in light is most clearly discerned in these transitional figures: they are bathed in a subtle, blue haze which caresses their outlines, giving less precision to their shapes. Percé Rock is also bathed in this blue haze, and the various tones of its brown hues are muted and subtly defined in their many variations.

The overall colour scheme is fairly low key, and tones have been worked out to harmonize with one another. The lower half of the painting is more colourful as brighter splashes of red and blue enliven the surface. This contrasts with the upper half where sturdy earth tones are dominated by a solid grey wall of sky. The sky cloaks and encompasses the scene, setting the mood or tone of the work in much the same way it did in A Seaside Idyl, although mood does not play the same predominant role here as it did in the earlier painting. Nor do the figures

reflect the dreamy, almost pastoral quality of the landscape. When Morning on the Beach at Percé and A Seaside Idyl were exhibited in June 1881 at the new AAM gallery on Phillip's Square, they must have formed a striking contrast.<sup>91</sup>

Fraser's last contribution to the OSA for many years took place in May 1882, when he sent three small oils (607; 620) and six water colours (201; 236; 622) to the tenth exhibition. All of them were commended for their colour and tone.<sup>92</sup> A Quiet Nook (619) received the coveted "Sold" badge. The watercolours, Gaspé scenes not previously exhibited, were singled out in the newspaper review.

At Dawn of Day (195) depicted a "number of fishermen unloading their boats on a low beach, apparently on the Bay of Fundy. The colour is strong, and though PECULIAR, is probably true, and well conveys the impression of the scene."<sup>93</sup> A Gaspé Fisherman's Home (203) (at \$125.00 the largest of the group) was hung on the center of the north wall, an obvious testament to its success. A Lazy Morning (587) was "bright and sunny in colour and full of the balmy summer air suggestive of the title."<sup>94</sup>

Fraser's exhibiting record with the Ontario Society of Artists during the 1870's is rather poor, given his official connection with the Society. He had been re-elected Vice-President at a special meeting held 13 May 1873,<sup>95</sup> only a short time after the close of the very successful first exhibition. Later that same year, however, serious difficulties arose within the Society which directly touched Fraser in his capacity as an officer and would consequently affect the artist's contributions to the various annual exhibitions.

It was discovered that the Treasurer Samuel Morse had used the

Society's funds in his business, a coal company.<sup>96</sup> When the company went bankrupt, the OSA received only fifty cents on the dollar, equivalent to a loss of \$533.50.<sup>97</sup> The double-dealing was

the cause of much unpleasantness to Fraser. As Vice-President he had to bear the brunt of it. Here let us note that the President was a figure head, only expected to make speeches and to preside at the Annual Meetings. Fraser was blamed for being too autocratic and not consulting the Executive, for which he was unfavourably criticized by O'Brien and his friends, and the membership divided into two parties.<sup>98</sup>

The following year, prior to the second exhibition, at a special meeting called the 18 May 1874, Fraser vacated the chair and a letter from him was read by the Secretary in which the artist tendered his resignation. Exactly what had lead up to the resignation will never be known as the minutes are very discreet concerning the issue. It was subsequently moved by Hancock, seconded by Lawder and resolved that the Vice-President withdraw the letter. Fraser apparently read some remarks upon the question at hand and a "freindly discussion" ensued. The artist finally consented to withdraw his resignation and once again occupied the chair, which had been held by O'Brien in Fraser's absence ( a portent of things to come in the future?) and the business of the meeting proceeded "with evident satisfaction at the amicable adjustment of a little difficulty."<sup>99</sup>

The difficulty was not resolved, however, for at the 1874 annual meeting held on the 23 June, Lucius O'Brien was elected Vice-President of the OSA. It was proposed by way of an amendment by Gagen that Fraser be re-elected, but as there was neither a second to this proposal nor further nominations, the original motion was declared accepted.

One can sense something of Fraser's antagonism to his successor at that very same meeting. O'Brien proposed two very important resolutions: that the name of the OSA be changed to the Society of Canadian Artists and that the members residing in cities outside of Toronto be encouraged to organize exhibitions in resident cities under the auspices of the parent society. O'Brien could already see that the present art society was too narrow in its vision and scope. Essentially, it was a provincial society and artists outside of Ontario were effectively removed from active participation within the society unless they themselves made the effort.

Fraser immediately proposed his own resolution: that absent members be empowered to vote upon important matters that would come up in the business of the OSA. This was essentially a delaying tactic but it effectively took the steam out of O'Brien's proposals, for contacting members would require time, thereby providing the opportunity for gathering the opposing forces on any particular issue. The OSA, Fraser's brainchild, was safe for the moment.

Fraser did not exhibit at the second annual exhibition of the society which opened 5 June 1874, and this was regretted by many.

In looking around the room we miss some names...  
Mr. Fraser seems to have nothing, which is certainly  
very much to be regretted.<sup>100</sup>

He also refused the Society's use of the Notman gallery, saying that it was required for business purposes, and then, to be completely disagreeable, he would not give up the sample engravings for the Art Union chromolithographs which he contended had been sent to him personally as a member of a business firm.<sup>101</sup>



It has already been stated that Fraser was a highly self-confident man and that people had decidedly contrasting attitudes toward him. He was aggressive and temperamental, and while these qualities may have been of use to him in furthering his career, they were of little use to the Vice-President of a struggling young art society. O'Brien, on the other hand, gave all the appearances of a gentleman with a highly developed sense of diplomacy. It has been suggested that Fraser's background, middle-class and liberal, was the root of his problem;<sup>102</sup> certainly it would have brought him into conflict with a more conservative figure like O'Brien who aspired to the upper classes. Whatever the exact reasons, and probably there were many, the election of O'Brien to the Vice-Presidency, coupled with the obvious rejection of Fraser by many members of the OSA, caused much ill-will. So it was that at the 8 December 1874 regular meeting the Secretary read a second letter of resignation from Fraser which was accepted by the membership. Fraser himself was not present at the meeting. It is interesting to note that resignations were also tendered from Sandham, Gagen, Hammond and William Lewis Fraser at later dates.

Such problems as these within the OSA immediately led to speculation that it had dissolved.<sup>103</sup> O'Brien, as Vice-President, was required to respond:

Sir.--I have just observed a statement that the Ontario Society of Artists has come to an end. Allow me to say that it is founded entirely on misinformation. The dissolution of the Society has not taken place, and there is not the slightest prospect of such a catastrophe. On the contrary, the members were never more harmonious and energetic in prosecuting the objects for which the Society was formed, and they have never before received such gratifying support and encouragement from the public...<sup>104</sup>

Throughout 1875 there is no mention of Fraser in the Society's minutes, nor did the artist contribute any works to the annual exhibitions of 1875 and 1876, although his resignation from the OSA did not preclude his doing so. His absence was commented upon in 1876:

We miss one or two old favourites whose works gave variety to the exhibition. Mr. Fraser's oil and watercolour pictures constituted valuable features of the collections of former years. But this year we presume he has carried all the products of his easel to the galleries of the Centennial at Philadelphia, where he is showing the Americans what Canadian photographers can do.<sup>105</sup>

This last line is a reference to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition,<sup>106</sup> an international exhibition of arts, manufactures and products of the soil and mine which had been established to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of American independence.<sup>107</sup> The United States Centennial Commission, in charge of the event, was well aware of William Notman's talents and success in the field of photography, and in an unprecedented move, placed him in sole charge of all the photography at the exhibition. Working with the American Edward Wilson, Notman organized the "Photographic Centennial Company" and put Fraser in charge of the art department as "Art Superintendent,"<sup>108</sup> although this has never been substantiated.

Fraser was trying to make himself known outside of Toronto at this time, despite or perhaps because of his problems with the OSA. Unfortunately, he carried his antagonisms with him to Philadelphia. He attacked J(ohn) C(olin) Forbes (1846-1925), a personal friend of O'Brien, for using photographs to put together his Portrait of Lord Dufferin. In his complaint, directed to the Canadian Commission of the exhibition, the artist stated:

As a member of the firm of Notman and Fraser of Toronto, it is my painful duty to protest against your hanging or allowing to be hung or publicly exhibited in any way a life-size portrait of His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin painted by J.C. Forbes from a cabinet photograph taken copyrighted and published by us in Toronto. We respectfully submit that painting the picture without our consent and sending it to Philadelphia to be exhibited in the fine arts department as a portrait painted from life is an act unworthy of Mr. Forbes and must if I am compelled to make circumstance known through the press vitiate the integrity of the art display from Canada in the eyes of the world and bring contempt on the Ontario Society of Artists more especially. I therefore most respectfully ask you to interfere in the interest first of Canada, secondly of art which should at least, good or bad be honest and thirdly in our interest as citizens although of course we have a legal remedy.<sup>109</sup>

These were strong words, but it appears that nothing was actually done to remedy the situation. Certainly there was no public scandal as Fraser had threatened. It seems odd that Fraser, who had probably used such a technique to paint his highly acclaimed Portrait of the Bishop of Montreal (670) earlier in 1865, should suddenly seem so adverse to the procedure of using a source photograph. One can only surmise that the artist's motives in attempting to discredit Forbes were not as "pure" as they appeared. It is also rather ironic that of the approximately thirty-Canadian artists who exhibited at the Centennial exhibition, Forbes was the only one to be singled out for recognition in the 1876 Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition. In fact, he was called "one of the most versatile exhibitors,"<sup>110</sup> and the infamous portrait of Dufferin received a nod of approval for being "a particularly close resemblance."<sup>111</sup>

On the whole, Canadian paintings made little impact in Philadelphia and Fraser's own contributions were received with little notice.

It seems highly likely that they had all been painted prior to the beginning of the artist's troubles with the OSA in 1874. All were loaned by their current owners and not by Fraser; and two of the oils, A September Afternoon (3) (loaned by Richard B. Angus) and Dry Bed of a Stream (341) (loaned by R.S. Woods) had probably been previously exhibited at the first OSA exhibition held in 1873. Oat Harvest in Lower Canada (177) (owned by the Ontario Government, although now lost) and Gleam of Morning Sunlight (166) (owned by G. Scott) had never previously been exhibited, but it is fairly safe to assume that they, too, were not recent productions by the artist. No record of paintings by Fraser between 1874 and 1877 exists. Certainly during these years he had other work to occupy his time and energy, for Notman and Fraser's was as busy as ever, as evidenced by the firm's contributions to the Centennial Exhibition. Perhaps the artist even entertained the idea of giving up painting and concentrating completely on a career in photography. When he finally did return to exhibiting, at the fifth annual exhibition of the OSA in 1877, it was with pictures worked from scenes done on previous sketching trips to the eastern seaboard.

In 1876 Fraser and the OSA seemed to have reached some form of reconciliation. At the 7 February 1877 monthly meeting it was moved by Matthews and seconded by Hannaford that the artist be re-elected as a member. At the 10 April 1877 adjourned meeting Fraser made his first step toward complete reconciliation when he proposed that the fifth annual exhibition of the Society be opened in the evenings. This was a non-controversial motion and was not opposed. From the 17 May on Fraser took an active place among the membership. He seconded the motion presented by Baigent that O'Brien be re-elected Vice-President, which was

then carried by acclamation;<sup>112</sup> he moved that Charlotte Schreiber be returned as "representative painter" on the Council of the Ontario School of Art;<sup>113</sup> and he was actively involved in the Art Union Committee for that year.<sup>114</sup> Nothing seemed too small for his consideration: at the 5 September monthly meeting he was appointed a member of the committee to consider the best means of economising the heating arrangements for the coming winter, and was part of a second group appointed to set sky-lights into the gallery.

Fraser's name appeared quite often in the Society's minutes throughout 1878. He seemed to relish in the details of operating an art society and was content revising by-laws, issuing the proper acknowledgements to members for their services and, in general, playing the role of elder statesman.<sup>115</sup> At the 1 May 1878 meeting Fraser was placed in charge of advertising the sixth annual exhibition, and at the 23 May 1878 meeting he was appointed part of a committee to consider the advisability of forming a permanent Art Union.

Perhaps the most significant event to occur that year in the artist's career was his appointment to the teaching staff of the Ontario School of Art<sup>116</sup> (now the Ontario College of Art and Design) which had been instituted under the auspices of the OSA some two years earlier. One of the major objectives at the founding of the Society in 1872 was the founding of a school of art and design, although the first reference to the project only occurs 4 April 1876.<sup>117</sup> In 1875 a grant of \$1,000.00 had been allocated to the OSA<sup>118</sup> and used to rent space in Toronto, and in accordance with plans submitted to the provincial government and approved by the Minister of Education, the Honorable Adam Crooks, the management of the school was entrusted to a Council of seven members.<sup>119</sup>

The first Council meeting, held 30 January 1877, established the operating policy of the school,<sup>120</sup> which was to follow "the scheme of tuition" of the South Kensington Schools of Design.<sup>121</sup> The session for 1877 was divided into three sections: free-hand drawing from a flat copy or model; perspective; and figure drawing from a flat copy, cast or model.<sup>122</sup> The curriculum, and subsequently the staff, expanded considerably by the second year of operation.<sup>123</sup>

A report, submitted in January 1878 to the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, the Hon. Alex Macdonald, outlined the position of the school and stated, most emphatically, that the object of the institution was to give "sound artistic training."<sup>124</sup> Subsequently, the elementary drawing course was

the severest drill as is only submitted to by those who are determined to learn and...calculated to train the eye and hand to accurately (sic) perception and true and facile delineation.<sup>125</sup>

With this objective, the copies of the casts<sup>126</sup> and drawings used by the students were "so chosen as to elevate the taste of the pupils by familiarizing them with the most classical models in outline and form."<sup>127</sup>

The school was, however, a school of art and design; hence the elementary training would also be valuable to designers. It was hoped that eventually the "manufacturing skill and capacity of the country would be enormously increased if every young mechanic could be induced to attend them."<sup>128</sup>

In May 1878 Fraser accepted the position of Painter on the Council replacing Charlotte Schreiber<sup>129</sup> and at the 11 September Council meeting it was resolved that the artist be requested to take over the general supervision of the evening class.<sup>130</sup> Fraser obviously accepted, for his name appears on the list of the evening staff for the ensuing academic year; unfortunately, there is no mention of his exact duties.<sup>131</sup>

His connection with the school continued into 1879 where his name frequently appeared in the Council minutes. At the 7 May monthly meeting he moved (seconded Jacobi) that the sum of \$400.00 be appropriated for the purchase of pictures for the Ontario collection from the walls of the OSA exhibition. The collection had begun under the direction of Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson (1803-1876), who fully realized the value of art in education. During a trip to Europe in 1855 and 1856, Ryerson had acquired numerous paintings, primarily copies after "old masters", which became the basis for the collection. The next major addition occurred in 1873 when Ontario purchased \$1,065.00 worth of works from the first annual exhibition of the OSA, thus beginning a forty-year long association with the Society. By 1874 a grant of \$500.00 had been allocated to the OSA for the purchase of paintings.<sup>132</sup>

Fraser taught two evening classes at the school during the 1879-1880 academic year, although again it is not known what these classes were. About the end of January 1880 the artist formed part of a delegation which waited upon "the premier (of Ontario) to bring pressingly before his notice the claims of the School upon the Government, with a view to increasing its usefulness and extending its influence through all classes of citizens."<sup>133</sup> The deputation saw some success for the school was officially recognized as a "necessary part of the educational system of the country."<sup>134</sup>

At the 6 January 1880 meeting of the Council Fraser was asked to take charge of the figure drawing, or antique, class during the evenings.<sup>135</sup> The artist also taught this class during the 1880-81 and 1881-82 sessions.<sup>136</sup> The figure drawing class was, without a doubt, one of the most important given by the school as it was considered a foundation stone of any solid

art education. Only the elementary drawing class was larger and more fundamental.<sup>137</sup>

At the 4 May 1880 monthly meeting of the OSA it was moved by Gagen (seconded Fraser) that no member of the Council of the art school receive any salary or remuneration for their services, as a teacher or otherwise; the motion was carried.<sup>138</sup> Eleven days later at the 15 May meeting for the nomination of officers, Fraser was proposed as a member of the Council; the artist formally accepted on 22 May. Thus it is interesting to note that in the minutes for the 6 September a resolution was unanimously resolved that "under the existing circumstances"<sup>139</sup> it was absolutely necessary to the welfare of the school that the earlier resolution of 4 May not be carried with respect to Robert Harris (who taught the figure drawing class during the day) and Fraser as teachers during the coming session; the resolution was suspended in their case. No explanation was ever given for the "existing circumstances," although one must wonder if Fraser had not threatened to resign his teaching position if he were not paid for his services.<sup>140</sup>

1881 proved to be a most difficult year for the Ontario School of Art. The provincial government had decided to withhold the necessary grant for the ensuing academic year, thus reducing the operating budget to only \$1,000.00.<sup>141</sup> At the 5 March Council meeting it was resolved to keep classes open until the 30 March of that year as had been advertised. But at the 5 April monthly meeting of the OSA it was resolved that unless the government could guarantee a sufficient grant so that the school could carry on "in a manner satisfactory to the Society and in accordance with the principles upon which it (had) hithertofore been conducted"<sup>142</sup> the Secretary would be instructed to release the Society from its lease of



the classrooms. Fraser moved (seconded T. Mower Martin) that a special meeting be called for 12 April in which the OSA would reconsider its and the school's relations with Ontario.

At that meeting, all letters and documents concerning the school were laid before the membership. It was then resolved that Martin, as Director of the school, and Howland, as President of the Society, were to negotiate with Crooks

with the understanding that the Society must have a guaranteed amount of not less than three thousand dollars annually with which to carry on the school and to make such arrangements with regard to rooms at the Normal School or elsewhere as will guard this Society against loss, and to secure for this Society, the control of the School as it at present exists.<sup>143</sup>

Evidently the Minister of Education decided to take the art school out of the hands of the Society. At a second special meeting called sometime in late August or early September 1881, it was resolved that a deputation would wait on Crooks and express its regret at such a step. A 13 September special meeting convened to receive a full report from the deputation which stated that while Crooks fully intended to place the school as a branch of the Education Department, he was

by no means disposed to ignore the claims of the Society...(in) carrying it (the school) on successfully and making it one of the indispensable educational establishments of the country.<sup>144</sup>

The report also outlined the general shape of the school and stated that it would be removed to the Normal School rooms. A committee, of which Fraser was a member, met with Dr. Passmore May on the 14 September to discuss the conditions at the new location. The meeting was an apparent success, for at a 19 September special meeting Fraser moved that the Minister of Education be informed of the OSA's decision to carry on the work of the school at the Normal School.

Fraser's association with the Ontario School of Art continued until 1883, at which time he resigned all of his positions. The direction of the school had gradually shifted more and more under the control of the provincial educational department. This department and the Society could not work together harmoniously, as their outlooks on art education differed drastically. When Lucius O'Brien resigned his seat on the Council of the school in 1884, it signalled the end of a once remarkable and fruitful relationship.<sup>145</sup>

During those years when Fraser had been actively concerned with the school he had not let his membership with the parent society lapse. In 1880 he was elected a member of the Executive Council and, interestingly, of the committee for the Provident Fund. The fund had been established for "the relief of artists of their families in case of distress caused by illness or death among their members."<sup>146</sup> The committee reported on a scheme for the fund's inception at a meeting held 1 June. Fraser and Shuttleworth presented the following:

Your committee beg to report that having given due consideration to the subject of establishing a Provident Fund in connection with the Society they have arrived at the conclusion that such a step is at present advisable and practicable and would recommend that a [illegible] say three hundred dollars of that balance, now at the disposal of the Society be set apart for this purpose and at once deposited on interest at the Bank of the Society and that a Committee consisting of Messrs. Fraser, Matthews, Gagen, Hannaford and Shuttleworth be requested to elaborate a scheme as to the augmentation and disposal of this fund.<sup>147</sup>

At a meeting held 6 September it was unanimously resolved that the fees of all members be reduced from ten to five dollars annually, and that every member pay the remaining five dollars to the fund. Members were also invited to contribute pictures which would then be auctioned, the money again going to the fund.<sup>148</sup>

At the 11 May 1881 meeting for the nomination of officers and members of committees Fraser was nominated for two positions within the Society: as member of the Council of the art school, and of the Executive Council. However, at the election meeting held three days later he was appointed only to the committee for the revision of the Society's by-laws.

1882 proved to be a watershed year for Fraser, especially as it concerned his relationship with the OSA. At the 6 March monthly meeting the artist was unsuccessfully nominated to serve on the hanging committee for that year's annual exhibition. On the 4 April he was nominated to serve on three other posts: the Executive Committee, the Council of the art school, and the Art Union. But once more he was rejected by the membership.

It is thus very interesting to read in the OSA minutes for 6 June that Shuttleworth, having doubts about the legality of that year's election, and consequently about his own position as Treasurer, resigned his seat. The meeting was adjourned until 13 June when Fraser handed in the following protest:

I protest against the last annual election as being illegal and desire my protest to be recorded on the minutes.<sup>149</sup>

A motion was then moved by Fraser (seconded Shuttleworth) which read:

Having protested against the legality of the annual election, and being desirous to promote harmony in the Society I move that we (this Society) accept the situation and share, with the officers (properly or improperly elected) in the responsibilities connected with the discharge of their duty.<sup>150</sup>

It is impossible to ascertain whether Fraser's complaints were truly justified as the minutes are not clear on this account. The

artist never hesitated to provoke controversy and could choose some of the most inopportune times to vent his displeasure on any issue; in some instances, even "in absentia."<sup>151</sup>

Fraser's name continued to appear in the OSA minutes throughout the summer and fall months of 1882 but this was the last year the artist would play such a prominent role in the affairs of the Society. He would also continue to exhibit at the annual exhibitions, although not with the same intensity he had shown, albeit sporadically, throughout the 1870's.

During the summer or early fall of 1879 Fraser went on a sketching trip, most likely to the eastern seaboard. A small tempera sketch, entitled Landscape (20), dates from this trip. Clearly done "on the spot", it depicts a stretch of rocky seashore with a single figure. The work might have been a preliminary sketch for a more finished watercolour or even an oil. There is, however, a freshness and spontaneity to the scene, a

breezy, open-air look which it is more difficult to reproduce in the more elaborate watercolour landscape or still more ambitious oil painting.<sup>152</sup>

In a 16 September 1880 article which appeared in the Toronto Globe prior to the Dominion exhibition at the AAM, the reviewer explains to the "general public" the importance of sketching trips for artists like Fraser: the rough, unfinished quality of the sketches prepared during the summer served as a reference point from which the artist worked up his finished work during the winter months:

The general public...have probably a very erroneous idea of the methods pursued by the men who paint the pictures. There are, no doubt, artists who complete their landscapes on the spot, and with the scene constantly before their eyes; but the average Canadian artist, who is compelled to lay up in the course of his so-called "Vacation" of a few weeks material for a whole year's painting, has to adopt a different course. Selecting some locality he spends his time

while in it making what he calls his 'sketches' which are really water-color paintings in varying stages of elaboration. Some of them are, though bearing traces of the necessarily hurried manner in which they are executed, very fine pictures... 153

## CHAPTER III

TORONTO : THE EARLY 1880's

During the early 1880's Fraser's career in Canada reached startlingly high and low points. The artist was actively involved in the formation of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1880 and was elected a charter member.<sup>1</sup> But by 1882 he was not exhibiting there and was, in fact, in dispute with its general assembly. Fraser was also involved in a major art publication: Picturesque Canada. However, the ensuing bitter controversy with the publishers over the poor representation of Canadian talent must surely have damaged the artist's career and in no small way contributed to his eventual removal to the United States. His involvement with an 1881 AAM portfolio of prints proved more successful.

In 1879, however, Canadian artists were united in a common goal: the formation of a national academy of arts. In the fall of that year Lord Lorne, the Governor-General, and his wife the Princess Louise, arranged a trip to Toronto to visit the Ontario Society of Artists of which Lorne was the patron.<sup>2</sup> The visit was looked upon with particular anticipation by the membership, for in an August letter which they had received, Lorne had expressed the wish that the present provincial art society be extended on a national basis.<sup>3</sup> Such grand designs were enthusiastically accepted by most - except, perhaps, by Fraser. His reaction was typically defensive, a reflection of his basically suspicious nature. Fraser had always harboured the desire that his society would form the basis of any new national academy. In June 1873 when O'Brien had suggested that the OSA be expanded in concept, Fraser had vetoed the idea. Now the situation was reversed. At the 4 September monthly meeting of the OSA Fraser moved that "in the opin-

ion of this meeting it (was) desirable that the name of the society be changed to the Canadian Society of Artists."<sup>4</sup> The resolution was not passed, O'Brien and the "O'Brienites" being determined to form a totally new art society.

At the 12 September special meeting of the OSA Lorne summarily stated his proposal for the formation of a Canadian academy of arts. After some discussion among the membership, it was moved by O'Brien, and seconded by Fraser

that the members of this Society, having listened to the valuable suggestions of His Excellency, in regard to the Society's usefulness, by the establishment of a Royal Canadian Academy, to embrace the whole Dominion (leaving all present art organizations intact) desire to express their cordial approval of his Excellency's views, and also that an early meeting of the Society be called for the purpose of taking practical steps in that direction.<sup>5</sup>

At the next special meeting held 17 September a draft of the Governor-General's scheme was read, and was specifically submitted for approval to the Art Association of Montreal which, along with the members of the OSA, would form the initial membership of the new academy. Further to this meeting, it was resolved that all names proposed for election as Academicians be confined to the names of artists residing in Canada.<sup>6</sup> The nomination of eight Academicians from among the painters of the OSA was then taken, resulting in the election of Fowler, Fraser, Jacobi, O'Brien, Cresswell, Sandham, Raphael and Perré as charter members of the academy.

The first annual exhibition of the Canadian Academy opened in Ottawa on 8 March 1880. The reviews were enthusiastic and full of praise for the works which were exhibited. Fraser sent a large selection: seven oils, five watercolours and numerous pencil sketches. The majority of

the works were based on pieces from the many sketching trips the artist had taken during the 1870's, and were received with laudatory remarks.

The oil Daybreak, Low Tide (Restigouche) (194) was called "a little gem...so full of expression and so truthful that no one who has ever visited the spot can fail to recognize it in the picture."<sup>7</sup> At a Lobster Fishery (Bay Chaleur) (212) was considered a beautiful combination of sea, land and sky which the artist excelled at. The water was "clear, liquid, and full of motion, though not turbulent, while the beach, sky and clouds were all strong and full of meaning as if painted with a purpose to express an idea rather than to make up a picture."<sup>8</sup>

A Last Ray in the White Mountains (344) was one of several works painted by Canadian artists which were later purchased by the Marquis of Lorne for the Queen.<sup>9</sup> It was described as rich in tone and "showing fine feeling...Both the drawing and colouring are admirable and the effect of the whole is realistic, warm, rich and glowing."<sup>10</sup> Grey Morning (Dropping Tide) (567) was considered one of the finest pieces of tone. Though small, it was

grand in its grey, sombre, rich colouring. The morning has evidently succeeded a stormy night. The grand hurrying clouds, impelled by an upper current of wind, are in marked contrast with the placid, and green tones of the sea. The receding tide has left the weed-covered rocks exposed for a long distance, over which the still dropping tide curls lazily in white breakers. The immediate foreground, composed of some boulders thrown up to high-water mark by the giant waves of some great storm of the past, with the masterly group of figures, complete a work which, though [illegible] in material, is one of the most effective and admired in the collection.<sup>11</sup>

Study for a Large Picture (245) was the study for A Sea-Side Idyl (owned by Lady Howland) and was considered "a little gem of sea and coast."<sup>12</sup>



In Breezy October (Bay Chaleur) (VII;8) received very favourable reviews. It is a rather odd landscape (even for Fraser) due to the prominent position of the five Indians in the center foreground. It is essentially a figure-piece but without the narrative content or anecdotal detail found in A Shot in the Dawn... or in A Sea-Side Idyl. The figures do not reveal any pronounced sense of character, but retain a certain anonymity, except, perhaps, for the central standing figure of a man who looks out at the viewer.

The landscape has been reduced to three broad planes of seashore, water and distant mountains in the lower half, while a cloudy sky fills the upper. The foreground shore is littered with rocks of every size and description which obviously cost the artist much "care and attention" and which pleased the reviewer of the Globe who considered it

wonderfully effective. Every stone is rounded in its own shape and has a shade of colour of its own, though all harmonize so beautifully that this extraordinary realism and accuracy of detail would not at first sight be noticed.<sup>13</sup>

The middleground expanse of water races before a brisk breeze and tumbles against the seashore. Whitecaps dance on the water's surface. The sky is in as much motion as the waves, brimming full with "broken fragments of light vapoury clouds drifting rapidly...beyond."<sup>14</sup>

The Globe reviewer makes the interesting comment that there is "plenty of food for thought and study"<sup>15</sup> in this picture; that the artist

never painted a picture for its own sake, but rather for the expression of an idea, and that this idea always came out with such strength and force that there never was any danger of a mistake as to its identity.<sup>16</sup>

This is certainly true in Breezy October (Bay Chaleur) where the scene is "brimful of the idea of freshness and motion"<sup>17</sup> with its light airy

colours, cold refreshing light and turbulent sky and water. With such features the entire scene holds securely together, managing to overcome the awkward rendition of the centrally placed figures.

Fraser's major work for 1880 was Laurentian Splendour (VIII; 9) which, as the artist's diploma piece for the Academy, was eventually deposited at the National Gallery in 1882.<sup>18</sup> The overall compositional schema of land, water and land, set in three broad horizontal planes parallel to the picture plane, is an old, tried-and-true formula; only the occasional vertical form, such as the mast of the boat in the center foreground and the trees across the middleground, unites these bands. The foreground shore dips backwards at both sides to encompass a flat, calm lake in the middleground, while in the background "rises an immense mountain of Laurentian rock (whose) base stretches nearly from side to side of the picture."<sup>19</sup> This mountain forms a fairly regular convex shape which is echoed in the concave shape of the foreground shoreline. The two join to form "an oval of singular symmetry"<sup>20</sup> which visually links all three planes of the picture into one cohesive unit. The composition depicted here is certainly not as complex as that found in Lucius O'Brien's Sunrise on the Saguenay (NGC) of 1880. In that work the open and close construction and the oblique space create an asymmetrical plan.

In Laurentian Splendour the lone figure of a man, bending over a small, masted boat, is the focal point of the scene in no small measure, due to the use of white to describe his shirt and the sail. As a result, the figure seems to jump out at the viewer and does not rest comfortably within his slotted space. The use of white also tends to flatten out the forms it describes. A log cabin sits in the right middleground, grey smoke lazily curling out of the chimney; a second figure walks along a

path towards the foreground. Both figures do not command much attention, certainly not like those in A Shot in the Dawn... and in A Sea-Side Idyl, nor do they add any narrative content. Their activities are overpowered by the landscape. However, in their own small way, they contribute a certain credibility to the landscape as they are not merely "voyeurs" but participants within the scene.

The foreground of "moss-covered rocks and small, thick shrubbery"<sup>21</sup> is highly detailed and played up with various textures. In the right middleground a narrow peninsula runs out into the lake. Its companion on the opposite shore, a small wooded islet, reinforces the basic symmetry of the composition. The immense shape of Mount Orford dominates the scene, its lower half hidden in shadow, and the upper rock face bathed in the warm rays of a setting sun. Above the mountain lies a "belt of dark, brassy sky flecked with thin curling clouds of red and grey."<sup>22</sup>

The reviewer for the Globe commented that while Laurentian Splendour was executed in Fraser's "very best vein...in many respects (it was) a departure from his most recognizable style, or perhaps more properly from his more frequent manner of selecting subjects."<sup>23</sup> Mood certainly plays an important part in the landscape, and is created through a "bold and effective"<sup>24</sup> rendering of light. This "coloured" light is such a prominent feature that it almost becomes a distinct, tangible entity of its own. It suffuses the scene so completely that one feels it actually emanates from within. Its soft, subtle luminous quality is immensely appealing.

The work is a fine example of tonal painting. The upper half of the mountain is lit with various, fiery shades of red. The copper-coloured rocks on its face produce a "startling and brilliant effect"<sup>25</sup> particularly in contrast to the lower half which lies in deep purple

shade. The still water along the far shore lies in a belt of darkest blue, almost black. The colour changes in the center area where lighter blue describes the various depths of the lake. The red of the mountain is reflected on the surface of the water nearest to the foreground shore. The subtle shadings of the colours create perhaps the finest work by Fraser painted up to 1880.

Laurentian Splendour also reflects Fraser's increasing awareness of American painting of the period, an awareness shared by other Canadian artists, as many regularly exhibited in the U.S., or kept in touch with current trends through various means. It is thus possible that Fraser was aware of the paintings of the Hudson River School, particularly those works by the American luminist, Martin J. Heade (1819-1904). Fraser's Laurentian Splendour does bear a certain resemblance to Heade's Lake George (Boston Museum) of 1862, with respect to its general compositional organization. However, it is the differences in interpretation of a lake scene that are the most interesting to explore.

In both instances the pictorial space has been organized into horizontal planes. Heade's work reveals the more competent craftsman as the planes have been properly positioned into their respective places and create deep space. Fraser's interpretation of space, on the other hand, reveals that the artist was still grappling with the problems found in his earlier works: the three planes are stacked one on top of the other. Hence the massive rock of Mount Orford floats majestically on top of the lake which, in turn, appears ready to spill out into the foreground landscape. This foreground tends to jump out at the viewer. The middleground is slightly compressed and the background appears too far away in relation to the other planes. All of these features suggest the use of some

mechanical aid by Fraser, although one must also consider the fact that the artist was painting this work as his diploma piece for the Canadian academy and consequently arranged the space within the scene to be best seen "on the line."

The rendering of space by Heade and Fraser might also reveal different attitudes towards landscape painting by American and Canadian painters in the second half of the nineteenth century. The low horizon line in Heade's work, with the resulting infinite space, tempts the viewer to imagine the scene beyond the immediate confines of the painting. This feature is a general reflection of American interest in the "frontier," prevalent throughout the century and echoed in the landscapes of such artists as Thomas Cole (1801-1848), Frederick E. Church (1826-1900) and Heade, as American eyes strained towards a bright future. This is in opposition to the high horizon line in Fraser's work, which keeps the viewer firmly entrenched within the depicted scene, in the "here and now" of the present, and does not allow the eye (and hence the mind) to wander outside of the specific, definable, and limited borders of the scene. The result is an almost pastoral quality to Fraser's painting, compared to grand, beckoning vista of Heade's.

Nature in Lake George is "presented on a smooth mirror-like surface that shows barely a trace of the artistic hand"<sup>26</sup> with the result that textures are seen more with the "mind's eye." The all-pervading stillness of the scene has an intangible, almost mystical quality to it, which removes the scene from any definable point of reference and creates a barrier between it and the viewer.

This is in contrast to Laurentian Splendour where textures have been lusciously delineated with the brush and retain an almost sensual

quality. The barren nature of Lake George is replaced by a rich feast for the eyes; its intellectual quality by something more tangible and tactile. Fraser, like most of his Canadian contemporaries, never completely rejected the notion of topography in his landscapes. Even the Globe claimed that although the artist made "no claim of portraiture"<sup>27</sup> the result was an "impression of something powerfully realistic."<sup>28</sup> This realism reflects the inherent conservatism and pragmatism of Canadian painting at the time.

Mood does play a primary role in Laurentian Splendour, and the artist uses light and colour to create it. However, the work does reveal that Fraser was placing more emphasis on formal concerns such as light, colour and space, primarily as agents to "construct" a painting, not an idea.

Of the watercolours contributed by Fraser to the Academy show, A Rocky Beach (627) and An Autumn Study (527) were commended for displaying the artist's "complete mastery and power"<sup>29</sup> over this particular medium - in the opaque manner as opposed to the transparent. The former was considered by the Ottawa Free Press as being the "better executed of the two pictures."<sup>30</sup> A Squally Morning in October (Mouth of the Restigouche) (243), according to the reviewer for the Globe, was "so full of truth to nature, so broad and noble in treatment."<sup>31</sup> The review continued:

Nothing can be finer than the treatment of the water, moved by the [illegible] gusts of wind, nor the interest that is kept up, from the mass of tidal debris and the group of Indians, with the canoe in the foreground, to the point in mid-distance where the mariners are hoisting the sail caught in the wind, right out past the point of land to the Laurentian mountains beyond.<sup>32</sup>

Early Morning (Dalhousie, N.B.) (198) was commended for the sentiment of quiet it expressed, "the feeling of absolute rest. Such sweet

quiet seems to reign that one feels that the only sound that would harmonize with the scene would be the Sabbath bells."<sup>33</sup> A Frowning Cape (558), lent by James Smith, described a rocky promontory and storm clouds on the horizon. It was noted that

the colours used in one or two instances are a little high and scarcely true to nature. Good artistic ability, however, is shown in the production of the pictures.<sup>34</sup>

Fraser also sent several watercolours "devoted to outdoor sketches" (636).<sup>35</sup> There were many specimens of "this free and easy works of art."<sup>36</sup>

The Canadian Academy show moved to Montreal in April and was displayed at a special exhibition held at the AAM.<sup>37</sup> Except for A Squally Morning in October... and A Frowning Cape, Fraser exhibited the same works as in Ottawa. A Last Ray in the White Mountains, loaned by the Princess Louise, was called a "little gem"<sup>38</sup> and depicted

the expiring rays of an admirable sunset, while toward the fore ground a very beautiful twilight effect is produced. The pale crescent moon lends an additional charm to the scene.<sup>39</sup>

With the work In Breezy October (Bay Chaleur) Fraser was described as being

signally successful in expressing the cold beauty of the scene. The October breeze is everywhere apparent in the sea and sky; the "white horses" are out on the waves and the clouds seem to be skimming across the azure sky.<sup>40</sup>

At the eighth annual OSA exhibition held from 13 May 1880 in Toronto, Fraser sent only two oils from the larger academy group: Laurentian Splendour and At a Lobster Fishery... and a new work, Low Tide, At Bon Ami Rocks, Bay Chaleur (213).

An interesting letter appeared in the 15 May 1880 issue of the Globe from the anonymous "Ontario" alleging "that the earlier Ottawa and Montreal exhibitions of the academy (had) seemingly robbed us (the

OSA) of some of the best work of our artists,"<sup>41</sup> and that, while these exhibitions had done much good for Canadian art in general "we (the OSA) must jealously look to it that we are not consigned to a very secondary place in art matters."<sup>42</sup> One is very tempted to assign this letter to Fraser, using a pseudonym, as it clearly bears his concern for the older society in the artist's usual unattractive, even petty, manner. An unsigned reply appeared in the same issue of the Globe<sup>43</sup> which effectively refuted the above claims as a groundless fear. Was this a reply from O'Brien?

At the second annual RCA exhibition held in Halifax from 2 July 1881<sup>44</sup> Fraser sent works painted in the Gaspé and Bay de Chaleur regions (187; 238; 240; 529; 565; 603). The oils included works previously exhibited: Breezy October; Laurentian Splendour; Low Tide, Bay Chaleur and On the Beach at Percé. The watercolours appeared to be new and included various sketches, one of which was Twilight (659), lent by James Spooner.

Fraser did not exhibit at the third annual RCA exhibition held in 1882. He did, however, send a letter to the general assembly of the academy, meeting at that time in Montreal. This letter concerned the fact that the artist had fallen behind in paying his dues. He decided to pay them, but did so

...distinctly under protest because I consider that, inasmuch as the Academy is unincorporated, and the diplomas not issued, I am not bound by Section V Clause 3.<sup>45</sup>

He did, however, serve as a member of the academy's council for the year 1882-83, and thus was not completely without ties to it.

It has been shown before that Fraser could be quite disagreeable in his dealings with his fellow-artist whenever it suited his purposes. In 1880 the artist became involved in a project which captured the



imagination and enthusiasm of both the Canadian public and the artistic community. Picturesque Canada,<sup>46</sup> the brain-child of the Belden brothers, was modelled on various travel publications of the same nature. Its primary aim was to describe Canadian life and scenery, and to this end the Beldens, American publishers residing in Toronto, set up the Art Publishing Company and enlisted the aid of Lucius O'Brien as art director and George Munroe Grant as editor. They then let it be understood that the members of the Canadian Academy would provide the over five hundred illustrations for the text.<sup>47</sup>

Fraser's own preliminary sketches, done during a six-week trip in the summer of 1880, were considered unsuitable by the Beldens, perhaps because he did not possess the specialized skills obviously needed to prepare "drawings for black and white reproductions as a wood-engraving."<sup>48</sup> The bitter dispute which followed when they attempted to change the artist's original contract, resulted in numerous open letters printed as circulars between the protagonists.<sup>49</sup> Needless to say Fraser was very concerned about his career.

O'Brien was also drawn into the fire, but managed to extricate himself with his usual finesse. He replied by circular only once to Fraser's accusations of mishandling the project, and then promptly seemed to forget the whole affair.

No one else, it seems, complained so vehemently or for so long. Thus, when it was all over, H. Belden would write to George Belden that

in spite of our unpleasant controversy into which we have been forced by Mr. J.A. Fraser our relation with all other artists in the country are most cordial and satisfactory.<sup>50</sup>

Robert Harris might have best summed up Fraser's reaction to the affair:

They sent one circular after another and at last it got into the papers. But I wouldn't let the row come into our society, so Fraser had a slap at me along with O'Brien in the paper; so if you see the letter, you must remember it is only the writing of a man who did not succeed in doing what he undertook.<sup>51</sup>

Fraser might, however, have had some justification in his criticisms, especially when one considers the end result of Picturesque Canada. Out of a total of five hundred, forty-three illustrations, eighty-nine were by Canadian artists, two by Lord Lorne (the unofficial patron) and the remaining four hundred, fifty-two were by American illustrators. Of this last figure, two hundred, thirteen were by the commercial artist Frederick B. Schell. Fraser himself contributed only one illustration: a view of Mount Elephantis (97) which appeared in Volume II. O'Brien contributed seventy-nine works, with no other Canadian artist approaching this total. Thus, what should have been a strictly Canadian production turned out to be, essentially, a foreigner's interpretation of the country. Things were not made any easier by the fact that many of the artists had probably never actually visited the places they illustrated.

Fraser's connection with the AAM continued into the early 1880's. The artist exhibited a set of sketches (637) in the watercolour section of the Dominion Exhibition held in September 1880. One of the works which may have been shown is The Percé Rock, (24) a small, undated piece. This famous Canadian emblem is of

singular formation and striking appearance,  
which stands out some little distance out  
to sea.<sup>52</sup>

Usually depicted from its side to capture its unusual feature, the large opening worn by the constant action of the sea and other elements, Fraser

has instead chosen a different viewpoint - from the head of the rock at one end which

gives the observer the idea of a huge irregular cone of trap, surrounded on all sides by deep water... 53

The viewpoint is low and the viewer is compelled to look up, rather uncomfortably, at the immense natural structure. An empty expanse of foreground water leads uninterruptedly to the rock which sits across the middleground. Only two seagulls, in the lower left corner, break up this lonely stretch. The background sky, which occupies the upper half of the scene, is thick with clouds and a vast number of birds. The earthy colour scheme is low key but Fraser has played up the various tones, particularly those used to describe the rock, to create patterns across the surface of the picture. The face of Percé rock is made up of quick, sketchy lines of colour, loosely handled to create volume and give weight to the structure. Small figures in the right middleground, delineated by fast specks of white, red and blue, further help to enliven the surface.

It is interesting to compare Fraser's interpretation of Percé rock with an 1882 version by O'Brien, now in a Vancouver collection. O'Brien has also concentrated on a specific area of the rock - the large opening in its side. Three small figures have landed on the rocky shoreline by boat. One figure walks towards the circular-shaped opening from which a vivid, almost "mystical" light shines through. A certain romantic quality is evoked which contrasts with the "here and now" quality of the Fraser version. Whereas the rock in Fraser's picture towers over the viewer in an almost threatening way, the one in the O'Brien picture has an inviting quality to it.

Fraser's connection with the AAM extended into 1881 when he con-

tributed one sketch to a special publication intended to lure Montrealers to the folds of the association. The membership of the AAM in 1880 was a little over three hundred, considerably below what the Council felt it should be in such a large, prosperous metropolis. On the recommendation of a committee, the Council "...determined to present every member for 1880 and 1881 with a portfolio containing ten artotypes (sic) copies of original pictures..."<sup>54</sup> by Canadian artists. It was felt that each specimen of the portfolio would be worth more than the annual subscription rate of five dollars, and would thus easily lure new members. At the annual meeting of the AAM for 1880 held in January 1881,<sup>55</sup> the Rev. Canon Norman and John Popham, two very important figures in the affairs of the Association, deplored the fact that "anything like a bribe should have to be offered for new subscriptions...(as) there ought (to have been) ...a love of Art for Art's sake."<sup>56</sup>

The scheme went ahead, however, and in 1881 the portfolio was published by Georges E. Desbarats.<sup>57</sup> It consisted of ten autotypes by such artists as Edson, Raphael, and Way.<sup>58</sup> Fraser's contribution was Percé Rock, Gaspé (97a). The original Indian ink drawing was later exhibited at the first black and white exhibition of the AAM held in February 1881.

The scene described by Fraser is typical of the artist's work throughout the 1870's and early 1880's - busy, crowded, with an unusual viewpoint of the famous Canadian landmark. As in the small MMFA water-colour of the same subject, the viewer floats in an ambiguous foreground area of water. A small boat in the center, which pulls away into the scene, is only partially visible. The main figure at the oars stares straight back at the viewer. Sailing boats sweep across the broad

expanse of water in the left middleground. To the right stands the majestic rock, towering almost to the top of the scene. A rocky outcrop closes the left background and it is only through the arch in the Percé Rock that we can glimpse the horizon line. Menacing clouds gather above. The crispness of the day is suggested by the tumultuous movement of the water as it crashes against the rock. The scene is alive, vibrant and perpetually in movement.

It was believed that the scheme by the AAM to increase its membership had been successful and "attracted many new subscribers."<sup>59</sup> However, the project was not repeated the following year "for economic reasons."<sup>60</sup>

Fraser exhibited again at the AAM in 1883, when he sent one oil, A Trout Pool on the Escumine (A New Brunswick Scene) (252), to the Spring show held in April. A place had also been left for him at the joint RCA/OSA exhibition held that same year at the Normal School in Toronto, but the artist did not make any contributions.

In September 1881 Fraser exhibited at the Toronto Dominion Exhibition<sup>61</sup> for the first time. Out of five watercolours (189; 197; 221; 238; 552), two were lent by J.H. Mason and J. Smith; one of the two oils (10), Low Tide, Bay of Chaleur (213), was lent by the OSA.

## CHAPTER IV

The Western Sketching Trips : 1883 and 1886

The period between 1883 and the end of 1886 saw Fraser gradually become more involved in the American art scene, with contributions to exhibitions in Boston and New York. The artist's ties with Canadian art societies were slowly dissolving and his exhibiting record with the AAM, OSA and RCA became more irregular. His last major contribution as part of a Canadian contingent was to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in the summer of 1886. During this period, however, Fraser took two important sketching trips across Canada, the last one as part of a promotional scheme by the CPR. Both trips are well documented with letters, articles and watercolour sketches and paintings, many of which still survive today.

On 28 April 1883 an auction of paintings by European, and Canadian, painters was arranged in Toronto by Oliver, Coate and Co., Auctioneers.<sup>1</sup> Eight works (178; 184; 217; 253; 541) by Fraser describing scenes from the Eastern Townships, such as Early Morning, Lake Memphremagog, (165) and from the eastern coastal regions, such as On the Grand Caspédia, Between Showers (207) and At Dalhousie, N.B., (193) were included. Excluding the two benefit auctions for the OSA in 1877 and 1879, this is the first known instance that the artist had sent works to be disposed of in such a manner and implies a change of plans in Fraser's career. It is thus not surprising to find that in the spring or early summer of 1883 Fraser and his family were living in Dorchester, Massachusetts,<sup>2</sup> marking the first step in the artist's eventual removal from Canada to the United States.

Fraser had had contact with the American art scene as early as

1868, when he was elected as a member to the American Society of Painters in Watercolors<sup>3</sup> in New York City, on the recommendation of the secretary, Gilbert Burling.<sup>4</sup> Gagen states that Fraser was elected due to his picture The Right of the Road (623)<sup>5</sup> although the only work by the artist listed in the catalogue for the first annual exhibition of the Society was A Hard Road to Travel (572)<sup>6</sup>. Aside from his connection to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876 (which was primarily William Notman's responsibility) Fraser sent two works to be exhibited in the States at the eleventh annual exhibition of the American Watercolor Society held in 1878. Mouth of the Restigouche (218) and Early Morning, October, Dalhousie, N. B. (196), had probably been painted during the fall of 1877 on one of the artist's numerous sketching trips to eastern Canada. In December 1882 Fraser exhibited two drawings (204; 232) at the fifth Black and White exhibition of the Salmagundi Club, held at the National Academy of Design galleries in New York. In 1883 three Gaspé scenes, A Sketch on the Percé Beach (241), A Rift in the Rain (622) and A Quiet Morning at Gaspé (230), were sent to the AWS's sixteenth annual exhibition, held in February. While these contributions were few and far between, they heralded the artist's switch, in mid career, to the more lucrative American market.

Leaving his family in Dorchester during the summer of 1883, Fraser proceeded on his first trip to western Canada and his first major sketching trip of the decade. A sketchbook of drawings (97a), now in the hands of a descendant in California,<sup>7</sup> details the artist's travels. Fraser probably took two separate trips: the first, from the 26 July to the 6 August, to Newfield and Lapointe, Wisconsin in the United States; the second from the 23 August to mid September when Fraser travelled to Calgary,

stopping in Brandon, Manitoba and Medicine Hat, Saskatchewan, before returning east to Winnipeg via Rat Portage to Port Arthur, Ontario.<sup>8</sup>

There does not seem to have been any particular documented reason for the trips. Perhaps Fraser felt that he had exhausted all possibilities in eastern Canada and the Eastern Townships. Perhaps he foresaw the potential rewards of painting Canada's west - as yet unrecorded to any significant degree by her artists. New scenery of an unimaginable scale and splendour was in direct contrast to the by now all too familiar scenes of the east. Certainly Fraser became aware of the success of travelling by rail as he used the Wisconsin Central Railway while in the States and the CPR while in Canada.

The first trip through the U. S. is documented in an article by Fraser entitled "A Scamper in the Nor'-West" which appeared in the November 1884 issue of Outing.<sup>9</sup> Complete with illustrations (IX-XV; 100-106), the article details the artist's visit to the southern and western shores of Lake Superior. The journey began in Chicago,<sup>10</sup> from where Fraser travelling through parts of Illinois and Wisconsin until his final destination of Chequamegon Bay, on the south shore of the great lake. The artist spent a few days there, boating, fishing and "sketching the many pretty bits."<sup>11</sup>

One of his first excursions on the lake took him to Madeline Island and Saint Joseph's Church,<sup>12</sup> where Fraser was intrigued by an "old master" painting.<sup>13</sup> After a day spent negotiating,<sup>13</sup> a contract was drawn up between the artist and the custodians of the church,<sup>14</sup> the Franciscan Friars, releasing Fraser's drawings of the church for a magazine publication. The "only sketch ever made of the interior"<sup>15</sup> which the artist considered "particularly picturesque and quaint"<sup>16</sup> appeared in Outing magazine the



following year.

This brings us to the question of whether Fraser was specifically hired by Outing or any other publication to do illustration work. Reid has noted that the drawings in the sketchbook bare a distinct resemblance to magazine illustrations.<sup>17</sup> The artist might also have "free-lanced" with the hopes of selling his pieces at a later date. There is no concrete evidence to support either hypothesis, however, elsewhere in the sketchbook are Fraser's comments on potential customers for his water-colours. On one page the artist noted:

19th Sept. Mr. Eugin gave me order for 3 of my best picture one of the end, one of Rat Portage - and one west of Winnipeg. Send them when ready. He will pay (he says he is quite able to pay) I don't doubt it.<sup>18</sup>

On 21 September a Mr. McIntyre is mentioned in the same light.<sup>19</sup>

Most of the artist's time at Lake Superior was spent illustrating local fishing scenes, and now and again enjoying his favourite leisure sport. Fraser's verbal descriptions of the events and sights of the trip are detailed, but very matter-of-fact accounts, with a few wasted words. Only occasionally would he "wax lyrical":

In some places the striking and fantastic forms, startlingly suggestive of cathedrals, towers, altars, grottos, bells and other strange forms, carved by water in the bright red rock, seem irresistibly and, indeed, painfully to suggest in the twilight that one is trespassing on Nature's terra cotta works.<sup>20</sup>

The verbal descriptions are, for the most part, topographical, illustrative, narrative accounts with "pretty bits" added to enliven the scenes - very similar to the artist's visual descriptions as captured in his pictures.

Three, possibly four, works still survive from the trip through

Canada as far west as the Rockies. The Ferry at the Mission. Fort William (25) is dated 19 September 1883, hence it was painted at the end of the second trip. It was first exhibited at the eighteenth annual AWS exhibition held in February 1885.<sup>21</sup> The picture shows "...the Kaministiquia River, with an old ferry dock opposite the site of the present elevator "D" with mission buildings, and Mt. McKay in the background."<sup>22</sup> The second water-colour is entitled Site of Fort William (26), and although not dated, can safely be placed around 1883.

In both works the figures play an important, if not predominant, role and evoke an anecdotal, almost genre, quality. The figures are located in the foregrounds, with nature acting as a backdrop. In Site of Fort William the foreground with the figures remains quite distinct from the middleground and background landscape, with the result that two separate pictures exist. This is a feature noted previously in Fraser's works. Nor does it improve the image that the watercolour is a strictly horizontal composition, with three grounds slotted one behind the other. The strictness of the composition is somewhat alleviated in The Ferry at the Mission... where diagonals play a stronger role. However, the foreground here is dominated by the ferry dock which cuts across the picture and becomes the center of focus. The result is that the eye must jump across the Kaministiquia to the next most predominant feature; that of Mt. McKay, in order to get into the scene.

A third work, a grisaille entitled Kakabeka Falls (27), exists and is also probably a result of the 1883 trip. This work might have been a monochrome study for a later study or print, in much the same way that O'Brien prepared a sepia of Kakabeka Falls (Vancouver. John J. Grant) in

1881 which later became the basis for his 1882 oil version (NGC). It is interesting to compare the two different interpretations of the same scene by these two artists, and examine the different "styles" of the two adversaries.

Fraser confronts the falls in a most direct, even aggressive, manner. Finesse and subtlety are here not a part of his vocabulary, and really never were. Rather than removing himself and taking a sweeping, overall view of the image, the artist plunges headlong into the scene, literally forcing the viewer to share his experience. O'Brien creates a distance between himself and the scene, and arranges the composition in a more controlled manner, although his view is no less impressive; we can still feel the raw, brute power of the water even though this distance has been established between it and the viewer.

The figures in Fraser's watercolour are larger and play a more predominant role, becoming the center of attention by virtue of their size and harrowing placement. The tiny, almost insignificant figures in O'Brien's work are dwarfed by the falls and can easily be missed by the viewer. In this respect they serve to emphasize the force of the water, while in the other work it is the precarious position of the figures which heighten the might of the falls. These latter figures confront the falls in much the same manner that Fraser has confronted the subject - in a headlong rush.

Other watercolours from the 1883 trip are known to have existed at one time. The River Kaministiquia at Fort William (262), owned by Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, and On the Prairie near Calgary (284), owned by Richard B. Angus, were exhibited at the 1887 AAM Carnival exhibition.<sup>23</sup> The first work depicted a view with a wharf, a river and

figures on and beside the dock. The second is a view of the prairie with a ravine, and a wood and stream in the foreground, tents pitched in the middleground, and mountains in the distance. The latter was considered "strong and firm in touch, and although somewhat hard is, we presume, faithful to the locality."<sup>24</sup> Another watercolour which might also date from this trip was exhibited at the 1885 Boston Art Club show: On the North Shore of Lake Superior (259).

The watercolour Canadian Indians at Handcrafts (29) is dated ca. 1885 and might have been inspired by the earlier voyage. The work is not a true landscape for two figures have been placed within an architectural setting. One hesitates, however, to call it a genre piece for the work does not tell a story in the accepted meaning of "genre". The composition centers on two Indians bending over their tasks. Their way of life has been directly and objectively depicted, and the scene is devoid of all social and sentimental comment. Primarily the figures serve as coloured forms which fit, much like puzzle pieces, into the overall colour scheme. They are perhaps the best figures which Fraser ever painted. Their poses are fairly natural and not as stilted as usual; they have been fully integrated within the scene.

Most of the forms in the scene have been loosely outlined in pencil and grey watercolour, then broadly filled in in quick, sketchy washes. The predominantly earthy palette of browns, greens and blues is somewhat relieved by bits of white, red, pink and orange which have been used primarily to describe the Indians' costumes. Thus the figures remain the most detailed forms within the scene.

The architectural setting is complicated and not completely successful for the created space is somewhat ambiguous and difficult to

read. The seated Indians and the posts which hold up the open porch serve as space markers in the middleground. The foreground and background space is practically non-existent.

In 1883 Fraser took one further step towards severing his ties with the Canadian art scene. That fall he dissolved his long-time partnership with William Notman. He did continue to operate in the photography business with his sons John Arthur Jr. and Augustine with the formation of "Fraser and Sons" in Toronto. It is more than likely, however, that the artist's involvement was in name only. In any case, Fraser would leave the firm in 1886.<sup>25</sup>

In 1884 Fraser did not make any contributions to either the OSA or the joint RCA/AAM annual exhibitions. He did send two watercolours (222; 587) and two black and white drawings (204; 631), mainly showing scenes from Canada's eastern coast, to the thirtieth annual Boston Art Club exhibition held from 12 April to 10 May. Interestingly, he was listed as residing in Boston, although the particular address given in the exhibition catalogue was that of his brother-in-law, Henry Sandham.

In April 1884 two illustrations by Fraser appeared in the New York Century Magazine, Tyler Glacier, Mt. Tacoma (99) and Mt. Tacoma From Lake Washington (98) were drawn by the artist after sketches by G.T. Brown, and were used to illustrate Eugene V. Smalley's article "From Puget Sound to the Upper Columbia."<sup>26</sup> This is the earliest recorded contact between Fraser and Century, an association which would continue until the artist's death. The choice of periodical is not surprising; William Lewis Fraser was already based in New York, working as one of the art editors.<sup>27</sup> Certainly he was an influence in "contracting" work for his elder brother, just as he was for their brother-in-law, Henry

Sandham. Thus, for Fraser illustration work took over the role previously played by photography and provided him with a fairly steady income. Also at this time he was regularly exhibiting more black and white drawings and washes.

Many of Fraser's illustrations bear a remarkable photographic-like realism. Many were drawn "after a photograph," and in these instances the artist had obviously followed his source material closely. It must be remembered, however, that Fraser had been trained to see like a camera and thus could easily have translated the photograph into a drawing. In most instances there is some particular element (no matter how insignificant) or "general" quality which remains typically "Fraser" in style and acts like a signature on the finished product. While both of the illustrations for the Smalley article were done after a photograph, there are certain familiar features which override the source drawing: the lone bird in the lower right corner of Tyler Glacier... has been seen in previous watercolours; and in Mt. Tacoma... the lumpy rocks across the foreground can be found in September Afternoon... and In Breezy October (Bay Chaleur) and the lone trees appear in A Shot in the Dawn... and Unidentified Landscape.

Fraser made his second contribution to Century in September and October 1885 with illustrations for Frederick Schwatka's two-part article "The Great River of Alaska."<sup>28</sup> Seven black and white drawings (107-114) after drawings by the author, were prepared for the September issue, and three (114; 115; 116) for the October one. It is interesting to compare Fraser's In The Rink Rapids, Upper Yukon (110) with Cascade Near the End of the Grand Rapids<sup>29</sup> by Henry Sandham, who also contributed to the article. The latter has fully captured the awesome power and

destructive might of the rapids, and the heroic, almost desperate struggle of the men to keep their raft upright. The action has been concentrated on this struggle and the viewer finds himself a part of it as he practically sits in the swirling waters. The potential power of Fraser's drawing; on the other hand, has been diluted by the addition of a flock of seagulls which swoop down from the background cliffs of the scene, almost obliterating the left half; the addition of the two "voyeur" birds in the lower right corner is almost comical. Fraser's viewpoint of the rapids is from a rocky promontory high above the actual scene, which results in less opportunity to create drama; however, this was obviously determined by the author's original sketches. But even from this distance, the tiny figures and their raft are too "fussy" in their description to achieve the weight needed to bring the scene alive, and the waters do not possess the same plasticity or sense of power as in the Sandham illustration.

By 1885 the Fraser family had taken up permanent residence in the United States. In June of that year they moved to the Hoffman House in Boston, a fashionable apartment at 120 Berkeley St.<sup>30</sup> As Sandham had already permanently settled in that city, there was much incentive for Fraser to follow suit. In fact, Fraser's sister, Agnes Amelia Sandham, "...urged (him) to try his luck painting exclusively..." and Fraser "...fell."<sup>31</sup> The artist contributed works to that year's AWS (25) and BAC (259; 327; 332) exhibitions, but again sent nothing to the major Canadian shows. Significantly, 1885 was the year that Fraser became a member of the BAC<sup>32</sup> and he and Sandham were two of the founding members of the Boston Watercolor Society.<sup>33</sup> This latter society held its first exhibition in December 1885 which saw a major contribution of six works

by the artist (223; 317; 329; 330; 339; 340).

In 1886 Fraser began to exhibit works of predominantly American subject matter. Six watercolours of scenes mostly from Massachusetts and New Hampshire (328; 330; 333; 345; 348; 535) were exhibited at the nineteenth annual AWS show. American scenes also dominated his contribution to the spring exhibition of the AAM held in April (60; 319; 322; 326; 596; 601; 602; 604; 618; 649). The same works were later exhibited in June at the fourteenth annual OSA exhibition. One watercolour, A Sunny Afternoon (649), was shown at the BAC thirty-fourth exhibition held from April to May. It was only at the seventh annual RCA exhibition that the artist, after an absence of some four years, sent works depicting scenes from eastern Canada. A Showery Day in the Passe des Monts de St.-Urbain (239), At Percé. French Canada, County of Bonaventure (224) and A Salmon Pool on the Restigouche (235) had probably all been painted years earlier. The question thus arises as to why Fraser had not sent any new works of American scenes.

The RCA exhibition was held in Ottawa in February,<sup>34</sup> at an unusually early date, to accommodate the Committee whose job it was to select Canada's entries to the fine arts section of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. This exhibition, held in South Kensington, London, from 4 May 1886, in the year preceding Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, was a stunning showpiece of the material wealth and intellectual achievements attained by Great Britain and the colonies. Canada was determined to do her share and send a collection of her best and most representative works of art.

The Canadian selection committee was made up of representatives from the RCA - the President and two academicians - and associate repre-



representatives from other art societies in Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa and London.<sup>35</sup> Lord Lansdowne, the Governor-General, served as President of the committee. The final selection of the works from that year's RCA exhibition appeared in the Ottawa papers by the 12 February when a letter from Lansdowne to the Hon. Minister of Agriculture was reproduced. The Governor-General stressed that the pictures would be:

as far as possible, works not only valuable as specimens of Canadian Art, but also as illustrations of Canadian scenery and of Canadian life and customs.<sup>36</sup>

Frasen, fully aware of the commercial advantages of having his pictures included in the Canadian contingent, probably sent those works which he felt best exemplified Lansdowne's terms. Two of the works exhibited at the 1886 RCA show were eventually chosen as part of the artist's entry (235; 239). Six other works (7; 8; 580), all watercolours, were also sent to the Colonial.<sup>37</sup> Of this total, three were lent by Sir George Stephen, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway. These were: Mt. Stephen, Summit of Rocky Mountains, near Senchoile (35)<sup>38</sup>; Mt. Hermit, Summit of Selkirk Range, B.C. Main Peak (286); and Summit Lake, Rocky Mountains, CPR (300).

The Canadian paintings were displayed in the East-ring corridor of the Royal Albert Hall. The reaction in Canada to the country's contributions to the Colonial was, in general, quite favourable. However, two very different points of view concerning the paintings were expressed which clearly reveal the dichotomy of the attitudes to Canadian art by the mid-1880's.

R.A.M. Stevenson in the Magazine of Art<sup>39</sup> stated that the Canadian examples were probably the best contributed to the entire exhibition, and lavished particular praise on those artists who had studied in Paris.

The more established artists, such as Fraser, O'Brien, Forbes and Bell-Smith, received only cursory nods; Fraser was considered "...strong in watercolours, though not always with sufficient sense of value."<sup>40</sup>

Clearly the above artists were already considered "dépassé" by the critic and would gradually hand over the reins of leadership to a new generation of painters.<sup>41</sup>

A second point of view was expressed by J.E. Hodgson, Professor of Painting and Librarian at the Royal Academy in London. In comparison to Stevenson, Hodgson was still committed to the mid-nineteenth century concept of "truth to nature" and believed that this notion was most suitably expressed in the works of O'Brien, Bell-Smith, Watson and Fraser. He saw Fraser searching for the picturesque, storming out into the wilderness where "he must often have startled the eagle and 'grizzly' by the unwonted apparition of an easel and sketching umbrella."<sup>42</sup>

This comment by Hodgson clearly states that the author believed that Fraser had painted "on the spot". It is now known, through a series of letters preserved in the Corporate Archives of the CPR, that the artist had actually worked the watercolours from photographs taken by the well-known photographer, Alexander Henderson (act. 1865-1903). Thus the one complaint expressed by Hodgson about Fraser's apparent "carelessness in the matter of form,"<sup>43</sup> or lack of definition, was the direct result of the artist working from these photographs. Henderson revelled in fuzzy, undefined atmospheric effects and these characteristics were studiously reproduced by Fraser.<sup>44</sup>

The photographs had been supplied to Fraser by the railway industrialist Sir William Cornelius Van Horne<sup>45</sup> and had probably only recently been commissioned by the CPR. The process which eventually led to their

use in the production of the watercolours is a long and at times complicated one. The story begins, somewhat indirectly, back in November 1884.<sup>46</sup>

Sometime during that month Fraser and Van Horne had their first meeting in which the two men discussed a future guide-book which was to describe, visually and verbally, the route of the newly-completed CPR through the Rocky Mountains. Fraser had obviously wished to be hired as illustrator for the project; perhaps the idea for such a venture had even originally been conceived of by him. Certainly the artist possessed a collection of samples of his work from the 1883 trip out west, and these were more than likely shown to Van Horne.

Very little is known about the project, but Fraser seems to have pursued it as late as October 1885. A 12 October letter from the artist,<sup>47</sup> in Boston, to Van Horne, is an appeal to work on the illustrations. In it, Fraser states his willingness to prepare as many drawings and woodcuts as possible during the winter months from photographs to be supplied from Van Horne. The "field" work, that is any material "done on the spot," would be done later that summer (in 1886). Unfortunately, there is no known reply, and no known copy of any such guide-book exists. But it is interesting to see that Fraser was contemplating the use of the photographs to make the illustrations.

There does seem to be some proof, however, that the artist might indeed have been supplied with photographs with which he made up at least three watercolours depicting scenes from out west. In a 25 November 1885 letter to A. Piers<sup>48</sup> assistant to Van Horne, Fraser requests the former's aid in getting Rock Slide and Debris. Great Glacier (297), East of Yale, near Sunset (269) and Last Ray of the Sun on Mt. Stephen (38) "applied for" delivery from the Montreal rooms of Augustus J. Pell. The artist

also included a portion of a now lost letter of 18 November 1885 from Van Horne which he felt would serve as authorization for delivery. One can then assume that it was Van Horne who had ordered these works from Fraser. As they could not have been done up from the 1883 trip because the artist had only gone as far west as Calgary, and coming so soon after Fraser had requested photographs with which to do the illustrations, it is tempting to speculate that Van Horne had supplied the artist with photos - perhaps in order to see the kind of work which could be produced from such a "venture."

Another reason to support this hypothesis is that one of the watercolours mentioned in the 25 November 1885 letter might still exist today. It is possible that A Scene in the Rockies (38) is actually Last Ray of the Sun on Mt. Stephen. The work is presently dated 1886 which means that it is believed to have originated from the artist's second trip out west. An inscription on the back reads: "The sun's last kiss on the crest of Mt. Stephen from "Field" Rocky Mountains, B.C.," vaguely reminiscent of the title in Fraser's letter. But it is the work itself, however, which leads one to believe that the artist relied on a photographic source to produce the image.

The work has clearly not been arranged in a traditional pictorial manner. The foreground falls away abruptly and appears to have been cropped, suggesting that what had fallen outside of the range of the camera was simply eliminated from view. The picture has also been cut off at the sides with the result that there are no pictorial devices to lead the eye into the scene. Rather, we are immediately confronted by the large mountain peak which appears to be pushed up against the picture plane. The middleground area remains a compressed, undefined area.

Space is achieved through colour tonality: the deep, dark greens of the foreground blend into the middle values of the lower half of Mt. Stephen, which in turn change into the lighter tones of the mountain peak as the dying rays of the sun infuse the sky. The changing light emphasizes the receding space. A slight dichotomy is created when the tops of the foreground trees extend into the upper half of the scene where the values are lighter; while this creates a heightened contrast between the two areas, it also serves to link all three areas into a more cohesive whole. There is also no true center of focus for the viewer. Rather, the entire work must be taken in in a single glance as the eye roves for a comfortable place to rest.

The artist has still managed to add his own personal touch to the work. The overall colour scheme of a deep, earthy palette is relieved by the orange of the setting sun which charges the atmosphere and adds a decidedly romantic touch to the scene. However, the artist's concern for the mountain as a physical, tangible entity never allows this potentially romantic quality to dominate. The result is a bold, fresh image of a particular mountain peak which was described many times over by other artists. In this respect it suffered the same fate as Percé Rock, but as with the artist's The Percé Rock of the late 1870's, it has been treated here in a startling manner. It is also, perhaps, the closest Fraser has come to "landscape portraiture" since the 1860's, as the craggy features of Mt. Stephen dominate the scene with great immediacy.

The first specific reference to Fraser's contributions to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition is in a 6 January 1886 letter from Van Horne to the artist, in Boston. In it, Van Horne writes that Sir George Stephen, President of the CPR, "is anxious that some large

watercolour views of our mountain scenery should be exhibited..."<sup>49</sup>

He refers to certain photographs from which Fraser can paint these works:

We have a quantity of photographic views here, new ones, which I presume would have to be depended upon for material, as nothing could be done otherwise at this season of the year....<sup>50</sup>

The letter then goes on to say that Stephen himself would buy the works if "no better sale is made before the Exhibition closes."<sup>51</sup> Van Horne asks Fraser to return to Montreal immediately if he is interested in the project and the artist obviously obeyed with pleasure.

Van Horne worked very closely with Fraser on the production of the watercolours. A 19 February 1886 letter from the Vice-President to Fraser is in reply to a now lost letter from the artist of the 16 February in which he presumably enquired about conditions at Summit Lake at the time the photographs were taken. The reply from Van Horne included a now lost letter from Henderson in which the latter had described the atmospheric effects "which existed at the time..."<sup>52</sup> A second letter by Piers is in reply to the same request for information by Fraser. Piers adds the comment from Van Horne: "...in case of Mt. Hermit the local colour is inclined to purple."<sup>53</sup> This reveals that information on the colouring was required as the artist was working from black and white photographs.

In a 24 March 1886 letter<sup>54</sup> Fraser states that the three watercolours for Stephen have been completed, framed and were ready for shipment to Montreal, allowing Van Horne plenty of time for any alterations. The keen interest expressed by the Vice-President in Fraser's works was maintained up to the last. In fact, Van Horne was not above criticizing the artist's interpretations of the Henderson photographs.

By the 27 April 1886<sup>55</sup> the three views of mountain scenery were on their way to London, England, and Van Horne began to demonstrate concern in the display of "his" works almost immediately. In a letter to Alexander Begg, G.E. Agent of the CPR in London, he expresses the desire that Begg "keep a sharp lookout when the day arrives for arranging the Gallery"<sup>56</sup> to ensure that "justice is done to our pictures."<sup>57</sup> The reason for this concern centered on the appointment by the federal government of George Frederick Watts (1817-1904) to superintend the hanging of the pictures in the Canadian art gallery of the Colonial exhibition. Van Horne believed that Watts was a

disciple of O'Brien whose pictures he will incline awards as regards the selection of good places and being a disciple, as I said of O'Brien it is fair to suppose that his teachings will have prejudiced him against Fraser's works.<sup>58</sup>

It would appear from this letter that Fraser had won Van Horne over to his side in the continuing feud between the two artists.

Begg replied to Van Horne in a lengthy, detailed letter from 11 May 1886.<sup>59</sup> The watercolours had arrived safely and had been delivered to the gallery. Begg had seen Sir Charles Tupper, the Canadian Commissioner to the exhibition, with regard to their hanging. Tupper, in turn, had instructed Watts to follow Begg's instructions as to their positioning. Begg advises Van Horne not to worry as Tupper had taken a personal interest in all of Fraser's works, thus virtually ensuring a proper arrangement.

Begg sent a second, now lost, report to Van Horne the 15 May 1886<sup>60</sup> complete with diagram showing the arrangement and positioning of the Fraser pictures. Van Horne replied 31 May 1886 and states that he had shown the diagram to Fraser, who agreed that the position for the

watercolours was "a very excellent one"<sup>61</sup> provided that the pictures were hung in the right line, that is

that the bottom of the frame should be only between three and four feet from the ground.<sup>62</sup>

This is the last specific reference to Fraser's contribution to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition.

Of the three watercolours painted for Sir George Stephen two probably still exist today. Mt. Stephen, near Leancoil, CPR (35) is possibly Mt. Stephen, Summit of Rocky Mountains, near Senchoile. It is, essentially, an atmospheric study exulting in the effects of a rain-drenched day at the summit of the Rockies. A thick, swirling mist almost totally envelops the upper peak of Mt. Stephen. This area has been left "incomplete" by the artist to further enhance the atmospheric effects, and the forms throughout the rest of the scene are ill-defined and loosely handled with the brush. This is one of the few times when the artist has created anything but a clear, bright atmosphere, and is a direct result of using the Henderson photographs.

Another link to a photographic source is the structure of the composition. The work has not been composed or arranged in the traditional manner. As in A Scene in the Rockies there are no framing devices on either side. The foreground falls abruptly, creating the effect that the picture has been cropped across the bottom. There is no true center of focus, as Mt. Stephen is too high and too shrouded in mist to capture and hold one's attention. Consequently, one's vision is dispersed throughout the scene. The overall view is much the same as a camera would have captured the scene - indiscriminately, without shifting through the facts, but recording everything within the range



of its lens.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the work is the way in which Fraser has captured space. With few objects to act as space markers and only a few ill-defined diagonals to lead the eye through the scene, he has achieved a sense of depth that is real and convincing through the changing values of light. From the bottom or foreground of the watercolour, to the top or background, the change is subtle but marked.

The watercolour The Rogers Pass (XVI; 37) is possibly the same as the Stephen watercolour Mt. Hermit, Summit of Selkirk Range, B.C. Main Peak, which in turn was related to the Henderson photograph From Summit of Selkirks. This photograph might be one of the two 1885 Henderson photos now at the Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum which show the Selkirk mountains of the Hermit Range.<sup>63</sup>

Fraser's work is not a strict interpretation of either photograph. His mountains, which stretch across the entire length of the watercolour, are compressed and more condensed than those in the Henderson photographs. He has also given his mountains greater height, with less sky showing at the top. The reason for this might be found in the 19 February 1886 letter<sup>64</sup> from Van Horne to the artist in which the former repeats Henderson's statement that the wide angle lens "lowered" the mountains and advises the artist to compensate for this feature. Van Horne was not completely accurate in this statement. Certainly a photographer would use a wide angle lens when attempting to capture a range of mountains within the space of a single photograph. Just as certainly the camera would have to be placed quite far back from the subject in order to entirely encompass it, thus "lowering" it within the photograph. Fraser

followed Van Horne's advice and "raised" the mountains in the mistaken attempt to correct what was, in fact, a natural characteristic.

In both photograph(s) and watercolour the foreground and background dominate, while the middleground is compressed from view. This feature has already been noted in such Fraser works as Unidentified Landscape from ca. 1875 and Morning on the Beach at Percé from 1881, two works which relied heavily on photographic sources.

The arrangement of the thick border of trees in the foreground is more interesting in the watercolour than in either photograph. The outline used to describe the trees is more "picturesque" and pleasing to the eye, and is not as monotonous as that in the Henderson photograph - an example of "improving" upon nature. The outline of the background mountains has also been treated in a more lively manner by the artist. Perhaps here lies the major difference between photograph and watercolour.

There is a similarity in both views in the treatment of the forms of the mountains. The shapes in the watercolour have been schematically rendered in loose, broad washes, with the result that a two-dimensional interpretation is depicted instead of what should have been a three-dimensional one. The shapes have been filled in rather than moulded in with paint.

There are two viewpoints within the picture: the first one is low, straight ahead at the bottom of the scene and the second is higher up, in the center middleground. The result is that the viewer is stranded in space without a clear ground to stand on. The picture is only pulled back together again by the play of light and shadow which is evenly spread throughout the composition.

Two illustrations also from photographs were made by Fraser to illustrate D.H. Hill's article "The Battle of South Mountain, or Boonsboro" which appeared in the May 1886 issue of Century.<sup>65</sup> Even without the source photo to compare with, it is obvious that the artist closely followed his source photographs. In Bridge Over the Antietam, Near Sharpsburg, by which the Confederates Retreated from South Mountain (117) there is complete integration of figures within the scene, no distracting "Fraser" features, and an obvious solidity and plasticity to the forms which the artist never achieved with as much success; spatial depth has been accurately depicted; and there is a wide, but subtle, range of black and white tones to create depth and volume. It is true that there is a certain heavy-handedness to the scene, particularly with respect to the handling of the figures; but this does not detract from the overall effect. View from Turner's Gap, Looking Southeast (118) is less successful: the awkwardness of the chickens feeding in the harvested field in the foreground and the rather obtrusive house in the center middleground belie a more "personal" interpretation.

In 1886 Fraser took what was perhaps his most important sketching trip west to the Rocky Mountains. The collaboration which had existed between the artist and Van Horne earlier that year continued on into the summer months as Fraser used the CPR lines to complete his commission. Photographers had already been commissioned to capture the "scenic wonders" of the mountains<sup>66</sup> and surrounding countryside, but 1886 marked the first time that artists received similar encouragement. Both Van Horne and Sir George Stephen fully realized the potential promotional value of such a venture: it was advertising at its most inventive and effective. Paintings by the likes of Fraser would bring

back home the images of the grandeur of the country, awaken national pride and induce people to see these scenes for themselves - taking the CPR of course.

According to his daughter's diary, the artist travelled to Montreal and Boston in April 1886. On this trip he probably settled his affairs with Fraser and Sons, arranged for the exhibition of his works at the annual AAM Spring and OSA shows, and finalized his plans for the summer's campaign. By the end of the month he had returned to Boston; in early June he again travelled to Montreal and finally set out west on the 8 June.<sup>67</sup>

Fraser's trip west on the CPR during the summer of 1886 is well documented: in his letters to Van Horne; in a talk given by the artist to the Canadian Club in New York during an exhibition of his pictures in March 1887, which was later reprinted in Canadian Leaves, History, Art, Science and Literature;<sup>68</sup> and of course, through his pictures.

The first part of the trip took the artist to Owen Sound by rail, then by CPR steamer across Lake Superior from Sault Ste. Marie to Port Arthur.<sup>69</sup> From there the trip proceeded by rail, with Fraser reaching Winnipeg<sup>70</sup> by about the 16 June 1886 when he wrote his first letter to Van Horne.<sup>71</sup> Here he states that he intended to follow the "original plan" and "work back" from Vancouver. He expresses the desire that Van Horne instruct a Mr. Eagen, presumably the CPR western agent, of these intentions.

In his talk to the Canadian Club in New York the following year, Fraser stated that from Winnipeg to Calgary the journey of "eight hundred miles was quite uninteresting."<sup>72</sup> In his own words:

The country...is wanting in the elements of the PICTURESQUE. When I say this I know that I am treading on delicate ground, for many of my brother artists hold that there is nothing so UNPAINTABLE as those subjects which, until recently, have been considered the richest in the PICTORIAL ELEMENT, and which are also considered by many whose names have at least the respectability of time and permanence.<sup>73</sup>

Fraser had his first sight of the Rockies at Calgary one summer's morning, although they were fully one hundred fifty miles away. As the artist stated: "Clouds they appeared to the untrained eye".<sup>74</sup> The trip from Calgary to the mountains, through the entrance at the Gap of Canmore and up the seven thousand feet until the train crawled past the base of Mt. Stephen, deeply affected him. The

panorama such as cannot be described in any way, either by pen or brush. For about one hundred miles it is constant, ever-growing and increasing in astonishment and surprise at its beauty and splendour.<sup>75</sup>

The descent began through Kicking Horse Pass, through the valley "amidst such magnificence of form and colour."<sup>76</sup> Then there was a second ascent until the Rogers Pass, at the summit of the Selkirks, was reached.

By the 20 July 1886 Fraser was at Lytton, B.C., already on his way back east. A letter from that date to Van Horne describes his trip after he had left Winnipeg.<sup>77</sup> The artist had travelled as far west as Victoria where he intended to retrace his steps and do some painting. He complained of the time spent travelling and the lack of regular train service - information sure to interest Van Horne. The weather on the west coast had been uniformly bad. He was forced from Burrards Inlet the 6 July due to the heavy rain. The brush fires at North Bend made it impossible to paint, and the transportation and accommodation "were bad and very expensive."<sup>78</sup> In spite of all these problems Fraser "bagged

some good game but there were many superb bits that (he was) unable to get through the smoke."<sup>79</sup> The correspondence between the artist and Van Horne ended with the former expressing the hope that with good weather he would be able to revisit the Pacific area before fall.

Piers, Van Horne's assistant, replied to the above letter the 27 July 1886.<sup>80</sup> He explained that the Vice-President had already left for the west coast and advised Fraser of this. Interestingly, according to Van Horne's letter file at the CP Corporate Archives, the Vice-President wrote letters from his Montreal office the 28, 29 and 30 July. Hence, he had not left for the coast as Piers had stated to Fraser. Piers was Van Horne's personal secretary so it was highly unlikely that he could have made such an error about his employer's departure. Quite probably Van Horne was tired with Fraser's complaining and decided to pass the problem over to Piers.<sup>81</sup>

Fraser told the Canadian Club that he had been compelled to travel on foot and alone, carrying his painting material and a heavy gun for some weeks as he trekked as much as ten or twelve miles a day in search of scenes to paint. He saw much that was beautiful in that part of the country, "of a beauty that was new and strange..."<sup>82</sup> and yet he rarely if ever described, at least verbally, those beauties. His talk reads very much the same as the 1884 article of his first western trip. It is primarily factual, and anecdotal, with the artist recalling more of the day-to-day experiences and events rather than attempt to record his impressions of the surrounding countryside on him, as an artist. In fact, Fraser did not present himself as an "artist" to his audience at the Club, but rather as "one of the boys." He knew that his audience was probably only minimally interested in art, so in the end he took a

narrative approach to his talk.

It was probably on his return trip through the Rockies that Fraser painted those pictures which have survived to today. His trip out west is best recorded in these works. He had travelled fully prepared to paint:

I had an abundance of painting material, almost enough to paint the Rocky Mountains from base to summit. I took a great deal with me because I knew I could not replenish my stock there. But I brought some of it back, and I have reason to believe that it would have been better if I hadn't used so much. You haven't seen all I did, you know.<sup>83</sup>

There are only a handful of watercolours from Fraser's 1886 trip which have survived. A total of forty-three works was exhibited by the artist in New York in 1887,<sup>84</sup> seven of them in oil which would lead one to suspect that these were studio pieces, finished up after the trip. The artist claimed that most of them had been painted "on the spot," that is "...that they were begun and finished, as far as you see them, out of doors, and in view of the subjects and objects depicted."<sup>85</sup>

Of the works which still exist, this does not seem to have been the case. The artist appears to have used photographic sources for more than a few of the watercolours. However, one can safely say that by 1886 Fraser "saw" with the eye of a camera - that is, indiscriminately, and in a most forthright and bold manner. This feature had certainly been assimilated from his early contact with the photograph at Notman's studio, and eventually became a natural part of his painting style. The artist continued to depict topographical facts as well, and one perceptive reviewer stated that it was because these watercolours

were made for the owners of various portions of that country, and it was therefore necessary for the artist to present likenesses, and to deal with DESCRIPTIVE rather than IMAGINATIVE compositions.<sup>86</sup>

This in no way detracted from their impressive character, for the artist looked at his subjects "...in a large way, and this has resulted in work which is broad, vigorous and of good artistic quality."<sup>87</sup>

The colours in The Fraser River and Line of the CPR (32) have a soft, jewel-like quality to them which could rival the subdued, often more subtle colour scheme usually found in the works of Lucius O'Brien. They have been applied in loose, sketchy washes of fairly broad strokes, particularly with respect to the background mountains. The foreground shrubbery is little more than the suggestion of forms. The only shapes which are accurately delineated are the single trees; the tiny figures working on the CPR line are mere dots of colour, but for once they are not obtrusive.

Depth has been achieved in terms of tonality and changing light values. Only a few compositional devices have been added to create space. The three groups of tall, single trees which cross the picture in a diagonal line from lower left (foreground) to the upper right (background) serve as space markers. The diagonal line of the train track to the right, and the softer, oblique curve of the shoreline to the left, also create depth.

The picture has the air of a photographic image to it: both the sides and the bottom appear to have been cut away in a rather abrupt manner, although in not as obvious a way as found in the 1885 A Scene in the Rockies. The space extends beyond its boundaries and is only stopped in its background plunge by the huge mountains which stretch across the



entire length of the background. Again one feels that the middleground is an amorphous, undefined area. The only disconcerting form in a fairly cohesive picture is that of the large boulder which rests rather precariously on the shore, near the center of the scene, and destroys the spatial continuity. Again this is probably the result of working from a flat, two-dimensional image (photograph) and attempting to create something three-dimensional.

The work is not a "pure" landscape in that man's presence is clearly evident by the railway workers. They are contrasted with the powerful, turbulent waters of the Fraser River and are dwarfed by the towering, majestic mountain range, although they are not threatened by the landscape. Clearly this is not the scene of industry as depicted in Morning on the Beach at Percé, nor does it remotely compare with Study on the Spot (near Dalhousie, N.B.) And although the figures are miniscule in comparison to the surrounding landscape, they have been successfully integrated into the scene and do not jump out at the viewer as in Laurentian Splendour or Unidentified Landscape. A most satisfactory synthesis between man and nature has been achieved.

Yale, B.C. (39) is a rather startling picture. The flat verticality of the Fraser River in the foreground contrasts vividly with the majestic sweep of the range of mountains which create the Fraser canyon and hover so threateningly over the town of Yale. This is surely the watercolour the reporter for the Toronto Globe saw when he stated that in depicting the mountains in these works Fraser had

...risen to their sublime plane and depicted their dizzy heights, cavernous depths, dazzling lights and massive shadows, with the same bold touch, daring but truthful colour, and the same delicate poetry of treatment that has formerly been so much admired in

his charming little pictures of unpretending pastoral scenes.<sup>88</sup>

The space is the most astounding feature of the work, as it literally zooms back into the depths of the canyon, carving through the mountain range whose forms have been slotted into one another with precision. The artist especially reveals an awareness of pictorial concerns here. The many diagonals which run through the mountain slopes and along the river shore meet at the large, predominant boulder placed in the center of the scene. The perimeters of the scene remain unfocused and sketchy in detail, but become clearer and more accurate as they near the center. Perhaps an external source, such as a photograph, could explain this feature.

The Peak of Sir Donald, in the Selkirk Range, B.C. Taken from Glacial Stream (Near its Source) Called the Illecillewaet (37) might well have been the work described as "being without doubt the strongest watercolour...Fraser has ever painted."<sup>89</sup> The colours are deep, refreshing and glorious. The bright light which falls into the scene from almost directly overhead, evenly illuminates forms both far and near, and creates a feeling of crispness and newness for which the artist had been commended on previous occasions. The composition is perhaps the most versatile and complicated one ever attempted by the artist during the 1880's. Diagonal, horizontal and vertical lines weave themselves into an intricate pattern across the picture surface and create an undulating, ever changing but completely believable sense of space. The drawing of forms is probably the most assured Fraser ever achieved to date from the small wooden bridge in the foreground, to the tall trees in the middleground and finally to the imposing peak of Sir Donald in

the background. The bridge is the only concession to man; otherwise the scene is a pure landscape subject.

This watercolour is probably the culmination of all of the other works from this trip, and before. The sun striking the mountain was seen in A Scene in the Rockies; the thick border of trees with the emphasis on outline was seen in The Rogers Pass; the colour and changing tonalities reflect Fraser River and Line of the CPR.

For once the artist has stepped back and arranged his composition without the directness and aggressiveness which marked many of his previous works. The result is a work in which the pictorial concerns are more obvious, yet less forced or contrived. This watercolour successfully rivals O'Brien's Mountain Landscape (MMFA) of the same date, and is, interestingly, almost the exact reverse of it in compositional terms. However, the romantic quality which "tinged" so many of O'Brien's western landscapes is absent here in Fraser's work. The physical, tangible fact of Mount Sir Donald is what primarily concerned Fraser, and one must again look at the peak as a portrait.

Mount Baker from the Stave River (11) is an oil which was probably worked up from a watercolour drawing made by Fraser during his western trip. It is rather garish in colour, with vivid but clashing greens and pinks; however the composition is fairly well handled for one whose medium was not oil. The oil The Rogers Pass (12) is similar to the watercolour version which Fraser had prepared for the 1886 Colonial Exhibition. The work is more contrived and stilted than the watercolour, and has little of the latter's energy and sense of immediacy. An inscription on the back reads "Painted for Sir Edward Watkin of 'Northenden', Cheshire, England". Watkin and Stephen travelled in the same circles:

the former had been President of the Grand Trunk Railway in the early 1860's and "always retained an interest...in Canadian railway ventures."<sup>90</sup>

Fraser returned to Toronto from his trip out west the 19 October, having postponed his original September return. The watercolours were shown to "a few invited guests" on the 10 and 11 November at a private viewing reception held in the Queen's Hotel. The reviewer for the Globe was quite enthusiastic:

The sublime scenery of the Rockies is evidently inspiring, but it has worked no such marvellous change on other artist's work as it has on Mr. Fraser's. His views from the Eastern Townships and the Lower St. Lawrence were strikingly REALISTIC, and in nearly every case singularly effective, but in depicting the dark canyons and snow-capped peaks of the Rockies, instead of bringing them down to the character of the tamer scenes which might have been expected to have left an ineffacable impression on his methods, he has risen to their SUBLIME plane and depicted their dizzy heights, cavernous depths, dazzling lights and massive shadows, with the same bold firm touch, daring but truthful colour, and the same delicate poetry of treatment that has formerly been so much admired in his charming little pictures of unpretending pastoral scenes.<sup>91</sup>

Some of the scenes shown were: The Great Glacier (278) with Mt. Donald in the left background; Mount Baker, from Stave River (284) which might have been the source for the oil version; Mount Field (285); Mount Sir Donald (288); Mount Stephen (289); Peak of Mount Field at Sunrise (293); and Ross Peak Glacier (298).<sup>92</sup> It is interesting to speculate whether Summit of the Selkirks at Roger's Pass (301) might have been the Stephen watercolour, on loan for the exhibition.

The same collection was also exhibited in Montreal sometime during November at the gallery of William Scott and Sons. The reviewer for the Montreal Star commented that for anyone who had not visited the Rockies "the wealth of colour and transparency of atmosphere in these works

would seem almost unnatural,"<sup>93</sup> and it was regretted that the AAM had not applied for the loan of them.

In March 1887 the watercolours, numbering forty-three in all, were exhibited at the prestigious Canadian Club in New York City and the artist gave a talk there which was later reprinted in Canadian Leaves.... A 14 March telegraph from Fraser to Van Horne<sup>94</sup> states that the American reviews were favourable, especially that by the "big gun" Gath, of the New York World. This article, although short in length, praised the exhibition as being "the best of its kind shown in this city in years."<sup>95</sup> It continued:

Mr. Frazer's (sic) brush is a simple, direct and forcible one. He relies only on the transparent medium, and his pictures are not maned by the use of body colour. Every example is worthy of the minutest study. His atmospheric effects, tonal quality and soft, pleasing colour give his world great charm, apart from the impression they convey of being simple faithful transcription of actual scenes. The presence of such work as this in our next Watercolor Exhibition would be an education to many of our home artists.<sup>96</sup>

Of the forty-three works exhibited in NYC, seven were in oil. These were: The Summit of the Selkirk Range (13);<sup>97</sup> Western Peak and Shoulder of Mount Stephen, From the Kicking Horse Flats at Field (304); The Hermit Range Early Afternoon (281); At Hastings, Burrard Inlet (279); Floating Wharf on Burrard Inlet (271); A Rainy Afternoon on the Hermit, Selkirks (296); and The Flush of Sunset on the Ross Peak Glacier (272).<sup>98</sup> While these all revealed a "decided feeling for color, and a bold direct method of work," it was the watercolours which were considered more interesting and which fully revealed the artist's strength. Lytton at the Junction of the Fraser and the Thompson (282) showed "...a peculiar sharp-edged formation in the river slopes and (had been) painted

with breadth." Peak of Mount Field at Sunrise (293) consisted of "...broad, simple masses of color nicely toned" with the "temptation to minuteness being resisted..." On the whole, the artist displayed "a special enjoyment in painting mountains" which resulted in "fresh impressions without neglecting carefulness in workmanship."<sup>99</sup>

Fraser remained in New York for a while, probably in the hopes of selling some of these works. In a 29 March letter to Van Horne he describes a session with a Mr. Reichard, a gallery owner, who had been persuaded to view the artist's work. Reichard was exceedingly complimentary, insisting that the drawings were "first rate in every respect."<sup>100</sup> He was particularly impressed

with the bigness and grandeur of the scenes. The color is splendid, the technique, superb! and (the) way you have treated with full power the great masses and beautifully suggested the smaller part and details is so masterly.<sup>101</sup>

Fraser seems to have sent this letter to Van Horne in the hopes of some recognition and praise from his "mentor." Certainly he was assuring the Vice-President that the latter's interest in the New York exhibition had been worthwhile and fully justified the financial assistance it had received from him. A 16 April 1887<sup>102</sup> letter from Van Horne to Erastus Wiman<sup>103</sup> in New York thanks the latter for his assistance with the show, and asks for an account of the expenditures - clearly revealing that Van Horne had instigated the exhibition, more than likely as a publicity stunt to benefit the CPR.

## CHAPTER V

GREAT BRITAIN : 1887-1889

Between mid 1887 and the end of 1889 Fraser made two trips to Great Britain. The second, and most important one, was a sketching trip in which the artist frequented the Scottish Highlands and the area of Kent, south-east of London. A large collection of watercolours, quite different in style from any previous works painted during his career, still survives today.

By mid 1887 Fraser had travelled to London, England, to exhibit the same collection of watercolour drawings; he had shown at the Canadian Club in March. This time Van Horne contributed only a small sum to the venture, with the artist apparently arranging everything else at his own expense.<sup>1</sup> Van Horne did, however, write to Harry Moody, CPR representative in London, the 16 April. In this letter he introduces Fraser and explains that the artist "had been induced" to take the collection there

but inasmuch as the Company will profit by the success of his exhibition as an advertisement, it is desirable that we should do what we can to contribute to its success.<sup>2</sup>

Moody was asked to contact some "prominent people" who, it was hoped, would be interested in purchasing some of the works; Van Horne supplied a list of these potential buyers.<sup>3</sup> Enclosed in the letter to Moody was a second letter of introduction, this one from Lord Stephen to a Mr. Boissivain, probably an art dealer, who could help set up an exhibition. Failing any of this, Moody was asked to put Fraser in touch with "some one of the several known dealers in Bond Street towards placing the Collection for view."<sup>4</sup>

In a 19 May 1887 letter from Moody to Van Horne,<sup>5</sup> the CPR representative states that Fraser had, indeed, contacted Mr. Boissivain through whom he later met Mr. Koekkoek, a gallery owner in Piccadilly. With the latter the artist "made an arrangement" for an exhibition of his works. On the 8 June Fraser wrote to Van Horne<sup>6</sup> from the Koekkoek gallery, enclosing two newspaper clippings from London papers, both of which had been very complimentary towards the artist's work. The Daily News stated that Fraser

handles water-colours with a bold, free hand, and is apparently a studious observer of transient effects of light and the various aerial changes that constitute the charm of landscape beauty amidst lofty peaks...

The Times called Fraser

an artist of ability, and his sketches, which do not differ in character from the work of many of the Scotch artists of the day, are vigorous and truthful. The scenery he paints is magnificent; indeed, like the alps, it is almost too much for the landscape painter.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the most intriguing part of Fraser's letter to Van Horne concerns the artist's reference to that year's "summer campaign." Fraser states that he is ready to travel west again in the early summer months of 1887 and would require a CPR car. There are, however, no later letters which prove that he did return to paint Canada's west for a third time.<sup>9</sup>

Fraser's contributions to Canadian and American exhibitions were minimal during 1887; he exhibited only at the AAM (262; 294). But his exclusion from the RCA show became the center of controversy only a few days before the official opening. The reporter from the Montreal Herald, "in search of the true inwardness of the affair,"<sup>10</sup> called upon the Academy's secretary, Marmaduke Matthews, to enquire whether Fraser had



indeed received his entry form in time. Matthews claimed that he had, and had also acknowledged receipt. The artist, it seems, had managed to send only one work to the Scott gallery in Montreal which was later forwarded to the Academy. However, this work was eventually removed at Fraser's request and he "could not be persuaded to do otherwise;" no further explanation by him was ever given. When the reporter questioned whether the President of the Academy, Lucius O'Brien, had been "indisposed to encourage the exhibition of Mr. Fraser's paintings" the idea was dismissed as "too absurd for comment."

In addition to the Herald article was the comment that there was an impression abroad that Mr. Fraser is finding a good market for his paintings in New York, and that, of course it will pay him better to exhibit them there than in Montreal.<sup>11</sup>

One finds this statement rather difficult to accept. In January 1888 an auction of works by Fraser, consisting of some four oils (290; 474; 555; 658) and twenty-nine watercolours (36; 38; 169; 176; 180; 191; 208; 211; 225; 226; 247; 249; 250; 257; 265; 273; 283; 319; 320; 322; 326; 334; 338; 343; 349; 554; 608; 635; 659), was held in the Montreal rooms of Pell.<sup>12</sup> From the titles of the works one can discern that these were not necessarily new pictures, but had probably been painted in various parts of Canada and the United States over a period of many years. Was the artist attempting to empty his studio in preparation for a new phase of his career?

Whatever the reason, the auction apparently met with little success as the works were "...slaughtered, scarcely one of them realizing more than fifteen percent of the artist's prices."<sup>13</sup> This failure seems to have been part of a general "depression in the picture business"<sup>14</sup>

which affected the sales of works by other artists such as Sandham, O'Brien and Bell-Smith during that year.

Given the market situation in Canada, it is perhaps not so surprising to find Fraser in Great Britain again by the middle of 1888. Perhaps like O'Brien,<sup>15</sup> he was simply on an extended sketching trip, gathering fresh ideas. It is also possible that this move represented a considered effort by the artist to permanently resettle in his native country. Efforts at achieving success in both Canada and the U.S., while initially encouraging, had eventually proved unsatisfactory. Also, a new, and hence threatening (at least to Fraser), generation of artists was beginning to make its mark on art in Canada by the mid 1880's, leaving Fraser with a sense of feeling somewhat insecure. The earlier 1887 trip might have provided the necessary initiative and contacts needed to start anew.

Fraser's true intentions are, essentially, unknown. In a 26 January 1889 letter to Van Horne the artist states that he had travelled to Great Britain

just to try my strength in a certain way  
with the best of the 13,000 British artists,  
on painting the lovely scenery of the Islands.<sup>16</sup>

Almost in the next breath Fraser expresses the confidence he feels about the work he was producing:

...on the whole my success surpassed my  
expectations; indeed I have done some things  
which on high authority are very fine and  
original in treatment.<sup>17</sup>

It is unfortunate that the identity of this "high authority" remains a mystery. Fraser also states in his letter that he "learnt much...taught much too."<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps the most intriguing part of the letter to Van Horne is the last statement: Fraser says that John Constable's painting The Lock is the greatest landscape ever painted "by mortal" and that he is "in a state of mind" about it. An innocent enough remark, were it not for the fact that on the 14 April 1888 at Christie's auction house one "Fraser" purchased for 232 Guineas lot no.154 The Lock by the English artist.<sup>19</sup> The work had previously been in the private collection of a Mr. Andrews. It is very tempting to suppose that "our" Mr. Fraser bought the painting for himself. However, as the price was quite a considerable sum of money at the time, it is more likely that the artist, if indeed he was the same "Fraser" as listed, had actually purchased the painting for someone else - like Van Horne.<sup>20</sup> And if Fraser had been involved in any way with this particular transaction, it would mean that he was overseas as early as April 1888.

While in Great Britain Fraser seems to have exhibited only one water-colour, A Bit of Loch Awe (395), at the Liverpool Autumn Exhibition held at the Walker Art Gallery during 1889; it was later shown at the Royal Academy. However, during his stay, he sketched prodigiously throughout England and Scotland, with the result that there are numerous extant works by him from this period of his career. While in England he frequented the area of Kent (his wife's home)<sup>22</sup> to the south-east of London; and while in Scotland, he visited the Highlands of Loch Achray and Katrine (in Perthshire) and the area and pass of Brander.<sup>23</sup>

There is a noticeable difference between those works painted by Fraser in Canada and the United States and those done in Great Britain. A 20 January 1891 letter from the artist to James Spooner in Toronto is particularly

interesting for his comments on the work he produced while overseas.

Fraser states he heard that Frederick Arthur Verner had told a friend

that I entirely went off my head in the old country. That though I am a very strong painter I went back fearfully. My things done abroad are nothing like my old work which I think is true to some extent. I have long known that Scott thought I had retrograded. In fact the Montreal "art crickets" were one in the same opinion.<sup>24</sup>

Fraser's style had undoubtedly changed while he was in Great Britain, but it is unjust to state that this represented a step backwards for the artist. His "English" works differ from those painted in Canada in two important ways. The colouring is certainly more subtle, with a more careful blending of hues to produce softer colour schemes. This, of course, would be a natural step in the artist's career, a gradual progression away from his early raw, bright hues, towards a new maturity of colour combinations and variations. However, one must consider the English countryside which he was painting: a countryside usually bathed in a haze or light fog that tends to "bleed out" strong colours and diffuse light and, consequently, forms. A second change in Fraser's style is the increasing intimacy of his scenes, although here again one must consider the landscape scenery he had before him: there are few wide, open shores or tall, rugged mountain ranges, or rushing, turbulent waterfalls to record, except in the Highlands. But even works produced from that area possess none of the raw newness of Kakebaka Falls or The Peak of Sir Donald... Thus the total results are more domesticated scenes, many with an anecdotal quality to them not previously seen in the artist's work to such an extent.

One of the earliest works produced by Fraser while in Great Britain

is Trip to the British Isles (40) dated 1888. As in works done in Canada, the artist has relied on tones to create space; unfortunately, he very nearly destroys the illusion of depth by adding too many distracting details. The half-figures and partially depicted house in the left middleground, tucked in behind an open expanse of foreground, are devices used to heighten this illusion, but they tend to confuse the viewer's sense of space rather than define it more clearly. The picture, in fact, works much better without either device. Also, the very light tones of the house and of the smoke rising out of its chimney, set against the surrounding darker tones of the trees and distant mountain, make this area jump out at the viewer, and further disturbs the sense of pictorial depth.

There is some fine, sensitive painting in the center middleground group of trees where a more painterly stroke has been used. The background mountain has also been rendered with much care and detailing. However, the attempt to break up the silhouette of the mountain with the addition of a single tree on the left horizon line only serves to further accentuate the total awkwardness of the left half of the picture. The mountain itself has none of the strength and grandeur of the rugged Canadian peaks as found in A Scene in the Rockies. It has been tamed and conquered, and does not represent something "to be attained." Nor does it possess that sense of presence found in the artist's many representations of the Percé Rock. It is, quite simply, a background feature, a small part of the total fabric of the picture.

Spring in the Hop Country, Trugghurst, Kent, England (XVII; 45) is a busier picture than the preceding one. The two half-figures of women in the lower right foreground, although not completely convincing in

their space, do help to break up the open expanse of foreground field and serve as the "center" of interest for the scene. One woman bends over her task of picking flowers while the other gazes up at the by now quite familiar flock of birds.

The colour scheme is light and pastel, and although dominated by the greens of the grass and trees, is alive with various other accents of colour. The foreground area is enlivened by a profusion of white and yellow flowers and the colourful pink and blue dresses of the women. The red roofs of the middleground buildings brighten the darker greens and browns of the trees which surround them. The picture seems to glow as much light emanates from within the scene. The result is a cheerful, pretty scene with a decidedly "English" touch to it. On a limited scale the work represents a "scene of industry" - old country style - and can compare with the 1877 Study on the Spot (Dalhousie, N. B.). However, there is no monumental theme here as described in Morning on the Beach at Percé.

Although undated, Landscape with Figures (XVIII; 43) was painted by Fraser while he was in Great Britain. Compositionally, there is the same large, horizontal foreground as found in Trip to the British Isles, and to a somewhat lesser extent in Spring in the Hop Country... This is a particularly bold device here for it clearly divides the picture into two halves. The upper half, comprised of the middleground and background, is the center of interest. Separated from the foreground by a thick, horizontal band of trees which encloses a group of low buildings, the middleground is dominated by a large turreted tower which is the focal point of the scene. The sky is a solid wash of clouds which defines the day as close and heavy. One cannot discern how the light falls;

rather it is evenly diffused throughout the scene. A pattern of light, dark, light is created by the choice of colours and tones which further subdivides the scene.

The application of colour is loose, but controlled enough so that the trees and "abstracted" figures retain their sense of form. Only the buildings have been handled with a rather heavy hand. Once again the artist's penchant for details creates minor, but irritating distractions: the bright triangular area beneath the roof of one of the houses and the smoke rising from the chimney of another, catch the eye and pull it away from the rest of the scene, creating a certain disharmony.

The empty foreground tends to create a certain distance between the viewer and the activity of the middleground. This compositional device, seen in the two previous pictures, was not a part of the artist's style in Canada. Rather, the opposite was true and it was the foreground which was filled with the major incidents of the scene: witness such works as September Afternoon, Eastern Townships, A Shot in the Dawn, Lake Scugog, and A Sea-Side Idyl. In these earlier works Fraser seemed to rush headlong into the scenes and filled the foreground with objects and figures, while the background was allowed to meander and create the space. In his English pictures, the artist relaxed and stepped back from the scenes, creating a certain distance from the center of interest. The more intimate quality of the landscape allowed him to do so as there were no great vistas to conquer.

Three other watercolours which exist from this trip were dated by Fraser, two of which are presently in the Government of Ontario Art Collection. Grey Weather in the Haytime, Kent, England (48) was painted

in June 1889. According to an inscription on the back, the scene was painted near Chiddingstone Hotel near Edenbridge. The Weird House in the Moat (XIX; 49) was painted "on the spot" in August 1889 at Igham Mote House in Kent.

Through the use of light and colour both works have achieved a strong sense of mood. However, the soft, subdued light which filters into the scenes possesses none of the freshness and vigour found in the artist's early interpretations of Canadian subjects; there is none of the sense of vitality or sense of immediacy as found in September Afternoon... of 1873. Both works revel in soft, lush tones while only small accents of brighter colours enliven the surface; these accents never contrast too strongly with the general colour schemes. In Grey Weather... has white flower and orange roofs carefully interwoven in the overall pattern of brown, purple and green. The Weird House..., although dominated by a sullen, grey monolithic structure and crowned by a heavy blue-grey sky, is subtly relieved by the dying rays of the sun as they catch the corner of the stonework of the building.

An inscription on the back of At the Solemn Hour (50) states that the work was done by Fraser in September 1889 and that the subject is from Goring on the Thames near Oxford. The scene is set at even'tide and across the still expanse of water, nestled between thick trees, is a church. As its tower, which is the focal point of the scene, rises above the horizon it offers a sense of calm and security. Again, the water in the foreground is empty except for the reflections of the trees which play upon the surface. These reflections reach almost down to the bottom half of the picture, thereby pulling up the lower half and linking it to the middleground. Although the viewer is located



far from the actual center of interest, there is a certain sense of "intimacy" to the scene that the distance does not destroy.

One final watercolour which might possibly have been painted by Fraser during his trip to the British Isles is Willow Tree over Stream (47). The work has not been dated, but contains the same intimate, "closed-world" atmosphere of the previous examples from this period of the artist's career. Interestingly, it is a very "impressionistic" interpretation of a warm summer's day. In the right middleground three figures, almost indistinguishable in treatment, sit in a low skiff which glides over water. These figures are secondary to the main subject of the work, the large, drooping willow tree in the left foreground corner which rises above the top of the picture and extends its branches out over the entire width of the scene. These branches act visually as a canopy for the figures. A thick blanket of trees covers the background. Only a small area of sky can be seen in the upper right hand corner; the light blue of the sky is echoed in the deeper turquoise of the water in the lower right hand corner. It is the superb array of various hues of green which create the power of the watercolour, greens juxtaposed with browns and blues and applied in long, languid or short, hurried strokes. The colours almost vie with the willow tree as the subject of the picture.

Much of Fraser's work from Kent has survived in the form of illustrations which appear in the March 1894 issue of Century to accompany Charles de Kay's article "Drowsy Kent."<sup>25</sup> The artist had been required to visit the area by virtue of its being the birthplace of his wife. But it was the rural life here

bathed in an atmosphere like cream and butter, smelling of hay and hops, leisurely and smooth...<sup>26</sup>

which appealed to him, and his record of the land clearly reveals his sympathies with Kent and its people. Fraser painted scenes primarily from two villages: Chiddingstone and Truggers, the last being a contraction of Trug-hurst (or, as the artist often spelled it, Trughurst). Both places were "off the track of the tourist"<sup>27</sup> and were known only to the hop-pickers, who "at harvest-time pour(ed) in,"<sup>28</sup> as well as to a half dozen artists who had discovered their charms.

All of the illustrations in Century were done after watercolours by the artist and were later engraved by others. The illustration Idtham Mote (XXI; 141) survives in the original watercolour, Weird House in the Moat. The two works are very similar to one another, to the point where the same window shutters have been left open. The major difference is the addition of the two swans in the right foreground pond of the Century illustration which contributes a more narrative element to the starkness of the black and white drawing. One can fairly safely assume, however, that the other "lost" watercolours must have borne a very close resemblance to the illustrations.

Fraser paid very careful attention to detailing, particularly with respect to architecture in The Village Street, Chiddingstone (XX; 140). The view, down the "only street" of the village, depicts a row of houses which line the right side of the street. The picturesque motifs of the Tudor-style buildings have been recorded with a patient, albeit heavy hand, and lend a certain sense of the "here and now" to the scene. The long, low farm structure in The Corner of the Road at Truggers (XXVI; 146) occupies a place of central importance to the scene, serving more than

just a back-drop to the figure in the right foreground. And Fraser treats it with more than just a cursory nod.

Kent is a "rich agricultural land of rolling hills, fine woods and quiet streams."<sup>29</sup> Back of the Village - Chiddingstone (XXIII; 143) depicts a harvest scene with figures and hay-covered wagons set against a back-drop of leafy, thick-set trees. There is the same dreamy, contemplative quality here which was previously seen in At the Solemn Hour and Landscape with Figures. In fact, the illustration bears some resemblance to this last work. The same droopy trees cross the middle-ground; the same turreted tower rises in the background; the same open field strewn with cut hay and figures at work crosses the foreground. Only the angle of the scene has been changed. And there is, of course, more narrative content to the illustration.

The primary harvest in Kent was that of hops, and hop-farms abounded. In The Duck-Pond and Old Oast-House at Truggers (XXII, 142) a conical tower, or "oast,"<sup>30</sup> rises from the tiled roof of a small farm building. The little drama with the figure enlivens the scene and adds an "anecdotal" quality. The same quality appears in A Kentish By-Way (XXIV; 144) where Fraser has obviously planted himself and his easel in the middle of a "major thoroughfare" and risks being run down by a flock of geese as they are herded along by a young woman. The open landscape, with a group of meticulously depicted thatched farm houses in the middleground, falls down and away from the foreground, and ends with the distant rolling hills.

The two remaining illustrations by the artist in Century are not particularly interesting. In the Kitchen Garden, Chiddingstone Castle (XXV; 145) is much too busy and unfocused, while Looking Over the Weald

of Kent (XXVII; 147) offers a very general panorama of the area. There are few specific reference points, just some indistinguishable shapes of buildings in the background of this last work.

In Scotland, Fraser was once again confronted with the grandeur of nature, albeit on a more limited scale than with what he had seen in the Canadian Rockies. Two watercolours exist which depict the same Highland area: Highlands of Scotland (42) and The Heart of Scotland (XXVIII; 41). The former is the more unfinished in treatment of the two, particularly in the foreground where pencil lines can still be seen and the rocks have been only summarily coloured in. However, as with the earlier versions of Laurentian Splendour of ca. 1867 and 1880, the former should not be considered as a preliminary sketch of the latter; the two stand as separate, albeit complimentary works.

Highlands of Scotland was probably painted in the early weeks of summer, when colours in nature are still in their first bloom; also, the trees and background mountains only have a light cover of foliage and vegetation. The colours - harmonious combinations of purples, chromes and greens - were only hinted at in previous works painted in the British Isles, but were never quite captured by the artist. Fraser has applied his colours in a loose brush stroke, with the result that there is a rather "unstructured" depiction of forms. Even the mountain which dominates the scene with its presence has been treated in an uninformative manner which reminds one of the upper peaks in the watercolour version of The Rogers Pass of 1886; but there is more substance and volume to the Scottish peak because Fraser did not work from a two-dimensional source such as a photograph. Hence, the mountain retains its sense of presence, of "the here and now." The spatial construction

has also been handled in a relaxed way: although the planes have been stacked so that space reads back and up, there is none of the obviousness to this arrangement as can be found in the 1880 version of Laurentian Splendour. Rather, the artist has been able to assimilate the planes in a more natural way and the work is most successful.

The Heart of Scotland basically represents the same scene in the Highlands as the previous work, but painted later in the summer; the foreground grass is long and languid, the middleground trees are thick with foliage and the background mountain wears a rich coat of vegetation. It is a monumental work and fully captures the rugged beauty of the Scottish countryside.

The build-up of clouds in the sky heralds stormy weather, and creates a strong sense of mood - a deep, brooding mood. This is augmented by the choice of colours, built around the same scheme as in Highlands of Scotland. Although more dullish in tone, the colours remain deep and strong. The purple mountain, with accents of green, orange and brown, dominates the scene, although it is not the center of focus. The middleground grouping of trees which fully cross the picture is the main focus. Composed of various tones of dark green, with lighter accents, the trees have been built up in painterly strokes and retain a strong sense of volume and form; this contrasts with the flatter, almost two-dimensional treatment of the foreground grass which reminds one of a section of a photograph out of focus. Again the space is essentially made up of stacked planes, but as with the previous work they run into one another successfully with the result that the pictorial space is very natural.

The Heart of Scotland is one of Fraser's best watercolours and

was a huge success during the artist's lifetime, being hung "on the line" at the 1891 Paris Salon. Successful with regard to colour, construction of space and the creation of mood, it is no wonder that the work continued to be exhibited regularly during this century. In 1932 Albert Henry Robson wrote that the work

shows....strength and character...(and) although...traditional in method and viewpoint...is rendered with considerable technical ability, full with colour and fine drawing.<sup>31</sup>

The work represents the summation of Fraser's trip to the British Isles, and yet could not have been created without the artist's previous experience in the Canadian Rockies.

While Fraser was still in Great Britain, two black and white illustrations (120) by him appeared in the August 1888 issue of Century to illustrate George Kennan's article "My Meeting with Political Exiles."<sup>32</sup> The works had obviously been prepared prior to April 1888 when the artist most probably left on his trip. Although it is not known what sources he used, it is highly probable that they were photographs, for the author had taken along "photographic apparatus." Upon examining The "Katunski Pillars", Source of the Katun River (110), described as the highest peaks of the Russian Altai, the lack of a middleground and the rather crammed effect of the background peaks as they push towards the picture plane is noticeable. The distant mountain range is also not particularly three-dimensional and the obvious emphasis on outline reminds one of this treatment seen in The Rogers Pass of 1886.

CHAPTER VI  
THE UNITED STATES : 1889-1898

Fraser returned to the United States by the end of the summer in 1889. This final phase of his career centered in New York, although he continued to send works to the AAM, OSA and RCA in Canada, at least during the early 1890's. The artist exhibited on a fairly regular basis at the AWS, NAD and NYWC in New York, and the BAC and BWC in Boston. He also made major contributions to the 1891 Paris Salon, the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition and the 1895 Atlanta Cotton States and International Exhibition. He was also more actively involved in the affairs of the various American art societies. The break from Canadian art circles was fairly complete.

Fraser was still in Great Britain when his wash drawing, Creeping Through the Fog (108) was exhibited at the spring show of the Detroit Museum of Art in 1889.<sup>1</sup> The work had been selected and loaned by A. W. Drake, the art manager of Century and had originally been published in the September 1885 issue.<sup>2</sup> But by mid August Fraser seems to have permanently settled in New York, for a notice in the Toronto Week states:

The well-known artist...so long a resident of Toronto, after a sojourn in England and Scotland, has taken a studio in New York, where his clever watercolour drawings are much appreciated.<sup>3</sup>

In his 1897 catalogue of works by Fraser,<sup>4</sup> Townsend states that the artist had returned to America for health reasons. The artist's letter to Van Horne of the 26 January 1889 seems to bear this out:<sup>5</sup> while he was confident of his painting in Great Britain, Fraser was unable to say the same for his health. Both the summer ("brief and cold") and the winter ("foggy and soft") had tired him and left him with "a

very unsatisfactory condition of health."<sup>6</sup> Without further documentation, the full truth will never be known. Perhaps the success he sought in Great Britain had eluded him.

The move to New York, on the other hand, seems to have been a permanent one and it is possible that Fraser took out American citizenship. In a letter from the artist read at the 11 December 1889 board of control meeting of the AWS he requested that his name be transferred to the list of resident members, signifying his serious intention to remain in that country.

By February 1890 it seems that Fraser was "meeting with good success."<sup>7</sup> While none of his watercolours appeared in that year's annual AWS exhibition, it was for a good reason:

he is under agreement to Messrs. Knoedler and Company, successors to Goupils, who take from him all his productions both in oil and watercolour.<sup>8</sup>

A collection of Fraser watercolours produced in Kent and the Scottish Highlands might have been shown at Boussod Valadon and Co. in New York in March 1890.<sup>9</sup> Only one work, On a Gray Morning (569) was shown at the twelfth annual exhibition of the Society of American Artists. And that April, three works (392b; 410a; 525a) of which two depicted Scottish subjects, were exhibited at the NAD.<sup>10</sup> This latter contribution was noted in the Week, which then explained why Fraser had been forced to reside in the States:

the thirty percent duty of works of art precluding...living in Canada any longer.<sup>11</sup>

A large collection of Fraser watercolours was sent to the 1890 annual RCA exhibition, held at the AAM gallery in May. The twelve works (399; 423; 546; 566; 595; 614) probably all depicted subjects in Great Britain. The Week commented that they were



masterly works...marked by all his old-time force and skill handling tempered to a refinement of finish which is new to him and a use of treatment to which he was formerly a stranger.<sup>12</sup>

Fresh June Morning (556), In Scented Summer (632), Highland River (441) and Through the Hay (656) were signaled out, for they possessed "a charm for people of all countries who appreciate good art."<sup>13</sup> It is obvious that the Toronto reviewer approved of any changes in Fraser's style.

Eleven of the RCA watercolours were later sent to the eighteenth annual OSA exhibition held in June in Toronto. The Bystander commented that the artist's works

may well serve as models for our younger artists. It is pleasant to see that Mr. Fraser, though settled at a distance, is loyal in his attachments to Canadian art.<sup>14</sup>

The Week was more effusive:

The first...to catch the eye and attention are the brilliant examples of clever work sent by John A. Fraser, consisting, chiefly, of English and Scotch scenes, which, for decision of touch and knowledge of colour, show not only the old-time readiness of his practised hand, but an added refinement of execution and finish of detail adopted from the English school of water-colour.<sup>15</sup>

Through the Hay had a "wonderful out-door effect attained with apparent ease and sincerity."<sup>16</sup> In a Kitchen Garden (489a) showed "great boldness of treatment, while the female figure looks as if its home was there and not as if introduced."<sup>17</sup> Only 'Mid Meadow, Moor and Mountains (422) was criticized for "the laborious stippling (was) too evident."<sup>18</sup> In summation, the Week stated that Fraser "excels in pure decisive wash, and is evidently an out-door worker by nature and choice."<sup>19</sup>

In November 1890 Fraser sent five works to the first annual exhibition of the New York Watercolor Club, although it was not until January 1892 that he was elected to the membership.<sup>20</sup> The New York Herald commented that "the most attractive of the five refreshingly true and solidly painted works...is A Lock on the Thames (489b).<sup>21</sup> The other four works might have represented scenes from Great Britain (531; 579; 598; 647).

Fraser exhibited extensively throughout the United States during 1891. He showed eight watercolours (374; 377; 396; 407; 436; 490; 548; 632) at the twenty-fourth annual AWS exhibition held in February 1891,<sup>22</sup> and sent one work (489d) to the forty-second BAC exhibition, four (337; 365; 431; 496) to the second NYWC show, two (597; 676) to the NAD and was "well-represented" at the Salmagundi Club.<sup>23</sup> According to their titles, it can be seen that half of the works exhibited had been painted in Great Britain, and that the other half were from the United States, in particular from around the Lake Mahopac region in New York State. This area became the "Eastern Townships" for the artist during his career in the States.

During 1891 Fraser sent three oils (392; 432) to the March RCA exhibition held in Toronto. His exhibit was considered "of unusual merit"<sup>24</sup> and 'Neath Threatening Skies, in Spring-time (605) was singled out as being

poetic in conception and exquisite in execution. It is a fascinating picture, and one difficult to leave. The woman feeding the ducks; the soft, vernal tint of grass and foliage; the group of trees and stormy sky - all contribute to the impressive effect of the scene.<sup>25</sup>

These same oils were later shown at the 1891 annual Spring exhibition of the AAM held during April. The Montreal Star called them "...wild,

bleak field and mountain scenes...,<sup>26</sup> while the Montreal Gazette referred to them as landscapes "of a more prosaic type"<sup>27</sup> and emphatically stated that they were "perhaps the best work in this style..."<sup>28</sup> by the artist.

Perhaps the most important exhibition to which Fraser contributed that year was the Paris Salon. He had originally sent four works, but only two were accepted by the jury, "...though they hang no more of any man."<sup>29</sup> The two selected works were Mauvais Temps (or Uncertain Weather) (365) and Au Coeur d'Ecosse (or The Heart of Scotland). In a 9 June 1891 letter to Van Horne from New York, Fraser enclosed two newspaper clippings from two Paris journals. One review by F. Fertiault of Moniteur des Arts states that:

les sites d'un bon choix, et les arbres, les eaux, les rochers plus ou moins sombres, y sont sérieusement traités. La (v)allee est surtout d'un attachant effet.<sup>30</sup>

Marcel Legendre of le Journal des Arts states of The Heart of Scotland:

hautes montagnes irisées, d'aspect sévère, premiers plans d'un vert qui justifie le surnom qu'on a donné à ce pays; aquarelle d'une vigoureuse exécution.<sup>31</sup>

According to Fraser's letter Mauvais Temps was considered "...un travail original."<sup>32</sup> Fraser further states that all this was high praise, for the Paris critics

are not in sympathy with the slavish imitation of the fault tricks of certain quacks which seem to be very taking just now with our judges.<sup>33</sup>

Mauvais Temps was very likely the same work as Uncertain Weather - on the Croton Water Shed, NY shown at the 1891 NYWC exhibition and again at the sixty-second exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy in Philadelphia in 1892.<sup>34</sup>

On 14 September 1891 Augustus Pell held an auction of works of Canadian and some British artists in his Montreal rooms.<sup>35</sup> Fraser's name was included, but it is not known what works he sent. One can surmise that the artist, while gradually breaking his ties with the Montreal art scene, knew where his works might still fetch a good price.

To further secure his move to the States, Fraser began to actively participate in the affairs of various American art societies. At the 18 December 1891 board of control meeting of the NYWC, his name was proposed for membership; he was declared elected, as of that date, at the 22 January 1891 meeting. At the 16 March 1892 AWS meeting, the artist was appointed to the board of control for that year, and to the same position in 1894.<sup>36</sup> He was a member of the jury of selection or admissions for the NYWC in 1893 and the AWS in 1894.<sup>38</sup> His activities in these societies obviously took the place of those in Canada. At this point of the artist's career they probably provided more of a social outlet for a man of Fraser's gregarious nature. However, there is no denying that they also continued to give him the support and encouragement of his peers that he always needed.

Fraser's contributions to Century also greatly increased during this time. During the period between August 1890 and October 1892, the artist prepared some seventeen black and white drawings to illustrate various, if not varied, articles. Six illustrations (125; 126; 127; 128) for John Muir's two-part article "The Treasures of the Yosemite" appeared in the August and September 1890 issues.<sup>39</sup> Again, photographs are the suspected source. The craggy face of El Capitan (124) possesses the same sense of presence, the same trait of "portraiture" as the peak in Unidentified Landscape, but does not have the more general, schematic

treatment of the rock. Instead, El Capitan becomes the center of focus (quite literally) and all of its features have been minutely, and precisely rendered. The empty, uninteresting foreground is unfocused and quickly treated as a vague, almost undefined impression.

With View of the Yosemite Valley From Point Lookout - El Capitan on the Left, the Bridal Veil Fall on the Right, the Half Dome in the Distance (123), one again has an emphasis on foreground and background; the middleground has literally dropped from sight. But the foreground bears distinct traces of a more personal hand than the background, and one suspects that Fraser played more freely with the arrangement of the trees and their shapes. South Side of Mount Lyell (126) is also a combination of sources; the background is like a photographic image, while the gnarled, twisted foreground trees are a familiar sight, both from the artist's paintings and his illustrations. The horizontal line created by the swath of dark forest which covers the foreground area acts as a dividing line between the two differently treated areas.

In the October 1890 issue of Century Fraser drew illustrations for E.T. Bickford's article "Prehistoric Cave-Dwellings."<sup>40</sup> All three illustrations (131) are very obviously developed from photographs, in no small measure due to the fact that they represent scenes which the artist had almost certainly never seen during his travels. While the Yosemite canyon mountains, and even the peaks of the Russian Altai, were, essentially, "familiar" to the artist from his trips out west, the Canon Chelly in Arizona were quite different. Therefore, the artist would have relied more heavily on his photographic sources. In fact, one illustration, The White House, Canon de Chelly (130), might almost be a reversed reproduction of Timothy H. O'Sullivan's photograph Canyon

de Chelly, Arizona,<sup>41</sup> taken during the 1873 expedition. The artist has most faithfully reproduced every crinkle in the rock face, which has been whipped and blasted by the Arizona wind for centuries. And in Landscape in Canon de Chelly (129), Fraser has successfully conveyed the intense, oppressive heat of the mid-morning sun on the canyon floor. The trees are mere shapeless forms and the distant rocks have lost their distinctive features.

Only one work by Fraser appeared in 1891: The Suburbs of Granada (132) after a photograph by O'Neil, which illustrated Roger S. Baldwin Jr.'s "Tarrying in Nicaragua. Pleasures and Perils of the California Trip in 1849."<sup>42</sup> One work (137) illustrated Frederick Schwatka's "Land of the Cliff-Dwellers,"<sup>43</sup> and four (133; 135; 136) Israel C. Russel's "Mount Saint Elias Revisited,"<sup>44</sup> both in the June 1892 issue. From this last article, Mount Saint Elias From the Newton Glacier (134) is a striking example of the artist's success in interpreting a photograph into black and white: the illustration works in few tones which results in a rather stark and sparing image. The work is extremely linear, with few volumes. Fraser's interpretation is almost "abstract" in conception; but one must consider the simple, yet effective photograph which served as the source. And, one must remember the role of the engraver who, essentially, interpreted the artist's idea into print. The process was long, and tedious, and the success of the work obviously depended on many variables, all inter-connected. Thus, Fraser's work with Century poses more questions than it presents answers.

The last illustrations, A Picturesque Ravine (138) and Draining Mount Saint Elias (139), appeared in the September and October 1892 issues of Century, respectively, to illustrate E.J. Glave's article

"Pioneer Packhorses in Alaska";<sup>45</sup> they are probably both "after a photograph."

Fraser exhibited exclusively in the United States during 1892. Five English and Scottish scenes were exhibited at the twenty-fifth annual AWS show (464; 481; 489i; 500). The Heart of Scotland was selling for the phenomenal price of \$1,000.00. A smaller collection of three works (550; 586; 662), possibly of American scenes, was shown at that year's exhibition of the Boston Society of Water Colour Painters held during March and April at the Chase Gallery. Three works were later shown at the third annual NYWC exhibition held from December 1892 to January 1893 (439; 578). A Heathery Hillside in the Wild-Highlands (409) was lent by E. H. Del'Orme and was consequently not for sale. Only one work, In May-Time (593a), was exhibited at the NAD.

Fraser exhibited again in Canada only in 1893 when he sent a particularly large collection of works to the fourteenth annual RCA exhibition held that year at the AAM Gallery; one oil and twelve water-colours were exhibited (50; 430; 443; 574; 653). From the reviews, it is obvious that the artist had been sorely missed at previous shows. The Montreal Star stated that the landscape department of the exhibition was "up to average, with the exception of Mr. Fraser's landscapes, which surpass anything seen here for some time."<sup>46</sup> A later article from the same newspaper stated that the artist's work possessed "strength and simplicity...unequaled."<sup>47</sup>

Fraser exhibited only one oil at the AAM, A Highland November Morning (410) which was considered "a good specimen."<sup>48</sup> On a Blowy Morn in June (453) and The Weird House in the Moat were called "masterpieces"<sup>49</sup> by the Arcadia, the former being noted as "charmingly breezy" by the

Montreal Star. The rolling hills in On the Loch Etive Side (419) were "powerfully indicated."<sup>50</sup> A Bit of Ightan Mote House (448) was considered "very idealized and a fine conception."<sup>51</sup> By the Meadow Stream (455) was illustrated, albeit poorly, in the newspaper. It was described as "an exquisite bit of rural scenery"<sup>52</sup> by the Star. The Montreal Gazette was more critical; although it considered the work "charmingly effective,"<sup>53</sup> it felt that it "might be quieter and yet more effective, were the pink coat substituted for one of a more subdued color, or rather if both man and coat were removed"<sup>54</sup> - still common complaint of the artist's work when he included figures.

The highest praise went to 'Twixt Achray and Katrine (42). It was considered an "attractive and skillful work in purple, chromes and greens"<sup>55</sup> by the Montreal Witness. The Montreal Gazette considered it to be

deserving special study, and it is pleasing to learn that it has been sold. Here the masses are well balanced, the colors melt into each other; it is an harmonious and dignified representation of a well known scene in - "The Land of the Mountain and Flood."<sup>56</sup>

Only one work in this exhibition was "Canadian" in content - Percé (220). The Gazette did not like it for "the treatment is commonplace and conventional."<sup>57</sup>

Only one other Canadian art exhibition received a work by Fraser during 1893: the oil Gray Morning (568), lent by the OSA, was sent to the September TIE. The artist's contributions to American exhibitions, on the other hand, were extensive in that year. Four works (44; 358; 452; 650) were sent to the twenty-sixth annual AWS show held from 30 January to the 25 February. One work, The Last of the Day (585), was exhibited at the NAD.<sup>58</sup> Eight watercolours (316; 325; 468; 471; 497; 489f; 560)



representing American and English scenes, were shown at the fourth annual NYWC show held in late November. Of particular interest in this collection is East 47th Street (673), an obvious "cityscape" and one of the few ever painted by the artist. It can be seen to represent a tentative, almost hesitating step by Fraser to "keep up with the times" and adapt his subject matter accordingly. Perhaps it reflected a direct influence of the illustration work he must have seen in Century.

Four watercolours (451; 458) were sent to the Pennsylvania Academy in Philadelphia.<sup>59</sup> Two of the works, Sentinal Rocks (388) and Cathedral Rocks, Yosemite (383) were works which the artist had also done for Century; the periodical later sent these drawings to the World's Columbian Exposition<sup>60</sup> held in Chicago that year.

This exposition, continuing in the tradition of international exhibitions, commemorated the founding of America by Columbus. Fraser sent a large collection of works to Chicago and was, in fact, represented in both the American and Canadian sections. This was a "typical" Fraser action which ensured that as many of his works as possible would be shown at such an important showpiece for art.

One oil (466) and four watercolours (353; 358; 488) were exhibited in the American section. These entries were divided between English and American scenes, with the large and ever popular The Heart of Scotland heading that particular group. One oil and twelve watercolours were exhibited in the Canadian section. These works were made up of the exact same pictures which the artist had exhibited at that year's RCA show and thus were dominated by English subjects. There are few reviews of Fraser's contributions. His name is merely mentioned in the Week and the Montreal

Herald.<sup>61</sup> It must have been a rather ominous silence for the artist.

In the pen and ink section, four works (383a; 387) were contributed, two by Century. The illustration Back of the Village, Chiddingstone (143), and a wash, The Corner, Kent (457), had probably been done up from some works painted while the artist was in Great Britain, and later illustrated in Century.

One last important event to occur for the artist in 1893 was the purchase "for the permanent exhibition in Ottawa a landscape by... Fraser..."<sup>62</sup> by the RCA. This work was The Highlands of Scotland.

In 1894 Fraser sent six watercolours (417; 435; 456; 493), all depicting scenes from England, to the fifteenth annual RCA exhibition held in Ottawa. Only a small notice appeared in the Week stating that the artist had sent a "number of good bits of color,"<sup>63</sup> A Grey Morning on the Thames (471) and At Gorrie Arran (406) being among the best. The same collection was later shown at the fifteenth annual spring exhibition of the AAM. According to the Association's annual report for that year, the artist received \$50.00 for the best watercolour in the show, although the work in question was not named.<sup>64</sup> The only other Canadian exhibition which received a work by Fraser was the TIE held in September: Above Ben Doe (389) represented a scene from Scotland. Five watercolours (46; 392a; 412; 475; 489e), probably all English scenes, were exhibited at the twenty-seventh AWS show, held at the NAD galleries February to March 1894. Two works were shown at the NAD exhibition (523a; 631;).<sup>65</sup>

The artist continued to exhibit at the same societies throughout 1895 but again reviews are scarce. One work, In the Wild Highlands (442), was shown at the BAC. Four watercolours (465; 660; 651) were exhibited

at the twenty-eighth annual AWS show, held from 4 February to 2 March. One of the most interesting works at this last exhibition was Passing Trains - A Cold Evening on Sixth Avenue (674), which was specifically noted in the catalogue as being in "the collection of the artist."

This is only the second known "cityscape" painted by the artist. Thus it is fortunate that the work was later reproduced as an illustration in the February issue of Century magazine to accompany Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer's article "Places in New York."<sup>66</sup> The illustration bears an amazing resemblance to the kind of painting which was to become so popular in the work of the famous "Ash-can School" of New York, and thus clearly demonstrates the eclecticism of Fraser and the ability to adapt (and change) as styles and tastes changed. Looking down the busy avenue on a blustery evening, one sees people walking along the sidewalks, horse-drawn carriages and a locomotive travelling along a raised track. Steam rises from the hated buildings and the locomotive, obscuring most of the background of the scene. There is a certain "stopped-time" quality to the figures which does not quite fit in with all of the other activity going on.

In 1895 Fraser sent at least five works (417; 4891;511; 657), all depicting scenes from Great Britain, to the Cotton States and International Exhibition held in Atlanta, Georgia from 18 September to 31 December. The Heart of Scotland was included. The artist won a silver medal for these pictures, which was awarded to him only the following year.<sup>67</sup>

During the year 1896 Fraser does not appear to have been especially active in his career. There were no contributions to any Canadian exhibitions, and only a total of five watercolours were exhibited at the

AWS (652) and BAC (41; 411; 467) for that year. In 1897 Van Horne lent A Pool in the Woods (613) to the nineteenth loan exhibition of the AAM, and that year, the artist sent an untitled work to the TIE (638).

Fraser made his final contributions to Century in 1895 and 1897. Five illustrations for John Muir's article "The Discovery of Glacier Bay" appeared in the June issue of 1895.<sup>68</sup> The Hugh Miller Glacier (148) and The Pacific Glacier (150) were drawn by Fraser from sketches which had been made by the author in 1879, while Fairweather Range, from Glacier Bay (149) was drawn from an 1890 sketch. One illustration, Front of Muir Glacier from Mount Wright (151), was drawn from a photograph by Reid; whereas View of Fossil Forest near the Front of Muir Glacier, on the West Side (152) was drawn, simply, "from a photograph." Thus Fraser was once again not working from his own original ideas, but was relying on other sources. A large contribution was sent to Century in 1897. Besides the aforementioned A Winter Evening on Sixth Avenue (153) which had been exhibited as a watercolour at the 1895 AWS show, there were West Shore of Tanganyika near Moliro, Looking North (154) and West Shore of Tanganyika near Mpala, Looking South (155) drawn from photographs by E.J. Glave to illustrate his article "New Conditions in Central Africa..." which appeared in the April issue.<sup>69</sup> The last known contribution by the artist appeared in the August 1897 issue to illustrate John Muir's article "The Alaska Trip."<sup>70</sup> Four of the works were "based on sketches from nature by the author" (156; 157; 159; 160) and the other two were "after a photograph," (158) one of which had been taken by C.A. Reid (161). All six works are similar in treatment.

An important auction of Fraser watercolours occurred in Toronto in October 1897, held by C.J. Townsend and Co., Auctioneers.<sup>71</sup> A total of

eighty-five works, which included studies and sketches painted "on the spot" in Canada, Great Britain and the United States, were put up for sale. All were sold "without reserve", that is, with no upset price (except where specifically noted in the catalogue). The works were on view for two days prior to the sale, held on 14 October. There does not appear to have been any review of the works in any of the Toronto newspapers.

Of the great number of watercolours auctioned, only a few are still in existence today. Grey Weather in Haytime, Kent, England (48) and The Weird House in the Moat are presently located in the Speaker's Apartment of the Legislative Building, Queen's Park, Toronto; At the Solemn Hour (50) is located at the London Regional Art Gallery; and The Heart of Scotland (41) is at the AGO. It is possible that The Fiery Glow of Sunset on Mount Stephen's Crest is, in fact, A Scene in the Rockies (38), now at the Beaverbrook Art Gallery.

The auction was not as successful as Fraser had hoped it would be. In a 30 October 1897 letter from the artist to W. Thomson Smith<sup>72</sup> who purchased seven works he states that he was "greatly disappointed at the prices which my pictures realized..." Fraser's chagrin was somewhat mitigated by the fact that "so many of my works are placed in intelligent and appreciative hands." This is a direct reference to Smith, the artist's patron during the late 1890's who had already purchased other works from the 1897 sale: At the Solemn Hour, considered by Fraser to be "one of the very finest I ever did...executed in a few hours," and Sunset on Lake Mahopac (375), which had been painted "on an unusually busy and successful" day. The American architect and critic, Russell Sturgis, had purchased another work from the artist similar to

the last one which Smith had bought. However, Fraser assured Smith that the Sturgis picture was "no better...certainly than the one you own."

It is also possible that a third picture, A Rare Old English Street (489i), changed hands. The Weird House in the Moat (49) was sold to Oliver Mowat.

A final work from the Townsend sale which still exists today is the watercolour At Nahant, Mass. (28).<sup>73</sup> It is a particularly fresh, invigorating picture in which the crispness of the day is keenly felt. The bright, jewel-like colours are similar to those found in the 1886 Fraser River and Line of the CPR, although the artist is perhaps more deliberate here in his application of watercolour, particularly with the white highlighting. Fraser's concern for colour can be deduced from the notation he wrote in pencil on the back of the work: "Sky pale blue above/ yellowish? clouds streaks/ to horizon." His detailing of the rocky shoreline which occupies much of the scene is somewhat relieved by the quick splash of colour to describe the foreground flowers and the mere suggestion of the forms of the sailing crafts on the horizon.

Smith, it seems, took the place of Van Horne as Fraser's patron sometime during the 1890's.<sup>74</sup> The 1897 letter rather reminds one of the earlier correspondance between the artist and the Vice-President of the CPR. There is a certain amount of obsequiousness to its tone which might have ingratiated Fraser to Smith. However, the great difference with this letter is that it is perhaps the only known correspondance in which the artist has dropped his guard and spoken freely, if rather briefly, on "art." Fraser does sound a bit discouraged, particularly with respect to the public's appreciation, or lack of, the demands placed on the artist:

I have had a long and painful experience and know that Art is utterly unlike anything else inasmuch as there certainly are moments or epochs of direct

divine inspiration vouchsafed to its earnest and capable followers, of the mechanical or manipulative methods which most ordinary folks admire and love to see - because they can understand most readily - are ignored and despised just in proportion as the artist becomes a "master." I mean more strictly speaking the exhibition of those qualities, for of course they are his means of expression but as a master only the means the full possession of which he becomes unconscious...<sup>75</sup>

Fraser probably did not paint anything throughout 1897. Townsend noted in the text of the auction catalogue that the artist was in serious health that year which had "incapacitated him from active production."<sup>76</sup> Thus the auction was one final attempt to clear out his studio and live off the results of a career which had spanned some forty years. From the letter to Smith it can be seen that the artist had perhaps not completely enjoyed the fruits of his labours and that the move to the States had been less than entirely successful. This was in part due to the

almost incredibly mean contemptible and ignorant detestation of everything and everybody "English" that characterizes the "fool" people among whom it is my unhappy lot to live.<sup>77</sup>

Obviously the American public was not especially interested in works with a decidedly "English" subject matter. According to the titles of the works put up for sale in 1897, the greater part of them (at least fifty out of eighty-five) can be classified as English. Hence the reason for holding the auction in Toronto - that bastion of English Canada. The works were sure to be more appreciated there than in New York, where the American and French subjects found "ready and remunerative sales."<sup>78</sup>

On the 1 January 1898 John Fraser died in New York City, just a few days before his sixtieth birthday. The funeral took place at the Church of the Beloved Disciple and the artist was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery.<sup>79</sup>

EPILOGUE

In February 1900 Fraser's daughter, Nanette, compiled a list of the watercolours and oil paintings found in her father's studio after his death.<sup>1</sup> Besides recording the medium, measurements and prices of most of the works, Nanette often included brief notations or comments which, although rather subjective in nature, give us some idea of the arrangement of the compositions, the colour schemes and the subject matter of many of the works.

From this list Nanette was able to arrange two important exhibitions of works by Fraser in the United States. The first was held in 1901 at the Kit Kat Club in New York from April 8 to 16. The exhibition catalogue, which included a brief biography of the artist, summed up Fraser's approach to painting:

The joyous mastery of Mr. Fraser's handling and his strong perception are apparent in his slightest work - no hesitation marks his rapid notes, whether of hay-field, mountain, or shore. For the moment Nature is his own - he loves her every mood, whether of sunshine, tears, or sullen storm and lovingly portrays them.<sup>2</sup>

The works exhibited at the Kit Kat Club were primarily English in subject matter, revealing that the artist had not been able to sell many of the pictures he had made during his 1888-89 trip to the British Isles. Some of these works had quite a successful history: An English May Morning (466) and In the Wild Highlands (443) had won medals at Chicago in 1893, and Loch Linnhe (417) had won a silver medal at Atlanta in 1895. Two Canadian scenes, Along the CPR Rockies (30) and Still Water (59) are presently in the private collection of a descendant in California. Few American scenes were exhibited because these had found a more ready market during



the artist's lifetime.

The show does not seem to have been noticed by the American press, for no reviews have been discovered. It can also safely be assumed that the exhibition was not a particular success, at least with respect to sales, for almost the same list of works appear in the catalogue of the second exhibition which Nanette helped to arrange, held from January to the beginning of March 1903 at the Detroit Museum of Art.<sup>3</sup> Correspondance between Nanette and A. H. Griffiths, the museum director, details the events.

Nanette had actually originally heard of the exhibition from an Al Humphreys, possibly a staff member of the museum, and felt certain that she could "contribute a fine collection"<sup>4</sup> of works. W. S. Budworth and Son of New York collected the pictures on the 2 December 1902 and shipped all forty-six of them to Detroit.<sup>5</sup> Upon receiving them, Griffiths wrote to Nanette and assured her that he would "do all possible to make the exhibitions interesting."<sup>6</sup> But once again the museum was unable to sell any of the works, "tho' they (had) been greatly admired,"<sup>7</sup> and the collection was shipped back to New York. The only notice on the show appeared in the Detroit Tribune the 1 March 1903:

The friends of the late John A. Fraser... have placed on exhibition at the Detroit Art Museum a fine collection of his works, both oil and water colors, many of which were in the medal group at the World's Fair, and some of which won the silver medal at Atlanta. Mr. Frazer (sic) gained recognition in the National Academy at London, which was his native city, in the Paris Salon, and won several medals in this country... Many of his paintings now on exhibition are of foreign views, wild glimpses of rock and water, and quiet pastoral scenes in Holland, Canada and America.<sup>8</sup>

While it is unlikely that Fraser had painted scenes in Holland, it is probable that he did paint in France. The Detroit exhibition included works

from Dieppe (517-518a) where Fraser might travelled to when he went overseas in 1888.

It is unfortunate that the whereabouts of most of the watercolours and oils exhibited in New York and Detroit are not known today. It must be wondered how Nanette eventually dispersed with the works, for interest in Fraser pictures had started to wane during the latter part of the artist's career and buyers must have been scarce, particularly in the United States.

Canadian collectors continued to send Fraser pictures to various exhibitions in Canada and Great Britain during the first half of the twentieth century. O. A. Howland, L. Goldman, James Rolph, E. Whaley and R. Y. Ellis were some of the major contributors, particularly to the annual TIE shows. A large group of works was sent to a loan exhibition of works by deceased Canadian artists shown at the Toronto Art Museum from the 24 January to the 22 February 1911.<sup>9</sup> A one-man show seems also to have been held there from the 15 January to the 19 February 1916, but reviews have not been located.<sup>10</sup> Seven works were loaned to the 1926 inaugural exhibition of the Art Gallery of Ontario, held from the 29 January to the 28 February. And two works were sent to an exhibition of Canadian artists held at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool from the 4 to the 23 July 1910.<sup>11</sup> The exhibition had been arranged under the auspices of the RCA; interestingly, O'Brien was not represented.

Works by Fraser have also been included in sales of various private collections. The James Spooner sale, held from the 19 to 20 April 1907; the R. Y. Ellis sale, held from the 21 to 22 May 1919; and the Leys sale, held the 9 April 1913.<sup>12</sup> All of the above took place in Toronto where the artist had spent the greater part (and most fruitful years) of his career. Fraser pictures have also periodically appeared in art sales at some of the

larger auction firms. Fraser Brothers in Montreal had one work in 1948 (14). Two oils, compendium pieces which probably depicted the Baie des Chaleurs, were sold in Toronto through Ward-Price Ltd. in 1958 (16/17).<sup>13</sup> Sotheby's in Toronto has seen the greatest number of Fraser works: three each in 1968 (44; 46; 54) and 1969 (15; 31; 52), and one each in 1971 (55), 1974 (58), 1978 (60) and 1980 (51). One work has appeared at Christie's in 1969 (60).<sup>14</sup>

A renewed interest in painting in Canada in the late nineteenth century has seen recent exhibitions focus on individual artists from the period. While Fraser has yet to be awarded such recognition, his works have appeared in "group" shows. Examples of the artist's tinted portrait photographs were shown in 1979 at the McCord Museum in an exhibition which examined the relationship between painting and photography in Canada from 1860 to 1900. The largest collection of watercolours and oil paintings by Fraser brought together for an exhibition in recent years was at the National Gallery of Canada's presentation Our Own Country Canada, an examination of the principal landscape painters in Montreal and Toronto from 1860 to 1890. The works shown represented almost the full range of the artist's career in Canada: from the early watercolours depicting the Eastern Townships region, through to the impressive oils of mid career when Fraser was a successful and established painter, to the vast array of works from the well-documented 1886 western sketching trip. Only the "English" works from 1888-89 were excluded; no works from the 1890's have, as yet, been discovered. And one oil was shown in 1980 at the exhibition to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the National Gallery of Canada.

NOTESPREFACE

<sup>1</sup> Newton MacTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1925), p.45.

<sup>2</sup> Graham McInnes, A Short History of Canadian Art (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1939).

<sup>3</sup> William Colgate, Canadian Art, its origin and development. With a forward by C. W. Jefferys, RCA (1943; reprint ed., Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Press, Ltd., 1967).

<sup>4</sup> R. H. Hubbard, An Anthology of Canadian Art (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960), p.18.

<sup>5</sup> Ann Thomas, Fact and fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography 1860-1900 (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1979).

<sup>6</sup> R. H. Hubbard, The Development of Canadian Art (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1963), p.67.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p.67.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.67.

<sup>9</sup> Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: The Canadian Centennial Library, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1966), p.37.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p.37.

<sup>11</sup> Hubbard, 1960, p.18.

<sup>12</sup> J. Russell Harper, Painting in Canada (1966; reprint ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p.193.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.193.

<sup>14</sup> Dennis Reid, Our Own Country Canada (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada and National Museums, 1979).

CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup> Fraser was born in the sub-district of St-Paul, in the parish of St. George in the East, Middlesex county, England. His birth was registered in the district of St. George in the East, Middlesex county on 3 February 1838 and he was baptised 7 February 1838 by the Reverend W. Quckett(?), Curate. A copy of the official entry of birth was kindly given to the author by Mr. Don D. Fraser, a grandson of the artist, of Victoria, B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Ford Gagen (1848-1926) states in his unpublished manuscript, Ontario Art Chronicle (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, n.d.), p.22 that Fraser was "of Scottish and Danish descent." Gagen can be considered as a fairly reliable source for he was a contemporary and fellow--artist. Correspondence with various Fraser descendants, however, reveals no knowledge of Danish blood.

<sup>3</sup> John Fraser (père) was born 20 September 1810. Two obituary notices, "Obituary. The Late John Fraser," Canadian Illustrated News (hereafter known as CIN), V, no.24, 15 June 1872, p. 374, and "Canadian Portrait Gallery. The Late 'Cousin Sandy'," CIN, V, no.25, 22 June 1872, p.388, with an illustration on p.390, give more complete biographical information. See also Frank T. Robinson, Living New England Artists (Boston: Samuel E. Cassino, 1888), p.150. Fraser had published in various installments "Reminiscences of an English Chartist," which appeared in the Northern Journal; however, copies of this Canadian publication have not been located.

<sup>4</sup> The Chartist party was a legal reform party in England which came into prominence during that period known as the "Hungry forties." See Julius West, A History of the Chartist Movement (1920; reprint ed., New York: A.M. Kelley, 1968).

<sup>5</sup> B.F. Hubbard, Forest Clearings. The History of Stanstead County (Montreal: Lovell, 1874), p.243. Isabella Warren married John Fraser 21 July 1835 in the Church of St. George in the East, Middlesex county. The ceremony was performed by the Reverend William Quckett(?), Curate, and was witnessed by John Warren and Mary Ann Stanley. A copy of the marriage certificate was given to the author by Mr. Don D. Fraser.

<sup>6</sup> Letter from W.J.F. Fenton, Surrey, England, to Martin B. Smith, 18 June 1980. William Lewis, or Louis, Fraser was born 5 November 1841. A search of parish records by Mr. Fenton, genealogist and record agent, reveals that he was baptised 5 December 1841 by I.W. Sanders, Officiating Minister. A copy of this letter was given to the author by Mr. Don D. Fraser.

<sup>7</sup> No information has been found on the birth and baptism of James Fraser.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from Fenton to Smith, 18 June 1980. Margaret Isabella Fraser was born 12 November 1836. Searches for her baptism reveal a date of 7 February 1838.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Agnes Amelia Fraser was born 4 December 1843 and she was baptised 24 December 1843 by the parish rector.

<sup>10</sup> Reid, 1979, p.45. "...family tradition has it that he (Fraser) set out on his own at the age of fourteen to become an artist, working during the day to pay for evening classes at the Royal Academy." The biographical sketch included in the Catalogue of Paintings in Oil and Water Colors by John A. Fraser...8-16 April 1901, Kit Kat Club, New York City states that "at the age of fourteen, while busied during the day with mercantile duties, he attended night drawing-classes at Burlington." The Fraser family tree, compiled by a descendant in Bakersfield, California, states "somewhat like David Copperfield he worked, as a boy, in some strange underground place, something to do with a brewery, and tried his hand at art in his spare time and in some way through his work he met George Du Maurier and they attended some art classes together." A copy of the Fraser family tree was kindly given to the author by Mrs. Kathryn L. (Fraser) Watson, of Nepean, Ontario, a great grand-daughter of the artist.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Redgrave (1804-1888) was a student at the Royal Academy schools from 1826. Nominated ARA in 1840, he became RA in 1851. By the late 1840's he was teaching the botanical drawing class and the colour class at the Government Schools of Design, in South Kensington. By 1852, when the Schools had been reorganized into the Department of Practical Art, Redgrave was appointed head of the teaching staff as art superintendent. In 1857 he became inspector-general in the Schools (by then the Department of Science and Art) and by 1874 was appointed Director of the Art Division, retiring in 1875. See Richard Redgrave, A Memoir. Compiled from His Diary by F.M. Redgrave (London, Paris and Melbourne: Cassell & Co Ltd., 1891). For more information on his connection with the Government Schools of Design see Quentin Bell, The Schools of Design (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963).

<sup>12</sup> Francis William Topham (1808-1877) was primarily a water colourist and member of numerous watercolour societies in England. Richard and Samuel Redgrave, A Century of Painters of the English School (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1970 (1878), p.434.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Constance-Anne Parker, Librarian, Royal Academy, London, England, to the author, 15 August 1978. "If as you say he studied under Redgrave...it is likely that he attended the Government School of Design. In its early days it is often confused with the Royal Academy because it took over the R.A.'s premises when they moved to Trafalgar Square."

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 8 May 1980. "Richard Redgrave was a visitor in the Royal Academy Schools in 1852 and 1853...the teaching in the Schools was done by one visiting Academician a month, ie. 9 in a year. There is no record

of exactly what they all did or which month."

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. "F.W. Topham was not a Royal Academician and therefore could not have taught in the Schools."

<sup>16</sup> The Government Schools of Design (by 1852 the Department of Practical Art) were a direct result of the 1835 "Select Committee on the Arts and Their Connection with Manufactures" which had been convened by the British Parliament to examine the reasons for the poor state of manufactures in the country, and to make recommendations for their improvement. The Select Committee's conclusions recommended that the state establish schools under a central system in London which, by promoting instruction in art and training designers for industry, would improve art in manufactures and, indirectly, promote "Good Design" in the public. John Steegman, Victorian Taste. A Study of the Arts and Architecture from 1830 to 1870 (London: Nelson's University Paperbacks, 1970), p.138. For more information on the Government Schools of Design, see Bell, 1963; and Frank P. Brown, South Kensington and Its Art Training (NY: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912).

<sup>17</sup> Letter from A.H. Cuzner, Deputy Departmental Record Office, Department of Education and Science, London, England, to the author, 12 September 1978.

<sup>18</sup> This quote is from an unidentified Montreal newspaper article "The Fine Art Conversazione (Second Notice)," published ca.1864, and found in Scrapbook I: 1864-1887, p.6. in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Library (hereafter referred to as MMFA Library).

<sup>19</sup> Steegman, 1970, p.138.

<sup>20</sup> Reid, 1979, p.45.

<sup>21</sup> For more information on the Royal Academy Schools see Sidney C. Hutchison, The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1968 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1968); George Dunlop Leslie, The Inner Life of the Royal Academy (London: John Murray, 1914); and William Sandby, The History of the Royal Academy of Arts. From Its Foundation in 1768 to the Present Time, 2 volumes (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1862).

<sup>22</sup> Bell, 1963, pp.67; 164. The Council, or governing body, of the Schools, felt strongly that training in an industrial school would be completely different from that found in an academy; therefore, there was NO study of the figure from casts of the antique or from the live model. However, because of the demand, figure classes were supplied for the more advanced students, although they had been designed to suit the needs of a "practical" art education. Only a student who had or was attending the "ornament" class, or who was certified as a "bona fide" decorator engaged in his craft, was eligible for admission.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p.249.

<sup>24</sup> For information on Cole's involvement in the Schools, see the chapter "Establishment of the Department of Practical Art and Commencement of the South Kensington Museum," in Sir Henry Cole, Fifty Years of Public Work. Accounted for in his deeds, speeches and writings. Alan S. and Henrietta Cole. 2 volumes (London: George Bell and Sons, 1884), pp.279-307.

<sup>25</sup> Bell, 1963, pp.232-233; 256-257. The entire object of the Schools under Cole was "to be practical and commercial," and he was quite vocal that the students be trained to serve the needs of industry.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp.257; 261.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p.261.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p.262.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.73. Many of the Royal Academy students trained at some preparatory school which took them to that point in the R.A.'s curriculum where they could tackle the antique class. Others came out of the Government Schools, while those who could not afford any proper art training often spent time copying at the British Museum.

<sup>30</sup> The 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations dominated the decade and set its tone. See John Bowle, "Origins and Development of the Idea of Progress," in the British Broadcasting Corporation's Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians: an historic reevaluation of the Victorian age (London: Sylvan Press, 1949).

<sup>31</sup> J.B. Priestley, Victoria's Heyday (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1972), p.18.

<sup>32</sup> Asa Briggs, Victorian People. A Reassessment of Persons and Themes 1851-1967 (1955; reprint ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p.4. The year 1857 was particularly noted for its economic crises.

<sup>33</sup> A letter from Mrs. Emily Louise (Fraser) O'Brien, one of the artist's daughters, to Mrs. Lotus (Fraser) Ruckle, a grand-daughter, written in New York the 9 March 1954, states that Fraser (grandpère) was "a tailor...and...political writer...an agitator as he left England for Canada 'by request'". The letter is in the possession of Mrs. Ruckle of Fulford Harbour, B.C.

<sup>34</sup> CIN, V, no.25, 22 June 1872, p.388.

<sup>35</sup> John Fraser (grandpère) was born in Inverness, Scotland. He had five children, all born in Scotland: Agnes (b. May 1806); William (b. February 1808); John; Jane (b. July 1813); and James (b. 1822). Fraser and his wife emigrated to the Eastern Townships in 1831 and settled near Beebe Plains. Besides John who emigrated in 1858 with his own family, the youngest son James also emigrated and later married into the Geddes family. Fraser's (grandpère) brother, James, and his family of three sons settled near Stanstead. Hubbard, 1874, pp.242-243.



<sup>36</sup> Isabella Forbes was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland. *Ibid.*, p.243.

<sup>37</sup> For a description of the region and more information on its settlement, see Catherine Mathilde Day, History of the Eastern Townships, Province of Quebec, Dominion of Canada, Civil and Descriptive. 3 parts (Montreal: Lovell, 1869). For a discussion of painting in the region, see Victoria Baker, L'Art des Cantons de l'est / 1880-1950 (Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke, 1980).

<sup>38</sup> The artist's marriage certificate states that Fraser, "artist," married Anne Marie Sayer of Herne Bay, Kent, the 4 April 1858, at Christ Church, in the district of Forest Hill, county Kent, England, and that the ceremony was performed by I. M. Clarke, Curate. A copy of the certificate was kindly given to the author by Don D. Fraser. The Fraser family in Canada has attempted to find out more information on Fraser's wife and her ancestors, but the results have been inconclusive.

A son, John Arthur Jr., was born in Stanstead the 12 March 1859. A second son, Augustine George, was born in Montreal the 11 January 1861, and a third, Donald Lovat, was also born in that city the 12 December 1867. Fraser also had three daughters, all born in Toronto: Nanette Alice Mabel, born the 25 June 1869; Harriet Isabel, born the 15 September 1876; and Emily Louise, born the 30 August 1878.

We are most fortunate that Nanette kept a diary, although its years and scope are rather limited; it begins April 1886 and extends, with some lapses, until 1888. The original diary is in the possession of Nanette's grand-daughter in California. A copy was kindly given to the author by Mrs. Lotus Ruckle.

<sup>39</sup> Mrs. Emily Louise (Fraser) O'Brien states in her letter that the voyage might have taken three weeks.

<sup>40</sup> Hubbard, 1874, p.242, states that Fraser (grandpère) died in 1856.

<sup>41</sup> The Northern Journal was probably very similar in viewpoint to the English Chartist Northern Star to which Fraser (père) had contributed regularly. CIN, V, no.24, 15 June 1872, p.374 and no.25, 22 June 1872, p.388.

<sup>42</sup> Robert Gagen was secretary of the Ontario Society of Artists for many years and knew many of the early Canadian artists personally. Born in England, he emigrated to Ontario in 1862 and met Fraser at Notman's. J. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p.123.

<sup>43</sup> Gagen, n.d., p.20.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.20.

<sup>45</sup> Lovell's Montreal Directory, containing alphabetical and street directions of Greater Montreal, 1860 (Montreal: J. Lovell).

<sup>46</sup> CIN, V, no.25, 22 June 1872, p.388.

47 For more biographical information on Notman, see J. Russell Harper and Stanley Triggs, Portrait of a Period, A Collection of Notman Photographs 1856 to 1915 (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967).

48 Fraser had also worked in oil, but the results were rather heavy-handed and clearly not as successful as those done in watercolour. This is particularly noticeable in the Portrait of the Hon. J.S. McCord at Bishop's University, Lennoxville.

49 Ann Thomas, 1979, p.33.

50 Gagen, n.d., p.31. Notman did also offer miniature photographs on ivory to his clients.

51 The arabic numerals in brackets which follow the titles of works refer to the List of Works by John A. Fraser found in Appendix I. The numbers are unique and through them the reader can trace a brief history of any particular work which has been discussed in the text. In some instances, numerals in brackets will appear in the text where the author has not specifically named the works but only generally referred to them. Roman numerals in brackets refer to works which have been illustrated at the end of the text.

For a complete explanation to the List of Works..., see Appendix I.

52 Reid, 1979, p.46.

53 For more information on Notman composites see Harper and Triggs, 1967 and Thomas, 1979.

54 (Notman Photographic Archives (hereafter NPA), McCord Museum, Montreal) Contract between William Notman and John A. Fraser, 21 February 1867.

55 In 1861 the Fraser family was residing at 386 Lagauchetière; in 1863 at 136 St. Urbain; in 1865 at Monteith Place, 98 Cadieux St., and later that same year at 25 Plateau. Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1861-1865.

56 (NPA) Wage books, 1864.

57 Harper and Triggs, 1967, n.p.

58 Gagen, n.d., p.21.

59 Colgate, 1943; reprint ed., 1967, p.22.

60 Photographic Selections by William Notman (Montreal: 1863), Preface.

61 A second series, published in 1865, contained no contributions by Fraser. Copies of both publicatins are in the NPA.

62 This quote is from an unidentified Montreal newspaper article "Literature and Art," published ca. 1864, and found in Scrapbook I: 1864-1887, p.8, in the MMFA Library.

63 Ibid.

64 Photographic Selections... 1863, Preface.

65 Ibid.

66 Augustus J. Pell was a carver-gilder, painter, and art dealer and auctioneer. Harper, 1970, p.247.

67 "The Fine Arts Conversazione (Second Notice)," in Scrapbook I: 1864-1887, p.6, MMFA Library.

68 Agnes Amelia Fraser married J. Henry Sandham in 1865. Robinson, 1888, p.150.

69 Francis Fulford was consecrated the First Anglican Bishop of Montreal in 1850 and became the First Metropolitan of Canada in 1860. Harper and Triggs, 1967, n.p.

70 "Art Association of Montreal," Gazette (Montreal), 28 February 1865.

71 "Art Association," Herald (Montreal), 28 February 1865.

72 These writers have included Hopkins, Colgate, Harper and Reid.

73 Alvah Bradish (1806-1901) was an American painter and teacher. The engraving of his portrait of Metcalfe was printed and sold in 1847. Harper, 1970, p.42.

74 Fraser might have painted Sunset Harbour (2) in 1865, but the author has only seen a small photograph of the work and cannot comment on the authenticity of the work. Dennis Reid does not believe that the artist did not paint this oil. Conversation with Dennis Reid, November 1978.

75 An unidentified Montreal newspaper article, "Art Exhibition," found in Scrapbook I: 1864-1887, p.22 in the MMFA Library states that an addition was made to the exhibition: Fraser's The Right of the Road (623). The work was not listed in the AAM Catalogue.

76 Not all of the works on exhibition at the AAM were for sale; usually just those by "up-and-coming" young artists.

77 The Art Union was a very popular scheme in both Great Britain and the United States. It provided the incentive needed to attract the public to exhibitions by offering them the chance to win a "work of art." The public bought tickets which allowed them to enter the show and entitled them to a small chromolithograph. It also offered the chance to win on a draw for a larger work. Reid, 1979, p.23.

78 Lilacs (675) appeared under Fraser's name in the official list of prizes which was printed in the Montreal newspapers. However, in a small unidentified notice, "Notice. The Coming Art Conversazione," found in Scrapbook I: 1865-1887, p.16, in the MMFA Library, the work appears under Daniel Fowler's name. No other still-life by Fraser has been discovered, whereas Fowler's specialty was this particular form.

79 Reid, 1979, p.134.

80 Reid, 1979, p.135.

81 "The subjects are scenery in the Eastern Townships and in the neighbourhood of Lake Memphremagog," in "Art Association," Gazette (Montreal) 28 February 1868.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup> (NPA) Wage books, 1868.

<sup>2</sup> Topley eventually bought out Notman's interest in the Ottawa firm, and became one of the best-known photographers in that city. Ralph Greenhill, Early Photography in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965), p.48, footnote 6.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest known reference to the firm appears in the 19 November 1868 issue of the Toronto Globe.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Gagen; Horatio Walker (1858-1938); Eugene Niel; McGillivray Knowles (1859/60-1932); and John Hammond (1843-1939) were some of the artists who worked at Notman and Fraser's in Toronto under the artist.

<sup>5</sup> For a more complete description of the Society of Canadian Artists, see Reid, 1979, pp.101-106.

<sup>6</sup> A total of 140 oils and watercolours were exhibited at the SCA in 1868.

<sup>7</sup> "Society of Canadian Artists," Gazette (Montreal), 23 December 1868.

<sup>8</sup> "The Canadian Art Union," Herald (Montreal), 23 December 1868.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Gagen, n.d., p.21.

<sup>12</sup> By the 1850's one of the first major changes in the artist's palette was due to the discovery of coal-tar, a by-product in the distillation of coal, which resulted in the creation of many new colours. Unfortunately, these early colours were not very permanent, ie. colour-fast, as the dye-stuffs did not mix well with oil.

<sup>13</sup> Gazette (Montreal), 23 December 1868.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> 1869 was a very quiet year, career wise, for Fraser. He was obviously active in the affairs of the photography studio and consequently did not send works to any major exhibitions.

In 1870 John Fraser Sr. wrote A Tale of the Sea and Other Poems under his pseudonym "Cousin Sandy." The publication was illustrated by William Lewis Fraser, Henry Sandham, Otto Reinhold Jacobi and Aldolphe Vogt, and published by Dawson Brothers.

<sup>16</sup> "Society of Canadian Artist. "Annual Exhibition," Gazette (Montreal), 8 February 1870.

<sup>17</sup> "Society of Canadian Artists," Herald (Montreal), 8 February 1870.

<sup>18</sup> "Exhibition of the Society of Canadian Artists," Herald (Montreal), 6 March 1871.

<sup>19</sup> It is interesting that both William Lewis and John Fraser Sr. were actively involved in this joint exhibition, even if John A. was not. William Lewis sent four watercolours and served as Honorary Secretary of the society. John Fraser Sr., along with others, canvassed the city with considerable success for tickets.

In 1872 Fraser was residing at 99 Gerrard St., one of his more permanent addresses in Toronto. That same year, his youngest brother James (Jim) arrived and set up a rival photography firm with Gagen, probably because it was "...a good racket for him..." Letter from Mrs. Emily Louise (Fraser) O'Brien, to Mrs. Lotus Ruckle, 9 March 1956.

In 1872 John Fraser Sr. died in a fall from the bluff behind the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa, although the family "...always believes (he) was pushed off..which ended his somewhat stormy career." The CIN wrote of "Cousin Sandy" that he was "...never self-seeking, but was a determined foe of shams, a true man, and as such was appreciated by the public..." V, no.25, 22 June 1872, p.388.

<sup>20</sup> Letter from Daniel Fowler to James Spooner, 7 January 1875, quoted in Reid, 1979, p.167.

<sup>21</sup> Colgate, 1943; reprint ed., 1967, p.24.

<sup>22</sup> Fraser apparently consulted with Fowler, whose work he admired, and with Marmaduke Matthews, whose work he did not. Ibid., pp.23-24.

<sup>23</sup> Gilbert had emigrated to Canada from Australia in the 1860's. He taught painting and drawing at various schools, such as Bishop Strachan's and other principal ladies' schools. Harper, 1970, pp.127-128.

<sup>24</sup> Spooner might have been an amateur artist in England. In Toronto, he kept a tobacconist shop on King St. E., behind which was the "unlikely" combination of a dog kennel and a small picture gallery. "Spooner's" soon became a meeting place for the Toronto artistic community. Harper, 1970, p.295.

<sup>25</sup> For more information on the foundation and history of the Ontario Society of Artists, see Joan Murray, The Ontario Society of Artists: 100 Years (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1972).

<sup>26</sup> The minutes of the OSA can be found in the OSA Papers at the Archives of Ontario (hereafter, AO) Toronto.

<sup>27</sup> The OSA did eventually invite the SCA members to join their society. OSA Minutes, 3 February 1873.

- 28 Ibid., 25 June 1872.
- 29 Ibid., 25 June 1872.
- 30 Ibid., 2 July 1872.
- 31 Ibid., 2 July 1872.
- 32 Ibid., 2 July 1872. The motion was proposed by Bridgman, and was seconded by Matthews.
- 33 Howland served as President of the OSA from 1872 to 1880. Fraser's original choice for the position, the Hon. D. L. Macpherson, declined to accept.
- 34 As Vice-President, Fraser wrote most of the correspondence between the OSA and McQueen and Co., who eventually supplied the chromolithographs for the Art Union. Some of this correspondence can be found in the OSA Papers, AO, Toronto.
- 35 Many different locations have been used for the annual OSA exhibitions. For a complete list, see Murray, 1972, p.16.
- 36 "The Fine Arts in Ontario," Canadian Monthly (hereafter known as Can Mon), III, no.6, June 1873, p.545.
- 37 "The Winter Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists (Second Notice)," Mail (Toronto), 16 April 1873.
- 38 "Art in Canada: The Ontario Society of Artists," Can Mon, III, no.3, March 1873, p.261.
- 39 "In watercolours Fraser also had some of his sketches made when living in the Eastern Townships." Gagen, n.d., p.25.
- 40 Some examples of these artists and their works are: William Raphael's Immigrants in Montreal (NGC) of 1866; Aaron Allan Edson's Sheep in Landscape (NGC) of 1869 and Forest and Sheep (Montreal. McCord Museum) of ca.1874; Adolph Vogt's Pastoral Scene with View of Montreal (NGC) of 1866 and Niagara Falls (NGC) of 1869; and Otto R. Jacobi's Lake of Two Mountains (Musée du Québec) of 1860.
- 41 Can Mon, III, no.6, June 1873, p.546.
- 42 Paul Oppé, "Art," in G. M. Young, ed., Early Victorian England, II (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p.103, footnote 3.
- 43 (Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives (hereafter CPCA), Montreal) Letter from William Van Horne (Montreal) to Alexander Begg, G. E. Agent, CPR, 31 May 1886.
- 44 Mail (Toronto), 16 April 1873.

- 45 Can Mon, III, no.6, June 1873, p.546.
- 46 "The Winter Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists (Third Notice)," Mail (Toronto), 17 April 1873.
- 47 Mail (Toronto), 16 April 1873.
- 48 "In looking around the room we miss some names...Mr. Fraser seems to have nothing, which is certainly very much to be regretted." "The Ontario Art Exhibition," The Nation, I, no.12, 18 June 1874, p.142.
- 49 Since these works were probably not new, it suggests that Fraser had "abandoned" painting until his return to the OSA in 1877.
- 50 "The Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists," Can Mon, XI, no.6, June 1877, p.681.
- 51 "The Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists," Mail (Toronto), 14 May 1877.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Can Mon, XI, no.6, June 1877, p.681.
- 54 Ibid., p.681.
- 55 Mail (Toronto), 14 May 1877.
- 56 Can Mon, XI, no.6, June 1877, p.681.
- 57 Reid, 1979, p.253.
- 58 A notice appeared in the 8 December 1877 Mail (Toronto) which read "Sale on Pictures. The Society hold their first annual sale this afternoon, in their rooms...at two o'clock. The collection is a large one, comprising about two hundred pictures by the best Canadian artists. Many are of life size, and strikingly illustrative of Canadian life and scenery. Lovers of art will find this sale a good opportunity for acquiring works of general value."
- 59 Reid, 1979, p.252.
- 60 "Paintings Return to Original Lands," Gazette (Montreal), 16 July 1956.
- 61 The work had originally been purchased by George Brown, founder of the Toronto Globe, at an unknown date. As Brown died in May 1880, the painting probably dates from the late 1870's. Reid, 1979, p.253.
- 62 Thomas, 1979, pp.102-104.
- 63 "Ontario Society of Artists. The Oil Paintings," Mail (Toronto), 22 May 1878.



64 The work had been purchased prior to the 1878 OSA exhibition by Lady Howland, mother of W.H. Howland and Oliver Aiken Howland. The latter eventually came into possession of the work. It is highly likely that he might have donated it to the city of Toronto when he served as mayor. Letter from Judith Saunders, Archivist, Fine Arts, The Market Gallery of The City of Toronto Archives, to the author, 31 July 1979.

65 The invitations included a part of Longfellow's poem "Evangeline," which perhaps explains why the work was later incorrectly titled Land of the Evangeline.

66 "Ontario Society of Artists. Sixth Annual Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings," Globe (Toronto), 22 May 1878.

67 Reid, 1979, p.253.

68 Globe (Toronto), 22 May 1878.

69 "Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists," Mail (Toronto), 22 May 1878.

70 Globe (Toronto), 22 May 1878.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid. The review also confirms that Fraser may not have been painting in oils very much before 1877 by stating: "...In view of the fact that he (Fraser) exhibited nothing in oil before last year..."

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid.

76 "OSA Sixth Annual Exhibition - Concluding Notice," Mail (Toronto), 27 May 1878.

77 "Ontario Society of Artists. Sixth Annual Exhibition of Paintings Drawings. Water Colours - Concluded," Globe (Toronto), 29 May 1878.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 This work was formerly titled Seashore With Figures and dated 1877.

- 83 Globe (Toronto), 29 May 1878.
- 84 Reid, 1979, p.254.
- 85 Fraser, Henri Perré, Matthews and O'Brien formed a committee in charge of the arrangements of this second sale. OSA Minutes, 7 November 1878.
- 86 The Frederick S. Challenger (1869-1959) notes can be found in the library of the Art Gallery of Ontario, in the Challenger file.
- 87 "Among the Studios. A Glance at the Coming Exhibition Pictures," Globe (Toronto), 30 April 1881.
- 88 Ibid. In the scene, one can see the "trancheur," "decoleur" and "picqueur" working at the splitting tables. With their knives, the splitters would decapitate and disembowel the fish and "push the livers into the vat through a hole in the splitting table..." The fish dried on the beaches, and "it was the business of the beach master then as now to keep the beaches well covered with rounded stones and pebbles, as free from sand as possible..." John Mason Clarke, The Heart of the Gaspé. Sketches in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (NY: The Macmillan Company, 1913), p.172. Photographs on p.175 show figures similar to those in the Fraser painting.
- 89 Globe (Toronto), 30 April 1881.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 "Picture Added," Witness (Montreal), 15 June 1881.
- 92 The oils were described as "diminutive" and it was regretted that Fraser had been unable to contribute anything larger. "Tenth Annual Exhibition Ontario Society of Artists. Other Oil Paintings Criticised," Mail (Toronto), 17 May 1882.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 OSA Minutes. 13 May 1873.
- 96 Gagen, n.d., p.27.
- 97 OSA Minutes, 13 November 1873.
- 98 Gagen, n.d., p.27.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 The Nation, I, no.12, 18 June 1874, p.142.

- 101 Gagen, n.d., p.27.
- 102 Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.85.
- 103 "Art," The Nation, II, no.1, 8 January 1875, p.12.
- 104 "Correspondance: The Society of Artists," The Nation, II, no.2, 15 January 1875, p.16.
- 105 "Ontario Society of Artists (Second Notice)," The Nation, III, no.25, 23 June 1876, p.292.
- 106 Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition. 3 volumes. Edited with an introduction by H.Barbara Weinburg (1876; reprint ed., New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1977). This is the official catalogue of the exhibition.
- 107 John Maass, The Glorious Enterprise. The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and H. J. Schwarzmann, Architect-in-chief (Watkins Glen, N.Y.: American Life Foundation, 1973) gives more information on the Philadelphia exhibition of 1876.
- 108 Harper and Triggs, 1967, n.p.
- 109 (Public Archives of Canada (hereafter known as PAC) Ottawa) Letter from Fraser to the Hon. Canadian Commission, 25 April 1876.
- 110 Edward Strahan, "The Fine Art of the International Exhibition," in volume I of Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition; 1876; reprint ed., 1977; p.102. Strahan was the pseudonym for the American painter and writer Earl Shinn.
- 111 Ibid., p.104. §
- 112 OSA Minutes, 17 May 1877.
- 113 Ibid., 17 May 1877.
- 114 Fraser was elected as a member of the Art Union committee the 17 May 1877, and was also involved in canvassing for the ensuing season. Ibid., 7 November 1877.
- 115 Some of the motions which Fraser proposed were: 6 February 1878, changes to article 3 of the constitution concerning the annual elections; 3 April 1878, changes to article 4 of the same; 8 April 1878, that thanks be rendered to Howland for his generous contribution to the reunion of the members. On the 31 May 1878 he was appointed as one of the pall bearers for the late James Hoch. Further reading of the OSA Minutes for 1878 provides insight into the complexity of the affairs of the Society.

116 At the 11 September 1878 council meeting of the Ontario School of Art, it was moved that "...Mr. Fraser be requested to take the general supervision of the evening classes." Fraser attended the next meeting, held 28 September 1878, and was elected to the teaching staff. A flier, found amongst the OSA papers in the Archives of Ontario, Toronto, states that "...Mr. J.A. Fraser will take part in the teaching of the classes." For more information on the Ontario School of Art, see 100 Years: Evolution of the Ontario College of Art (Toronto: AGO, 1976).

117 OSA Minutes, 4 April 1876. It was passed that "...Mr. Berthon, Mr. Lawder, Mr. Martin and Mr. Darling and the Vice-President be accepted as a committee to draw up a scheme for a School of Art in connection with the Society."

118 The money had come from the Hon. Adam Crooks, then Finance Minister of the Ontario government. 100 Years: Evolution of the Ontario College of Art (Toronto: AGO, 1976).

119 Copy of a letter from Lucius O'Brien to the Hon. Adam Crooks, Minister of Education, 27 January 1877, in OSA Minute Books. The Council consisted of the Minister of Education and six members of the OSA, including the President, Vice-President, Director of the school, and three members "to represent the three leading divisions of Art as practised in the Country namely one Architect, one Painter and one Engraver." Thus, the first Council consisted of Crooks (who, it seems, never attended any meetings), W.H. Howland, Lucius O'Brien, T. Mower Martin, James Smith, Mrs. Schreiber and J.A.T. Rolph.

120 The Director was entrusted with the general supervision of the school, but was subject to the regulations of the Council. Instructors were to be members of the society, appointed by the Council; all candidates had to submit works with which to judge their qualifications. Ontario School of Art (hereafter OSofA) Minutes, 30 January 1877. The minutes can be found in the OSofA Papers, A0, Toronto.

121 Two terms (fall and winter) of 10 weeks duration each; two lessons per week, with each lesson of 2 hours duration. The tuition for the day classes was \$5.00 per class, the evening \$4.00. Students were required to supply their own materials.

122 OSofA Minutes, 30 January 1877.

123 Bell-Smith and Jacobi taught the classes in colour and composition respectively; Maxfield was asked to form an anatomy class. OSofA Minutes, 7 February 1878.

124 OSofA Minute Books. Copy of a report submitted January 1878, to the Hon. Donald Alex Macdonald, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario.

125 Ibid.

126 The Education Department of Ontario lent the school six full-size casts, 6 smaller ones and 7 busts, but no hands or feet. 100 Years: Evolution of the Ontario College of Art, 1976, p.11.

127 OSofA Minute Books. Macdonald Report, January 1878.

128 Designers included wood carvers, workers in wrought iron and those in any other trade who had to do "ornamental work of every kind.. (who could) only work well in proportion as they have this training..." Ibid.

129 Fraser was nominated by Baigent, seconded by Hannaford. OSA Minutes, 23 May 1878.

130 1878 was the first year that the professors were paid for their work. On 2 April 1878 a scale of pay was adopted at \$3.25 per lesson and an additional \$10.00 as a teaching aid. 100 Years: Evolution of the Ontario College of Art, 1976, p.21, footnote 21.

131 The evening staff included Fraser, Henri Perré, Baigent and Darling; the day, O'Brien, Matthews and Schreiber. OSofA Minutes, 17 December 1878.

132 Fern Bayer, "The Ontario Collection," in Eric Arthur, From Front Street to Queen's Park. The Story of Ontario's Parliament Buildings (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979).

133 Unidentified notice in a Toronto newspaper, found in the OSofA Minute Books.

134 Ibid. Elementary drawing was introduced as a regular branch of instruction in the curriculum of the Public Schools of Toronto, and scholarships in drawing were offered by the council of the school of art.

135 Fraser probably took charge immediately, for he is listed as a teacher in the 22 April 1880 minutes of the OSofA.

136 During the 1881-82 session Fraser had an average attendance of 14 day students, and 11 evening; this was high in comparison to other classes, except for the elementary drawing classes. Copy of report furnished to the Minister of Education, 10 January 1882. OSA Minute Books.

137 OSofA Minutes, 5 October 1880. The figure drawing class, however, worked with rather limited materials, for it was not until October 1880 that the Council resolved to form a committee to apply to the authorities at the Education Museum for some life size casts of the entire figure.

138 It is unclear why such a resolution was passed, as it seemed a rather "idealistic" idea.

139 OSA Minutes, 6 September 1880.

140 Ibid., 6 September 1880. An interesting development occurred the following year with regard to this resolution. At the 30 September 1881 council meeting of the school of art, Baigent, in a letter to the council, resigned his position from that body:

It having been brought to my notice that my position of the Council of the Ontario School of Art debars me from taking part in the teaching of the School through the passing of a By-law to that effect and also understanding that there is an unwillingness on the part of the Ontario Society of Artists to accord me the same dispensation as was granted last year to Messrs. Harris and Fraser, no other course is open to me than to hand in my resignation of my position on the Council.

However, at the 9 November 1881 special meeting of the society, it was successfully proposed that Baigent withdraw his resignation.

141 OSofA Minutes, 5 March 1881.

142 OSA Minutes, 5 April 1881.

143 OSofA Minutes, 12 April 1881

144 OSA Minutes, 13 September 1881.

145 For more information see "Correspondence: The Ontario Art School," The Week, I, no.18, 3 April 1884.

146 OSA Minutes, 22 May 1880.

147 Ibid., 1 June 1880.

148 The fund proved most useful in 1880. At a 2 November meeting of the OSA, it was moved that the Society give \$50.00 to Mrs. Hancock whose family was in a "lamentable condition." An additional subscription was taken, to which Fraser added another \$10.00.

149 OSA Minutes, 13 June 1882.

150 Ibid., 13 June 1882.

151 Ibid., 25 October 1882. A letter from Fraser asked for a reimbursement of "certain sums" paid by him "in payment of a claim contracted in 1872 to McQueen for specimen chromos and engravings." On 7 November 1882 Hannaford moved that Fraser's claim of \$9.00 be paid.

152 "Among the Studios. How the Artists Prepare in Summer for Their Winter Works. A Look at Mr. J.A. Fraser's Portfolio," Globe (Toronto), 16 September 1880.

153 Ibid.

## CHAPTER III

1 For more information on the founding of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, see Hugh C. Jones and Edmond Dyonnet, The History of the Canadian Academy of Arts. Typescript (Montreal: 1934) and the forth-coming NGC publication by Charles Hill.

2 Fraser was a member of the committee to arrange a reception for Lord Lorne and the Princess Louise. OSA Minutes, 14 August 1879.

3 Reid, 1979, pp.280-81.

4 OSA Minutes, 4 September 1879.

5 Ibid., 12 September 1879.

6 Ibid., 17 September 1879. Gagen had proposed that "all artists whose works have been considered of sufficient excellence to be hung in the exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists should be proposed as Academicians and also all Architects, Designers and Engravers." This resolution was not passed.

7 "Academy of Arts. First Public Day of the Exhibition. The Oil Paintings and Water Colours," Globe (Toronto), 9 March 1880.

8 Ibid.

9 "The Academy of Art. Brilliant Opening of the Exhibition on Saturday Evening," Globe (Toronto), 8 March 1880. The Governor-General purchased works by Homer Watson, William Raphael, Aaron Allan Edson, O'Brien and others and paid \$900.00.

10 Globe (Toronto), 9 March 1880.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 This was the same year the National Gallery of Canada was founded.

19 Globe (Toronto), 9 March 1880.

- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Barbara Novak, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century (New York, Washington, London: Praeger Publishers, 1969), p.97.
- 27 Globe (Toronto), 9 March 1880.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 "Canadian Art," Free Press (Ottawa), 8 March 1880.
- 31 Globe (Toronto), 9 March 1880.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Free Press (Ottawa), 8 March 1880.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 AAM Special Exhibition of the Works of Canadian Artists. Catalogue. Art Gallery, Phillip's Square. April 11th 1881. The following year the AAM began its annual spring shows. About every three years, the annual RCA show would be shown at the AAM in lieu of the spring show.
- 38 "The Canadian Arts Association," Witness (Montreal), 23 April 1880.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 "The Canadian Arts Association," Witness (Montreal), 22 April 1880.
- 41 "Communication. Art in Toronto," by "Ontario," Globe (Toronto), 15 May 1880.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 "Ontario Society of Artists. The Most Effective Reply to a Groundless Fear. The Best Attendance Yet at the Exhibition," Globe (Toronto), 15 May 1880.



44 That summer, according to Nanette's diary, the artist built a summer house on Toronto Island, a sure sign of Fraser's continuing success.

45 Reid, 1979, p.316.

46 George Munro Grant, ed., Picturesque Canada: the country as it was and is. Illustrated under the supervision of L. R. O'Brien...with over 500 engravings on wood (Toronto: Belden Brothers, ca.1880).

47 Reid, 1979, p.299.

48 Ibid., p.301.

49 For more information on Picturesque Canada... and the conflict between Fraser and O'Brien, see Reid, 1979, pp.298-316, and an unpublished graduate seminar paper by Janet M. Braide, on file at the Blackader Library, McGill University, Montreal.

50 (PAC) Letter from H. Belden to Rev. Belden, 8 December 1880.

51 Moncrieff Williamson, Robert Harris. 1849-1919. An Unconventional Biography (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970), p.78.

52 Globe (Toronto), 16 September 1880.

53 Ibid.

54 "Art Education," Gazette (Montreal), 11 December 1880.

55 AAM. Report of the Council to the Association, For the Year Ending December 31, 1880 (Montreal: The Gazette Printing Co., 1881), p.6.

56 AAM. Report of the Council to the Association, For the Year Ending December 31, 1881 (Montreal: The Gazette Printing Co., 1882), p.6.

57 Portfolio of Photo-Prints from Paintings, The Property of the Art Association of Montreal and From Sketches by Canadian Artists, etc., etc... (Montreal: George E. Desbarats, 1881). Two copies are in the MMFA Library.

58 The other works by Canadian artists were: Scene at Murray Bay (from a sketch) and Head of Iroquois Chief, Caughnawaga (from a study) by William Raphael; Woodland Scene (from a pen and ink drawing) by Aaron Allan Edson; and Birth of a Torrent (from a drawing) by C. J. Way. The other five works were by known European artists. At an earlier point it was hoped that O'Brien and Sandham would contribute works.

59 "Art Association," Herald (Montreal), 23 January 1881.

60 Ibid.

61 The TIE was established in 1879; it became the CNE in 1912. "The Canadian National Exhibition," Canadian Collector, 13, no.4, July-August, 1978, pp.24-25.

## CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup> Toronto. Catalogue of Costly Paintings. Exceedingly Fine Examples of the Modern European Schools with a few additional pictures by Prominent Canadian Artists. 28 April 1883. A copy of the catalogue was found in the OSA Papers, A0, Toronto.

<sup>2</sup> Nanette Fraser diary.

<sup>3</sup> The American Society of Painters in Watercolors, later the American Watercolor Society, was founded in 1866. For more information, see Frank Gervasi, A History of the American Water Color Society, Inc., 1866-1950 (New York: 1952) found on microfiche at the Archives of American Art (hereafter AAA) on reel N68-8.

<sup>4</sup> AWS Minutes, 5 May 1868. The AWS minutes are found on microfiche at the AAA, on reel N68-8.

<sup>5</sup> Gagen, n.d., p.21. This was probably the same work which, according to Frederick S. Challener, had been added to the AAM exhibition of 1867.

<sup>6</sup> A copy of the catalogue of the first annual exhibition of the AWS can be found on microfiche at the AAA, on reel N68-8. Information on the other AWS exhibitions, and those of the NYWC, BAC, BWS and Salmagundi Club were found in the Fraser Exhibition File, in the Canadian Curatorial files of the NGC.

<sup>7</sup> Private collection, California.

<sup>8</sup> Reid, 1979, pp.342-43.

<sup>9</sup> John A. Fraser, "A Scamper in the Nor'-West," Outing, V, no.2, November 1884, pp.83-90.

<sup>10</sup> On the cover of the sketchbook is written in pen: "Return if found to J. A. Fraser, 'Railway Age' office, Adams St., Chicago, U.S." Reid, 1979, p.342.

<sup>11</sup> Fraser, Outing, V, no.2, November 1884, p.83.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.84. The church had been built by Pere Marquette who had founded a mission there in 1640. It was the first Christian church on the North American continent, and was still standing in 1883, although much rebuilt.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.84. These paintings had been brought over from France by Marquette. When Fraser saw them, they were hanging high between two windows. Fraser pronounced that they had "little artistic merit."

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.84.

- 15 Ibid., p.85.
- 16 Ibid., p.84.
- 17 Reid, 1979, p. 343.
- 18 Ibid., p.343.
- 19 Ibid., p.343.
- 20 Fraser, Outing, V, no.2, November 1884, p.83.
- 21 At the time the work was selling for \$300.00. By 1916, when it was loaned by F. J. Stewart of Toronto to the exhibition of Fraser works held at the Toronto Art Gallery, the price had dropped to \$75.00. This could be the same work that was given to the city of Fort William (now Thunder Bay, Ontario) by J. J. Carrick, as reported in "J. J. Carrick Gives Picture to Fort William," Daily Times-Journal (Fort William), 10 November 1950.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 The Winter Carnival was an important social event in Montreal during the nineteenth century, and was well-documented in the newspapers. \*Royalty would often attend the various engagements.
- 24 Unidentified newspaper article found in the Canadian Curatorial files at the NGC.
- 25 Reid, 1979, pp.343-44.
- 26 Eugene V. Smalley, "Puget Sound to the Upper Columbia," Century Magazine, XXIX (new series VII), April 1884, pp.832-842.
- 27 Interestingly, Mrs. Emily Louise (Fraser) O'Brien states that William Lewis "was the big success of the family - He was Art Critic of the Century Magazine and did very well."
- 28 Frederick Schwatka, "The Great River of Alaska," Century Magazine, XXX (new series VIII), no.5, September 1885, pp.738-51.
- 29 Ibid., p.745.
- 30 Reid, 1979, p.344.
- 31 Letter from Mrs. O'Brien to Mrs. Ruckle, 9 March 1956.
- 32 Reid, 1979, p.344.
- 33 Letter from Charles A. Mahoney, President of the Guild of Boston Artists (one-time President BWS) to the author, July 1980. There is no extant information on the founding of the Society, although in a now lost booklet both men were listed as founding members.

<sup>34</sup> The RCA usually held its annual exhibition in the month of March rather than in February.

<sup>35</sup> "Royal Canadian Academy," Daily Citizen (Ottawa), 2 February 1886. However, Reid, 1979, p.381, states that the Academy played a minimal role as "the main influence was wielded by powerful businessmen close to the Government who determined what was most in the 'national interest' even in matters of the fine arts."

<sup>36</sup> Daily Citizen (Ottawa), 2 February 1886.

<sup>37</sup> Frederick Cundall, Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Illustrated by Thomas Riley (London: Published with the Sanction of the Royal Commission by W. Clowes, 1886). The other Fraser entries included two works presumably loaned by the artist; Seaside Idyl loaned by O. Howland; In Breezy October (listed as Breezing October in the catalogue) loaned by George Haig of Montreal; and Landscape loaned by R. B. Angus of Montreal.

<sup>38</sup> This should most probably read "Leancoil." Reid states that the inscription on the back of the work could easily have been misread, as the "L" looks very much like an "S". Leancoil is the name of the Manor of Lainchoil of Leth-na-Coyle, the birthplace of Lord Strathcona's mother. For more information on place names in the west connected with the construction of the CPR, see Omer Lavallée, Van Horne's Road: an illustrated account of the construction and first years of operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Montreal: Railfare Enterprises, ca.1974).

<sup>39</sup> R. A. M. Stevenson, "Art in Canada," The Magazine of Art, 9, 1886, pp.516-520.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p.520.

<sup>41</sup> Stevenson commented that this new generation concentrated more on the figure than on landscape. This fact had been noted in February at the RCA show as well: "For some years the so-called representative talent of artistic Canada revelled in landscape, but the younger school, trained for the most part in Parisian studios, has given much worthy thought and labour to the human figure," in "Royal Canadian Academy. Seventh Annual Exhibition to Open to Public Tomorrow," Daily Citizen (Ottawa), 1 February 1886.

<sup>42</sup> John Evan Hodgson, Report on the Pictures Contributed to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886, by Canadian Artists, in the Report of Sir Charles Tupper, Executive Commissioner of the Canadian Section of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition at South Kensington (Ottawa: MacLean Roger, 1887), p.62.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p.62.

<sup>44</sup> Reid, 1979, pp.387-88.

<sup>45</sup> For biographical information on Van Horne, see Walter Vaughan, The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne (New York: The Century Co., 1920).

46 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston, Mass.) to William Van Horne, 12 October 1885, in which the artist states "I am reminded of our conversation of last November."

47 Ibid.

48 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston, Mass.) to A. Piers, 25 November 1885.

49 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston, Mass.) to William Van Horne, 6 January 1886.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 (CPCA) Letter from William Van Horne (Montreal) to Fraser, 19 February 1886.

53 (CPCA) Letter from A. Piers (Montreal) to Fraser, 1 March 1886.

54 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston, Mass.) to William Van Horne, 24 March 1886.

55 (CPCA) Letter from M. Boswell (Ottawa) to William Van Horne, 30 March 1886. Boswell, probably a Government official, is replying to an earlier not lost letter from Van Horne. Boswell states that the pictures by Fraser were to be admitted to England "duty free under an export entry." The pictures were still in the artist's possession the 2 April 1886, for a letter from Van Horne to Fraser of that date asks that they be sent immediately to Montreal "for inspection" - more than likely, by Van Horne.

56 (CPCA) Letter from William Van Horne (Montreal) to Alexander Begg, 27 April 1886.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 (CPCA) Letter from Alexander Begg (London, England) to William Van Horne, 11 May 1886. This letter is dated seven days after the official opening of the exhibition. The second part of the letter concerned the pamphlet Our Railway to the Pacific, a reprint of Lorne's "article" on the CPR, which was apparently handed out to visitors of the exhibition. Fully illustrated, one cannot help wondering if Fraser had made any contributions.

60 (CPCA) Letter from Begg (London, England) to Van Horne, 31 May 1886.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid. Please refer back to the discussion on September Afternoon, Eastern Townships (NGC) on p.24 of the thesis.

63 These photographs are numbered MP 119/78 and MP 120/78 in the Notman Photographic Archives of the McCord Museum.

64 (CPCA) Letter from Van Horne to Fraser, 19 February 1886.

65 D. H. Hill, "The Battle of South Mountain, or Boonsboro," Century Magazine, XXXII (new series X), no.1, May 1886, pp.137-152. A letter to the author from David Wooters, Assistant Archivist at the George Eastman House, Rochester, NY, states that the illustration Bridge over the Antietam....(117) was done after a photograph which is now reproduced in Alexander Gardner's Photographic Sketchbook of the War. Letter, 2 July 1981.

66 Alexander Henderson had gone west in 1885 and William Notman's son in 1883.

67 Reid, 1979, p.391. The Fraser family returned to Toronto 9 June and spent the summer at their residence on Toronto Island while Fraser was out west.

68 John Fraser, "An Artist's Experience in the Canadian Rockies," Canadian Leaves, History, Art, Science and Literature, 1887, pp.233-46.

69 Ibid., p.235.

70 While in Winnipeg, Fraser was entertained by members of the Manitoba Club, specifically by a Mr. Bedson and a Mr. Scarth. He was invited on a buffalo chase. Ibid., p.238.

71 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Manitoba Club, Winnipeg) to William Van Horne, 16 June 1886.

72 Fraser, Canadian Leaves...., 1887, p.238.

73 Ibid., p.238.

74 Ibid., p.239.

75 Ibid., p.239.

76 Ibid., p.240.

77 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Lytton, B.C.) to William Van Horne, 20 July 1886.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid. The smoke hid some 800 miles of scenery from view. Apparently this made little difference to one artist who faithfully returned to his chosen spot, day in and day out, and "fired away." Fraser, Canadian Leaves...., 1887, p.235.

80 (CPCA) Letter from A. Piers (Montreal) to Fraser, 27 July 1886.

81 Al Pringle, a graduate student at Concordia University, Montreal, is preparing a thesis on the CPR artists, and kindly supplied the author with copies of various letters from CPCA. More general information on the subject of painting in Canada's west can be found in Maria Tippet and Douglas Cole, From Desolation to Splendour. Changing Perceptions of the British Columbia Landscape (Toronto/Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1977?); Winnipeg Art Gallery, The Railway. Patrons of the Arts in Canada (Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1976); and Lorne E. Render, The Mountains and the Sky (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, McClelland and Stewart West, 1974).

82 Fraser, Canadian Leaves..., 1887, pp.239-40.

83 Ibid., p.235.

84 These works were exhibited at the Canadian Club. An article on the Club appeared in Canadian Leaves..., 1887, pp.282-89.

85 Fraser, Canadian Leaves..., 1887, p.234.

86 "Art News and Comments. The Week in Art Circles. Notes of Exhibitions and Sales - Art News Elsewhere," Tribune (New York), 28 March 1887.

87 Ibid.

88 "Local News. The Water Colours," Globe (Toronto), 10 November 1886.

89 Ibid.

90 Reid, 1979, p.406.

91 Globe (Toronto), 10 November 1886.

92 Ibid.

93 "Art News," unidentified newspaper article in Scrapbook III: 1886-1892, p.18 at the MMFA Library.

94 (CPCA) Telegram from Fraser (New York) to William Van Horne, 19 March 1887.

95 "Admirable Watercolors," World (New York), 14 March 1887.

96 Ibid.

97 It is highly possible that this work is presently in the Hiram Walker Distillery Collection, Walkerville, Windsor, Ontario and is now titled The Hermit Range at the Summit of the Selkirks, B.C. on Line of CPR (13).

98 The titles for these works appear in "Mountain Scenery by Frazer (sic)," Times (New York), 3 April 1887.

99 Ibid. All quotes for the above paragraph are from the Times article.

100 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (New York) to William Van Horne, 29 March 1887.

101 Ibid.

102 (CPCA) Letter from William Van Horne (Montreal) to Erastus Wiman, 16 April 1887.

103 Wiman is named as the President of the Canadian Club in an 1887 list of officers found in Canadian Leaves..., 1887, p.289.



## CHAPTER V

<sup>1</sup> (CPCA) Letter from William Van Horne (Montreal) to Harry Moody, 16 April 1887, in which Van Horne states that Fraser "does this as a venture of his own."

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Some of these potential buyers included: Sir Edward Watkin, Lord Lorne, Sir Donald Stewart, Lord Revelstoke, Lord Wolseley, Sir Richard Templeton and Lord Dalhousie.

<sup>4</sup> (CPCA) Letter from Van Horne to Moody, 16 April 1887.

<sup>5</sup> (CPCA) Letter from Harry Moody (London, England) to William Van Horne, 19 May 1887.

<sup>6</sup> (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (London, England) to William Van Horne, 8 June 1887.

<sup>7</sup> "Scenery in the Rocky Mountains," Daily News (London, England), 31 May 1887.

<sup>8</sup> Humphrey Ward, "Drawings of Canadian Pacific Scenery," Times (London, England), 2 June 1887.

<sup>9</sup> (CPCA) Letter from Fraser to Van Horne, 8 June 1887.

<sup>10</sup> "Mr. Fraser's Pictures," Herald (Montreal), 16 April 1887. All quotes from the above paragraph are from the Herald article.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Montreal. Catalogue of Oil Paintings and Water Colour Drawings by John A. Fraser (RCA) to be sold at auction at the "Art Rooms" of Mr. A. J. Pell... Monday Afternoon, January 16th (1888). The auction also included works by Verner, O'Brien, Way and Harris.

<sup>13</sup> "The Picture Market. Its Melancholy State and What Artists and Dealers Say About the Matter," Witness (Montreal), 14 March 1888.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> O'Brien was in England during 1889 and had a one-man show at McLean's Gallery, Haymarket the 22 June. Reid, 1979, p.423.

<sup>16</sup> (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (London, England) to William Van Horne, 26 January 1889.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Harold E. Day, East Anglian Painters, vol. I (Eastbourne, England: Eastbourne Fine Arts Publishers, 1968), p.63. Christie's in London verified this information, but could add nothing as to the identification of the "Fraser" involved in the transaction. Letter, n.s. (Christie's, London, England) to the author, 9 April 1980.
- 21 Algernon Graves, Dictionary of Artists Who Have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760 to 1893. 3rd edition (1901; reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), p.104.
- 22 Mrs. Emily Louise (Fraser) O'Brien describes the trip to Great Britain and states that the Frasers "set sail for Scotland...stayed in Glasgow and went to the Highlands for a visit...then over to London and into Kent."
- 23 Reid, 1979, p.407.
- 24 (Art Gallery of Ontario (hereafter the AGO) Toronto, Ontario) Letter from Fraser (New York) to James Spooner, 20 January 1891.
- 25 Charles de Kay, "Drowsy Kent," Century Magazine, XLVII\* (new series XXV), no.5, March 1894, pp.676-83.
- 26 Ibid., p.676.
- 27 Ibid., p.677.
- 28 Ibid., p.677.
- 29 Ibid., p.676.
- 30 Ibid., p.678. The oast-house was a kiln used to dry or cure the hops, and was a familiar sight throughout the region.
- 31 Albert Henry Robson, Canadian Landscape Painters (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1932), p.32.
- 32 George Kennan, "My Meeting with Political Exiles," Century Magazine, XXXVI (new series XIV), no.4, August 1888, pp.508-27.

## CHAPTER VI

<sup>1</sup> Detroit Museum of Art. Illustrated Catalogue of Water Colors, Pastels and Black and White Drawings. 1889.

<sup>2</sup> This illustration appeared in Frederick Schwatka's article "The Great River of Alaska," Century Magazine, XXX (new series VIII), no.5, September 1885, p.742.

<sup>3</sup> "Art Notes," The Week, VI, no.38, 23 August 1889, p.604.

<sup>4</sup> Toronto. Water Colours by John A. Fraser, RCA & AWS. To be sold at auction at 22 King St. W., Toronto on Thursday, October 14th 1897 by C. J. Townsend & Co., Auctioneer.

<sup>5</sup> (GPCA) Letter from Fraser to Van Horne, 26 January 1889.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> "Art Notes," The Week, VII, no.13, 28 February 1890, p.203.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.203.

<sup>9</sup> An unidentified article from Magazine of Art (New York) found in the Canadian Curatorial files of the NGC.

<sup>10</sup> Maria Naylor, compiled and edited by, The National Academy of Design, 1861-1900, 2 volumes (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., 1973).

<sup>11</sup> "Art Notes," The Week, VII, no.20, 18 April 1890, p.316.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.316.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.316.

<sup>14</sup> "Canadian Art," Bystander (new series) June 1890, p.301.

<sup>15</sup> The Week, VII, no.20, 18 April 1890, p.316.

<sup>16</sup> "Art Notes," The Week, VII, no.28, 13 June 1890, p.443.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p.443.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p.443.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.443.

<sup>20</sup> New York Water Color Club (hereafter known as NYWC) Minutes, January 1892. The minutes for the NYWC can be found in AAA, reel N68-9.

- 21 "New York Water Color Club. Excellent Opening Display of a Recently Organized Art Association," Herald (New York), 7 November 1890.
- 22 At the 14 January board of control meeting of the AWS, Fraser's name was transferred to the non-resident list; at the 27 January meeting his request for reinstatement as a resident member was accepted and his name was ordered back on the list.
- 23 "Salmagundi in Oils," Herald (New York), 19 January 1891.
- 24 "Art Notes," The Week, VIII, no.16, 20 March 1891, p.255.
- 25 Ibid., p.255.
- 26 "Canadian Art. Spring Exhibition at the Gallery...", Star (Montreal), 20 April 1891.
- 27 "The Art Association. Opening of the Spring Exhibition at the Art Gallery Yesterday Evening," Gazette (Montreal), 21 April 1891.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (New York) to William Van Horne, 9 June 1891.
- 30 Toronto. Water Colours by John A. Fraser, RCA & AWS...October 14th 1897 by C. J. Townsend and Co., Auctioneers, p.4.
- 31 Marcel Legendre, "Le Salon de 1891: pastels, aquarelles, miniatures," Journal des Arts, 2 juin 1891, p.2.
- 32 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser to Van Horne, 9 June 1891.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Fraser Exhibition file, Canadian Curatorial file of the NGC.
- 35 The author has been unable to locate a catalogue of this auction. An advertisement for it appeared in the Star (Montreal) 9 September 1891.
- 36 AWS Minutes, 15 March 1893.
- 37 NYWC Minutes, 12 January 1893.
- 38 Ibid., 12 January 1893. Fraser attended the board of control meetings of the AWS on the 13, 15 and 16 January 1894 to help select pictures for that year's annual exhibition.
- 39 John Muir, "The Treasures of the Yosemite," Century Magazine, XL (new series XIV), no.4, August 1890, pp.483-500 and XL (new series XVIII), no.5, September 1890, pp.656-67.

- 40 F. T. Bickford, "Prehistoric Cave-Dwellings," Century Magazine, XL (new series XVIII), no.6, October 1890, pp:896-911.
41. Beaumont and Nancy Newhall, T. H. O'Sullivan, Photographer (Rochester, N.Y.: The George Eastman House in collaboration with the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1966), plate 37.
- 42 Roger S. Baldwin Jr., "Tarrying in Nicaragua. Pleasures and Perils of the California Trip in 1849," Century Magazine, XLII (new series XX), no.6, October 1891, pp.911-31.
43. Frederick Schwatka, "Land of the Cliff-Dwellers," Century Magazine, LXIV (new series XXII), no.2, June 1892, pp:271-76.
- 44 Israel C. Russell, "Mount Saint Elias Revisited," Century Magazine, XLIV (new series XXII), no.2, June 1892, pp.190-203.
- 45 E. J. Glave, "Pioneer Packhorses in Alaska," Century Magazine, XLIV (new series XXII), no.5, September 1892, pp.671-82 and XLIV (new series XXII), no.6, October 1892, pp.869-81.
- 46 "The Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition. What is in Store for Those Who Visit the Annual Exhibition at the Art Gallery," Star (Montreal), 28 February 1893.
- 47 "The Art Gallery. The Exhibition of Water Colours a Good One," Star (Montreal), 10 March 1893.
- 48 "With Artists. Annual Exhibition by the Royal Canadian Academy," Herald (Montreal), 1 March 1893.
- 49 "Exhibition at the Art Gallery," Arcadia, I, no.21, 14 March 1893, p.450.
- 50 Star (Montreal), 10 March 1893.
- 51 "Royal Canadian Academy. Opening of the Exhibition to the Public Yesterday," Herald (Montreal), 2 March 1893.
- 52 Star (Montreal), 10 March 1893.
- 53 John Popham, "The R.C. Academy. The Water Colours - Specimens of Still Life - Birds and Flowers," Gazette (Montreal), 18 March 1893.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 "The Canadian Academy," Witness (Montreal), 4 March 1893.
- 56 Popham, Gazette (Montreal), 18 March 1893.
- 57 Ibid.

- 58 Naylor, I, 1973, p.317.
- 59 Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Catalogue of the 63d Annual Exhibition, 18 December 1893 to 24 February 1894.
- 60 Chicago. World's Columbian Exposition. Canadian Department of Fine Art, Catalogue of Paintings (Toronto: C. B. Robinson, printer, 1893?); Official Catalogue. Part X. Art Galleries and Annexes. Department K. Fine Arts Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Decoration (Chicago: W. B. Conkey, 1893).
- 61 Only two references to Fraser's contribution have been found: "Art Notes," The Week, X, no.27, 2 July 1893, p.638, states that "Mr. John Fraser sends a number of water-colours; he also exhibits in the U. S. collection." In "Canada's Artists Come Out With Flying Colours in the World's Fair," Herald (Montreal), 19 August 1893, it states "A Highland November Morning by J. Fraser...is known."
- 62 "Art Notes," The Week, X, no.15, 10 March 1893, p.349.
- 63 "Art Notes," The Week, XI, no.19, 6 April 1894, p.449.
- 64 AAM Report of the Council to the Association, For the Year Ending December 31, 1894 (Montreal: The Gazette Printing Co., 1895), p.5.
- 65 Naylor, I, 1973, p.317.
- 66 Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, "Places in New York," Century Magazine, LIII (new series XXXI), no.4, February 1897, pp.501-16.
- 67 Fraser Exhibition File, Canadian Curatorial Files, NGC, contains a letter from J. R. Lewis, Secretary of the Cotton States and International Exposition Co., Atlanta, Ga., to Peter L. Krider Co., Philadelphia, 25 April 1896, in which Lewis asks the company to furnish and supply to Fraser the silver medal which had been awarded to him at the exposition. However, "repeated and diligent searching" by Michael V. Lewellyn, Historical Research Advisor, Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Ga., has revealed no further information on Fraser's contributions to Atlanta. Letter to the author, 14 November 1978.
- 68 John Muir, "The Discovery of Glacier Bay," Century Magazine, L (new series XXVIII), no.1, June 1895, pp.234-47.
- 69 E. J. Glave, "New Conditions in Central Africa. The Dawn of Civilization Between Lake Tanganyika and the Congo. Extracts from the Journals of late E. J. Glave," Century Magazine, LIII (new series XXI), no.6, August 1897, pp.900-15.
- 70 John Muir, "The Alaska Trip," Century Magazine, LIV (new series XXXII), no.4, August 1897, pp.513-26.
- 71 Toronto. Water Colours By John A. Fraser, RCA & AWS...October 14th 1897 by C. J. Townsend and Co., Auctioneers.

72 (LRAG) Letter from Fraser (New York) to W. Thomson Smith, 30 October 1897. All quotes from the paragraph were taken from this letter.

73 This work is currently undated, although it is probably from the mid 1880's. Other watercolours painted at Nahant, Mass., were exhibited at the 1886 AAM and OSA shows, or were auctioned at Pell's in 1888. The artist usually exhibited what he had completed in any one year. Also, Fraser's signature is not quite the same as that from the 1870's where the "J", "A" and "F" remain distinct, separate entities. It is, in fact, closer to the signature he used from the mid 1880's on, where all three initials form a monogram *JAF*. Finally, the "RCA" after the name is very prominent, signifying the importance Fraser gave to being a member of the Academy; this would most likely have occurred shortly after its foundation in 1880.

74 Fraser, it seems, had a third "patron", one John Stanford Williams. At the artist's death Williams "(found) that a number of...pictures were in New York...went down there, traced them, and brought them all up. 'I've brought them back home where they belong,' he said..." One wonders what eventually became of these pictures. "An Appreciation. Canadian Art Loses Patron. Death of John Stanford Williams Removes Notable Critic, Helped Young Painters," Globe (Toronto), 9 April 1921.

75 (LRAG) Letter from Fraser to Smith, 30 October 1897.

76 Toronto. Water Colours by John A. Fraser....1897..Townsend...

77 (LRAG) Letter from Fraser to Smith, 30 October 1897.

78 Ibid.

79 "Death List for a Day. John A. Fraser," Times (New York) 3 January 1898.

EPILOGUE

<sup>1</sup> This list is in the possession of a grand-daughter in California. The author saw a copy courtesy of Dennis Reid of the Art Gallery of Ontario. As parts of it were difficult to decipher, not all of the information has been included in this study.

<sup>2</sup> New York. Catalogue of Paintings in Oil and Water Color by the Late John A. Fraser, with a Short Biographical Sketch, April Eighth to Sixteenth, Nineteen Hundred and One, at the Kit Kat Club, Number Twelve East Fifteenth Street, New York.

<sup>3</sup> Detroit. Special Exhibition of Oil Paintings and Water Colors by John A. Frazer (sic) at the Detroit Museum of Art, January 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Detroit Museum of Art (hereafter, DMA) Letter from Nanette Fraser (New York) to A. H. Griffiths, 26 November 1902.

<sup>5</sup> (DMA) Letter from W. S. Budworth and Son (New York) to A. H. Griffiths, 4 December 1902.

<sup>6</sup> (DMA) Letter from A. H. Griffiths (Detroit) to Nanette Fraser, 27 December 1902.

<sup>7</sup> (DMA) Letter from A. H. Griffiths (Detroit) to Nanette Fraser, 25 February 1903.

<sup>8</sup> Untitled article in the Tribune (Detroit) 1 March 1903.

<sup>9</sup> Toronto. Art Museum of Toronto. Fourth Loan Exhibition Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Paintings by Deceased Canadian Artists, From January 24th, till February 22nd...1911.

<sup>10</sup> List of pictures exhibited can be found in the Fraser File at the AGO.

<sup>11</sup> Fraser Exhibition File, Canadian Curatorial Files, NGC.

<sup>12</sup> List of works by Fraser put up for sale at the Spooner, Ellis and Leys sales can be found in the AGO Fraser File.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from F. E. Shlosser (Pierrefonds, Qué.) to the author, 4 March 1979.

<sup>14</sup> The information on these auction sales have been taken from the NGC Fraser File and from Sotheby's Canadian Art at Auction 1968-1975, edited by Geoffrey Joynér, 1975.



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APPENDIX ILIST OF WORKS BY JOHN ARTHUR FRASER

The list is a compilation of works produced by the artist during his career. It is divided into two main sections. Section A is a compilation of located works, divided into landscapes (oil paintings and water-colours) and tinted portrait photographs in public and private collections or found in recent auction catalogues, and black and white illustrations known today only through reproductions in various publications. The works have been arranged chronologically, with undated works arranged alphabetically at the end of each division. Section B is a compilation of works which are presently unlocated and are known only through their titles, gleaned from the pages of exhibition and auction catalogues, correspondence and other documents. This is the largest section and has been divided into types of work: landscapes; portraits; illustrations; cityscapes; still-lives; and genre. Landscapes form the largest division within this second section and have been subdivided geographically: Canada; the United States; Scotland; England; France; and unspecified landscapes. There are further geographical subdivisions for Canada and the United States. The author used the earliest or most "complete" title with which to identify the work, but it should be noted that titles often changed, and the reader should check all sources for these changes. Each work has a "unique" number for easy identification; letters added to these numbers refer to works which were added to the list after it had been incorporated into the text.



APPENDIX ILIST OF WORKS BY JOHN ARTHUR FRASER

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## A. Located Works

## I. Landscapes

## a. Oil Paintings

## 1. SUNSHINE AND SHOWERS

William Notman Studio albumen print (of a lost painting)  
5 11/16 x 7 3/8"; 14.5 x 18.8cm

Lit.: Photographic Selections by William Notman. 1863; repr.

Prov.: acquired 1968

Col.: Ottawa, NGC

## 2.

## SUNSET HARBOUR

1865

7 x 10"; frame 11 7/16 x 14 7/16"; 2 1/8" deep  
signed and dated l.l.: 18 JAF (monogram) 65

Insc.: on center back in gold paint: by J A FRASER

Prov.: purchased 1969 from R. Antik, Toronto

Col.: Sudbury. Laurentian University (acc. no.69-058)

## 3.

SEPTEMBER AFTERNOON, EASTERN TOWNSHIPS  
(formerly Lake Memphremagog)

1873

31 1/8 x 52"; 76.5 x 132.1cm

Exbns.: OSA 1873 no.43 \$250.00

Philadelphia 1876 no.103 FS

NGC 1978

Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 16 Ap 1873

Can Mon, III, no.3, Mr 1873, p.261

Can Mon, III, no.6, Je. 1873, p.546

GAGEN. n.d., p.33

COLGATE. Ontario History (hereafter Ont Hist), XLV,  
no.1, 1953, p.4

REID. Journal (NGC), no.31, 24 Nov 1978, p.4; repr.

REID. 1979, pp.216-18; repr. p.17

BAKER. 1980. p.17; repr.

Prov.: W. Angus (1876)

Col.: Ottawa. NGC (no.18159)

4. A SHOT IN THE DAWN - LAKE SCUGOG  
1873  
16 x 30"  
signed and dated l.l.: J A FRASER 1873
- Exbns.: OSA 1873 no.38 \$100.00  
NGC 1978
- Lit.: Can Mon, III, no.6, Je 1873, p.546  
COLGATE. Ont Hist, XLV, no.1, 1953, pp.3-5  
HUBBARD. 1963, p.67; repr. plate 102  
Great Canadian Painting, 1966, p.37; repr. pp.36-7  
HARPER. 1966; reprint ed., 1969, pp.186-87  
MURRAY. Canadian Antiques Collector (hereafter Can  
Antiques Col), 5, no.3, Mr 1970, p.17  
REID. 1973, p.85; repr.  
REID. 1979, pp.216-17
- Prov.: purchased 1958 by the NGC
- Col.: Ottawa. NGC (no.6938)
5. UNIDENTIFIED LANDSCAPE  
(formerly In the Rocky Mountains)  
ca.1875  
45 x 50"
- Exbns.: OSA Benefit Auction 1877 no.51a  
(titled Twilight in the Androscoggin)  
OSA Benefit Auction 1878 no.120  
(titled Twilight in the White Mountains)  
NGC 1978
- Lit.: Globe and Mail (Toronto) 11 J1 1956  
Winnipeg Tribune 13 J1 1956  
HARPER. Canadian Art, XIX, no.6, Nov-Dec.1962, p.420; repr.  
REID. 1973, p.89; repr. facing p.89  
REID. Canadian Collector, 13, no.1, Jan-Feb.1978, p.47;  
repr. p.46  
REID. 1979, pp.252-53; 255; repr. p.252
- Prov.: acquired 1956 from the col. of the Hon. George Brown
- Col.: Ottawa. NGC(no.6454)

6. OFF IN THE MORNING MISTS  
 ca.1877  
 28½ x 53" approx.  
 signed: J A FRASER  
Exbns.: OSA 1877 no.45 \$150.00  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 14 May 1877  
 Can Mon, XI, no.6, Je 1877, p.681  
 REID, 1979, pp.251-52  
Prov.: Erastus Wiman (1891)  
Col.: Brooklyn, New York. Private Collection
7. A SEASIDE IDYL  
 (also titled Land of the Evangeline)  
 1878.  
 79 x 132.5cm  
 signed and dated l.l.: JAF (monogram) RASER 1878  
Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.52 Sold  
 AAM 1881  
 Colonial 1886  
 TIE 1898  
Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 22 May 1878  
 Mail (Toronto) 22 May 1878  
 Witness (Montreal) 15 Je 1881  
 REID, 1979, pp:253; 336; 341  
Prov.: Lady Howland (1878); O.A. Howland (1886)  
Col.: Toronto. City Hall
8. IN BREEZY OCTOBER (BAY CHALEUR)  
 1880  
Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.57 \$200.00  
 AAM 1880 no.11  
 RCA 1881 - no.255  
 Colonial 1886  
 NGC 1980  
Lit.: Witness (Montreal) 15 Je 1881  
 REID, 1979, pp.336; 341  
Prov.: George Haig (1886)  
Col.: Ottawa. NGC (no.18875)

9,

## LAURENTIAN SPLENDOR

1880

19½ x 37½"; 48.9 x 95.3cm

signed and dated l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER/ 1880

Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.56 (diploma work) \$200.00

AAM 1880 no.7

OSA 1880 no.17

RCA 1881 no.311

OSA 1947 no.145

NGC 1978

Lit.: MURRAY Can Antiques Col, 5, no.4, Ap 1970, p.18

MELLEN. 1978, p.153; repr. p.151

Weekend Magazine, 28, 25 Nov 1978, p.11; repr.

REID. 1979, pp.136; 335-36; 337; 341; 361; repr. p.335

Prov.: diploma work deposited with RCA 1880Col.: Ottawa. NGC (no.72)

10.

## MORNING ON THE BEACH AT PERCE

1881

25 x 60"

Exbns.: OSA 1881 no.69 \$600.00

RCA 1881 no.297 \$600.00

TIE 1881 no.390 \$600.00

RCA 1886 \$400.00

TAM 1911 no.41

TAM 1916 no.27

NGC 1978

Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 30 Ap 1881Mail (Toronto) 13 May 1881Witness (Montreal) 15 Je 1881

HARPER. 1966; reprint ed., 1969, p.196; repr.

REID. Journal (NGC), no.31, 24 Nov 1978, p.7; repr. p.6

REID. 1979, pp.340-42; repr. p.341

Prov.: John Ross Robertson (1918); received from his widow 1947Col.: Toronto. Metropolitan Library Board

11.

MOUNT BAKER FROM STAVE RIVER, AT THE CONFLUENCE WITH  
- THE FRASER ON LINE OF THE CPR

1886

22 x 30½"; 56 x 76.8cm

signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER

Exbns.: NGC 1978Lit.: REID. 1979, p.406; repr.Prov.: McCready Galleries, Inc.; TorontoCol.: Woodbridge, Ont. Dr. G. W. Archibald.

12.

## THE ROGERS PASS

1886

22 x 30"; 55.9 x 76.2cm

signed l.l.: JAF (monogram) RASER

Insc.: on back: Painted for Sir Edward Watkin of 'Northenden,'  
Cheshire, EnglandExbns.: London. Tate Gallery 1938 no.65  
AGT/AAM/MPQ/NGC 1945 no.66  
Richmond. Virginia Museum of Art 1949 no.24  
Vancouver Art Gallery 1966 no.46; repr.  
NGC 1978Lit.: BUCHANAN. Canadian Geographical Journal, XVII, 1938, repr.  
only, p.274NGC. Catalogue. III Canadian School. 1960, p.92; repr.

HUBBARD. 1963, p.67

Great Canadian Painting. 1966, p.10; repr.

LORD. 1974, pp.75-6; repr.

Ontario College of Art. 1976; repr. p.25

REID. 1979, pp.405-06; repr.

Prov.: ex. col. Sir Edward Watkin, Bt.; purchased from Capt.  
Percy Godenrath, OttawaCol.: Ottawa. NGC (no.4227)

13.

THE HERMIT RANGE AT THE SUMMIT OF THE SELKIRKS, B.C.,  
ON LINE OF THE CPR

1886

22 x 30"

signed and dated on back: by FRASER/ RCA/ Oct. 1886

Insc.: on back (see title)Exbns.: Canadian Club 1887 (titled The Summit of the Selkirk  
Range)Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Ap 1887

REID. 1979, p.405

Prov.: Penell Gallery, Toronto; McCready Galleries, Ltd., TorontoCol.: Windsor, Ont. Hiram Walker Art Collection

14.

## MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE, FIGURES

30 x 15½"

Exbns.: Fraser Brothers (Montreal) 14-15 May 1948 no.71

15. . . . . TWO MEN WORKING BY THEIR BOAT IN A COVE,  
yachts sailing under lake bluffs  
7 1/8 x 12"  
Exbns.: Sotheby (Toronto) Ap 1969 no.366  
knock-down price (according to sales record) \$140.00
- 16/17. . . . . UNTITLED (Baie des Chaleurs?)  
20 1/2 x 44" approx.  
Exbns.: Ward-Price (Toronto) 26 Sept 1958 no.2376  
Lit.: Letter from F. E. Shlosser (Pierrefonds, Que.) to the  
author, 4 Mr 1979  
Prov.: Pierrefonds, Que. Franziska E. Shlosser (1958)
- b. . . . . Watercolours
18. . . . . LAURENTIAN SPLENDOUR  
ca.1867  
11 3/8 x 20"; 33.8 x 50.65cm  
signed l.r.: J A FRASER  
Exbns.: NGC 1978  
Lit.: REID. 1979, pp.136-37; repr.  
Prov.: acquired by the NGC 1964  
Col.: Ottawa. NGC (no.15179)
19. . . . . STUDY ON THE SPOT (NEAR DALHOUSIE, N. B.)  
(formerly Seashore with Figures)  
1877 (formerly 1871)  
15 5/8 x 26 1/2"; 40 x 67.2cm  
signed and dated l.r.: J A FRASER 77  
Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.203 \$30.00 (titled On the Spot)  
NGC 1978  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 27 May 1878  
REID. Journal (NGC), no.31, 24 Nov 1978, pp.5-6; repr.  
REID. 1979, pp.254-55; repr.  
Prov.: acquired by the NGC 1975  
Col.: Ottawa. NGC (no.18441)



20. LANDSCAPE  
 1879  
 tempera on card  
 6 x 4"  
 signed and dated l.r.: J A FRASER/ 1879  
Prov.: presented from the Estate of Mrs. R. F. Segsworth, 1944  
Col.: Kingston. Agnes Etherington Art Centre
21. A GLIMPSE OF THE SEA  
 1880  
 12½ x 17½"  
 signed and dated in brush  
Exbns.: Sotheby (Toronto) 31 Oct-1 Nov 1972 no.156  
 knock-down price (according to sales record) \$350.00
22. RIVER AND ISLANDS  
 1880  
 12½ x 19½"  
Lit.: AAM Catalogue of the Permanent Collection 1930 no.266  
Prov.: Gift of Strathcona and family 1927 to AAM; sold 1945
23. FISHING VILLAGE  
 12 x 20"  
Col.: Halifax, N.S. Manuge Galleries Ltd.
24. THE PERCE ROCK  
 ca.1880  
 17½ x 12 ¾"; 44.5 x 32.4cm  
 signed l.r.: J A FRASER  
 titled l.l.: The Percé Rock  
Lit.: AAM Catalogue of the Permanent Collection 1930 no.269  
 REID, 1979, pp.339-40; repr.  
Prov.: Gift of Strathcona and family 1927 to AAM  
Col.: Musée des Beaux-arts de Montréal (no.927.269)

25. THE FERRY AT THE MISSION, FORT WILLIAM<sup>\*</sup>  
 1883  
 10 3/4 x 17 1/2"  
 signed and dated l.l.: J A FRASER/ Sept. 19th 83  
Insc.: l.l.: The Ferry at the Mission/ Fort William/  
 Sept. 19th 83  
Exbns.: AWS 1885 no.392 \$300.00  
 TAM 1916 no.30 \$75.00  
Lit.: Daily Times Journal (Fort William) 10 Nov 1950  
 HARPER. 1966; reprint ed., 1969, p.186  
 REID. 1979, pp.343-44  
Prov.: F. J. Stewart (1916)  
Col.: Toronto. Mrs. Jules Loeb
26. SITE OF FORT WILLIAM  
 ca.1883  
 23 x 37"; 58.2 x 90.9cm  
 signed l.l.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
Exbns.: TIE 1903 no.227  
 AAM Loan 1914 no.49  
Prov.: Van Horne (1903; 1914); Halifax, N.S., Manuge Galleries  
 Ltd. (1978); acquired by the Musée du Québec 1978  
Col.: Musée du Québec (no.78-82)
27. KAKEBEKA FALLS  
 ca.1883  
 grisaille on paper, mounted on cardboard  
 17 5/16 x 12 3/16"; 44.0 x 31.0cm  
 signed l.r. (in black paint): JAF (monogram) RASER  
Insc.: reverse of cardboard backing, u.r.: 989/E  
 l.c.: Kakebeka Falls  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.12  
Prov.: Van Horne; Norman Langdon, Coven Hoven, St. Andrew's,  
 N.B.; Halifax, N.S., Manuge Galleries Ltd; purchased  
 by Beaverbrook Art Galleries w/ funds from the N. B.  
 Teachers Association in memory of Lord Beaverbrook,  
 9 Mr 1979  
Col.: Fredericton, N.B. Beaverbrook Art Galleries

28. AT NAHANT, MASS.  
 9 3/4 x 13 3/4"; 24.8 x 78.1cm  
 signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER/ RCA  
Insc.: l.l.: at Nahant, Mass.  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.13  
 Sotheby (Toronto) 8 Ap 1970  
Prov.: Montreal. Dominion Art Gallery; Lucerne, Québec. Mr. and  
 Mrs. Jules Loeb (1970); Gift of Jules Loeb, on loan  
 from the Ontario Heritage Foundation, 1976, to the AGO  
Col.: Toronto. AGO
29. CANADIAN INDIANS AT HANDCRAFTS  
 ca.1885  
 10 x 14"; 25.4 x 35.6cm  
Lit.: Kennedy Quarterly, VII, no.2, Je 1967, p.116; repr. only  
Prov.: New York City. Kennedy Galleries; acquired by the NGC 1977  
Col.: Ottawa. NGC (no.
30. ALONG THE CPR ROCKIES  
 14 x 10"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.22  
 Detroit 1903 no.22 or 23  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.41 \$100.00  
 "Beautiful soft purples"  
Col.: California. Private Collection
31. BUG-A-800, B.C.  
 9 x 15"  
Exbns.: Sotheby (Toronto) Oct 1969 no.203  
 knock-down price (according to sales record) \$300.00
32. FRASER RIVER LINE OF THE CPR  
 1886  
 19 x 27"; 46.3 x 66.8cm  
 signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886  
 NGC 1978  
Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886  
 REID, 1979, pp.394-95; repr.  
Prov.: Van Horne; Halifax, N.S., Manuge Galleries Ltd.; acquired  
 by the Hamilton Art Gallery 1978, gift of Dora Stock and  
 Wintario  
Col.: Hamilton Art Gallery

33. GLACIAL STREAM, MOUNT STEPHEN, B. C.  
 ca.1886  
 14 x 10"  
 signed l.l.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
Exbns.: TIE 1903 no.226  
Lit.: (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston, Mass.) to Van Horne,  
 24 Sept 1887  
Col.: Halifax. Manuge Galleries Ltd. (no.990)
34. MOUNT BAKER  
 ca.1886  
 10 x 13 3/4" (sight)  
 signed l.l.: J A FRASER  
Lit.: AAM Catalogue of the Permanent Collection. 1930 no.267  
Prov.: Gift of Strathcona and family 1927 to the AAM  
Col.: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal (no.927.267)
35. MOUNT STEPHEN NEAR LENCHOILE  
 (formerly Mount Stephen, Summit of the Rocky Mountains,  
 near Sencioile, CPR, 12000 feet above tide, 8000  
 feet above railway track)  
 ca.1886  
 25 1/2 x 36"; 66.0 x 91.4cm (sight)  
 signed in brush point l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
Exbns.: Colonial 1886  
 Jacobi 21-29 Oct 1970 no.33  
 Sotheby (Toronto) 13-14 Je 1972 no.220  
 knock-down price (according to sales record) \$475.00  
 NGC 1978  
Lit.: (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston, Mass.) to Van Horne,  
 24 Mr 1886  
 " Letter from Alexander Bell (London, England) to  
 Van Horne, 11 May 1886  
 " Letter from Van Horne (Montreal) to Alexander Begg,  
 27 Ap 1886; 31 May 1886  
 REID. 1979, pp.385-88; repr.  
Prov.: Sir George Stephen (1886)  
Col.: Toronto. Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Baxter

36.

THE PEAK OF SIR DONALD IN THE SELKIRK RANGE, B. C.,  
 TAKEN FROM THE GLACIAL STREAM (NEAR ITS SOURCE)  
 CALLED THE ILLECILLEWAET

1886

66.0 x 44.5cm

signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER

Exbns.: Koekkoek (London, Eng.) 1887 no.35  
 Pell 1888 no.39  
 NGC 1978

Lit.: Daily News (London, Eng.) 31 May 1887,  
Times (London, Eng.) 2 Je 1887  
 REID. 1979, pp.395-96; 405; repr.

Col.: Calgary. Dr. Donald A. Grace, M.D.

37.

## THE ROGERS PASS

1886

15 3/16 x 26"

signed l.r.: J A FRASER

Exbns.: Colonial 1886  
 NGC 1978

Lit.: REID. 1979, pp.385-88; 405; repr.

Prov.: Sir George Stephens (1886); Montreal. H. R. Bales;  
 acquired by the NGC 1964

Col.: Ottawa. NGC (no.14578)

38.

## A SCENE IN THE ROCKIES

1886

17 1/2 x 26 1/2"; 43.8 x 67.3cm

signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER

Insc.: handwritten on back of the board: The Sun's Last Kiss  
 on the crest of Mt. Stephen/ from "Field"/ Rocky  
 Mountains

Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.26

Lit.: (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston, Mass.) to A. Piers,  
 25 Nov 1885  
 " Letter from Fraser (Boston, Mass.) to Van Horne,  
 24 Sept 1887

REID. Journal (NGC), no31, 24 Nov 1978, p.7; repr.

REID. 1979, pp.394-95; 405; repr.

Prov.: may have been in the collection of Lord Strathcona;  
 Lord Beaverbrook (1954)

Col.: Frederick, N.B. Beaverbrook Art Gallery (no.59.70)

39. YALE, B. C.  
 ca. 1886  
 18 x 26"  
 signed l.l.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886  
Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886  
Prov.: Montreal. H. R. Bales; received by the NGC 1964  
Col.: Ottawa. NGC

40. TRIP TO THE BRITISH ISLES  
 1888  
 25 x 35.5cm  
 signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
Col.: Oshawa, Ont. Joan Murray

41. THE HEART OF SCOTLAND  
 36 5/8 x 26 7/8" (sight)  
 signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
Exbns: PSalon 1891 no.654  
 AWS 1892 no.514 \$1000.00  
 Chicago 1893 no.1215 (medal)  
 Atlanta 1895 (medal)  
 BAC 1896 no.85  
 Townsend 1897 no.46 Reserve \$450.00  
 TIE 1903 no.228  
 OSA Retro 1922 no.57  
 AGT Loan 1935 no.229  
 AGT Summer 1935 no.85  
 CNE 1939 no.75  
 CSPWC 1951 no.3  
Lit.: LEGENDRE. Journal des Arts, 2 juin 1891  
 (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (NYC) to Van Horne, 9 Je 1891  
 (LRAG) Letter from Fraser (NYC) to W. Thomson Smith,  
 18 Sept 1893  
 Townsend 1897. Catalogue, p.4  
Gazette (Montreal); Mail and Empire (Toronto) and Times  
 (NYC) 3 Jan 1898  
 (LRAG) Letter from Smith to a friend (Jack), 20 May 1919  
 ROBSON. 1932, p.33; repr.  
 Toronto. Art Gallery of Ontario Collection. 1970, p.125

42.

## HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND

27 7/8 x 17 7/8"

signed l.l.: JAF (monogram) RASER

Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.202 \$350.00  
 (titled Twixt Achray and Katrine)  
 Chicago 1893 no.156 NFS  
 (titled Achray and Katrine Perce)

Lit.: Canadian Magazine of Politics..., XXXV, no.2, Je 1910,  
 p.98; repr.

NGC. Catalogue of the Permanent Collection. 1915 no.56

NGC. Catalogue of the Permanent Collection. 1924 no.155

Prov.: Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (1893); acquired by the  
 NGC 1893

Col.: Ottawa. NGC (no.155)

43.

## LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES

10 x 14 1/8"; 25.4 x 36.2cm

signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER

Prov.: Gift of the Director's fund to the Windsor Art Gallery  
 1967

Col.: Windsor, Ont. Art Gallery (no.67.53)

44.

## THE SHORES OF ACHRAY, SCOTLAND

18 x 26 3/4"

Exbns.: AWS 1893 no.563 \$300.00

Townsend 1897 no.60

Kit Kat 1901 no.3

Detroit 1903 no.35

TAM 1911 no.35

OSA Retro 1922 no.56

AGT Inaugural 1926 no.223

Sotheby (Toronto) Oct 1968 no.394

knock-down price (according to sales record) \$170.00

Lit.: AGO Fraser file

MacTAVISH. 1925, repr. btwn. pp.16-17

FRASER 1900 no.47 \$300.00

"Very high key"

45.

## SPRING IN THE HOP COUNTRY, TRUGGHURST, KENT, ENGLAND

11 3/8 x 19"

signed l.l.: JAF (monogram) RASER AWS

Col.: London Regional Art Gallery

46.           THREATENING WEATHER IN HAYTIME  
           10 x 14"  
Exbns.:    AWS 1897 no.259 \$88.00  
               Townsend 1897 no.68  
               Sotheby (Toronto) Oct 1968 no.393  
               knock-down price (according to sales record) \$160.00
47.           WILLOW OVER STREAM  
           34.3 x 48.3cm  
           signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
Col.:      Toronto. Government of Ontario Art Collection
48.           GREY WEATHER IN THE HAYTIME, KENT, ENGLAND  
           June 1889  
           34.9 x 52.1cm  
           signed JAF (monogram) RASER  
           dated on reverse June 1889  
Exbns.:    Townsend 1897 no.5  
Col.:      Toronto. Government of Ontario Art Collection
49.           THE WEIRD HOUSE IN THE MOAT  
           August 1889  
           34.9 x 52.1cm  
           signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
           dated on reverse August 1889  
Exbns.:    RCA 1893 no.199 \$250.00  
               Chicago 1893 no.153 medal  
               Townsend 1897 no.51  
Prov.:     Sir Oliver Mowat (1897)  
Col.:      Toronto. Government of Ontario Art Collection



50. AT THE SOLEMN HOUR  
 September 1889  
 14 3/8 x 21 1/16"  
 signed l.r.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
 dated on back September 1889  
Insc.: on the back: "At the Solemn Hour" Medal Worlds Fair, 1893.  
 This subject is at Goring on the Thames near Oxford,  
 England. It was painted in September 1889, by me, John  
 A. Fraser RCA and AWS  
Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.194 \$250.00  
 Chicago 1893 no.148 medal  
 Townsend 1897 no.62  
Lit.: (LRAG) Letter from Fraser (NYC) to W. Thomson Smith,  
 30 Oct 1897  
 " Letter from Smith to a friend, 20 May 1919  
Prov.: W. Thomson Smith (1897)  
Col.: London Regional Art Gallery (acquired 1948)
51. BLOWING FRESH OFF DALHOUSIE, NEW BRUNSWICK, INDIANS  
 WAITING FOR A CANOE TO TAKE THEM OFF THE ISLAND,  
 OCTOBER  
 18.8 x 34.4cm  
Exbns.: Sotheby (Toronto) May 1980 no.328  
 knock-down price (according to sales record) \$2,400.00
52. CABIN BY A LAKE, with figures in a boat, Rockies beyond  
 18 x 26 1/2"  
Exbns.: Sotheby (Toronto) Oct 1969 no.204  
 knock-down price (a-cording to sales record) \$500.00
53. FRENCH RIVER  
 25.7 x 35.9cm  
 signed l.l.: JAF (monogram) RASER  
Prov.: Toronto. Jerrold Morris Gallery  
Col.: Vancouver Art Gallery (acquired 1964)
54. LANDSCAPE WITH TWO MEN FISHING IN A MOUNTAIN STREAM  
 10 1/2 x 6 1/2"  
Exbns.: Sotheby (Toronto) Oct 1968 no.20  
 knock-down price (according to sales record) \$220.00

55. MOUNTAIN VIEW, Stream in foreground  
13 x 18"  
signed in brush point  
Exbns.: Sotheby (Toronto) 1-3 Nov 1971 no.159  
knock-down price (according to sales record) \$90.00
56. RIVER AND MOUNTAINS  
13 3/4 x 9 3/4"  
Lit.: AAM Catalogue of the Permanent Collection. 1930 no.268  
Prov.: Gift of Strathcona and family 1927 to AAM (sold 194 )
57. A RIVER LANDSCAPE WITH A ROWING BOAT ON THE RIVER AND  
MOUNTAINS IN THE BACKGROUND  
18 x 26 3/4"  
signed  
Exbns.: Christie (Montreal) 29 Oct 1969 no.73
58. SHEEP GRAZING ON HILLY GROUND  
13 1/2 x 19 1/2"  
Exbns.: Sotheby (Toronto) Oct 1974 no.74  
knock-down price (according to sales record) \$200.00
59. STILL WATER  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.23  
Detroit 1903 no.28  
Col.: California. Private Collection
60. A SUNNY BIT OF LAKE SHORE  
33.8 x 23.8cm  
Exbns.: AAM 1886 no.9  
OSA 1886 no.119  
Sotheby (Toronto) May 1978 no.14  
knock-down price (according to sales record) \$275.00
- 60a. THUNDER BAY  
Col.: Florida. Private Collection
- 60b. Untitled (near Boston)  
Col.: Florida. Private Collection

## II. Tinted Portrait Photographs

61. UNKNOWN SITTER  
ca.1860  
Notman half-stereograph  
Col.: Montreal. Notman Photographic Archives (hereafter NPA), in McCord family album
62. PORTRAIT OF T. M. TAYLOR AND FAMILY  
before 1861  
8 x 10" (approx.)  
signed and dated l.l.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser/ 1861  
Col.: Oakville, Ont. Mrs. Clair Willis
63. PORTRAIT OF HELEN KERRY  
1861  
watercolour on albumen print  
8 x 5 3/4" (showing)  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser/ 1861  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
64. PORTRAIT OF MRS. JOHN KERRY AND SON  
1861  
watercolour on albumen print  
7 7/8 x 5 3/4" (showing)  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
65. PORTRAIT OF MISS ELEANOR MCCORD  
1861  
watercolour on albumen print  
6 x 8"; 17.1 x 13.1cm (sight)  
Exbns.: NPA. 1979  
Lit.: THOMAS. 1979, pp.33-35; repr. p.32  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
66. PORTRAIT OF MRS. ASWORTH  
1861  
watercolour on albumen print  
9 3/8 x 7 1/4" (showing)  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser/ 1861  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.479-1)

67. COLONEL DYDE  
1861  
watercolour on albumen print  
20 3/4 x 17" (showing);  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser 1861  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
68. HON. JOHN HILLYARD CAMERON, GRAND MASTER, LOYAL  
ORANGE ASSOCIATION, BNA  
1862  
watercolour on albumen print  
15 1/2 x 20 1/2"  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser 1862  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
69. PORTRAIT OF JOHN MacDONALD OF GARTH (attributed)  
1863  
watercolour on albumen print  
9 1/2 x 7 3/4" (showing)  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no. 3554-1)
70. PORTRAIT OF MRS. MARKLAND MOLSON  
1863  
watercolour on albumen print-  
carte-de-visite; "vignetted"  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.6490-I)
71. PORTRAIT OF MRS. W. MARKLAND MOLSON  
1863  
watercolour on albumen print  
carte-de-visite  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.6490-I)
72. PORTRAIT OF ANDREW A. McCULLOCH (attributed)  
1863  
watercolour on albumen print  
carte-de-visite  
signed l.r.: Notman  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.7180-I)

73. PORTRAIT OF MISSY M. KIRKPATRICK (attributed)  
 1863  
 watercolour on albumen print  
 carte-de-visite  
 signed l.l.: Notman  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.7479-I)
74. PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM THEODORE BENSON  
 late 1863  
 gouache on albumen print  
 diameter 7.6cm  
 enlarged from a portion of a carte-de-visite taken in  
 early 1863  
Exbns.: NPA 1979  
Lit.: THOMAS. 1979, pp.33-35; repr.  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
75. PORTRAIT OF JOHN THOMAS MOLSON (attributed)  
 1864  
 watercolour on albumen print  
 carte-de-visite  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.11,529-I)
76. PORTRAIT OF ANDREW ROBERTSON (attributed)  
 1864  
 watercolour on albumen print  
 carte-de-visite  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
77. PORTRAIT OF MRS. ANDREW ROBERTSON  
 1865  
 watercolour on albumen print  
 carte-de-visite  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.16,795-I)
78. PORTRAIT OF LILIAS SAVAGE  
 1866  
 watercolour on albumen print  
 10½ x 8" (cut down)  
 signed and dated l.l.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser 1866  
Col.: Montreal. NPA

79. PORTRAIT OF MRS. JOHN THOMAS MOLSON  
1866  
watercolour on albumen print  
carte-de-visite  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.19,867-I)
80. PORTRAIT OF REV. ROBERT BABY BURRAGE  
1866  
watercolour on albumen print  
13½ x 10½"  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo 1866  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.4462-I)
81. PORTRAIT OF MR. A. F. GALT  
1866  
watercolour on albumen print  
8½ x 6 ¾" (showing)  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman/ J. Fraser 1866  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
82. PORTRAIT OF MRS. A. F. GALT  
1866  
watercolour on albumen print  
8½ x 6 ¾" (showing)  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo/ J.-F. 1866  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
83. PORTRAIT OF MR. JOHN GREENSHIELDS  
1867  
watercolour on albumen print  
21 x 16" (showing)  
signed and dated l.l.: Notman photo/ J Fraser/ 1867  
original photo taken 1863, Notman no.7526-1  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
84. PORTRAIT OF HON. E. BROWN  
1867  
Lit.: BAKER. 1980, p.16  
Col.: Lennoxville. Bishop's University

85. PORTRAIT OF MR. EDWIN ATWATER  
1868  
watercolour on albumen print  
53.3 x 40.3cm (showing)  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser/ 1868  
Exbns.: NPA 1979  
Lit.: THOMAS, 1979, p.33; repr. p.32  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.30,359)
86. PORTRAIT OF MRS. WILLIAM NOTMAN SENIOR  
1868  
gouache on albumen print  
35.5 x 27.9cm  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser 1868  
Exbns.: NPA 1979  
Lit.: THOMAS, 1979, p.35; repr. p.34  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.31,375-BI)
87. PORTRAIT OF MR. WILLIAM NOTMAN SENIOR  
1868  
gouache on albumen print  
35.5 x 27.9cm  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser 1868  
Exbns.: NPA 1979  
Lit.: THOMAS, 1979, p.35; repr. p.34  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
88. PORTRAIT OF MISS MARY McCORD  
1869  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
89. PORTRAIT OF MR. GREENSHIELDS (attributed)  
1870  
watercolour on albumen print  
20 3/8 x 13 1/2" (showing)  
signed and dated l.r.: Notman photo 1870  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
90. PORTRAIT OF HON. J. S. McCORD  
1862  
oil on photograph(?)  
Lit.: BAKER, 1980, p.16  
Col.: Lennoxville. Bishop's University

91. PORTRAIT  
 n.d.  
 oil on canvas (painted with aid of a Notman photograph)  
 76.5 x 61.5cm  
 signed l.l.: Notman photo/ J. Fraser  
Prov.: William Wolfe  
Col.: Ottawa. National Museum of Man. Department of History  
 (no.A-3497)
92. PORTRAIT OF DR. ALLEN (attributed)  
 n.d.  
Col.: Calgary (Notman no.38,642-BI)
93. PORTRAIT OF A. McCORD (attributed)  
 watercolour on albumen print  
 carte-de-visite  
 2½ x 3½"  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.23,678-I)
94. PORTRAIT OF JUDGE McCORD  
 n.d.  
 watercolour on albumen print  
 4 3/8" (showing) oval  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
95. PORTRAIT OF MRS. NOTMAN AND CHILD (attributed)  
 watercolour on albumen print  
 carte-de-visite  
Col.: Montreal. NPA
96. PORTRAIT OF LILIAS SAVAGE (attributed)  
 watercolour on albumen print  
 carte-de-visite  
Col.: Montreal. NPA (Notman no.10,368-I)



## III. Illustrations

97. MOUNT ELEPHANTIS  
Lit.: Picturesque Canada..., II, ca.1880, repr. p.868  
 REID. 1979, p.301
- 97a. PERCE ROCK, GASPE  
 Indian ink drawing  
Exbns.: TIE 1881  
Lit.: AAM Portfolio of Photo-Prints..., 1881; repr. plate 6
- 97b. "SKETCHBOOK OF 1883 TRIP"  
 1883  
Lit.: REID. 1979, pp.342-43  
Col.: California. Private Collection
98. MOUNT TACOMA, FROM LAKE WASHINGTON  
 after a sketch by G. T. Brown  
Lit.: SMALLEY. Century, XXIX (new series VII), no. , Ap 1884,  
 repr. p.833  
 REID. 1979, p.344
99. TYLER GLACIER, MOUNT TACOMA. ALTITUDE AT FACE, 5800 FEET  
 after a sketch by G. T. Brown  
Lit.: SMALLEY. Century, XXIX (new series VII), no. , Ap 1884,  
 repr. p.836  
 REID. 1979, p.344
100. WHITE FISH  
Lit.: FRASER, Outing, V, no.2, Nov 1884, repr. p.84
101. FISHING STATION, SAND ISLAND  
Lit.: FRASER, Outing, V, no.2, Nov 1884, repr. p.84

102. FISH HOUSE AND WHARF  
Lit.: FRASER, Outing, V, no.2, Nov 1884, repr. p.85
103. ON SHORE  
Lit.: FRASER, Outing, V, no.2, Nov 1884, repr. p.87
104. AN OLD WINDOW  
Lit.: FRASER, Outing, V, no.2, Nov 1884, repr. p.88
105. ANCIENT COMMUNION SERVICE  
Lit.: FRASER, Outing, V, no.2, Nov 1884, repr. p.89
106. UNTITLED  
Lit.: FRASER, Outing, V, no.2, Nov 1884, repr. p.90
107. PERRIER PASS  
Lit.: after a drawing by Frederick Schwatka  
SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.5, Sept  
1885, repr. p.741  
REID. 1979, p.344
108. CREEPING THROUGH THE FOG  
Exbns.: after a drawing by Frederick Schwatka  
Detroit Spring 1889 no.213  
Lit.: SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.5, Sept  
1885, repr. p.742  
REID. 1979, p.344
109. THE GRAND CANYON, UPPER YUKON  
Lit.: after a drawing by Frederick Schwatka  
SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.5, Sept  
1885, repr. p.744  
REID. 1979, p.344
110. IN THE RINK RAPIDS, UPPER YUKON  
Lit.: after a drawing by Frederick Schwatka  
SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.5, Sept  
1885, repr. p.748  
REID. 1979, p.344

111. GENERAL VIEW OF THE RINK RAPIDS  
 after a drawing by Frederick Schwatka  
Lit.: SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.5, Sept  
 1885, repr. p.749  
 REID. 1979, p.344
112. LOOKING DOWN THE YUKON (NORTH) FROM THE VILLAGE OF  
 KITT-AH-GON  
 after a drawing by Frederick Schwatka  
Lit.: SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.5, Sept  
 1885, repr. p.750  
 REID. 1979, p.344
113. LOOKING UP THE YUKON (SOUTH) FROM THE VILLAGE OF  
 KITT-AH-GON  
 after a drawing by Frederick Schwatka  
Lit.: SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.5, Sept  
 1885, repr. p.750  
 REID. 1979, p.344
114. ALONG THE BANKS  
Lit.: SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.6; Oct  
 1885, repr. p.820  
 REID. 1979, p.344
115. OLD FORT YUKON  
Lit.: SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.6, Oct  
 1885, repr. p.821  
 REID. 1979, p.344
116. JOHNNY'S VILLAGE, OR KLAT-OL-KLIN  
Lit.: SCHWATKA. Century, XXX (new series VIII), no.6, Oct  
 1885, repr. p.825  
 REID. 1979, p.344
117. BRIDGE OVER THE ANTIETAM, NEAR SHARPSBURG, BY WHICH THE  
 CONFEDERATES RETREATED FROM SOUTH MOUNTAIN  
 from a photograph taken in wartime  
Lit.: HILL. Century, XXXII (new series X), no.1, May 1886,  
 repr. p.148  
 REID. 1979, p.344  
 Letter from David Wooters, Assistant Archivist, George  
 Eastman House (Rochester) to the author, 2 July 1981.

118. VIEW FROM TURNER'S GAP, LOOKING SOUTH-EAST  
from a recent photograph  
Lit.: HILL. Century, XXXII (new series X), no.1, May 1886,  
repr. p.145  
REID. 1979, p.344
119. THE "KATUNSKI PILLARS" - SOURCE OF THE KATUN RIVER  
Lit.: KENNAN. Century, XXXVI (new series XIV), no.4, Aug 1888,  
repr. p.524
120. PART OF THE GREAT GLACIER FROM THE CENTRAL MORaine -  
KATUNSKI WATERFALL  
Lit.: KENNAN. Century, XXXVI (new series XIV), no.4, Aug 1888,  
repr. p.526
121. BANFF SPRINGS HOTEL, CANADIAN NATIONAL PARK  
Lit.: WITHROW. 1889, repr. p.600
122. ON THE HEAD WATERS OF THE MATTAWA  
Lit.: WITHROW. 1889, repr. p.605
123. VIEW OF THE YOSEMITE VALLEY FROM POINT LOOKOUT - EL  
CAPITAN ON THE LEFT, THE BRIDAL VEIL FALL ON THE RIGHT  
THE HALF-DOME IN THE DISTANCE  
Lit.: MUJIR. Century, XL (new series XVIII), no.4, Aug 1890,  
repr. p.484
124. EL CAPITAN  
Lit.: MUJIR. Century, XL (new series XVIII), no.4, Aug 1890,  
repr. p.489
125. TUOLUMNE MEADOWS, LOOKING SOUTH. UNICORN PEAK AND  
CATHEDRAL PEAK  
Lit.: MUJIR. Century, XL (new series XVIII), no.5, Sept 1890,  
repr. p.657

126. THE SOUTH SIDE OF MOUNT LYELL  
Lit.: MUIR. Century, XL (new series XVIII), no.5, Sept 1890,  
repr. p.660
127. LOOKING DOWN ON LAKE TENAYA  
Lit.: MUIR. Century, XL (new series XVIII), no.5, Sept 1890,  
repr. p.662
128. VIEW OF A PART OF THE GRAND CASCADES, BIG TUOLUMNE CANON  
Lit.: MUIR. Century, XL (new series XVIII), no.5, Sept 1890,  
repr. p.663
129. LANDSCAPE IN CANON DE CHELLY  
Lit.: BICKFORD. Century, XL (new series XVIII), no.6, Oct 1890,  
repr. p.903
130. THE WHITE HOUSE, CANON DE CHELLY  
Lit.: BICKFORD. Century, XL (new series XVIII), no.6, Oct 1890,  
repr. p.906
131. MUMMY CAVE AND VILLAGE, CANON DEL MUERTO, ARIZONA  
Lit.: BICKFORD. Century, XL (new series XVIII), no.6, Oct 1890,  
repr. p.908
132. THE SUBURBS OF GRANADA  
after a photograph by O'Neil  
Lit.: BALDWIN. Century, XLII (new series XX), no.6, Oct 1891,  
repr. p.917
133. A CANON IN THE CHAIX HILLS  
after a photograph by the expedition  
Lit.: RUSSEL. Century, XLIV (new series XXII), no.2, Je 1892,  
repr. p.194

134. MOUNT SAINT ELIAS FROM THE NEWTON GLACIER  
after a photograph by the expedition  
Lit.: RUSSEL. Century, XLIV (new series XXII), no.2, Je 1892,  
repr. p.196
135. A SMALL GLACIER ON THE SIDE OF MOUNT NEWTON  
after photographs by the expedition  
Lit.: RUSSEL. Century, XLIV (new series XXII), no.2, Je 1892,  
repr. p.198
136. LOOKING UP THE NEWTON GLACIER, MOUNT ELIAS ON THE LEFT  
after photographs by the expedition  
Lit.: RUSSEL. Century, XLIV (new series XXII), no.2, Je 1892,  
repr. p.200
137. LOOKING INTO THE GRAND BARRANCA  
after a photograph  
Lit.: SCHWATKA. Century, XLIV (new series XXII), no.2, Je 1892,  
repr. p.276
138. A PICTURESQUE RAVINE  
Lit.: GLAVE. Century, XLIV (new series XXII), no.5, Sept 1892,  
repr. p.677
139. DRAINING THE MOUNT ELIAS RANGE  
Lit.: GLAVE. Century, XLIV (new series XXII), no.6, Oct 1892,  
repr. p.880
140. THE VILLAGE STREET, CHIDDINGSTONE  
Lit.: DE KAY. Century, XLVII (new series XXV), no.5, Mr 1894,  
repr. p.676
141. IGH THAN MOTE  
Lit.: DE KAY. Century, XLVII (new series XXV), no.5, Mr 1894,  
repr. p.677

142. THE DUCK-POND AND OLD OAST-HOUSE OF TRUGGERS  
Lit.: DE KAY. Century, XLVII (new series XXV), no.5, Mr 1894,  
repr. p.678
143. BACK OF THE VILLAGE, CHIDDINGSTONE  
Exbns.: Chicago 1893 no.2170  
Lit.: DE KAY. Century, XLVII (new series XXV), no.5, Mr 1894,  
repr. p.679  
Prov.: Century Co., NY (1893)
144. A KENTISH BY-WAY  
Lit.: DE KAY. Century, XLVII (new series XXV), no.5, Mr 1894,  
repr. p.680
145. IN THE KITCHEN GARDEN, CHIDDINGSTONE CASTLE  
Lit.: DE KAY. Century, XLVII (new series XXV), no.5, Mr 1894,  
repr. p.681
146. THE CORNER OF THE ROAD AT TRUGGERS  
Lit.: DE KAY. Century, XLVII (new series XXV), no.5, Mr 1894,  
repr. p.682
147. LOOKING OVER THE WEALD OF KENT.  
Lit.: DE KAY. Century, XLVII (new series XXV), no.5, Mr 1894,  
repr. p.683
148. THE HUGH MILLER GLACIER  
from a sketch by John Muir in 1879  
Lit.: MUIR. Century, L (new series XXVIII), no.2, Je 1895,  
repr. p.241
149. FAIRWEATHER RANGE, FROM GLACIER BAY  
from a sketch by John Muir in 1890  
Lit.: MUIR. Century, L (new series XXVIII), no.2, Je 1895,  
repr. p.242

150. THE PACIFIC GLACIER  
View of the Front of Pacific Glacier from the head of Pacific Fiord, head of Glacier Bay  
from a sketch by John Muir in 1890  
Lit.: MUIR. Century, L (new series XXVIII), no.2, Je 1895, repr. p.243
151. FRONT OF MUIR GLACIER, FROM MOUNT WRIGHT  
from a photograph by Reid  
Lit.: MUIR. Century, L (new series XXVIII), no.2, Je 1895, repr. p.244
152. VIEW OF FOSSIL FOREST NEAR THE FRONT OF MUIR GLACIER, ON THE WEST SIDE  
from a photograph  
Lit.: MUIR. Century, L (new series XXVIII), no.2, Je 1895, repr. p.245
153. A WINTER EVENING ON SIXTH AVENUE  
from a watercolour by John A. Fraser  
Lit.: SCHUYLER VAN RENSSSELAR. Century, LIII (new series XXXI), no.4, Fe 1897, repr. p.515
154. WEST SHORE OF TANGANYIKA NEAR MOLIRO, LOOKING NORTH  
from photographs by E. J. Glave  
Lit.: GLAVE. Century, LIII (new series XXXI), no.6, Ap 1897, repr. p.906
155. WEST SHORE OF TANGANYIKA NEAR MPALA, LOOKING SOUTH  
from photographs  
Lit.: GLAVE. Century, LIII (new series XXXI), no.6, Ap 1897, repr. p.906
156. DAVIDSON GLACIER, FROM LYNN CANAL  
based on sketches from nature by John Muir  
Lit.: MUIR. Century, LIV (new series XXXII), no.4, Aug 1897, repr. p.521



157. DEASE LAKE, ON THE DIVIDE BETWEEN THE MACKENZIE AND  
STRICKEEN RIVERS  
based on sketches from nature by John Muir  
Lit.: Muir. Century, LIV (new series XXXII), no.4, Aug 1897,  
repr. p.522
158. GENERAL VIEW OF MUIR GLACIER, FROM THE EAST SIDE NEAR  
THE FRONT, LOOKING NORTH  
after a photograph  
Lit.: Muir. Century, LIV (new series XXXII), no.4, Aug 1897,  
repr. p.523
159. VIEW OF PART OF MUIR GLACIER, LOOKING NORTHWEST FROM  
TREE MOUNTAIN, SHOWING MEDIAL MORAINES  
based on sketches from nature by John Muir  
Lit.: Muir. Century, LIV (new series XXXII), no.4, Aug 1897,  
repr. p.524
160. A MORaine - STREAKED PORTION OF MUIR GLACIER ON THE EAST  
SIDE, LOOKING TOWARD HOWLING VALLEY  
based on sketches from nature by John Muir  
Lit.: Muir. Century, LIV (new series XXXII), no.4, Aug 1897,  
repr. p.525
161. WHITE GLACIER, A SMALL EASTERN TRIBUTARY OF THE MUIR  
GLACIER  
after a photograph by Reid  
Lit.: Muir. Century, LIV (new series XXXII), no.4, Aug 1897,  
repr. p.526
- 161a. Untitled  
Exbns.: Salmagundi 1883  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.344

- B. Unlocated Works
- I. Landscapes
- a. Canada
- i. Québec

162. BROOK NEAR SARGENTS LANDING, EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

watercolour

- Exbns.: AAM 1868 no.66  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1868  
 REID. 1979, pp.135-36  
 BAKER. 1980, p.16  
Prov.: Notman (1868)

163. ON THE BURROUGHS RIVER, EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

oil

6 x 10"

- Exbns.: OSA 1877 no.17 \$35.00  
 TAM 1916 no.26 \$75.00  
Lit.: REID: 1979, p.251  
Prov.: John Ross Robertson (1916)

164. CARRYING THE OATS, THREATENING WEATHER, EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

oil

- Exbns.: OSA 1873 no.51 \$250.00  
Lit.: Can Mon. III. no.3. Mr 1873, p.261.  
 Can Mon. III. no.6. Je 1873, p.546.  
 Mail 16 Ap 1873  
 COLGATE. Ont Hist. XLV. no.1. 1953, pp.3-4  
 REID. 1979, pp.215-16  
 BAKER. 1980, p.16

165. EARLY MORNING, LAKE MEMPHREMAGOG

- Exbns.: Oliver, Coate 1883 no.88  
Lit.: Oliver, Coate 1883. Catalogue, p.16

166. A GLEAM OF MORNING SUNLIGHT - SARGENT'S LANDING,  
EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

oil,  
Exbns.: SCA 1870 no.20 \$100.00  
 Philadelphia 1876 no.105  
Lit.: CIN. 11, no.15, 12 Feb 1870, p.231  
 REID. 1979, p.139  
 BAKER. 1980, p.16  
Prov.: G. Scott (1876)

167. INTERIOR FRENCH CANADA

watercolour  
 5 x 6 3/4"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.17 \$10.00

168. KAMOURASKA

oil  
Exbns.: AAM 1868 no.58  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1868  
 REID. 1979, pp.135-36

169. ON THE MISSISQUOI

watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1868 no.33

170. MISTY MOIST DAY ON THE MISSISQUOI RIVER, EASTERN  
TOWNSHIPS

oil.  
Exbns.: SCA 1868 no.7 \$150.00  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 23 Dec 1868  
 Herald (Toronto) 23 Dec 1868  
 REID. 1979, p.138

171. MORNING NEAR GEORGEVILLE (EASTERN TOWNSHIPS)

oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1877 no.6 \$80.00  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 14 May 1877  
 REID. 1979, p.251

172. MOUNT ELEPHANTIS  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1868 no.67  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1868  
 REID. 1979, pp.135-36  
 BAKER. 1980, p.16  
Prov.: Notman (1868)
173. MOUNT ELEPHANTIS  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1868 no.69  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1868  
 REID. 1979, pp.135-36  
 BAKER. 1980, p.16  
Prov.: Notman (1868)
174. MOUNT ELEPHANTUS, QUEBEC  
 8 x 12"  
Exbns.: Spooner 1907 no.111 \$50.00  
Prov.: Spooner; Robinson (1907)
175. MOUNT ORFORD, FROM THE OUTLET  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1868 no.70  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1868  
 REID. 1979, pp.135-36  
 BAKER. 1980, p.16  
Prov.: Notman (1868)
176. MURRAY BAY  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.21
177. OAT HARVEST IN LOWER CANADA  
 oil  
Exbns.: Philadelphia 1876 no.146  
Prov.: Government of Ontario (1876)

178. OLD MILL, LOWER CANADA  
Exbns.: Oliver, Coate 1883 no.90
179. OWL'S HEAD  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1868 no.68  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1868  
 REID. 1979, pp.135-36  
 BAKER. 1980, p.16  
Prov.: Notman (1868)
180. OWL'S HEAD, E. T.  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.23
181. OWL'S HEAD MOUNTAIN  
 oil (sketch)  
Exbns.: AAM 1865 no.15  
Prov.: Thomas D. King (1865)
182. OWL'S HEAD (STORM GATHERING)  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1868 no.71  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1868  
 REID. 1979, pp.135-36  
 BAKER. 1980, p.16  
Prov.: Notman (1868)
183. ON THE ST. HENRY  
 oil  
Exbns.: AAM 1864 no.79  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.47  
Prov.: Augustus J. Pell (1864)
184. ON A SALMON RIVER, LOWER CANADA  
Exbns.: Oliver, Coate 1883 no.19

185. STUDY NEAR MOUNT ROYAL  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1867 no.208 \$40.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.134  
Prov.: Augustus J. Pell (1867)
186. SUNSET, FROM MOUNT ORFORD  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1868 no.72  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1868  
 REID. 1979, pp.135-36  
 SHERBROOKE. 1980, p.16  
Prov.: Notman (1868)
11. East Coast
187. AN ACADIAN PASTORAL  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1881 no.41  
Lit.: REID. 1979, pp.341-42
188. BAIE DE CHALEUR  
Lit.: AGO Fraser file  
Prov.: W. H. VanderSmissen
189. BLACK CAPE, BAY CHALEUR  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.202 \$75.00  
 TIE 1881 no.118  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 27 May 1878  
Prov.: J. Smith (1881)
190. AT CHARLO, BAY DE CHALEUR, TIDE-OUT  
 8 x 12"  
Exbns.: Spooner 1907 no.110 \$28.00  
Prov.: Spooner; Robertson (1907)

191. CHAUDIERE FALLS  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.16
192. A COVE, BAY OF CHALEUR  
11 x 13½"  
Exbns.: FAM 1916 no.23 \$50.00  
Prov.: Mrs. H. S. Mara\* (1916)
193. AT DALHOUSIE, N.B.  
Exbns.: Oliver, Coate 1883 no.36
194. DAYBREAK - LOW TIDE (RESTIGOUCHE)  
oil  
Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.50 \$50.00  
AAM 1880 no.45
195. AT DAWN OF DAY  
watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1882 no.114 \$60.00  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 22 May 1882  
REID. 1979, p.342
196. EARLY MORNING AT DALHOUSIE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.194 \$75.00  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 27 May 1878
197. EARLY MORNING DALHOUSIE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: TIE 1881 no.77  
Prov.: J. H. Mason (1881)
198. EARLY MORNING (DALHOUSIE, N.B.)  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.179 \$55.00  
AAM 1880 no.149

## 199. EARLY MORNING, OCTOBER, DALHOUSIE, N.B.

watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1878 no.431 \$90.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.255

## 200. FISHERMEN, GASPE COAST

oil  
Exbns.: TIE 1898 no.337  
Prov.: O. A. Howland (1898)

## 201. FISHING VILLAGE IN THE GULF

watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1882 no.95 \$25.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.342

## 202. GASPE

oil  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.35  
 Detroit 1903 no.3  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.85  
 "Twilight"

## 203. A GASPE FISHERMAN'S HOME

watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1882 no.147 \$125.00  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 22 May 1882  
 REID. 1979, p.342

## 204. A GASPE HEADLAND, CANADA

black and white  
Exbns.: Salmagundi 1882 no.389  
 BAC 1884 no.227 \$40.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.344

## 205. ON THE GASPE SHORE

Exbns.: AAM Loan 1914 no.51  
Prov.: Van Horne (1914)



206. GOING OUT WITH THE NETS - GASPE  
Exbns.: watercolour  
 Kit Kat 1901 no.45  
 Detroit 1903 no.31
207. ON THE GRAND CASCAPEDIA, BETWEEN SHOWERS  
Exbns.: Oliver, Coate 1883 no.18
208. AT GRAND GREVE, GASPE  
Exbns.: watercolour  
 Pell 1888 no.30
209. HERRING FISHERS OFF BON AMI ROCK  
Exbns.: watercolour  
 OSA 1878 no.114 \$12.00
210. HERRING FISHERS SETTING NETS AT EARLY SUNRISE  
Exbns.: oil  
 OSA 1878 no.49 \$40.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.253
211. JUNCTION RESTIGOUCHE AND MATAPEDIA  
Exbns.: watercolour  
 Pell 1888 no.22  
Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 16 Sept 1880
212. AT A LOBSTER FISHERY (BAY CHALEUR)  
Exbns.: oil  
 RCA 1880 no.53 \$100.00  
 AAM 1880 no.23  
 OSA 1880 no.51 \$75.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.337

## 213. LOW TIDE AT BON AMI ROCKS, BAY CHALEUR

oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1880 no.54 \$75.00  
 RCA 1881 no.325  
 TIE 1881 no.189  
Lit.: OSA Minutes 13 May 1880  
 REID. 1979, p.337  
Prov.: OSA (1881)

## 214. LOW TIDE AT DALHOUSIE

watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.116 \$12.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.253

## 215. LOW TIDE AT DALHOUSIE

oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.50 \$40.00

## 216. A MORNING GLOW, LOW TIDE, BAY CHALEUR

oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.55 \$40.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, pp253; 341-42

## 217. AT THE MOUTH OF THE CASCAPIEDIA RIVER

Exbns.: Oliver, Coate 1883 no.46a

## 218. AT MOUTH OF THE RESTIGOUCHE

watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.113 \$12.00  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 27 May 1878

## 219. MOUTH OF THE RESTIGOUCHE

watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1878 no.301 \$85.00  
 OSA 1878 no.205 \$60.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.255

220. PERCE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.203 NFS  
 Chicago 1893 no.157 NFS
221. AT PERCE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: TIE 1881 no.122
222. AT PERCE BEACH  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: BAC 1884 no.146 \$50.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.344
223. AT PERCE (FRENCH CANADA)  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: BWS 1885 no.4  
Lit.: REID.1979, p.344
224. AT PERCE, FRENCH CANADA, COUNTY OF BONAVENTURE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1886 no.55 \$400.00
225. PERCE, FROM THE SEA  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.34
226. PERCE ROCK  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.17
227. PERCE ROCK  
 watercolour  
 19 x 27"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.2 \$500.00  
Prov.: H. C. Barker (1916)

228. A PERCE STUDY, painted on the spot

watercolour

Exbns.: OSA 1881 no.157 NFS  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.341

229. A POOL ON THE ESCUMINAC, QUEBEC

Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.19

230. A QUIET MORNING AT GASPE

watercolour

Exbns.: AWS 1883 no.416 \$80.00  
Lit.: REID.1979, p.342

231. QUIET MORNING, LOW TIDE, DALHOUSIE

watercolour

Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.199 \$150.00  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 27 May 1878

232. ON THE RESTIGOUCHE RIVER, CANADA

black and white

Exbns.: Salmagundi 1882 no.457

233. IN THE RESTIGOUCHE VALLEY

5½ x 9½"

Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.18 \$50.00  
Prov.: C. W. Irwin (1916)

234. A ROAD SIDE BIT AT PERCE

watercolour

Exbns.: OSA 1881 no.113 NFS  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 20 May 1881  
REID. 1979, p.341

235. A SALMON POOL ON THE RESTIGOUCHE

watercolour

Exbns.: RCA 1886 no.64 \$80.00  
Colonial 1886

236. ON A SALMON RIVER  
watercolour  
Exbns. : OSA 1882 no.199 \$25.00  
Lit. : REID. 1979, p.342
237. SEA-SIDE LANDING  
watercolour  
Exbns. : OSA 1878 no.117 \$15.00
238. ON THE SHINGLY SHORE (PERCE) painted on the spot  
watercolour  
Exbns. : OSA 1881 no.178 NFS  
RCA 1881 no.63 NFS  
TIE 1881 no.50 \$40.00  
Lit. : Mail (Toronto) 20 May 1881  
REID. 1979, pp.341-42
239. A SHOWERY DAY IN THE PASSE DES MONTES DE ST. URBAIN  
AT PERCE, Q.P.  
watercolour  
Exbns. : RCA 1886 no.43 \$150.00  
Colonial 1886
240. SKETCH AT PERCE  
watercolour  
Exbns. : RCA 1881 no.11  
Lit. : REID. 1979, pp.341-42
241. A SKETCH ON THE PERCE BEACH  
watercolour  
Exbns. : AWS 1883 no.42 \$50.00
242. SQUALLY AUTUMN DAY. BAY CHALEUR  
watercolour  
Exbns. : OSA Benefit Auction 1878 no.51 \$75.00 Withdrawn  
Lit. : Challenger notes (AGO)  
REID. 1979, p.255

243. A SQUALLY MORNING IN OCTOBER (MOUTH OF RESTIGOUCHE)  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.178 \$60.00  
Lit.: Challenger notes (AGO)  
Prov.: Marshall (1880)
244. STORM COVE AT PERCE  
Exbns.: TAM 1911 no.39  
Prov.: J. Herbert Mason (1911)
245. STUDY FOR SEASIDE IDYL  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1878 no.56 \$40.00  
RCA 1880 no.62 \$30.00 (titled Study for a Large Picture)  
AAM 1880 no.44  
Lit.: REID. 1979, pp.253; 336-37  
Prov.: Lady Howland (1880)
246. SUNRISE, BAY CHALEUR  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA Benefit Auction 1878 no.110  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.255
247. SUR LA GREVE A PERCE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.24
248. THE TAIL OF THE STORM DALHOUSIE TO TRACADIE  
6 x 11"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.9 \$20.00  
"purple and gold"
249. THUNDER CAPE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.15

250. AT TIDE HEAD, RESTIGOUCHE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.32
251. TIDE ROLLING IN BAY CHALEUR  
watercolour  
Exbns.: QSA 1878 no.115 \$12.00
252. A TROUT POOL ON THE ESCUMINE (A New Brunswick scene)  
oil  
Exbns.: AAM 1883 no.133  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.342
253. VIEW AT PERCY  
Exbns.: Oliver, Coate 1883 no.58
111. Central Canada
254. AUTUMN RADIANCE ROUND LAKE MUSKOKA  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.31 \$80.00  
"Pensive yet (exceedingly) beautiful"
255. FALLS OF KAKABEKKA, LAKE SUPERIOR  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.12
256. AT MEAD'S, TORONTO ISLAND  
6½ x 9½"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.31 \$60.00  
Prov.: E. Whaley (1916)
257. MONTREAL FALLS, LAKE SUPERIOR  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.18

258. MUSKOKA SCENE  
10 x 4½"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.22  
Lit.: AGO Fraser file (titled In Muskoka)  
Prov.: Mrs. H. S. Mara (1916)
259. ON THE NORTH SHORE OF LAKE SUPERIOR  
watercolour  
Exbns.: BAC 1885 no.42 - \$350.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.344
260. PORT ARTHUR LANDING, CANADA  
watercolour  
11½ x 18"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.34 \$80.00  
"Strong effects light and shade"
261. RAFTING ON THE OTTAWA  
Exbns.: CYMCA (Toronto) 1931  
Lit.: Challenger notes (AGO)  
Prov.: J.T.M. Burnside
262. THE RIVER KAMINISTIQUA AT FORT WILLIAM  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM Carnival 1887 no.17  
Lit.: Unidentified newspaper clipping, Canadian Curatorial Files,  
NGC  
Prov.: Van Horne (1887)
263. THE SINGING WATERS KAKABEKKA  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.10  
Detroit 1903 no.41  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.36 \$100.00  
"Sombre color full of life"
264. IN THE WOODS, NEAR OTTAWA  
12 x 14"  
Exbns.: Spooner 1907 no.106 \$37.00  
Lit.: Spooner; Watson (1907)



## iv. Western Canada

265.            AMONGST THE GLACIERS AND MISTS OF ROSS PEAK, B.C.  
                  watercolour  
Exbns.:      Pell 1888 no.25
266.            AVALANCHE TRACES IN THE FRASER CANYON  
Exbns.:      Townsend 1897 no.77
267.            BEAVER FOOTHILLS MORNING MISTS  
                  watercolour (?)  
Lit.:        (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston Art Club) to Van  
                  Home, 24 Sept 1887
268.            BOSTON BAR BLUFF, B.C.  
                  watercolour  
Exbns.:      TIE 1903 no.225  
                  AAM Loan 1914 no.50  
Prov.:        Van Horne (1914)
269.            EAST OF YALE. NEAR SUNSET  
                  watercolour  
Lit.:        (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston, Mass.) to Van Horne,  
                  25 Nov 1885
270.            FAIR WEATHER AMONG GLACIER  
                  oil  
                  18½ x 24½"  
Lit.:        FRASER 1900 no.42 \$100.00  
                  "Placid impenetrable"

271.                    FLOATING WHARF ON BURRARD INLET  
oil  
Exbns.: Canadian Club 1887  
Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Ap 1887
272.                    THE FLUSH OF SUNSET ON THE ROSS PEAK GLACIER  
oil  
Exbns.: Canadian Club 1887  
Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Ap 1887
- 272a.                    IN THE FRASER CANYON  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886  
Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886
273.                    FRESHET ON PIPESTONE RIVER, ROCKY MOUNTAINS  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.40
274.                    FROSTY MORNING AT FIELD ON THE "KICKING HORSE"  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.23
275.                    GLACIER IN THE ROCKIES  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.13  
                  Detroit 1903 no.42  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.14 \$50.00  
                  "Three snow-peaks blue sky"
276.                    GLORIOUS NATURE ROCKIES  
watercolour  
18½ x 26½"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.7  
                  Detroit 1903 no.38  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.45 \$300.00  
                  "Almost dazzling"

277. GODS COUNTRY CALGARRY  
 watercolour  
 9 x 18"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.4  
 Detroit 1903 no.36  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.46 \$100.00  
 "Sombre majestic rich"
278. THE GREAT GLACIER IN THE SELKIRK RANGE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886  
Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886
279. AT HASTINGS, BURRARD INLET  
 oil  
Exbns.: Canadian Club 1887  
Lit.: Times (NY) 3 April 1887
280. HERMIT PEAK AFTER SNOW STORM  
 watercolour (?)  
Lit.: (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston Art Club) to Van  
 Horne, 24 Sept 1887
281. THE HERMIT RANGE EARLY AFTERNOON  
 oil  
Exbns.: Canadian Club 1887  
Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Ap 1887
282. LYTTON AT THE JUNCTION OF THE FRASER AND THE THOMPSON  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Canadian Club 1887  
Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Ap 1887
283. MOUNT BAKER, ROCKY MOUNTAINS  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.41

## 284. MOUNT BAKER, FROM STAVE RIVER

watercolour

Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886

## 285. MOUNT FIELD

watercolour

Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886286. MOUNT HERMIT, SUMMIT OF THE SELKIRK RANGE, B. C.,  
MAIN PEAK, 5500 feet above railway track. Glaciers  
from 500 feet to 800 feet deep

watercolour

Exbns.: Colonial 1886Prov.: Sir George Stephen (1886)

## 287. MOUNT LE FROY ROCKIES

watercolour

Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.54 \$50.00  
"Glacier Laggan"

## 288. MOUNT SIR DONALD

watercolour

Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886

## 289. MOUNT STEPHEN

watercolour

Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886

## 290. MOUNT STEPHEN, FROM FIELD

oil

Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.54Lit.: REID. 1979, p.406

291. NEAR VANCOUVER (SHOWERY)  
watercolour (?)  
Lit.: (CPCA) Letter from Fraser (Boston Art Club) to Van Horne,  
24 Sept 1887
292. A PACIFIC RANGE  
Exbns.: Dundurn Loan 1906 no.79  
Prov.: Robert Junor (1906)
293. PEAK OF MOUNT FIELD AT SUNRISE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Canadian Club 1887  
Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Ap 1887
294. ON THE PRAIRIE NEAR CALGARY  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM Carnival 1887 no.18  
Lit.: Unidentified newspaper clipping, Canadian Curatorial  
Files, NGC  
Prov.: R. B. Angus (1887)
295. RAIN & MIST  
oil  
18½ x 24½"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.43 \$100.00  
"Gray - strong - stormy"
296. A RAINY AFTERNOON ON THE HERMIT, SELKIRKS  
oil  
Exbns.: Canadian Club 1887  
Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Ap 1887
297. ROCK SLIDE AND DEBRIS FROM GLACIER  
watercolour (?)  
Lit.: (CPGA) Letter from Fraser (Boston Art Club) to Van Horne,  
24 Sept 1887

298. ROSS PEAK GLACIER  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886  
Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886
299. A SPUR OF MOUNT STEPHEN  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.82
300. SUMMIT LAKE, ROCKY MOUNTAINS, CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Colonial 1886  
Prov.: Sir George Stephen (1886)
301. SUMMIT OF THE SELKIRKS AT ROGER'S PASS  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886  
Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886
302. TRESTLE BRIDGE ROCKIES C.P.R.  
 watercolour  
 14 x 10"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.11  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.40 \$100.00  
 "Sombre and large"
303. TWILIGHT IN THE ROCKIES  
 watercolour  
 10 x 14"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.21  
 Detroit 1903 no.45  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.51 \$100.00  
 "Large impressive"

304. WESTERN PEAK AND SHOULDER OF MOUNT STEPHEN, FROM THE  
KICKING HORSE FLATS AT FIELD, LOOKING EAST
- oil
- Exbns.: Canadian Club 1887  
Koekkoek (London, Eng.) 1887 no.10
- Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Ap 1887  
Daily News (London, Eng.) 31 May 1887  
Times (London, Eng.) 2 June 1887
305. WHERE THE WILD WATERS MEET (JUNCTION OF THE FRASER AND  
THOMPSON RIVERS AT LYTTON, B.C.)
- Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.81
- 305a. YALE, ON THE LOWER FRASER
- watercolour
- Exbns.: Queen's Hotel (Toronto) 1886
- Lit.: Globe (Toronto) 10 Nov 1886

## v. Unspecified Canada

306. CANADA
- watercolour  
14 x 10"
- Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.32 \$35.00  
"Lonely gray house green woods"
307. IN CANADA DEER WATCHER
- watercolour  
8 x 15"
- Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.50 \$30.00  
"pleasing fresh color"
308. CANADIAN WOODS
- watercolour  
5 x 7"
- Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.18 \$25.00  
"Old aquarelle school"

309. FRENCH FLOUR MILL  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1881 no.89a NFS  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.341
310. MISTS OF MORNING 5:30 A.M. CANADA  
watercolour  
8 x 15"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.8 \$40.00  
"Soft pearly tints"
311. SALMON CAMP ON A CANADIAN RIVER  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.30
312. A TROUT STREAM, CANADA  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.4
313. WOODLANDS CANADA 1861  
watercolour  
11½ x 9"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.44 \$40.00  
"Green woods very placid"
- b. United States  
i. Massachusetts
314. AUTUMN AFTERNOON ON THE IPSWICH RIVER, MASS.  
18 x 13"  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.18  
TAM 1916 no.15 \$200.00  
Prov.: L. Goldman (1916)
315. AUTUMN GLOW, LENOX, MASS  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.15



316. BACK OF MARBLEHEAD NECK  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1893 no.78 \$150.00  
 Townsend 1897 no.17
317. ON THE CHARLES RIVER, MASS.  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: BWS 1885 no.5  
 Townsend 1897 no.16  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.341
318. CHILL OCTOBER IN THE BERKSHIRE HILLS, MASS.  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.54
319. A GRAY DAY, NAHANT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1886 no.7  
 OSA 1886 no.84 \$30.00  
 Pell 1888 no.36
320. GRAY MORNING AT SQUANTUM  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.20
321. ON THE IPSWICH RIVER  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.14  
 Detroit 1903 no.43  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.85 \$100.00
322. LATE AFTERNOON AT ROCKY NAHANT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1886 no.45  
 OSA 1886 no.125 \$40.00  
 Pell 1888 no.35

323.           LENOX HILLS, MASS. AUTUMN  
                   watercolour  
                   19½ x 13½"  
Exbns.:    AGT Inaugural 1926 no.227  
Prov.:     North American Life Assurance co. (1926)
324.           LOOKING SEAWARD FROM MARBLEHEAD, MASS.  
Exbns.:    Townsend 1897 no.1
325.           ON A MASSACHUSETTS RIVER  
                   watercolour  
Exbns.:    NYWC 1893 no.123
326.           MORNING AT NAHANT AFTER A STORMY NIGHT  
                   watercolour  
Exbns.:    AAM 1886 no.35  
                   OSA 1886 no.157 \$100.00  
                   Pel1 1888 no.42
327.           AT OLD SQUANTUM  
                   watercolour  
Exbns.:    BAC 1885 no.24 \$50.00  
Lit.:     REID. 1979, p.344
328.           PULPIT ROCK, NAHANT, MASS.  
                   watercolour  
Exbns.:    AWS 1886 no.412 \$100.00
329.           AT ROCKY NAHANT  
                   watercolour  
Exbns.:    BWS 1885 no.1  
Lit.:     REID. 1979, p.344

330. AT SALEM NECK  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: BWS 1885 no.6  
 AWS 1886 no.269 \$50.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.344
331. A SQUALLY AFTERNOON ON THE IPSWICH RIVER, MASS.  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.75
332. ON SQUANTUM BEACH  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: BAC 1885 no.2 \$50.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.344
333. STUDY ON THE CHARLES  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1886 no.716 \$50.00
334. A SUNNY AFTERNOON AT NAHANT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.29
335. THE TRANQUIL AUTUMN IPSWICH RIVER  
 watercolour  
 10 x 16"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.24 \$35.00  
 "Gray but full color"
11. New England
336. THE GLOW OF EVENING ON A NEW ENGLAND RIVER  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.69 RESERVE \$175.00

337. ON A NEW ENGLAND RIVER  
watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1891 no.132  
Townsend 1897 no.66
- 11f. New Hampshire
338. BETWEEN THE SHOWERS, LAKE SUNAPU  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.27
339. A BIT OF LAKE SHORE (LAKE SUNAPEE, N. H.)  
watercolour  
Exbns.: BWS 1895 no.2  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.344
340. ON A BY-WAY (SUNAPEE, N. H.)  
watercolour  
Exbns.: BWS 1885 no.3  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.344
341. DRY BED OF A MOUNTAIN STREAM, ANDROSCOGGIN.  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1873 no.57 \$150.00  
Philadelphia 1876 no.109  
Lit.: GAGEN. n.d., p.32  
Can Mon. III. no.3. Mr 1873, p.261  
Mail (Toronto) 16 Ap 1873  
Can Mon. III. no.6. Ja 1873, p.546  
COLGATE. Ont Hist. XLV. no.1. 1953, p.3  
REID. 1979, pp.215-216; 252  
Prov.: R. S. Woods (1876)
342. EVENING ON THE PEABODY, N. H.  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1877 no.12 \$80.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.251

343. GATHERING STORM, LAKE SUNAPU  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.28
344. A LAST RAY IN THE WHITE MOUNTAINS  
oil  
Exbns.: RCA-1880 no.92 SOLD \$45.00  
AAM 1880 no.67 (titled A Last Ray)  
Lit.: Witness (Montreal) 23 Ap 1880  
REID. 1979, p.337  
Prov.: HRH Princess Lousie (1880)
345. A MILL STREAM, N. H.  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1886 no.844 \$50.00
346. MOUNT WASHINGTON  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM Art Union 1867 no.2 \$25.00  
Lit.: Herald (Toronto) 16 Feb 1867  
REID. 1979, p.134  
Prov.: John Caverhill (1867)
347. STORM ON MOUNT JEFFERSON  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1867 no.206 \$40.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.134  
Prov.: Augustus J. Pell (1867)
348. STUDY AT SUNAPEE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1886 no.406 \$50.00
349. ON SUNAPU LAKE, STORM CLOUD  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.31

350. SUNSET MT WASHINGTON  
watercolour  
7½ x 10"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.25 \$45.00
- iv. New York
351. APPLE TREES, ROCKLAND LAKE  
oil  
9 x 14"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.27  
Detroit 1903 no.1  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.39  
"Study in greens and blossoms"
352. IN AUGUST MAHOPAC  
watercolour  
8½ x 10"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.21 \$35.00
353. BAD WEATHER, KIRK LAKE, N.Y.  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Chicago 1893 no.1216
354. EARLY MORNING IN SEPTEMBER, WESTCHESTER CO., N.Y.  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.35
355. END OF THE STORM MAHOPAC  
watercolour  
6½ x 10"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.26 \$35.00  
"Gray sky calm water"
356. EVENING STILLNESS LAKE MAHOPAC  
watercolour  
8 x 11½"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.11 \$35.00  
"Bright peaceful evening"

357. IN FULL BLOOM ROCKLAND LAKE  
oil  
12 x 8"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.77  
"White tree in orchard"
358. A GRAY BIT ON LONG ISLAND  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1893 no.307 \$150.00  
Chicago 1893 no.1218
359. GREEN COUNTRY SIDE, MAHOPAC  
watercolour  
6 x 10½"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.28 \$35.00
360. THE LAST OF THE DAY, MAHOPAC, NY  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1891 no.407 \$250.00
361. LATE AFTERNOON, MAHOPAC, N.Y.  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.29
362. MAHOPAC  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.84 \$100.00  
"Very brilliant sketch"
363. AT MAHOPAC  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.25
364. MAHOPAC MEADOW MAHOPAC  
watercolour  
14 x 9"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.12 \$35.00 P. G. B.  
"Green meadows blue sketch"

365. "MAUVAIS TEMPS" (BAD WEATHER) CROTON, N. Y.  
also known as Uncertain Weather - On the Croton Shed  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1891 no.133  
PSalon 1891  
Penn Academy 1892 no.334  
Chicago 1893 no.1216 (medal)  
Townsend 1897 no.38 RESERVE \$150.00  
Lit.: LEGER, Journal des Arts, 2 juin 1891.  
(CPCA) Letter from Fraser (New York) to William Van  
Horne, 9 Je 1891  
Townsend. Catalogue. 1897, p.4
366. A MIDSUMMER RAMBLE, PUTNAM CO., N. Y.  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.34
367. NEAR LITTLE NECK, L. I.  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.80
368. IN THE ORCHARD - SKETCH MAHOPAC  
oil  
10 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.66  
"Bo'd effects light & shades"
369. PEARLY EVENING MAHOPAC LAKE  
watercolour  
7 x 12"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.10 \$35.00  
"Tranquil and lucid"
370. IN THE RAIN, KIRK LAKE, N.Y.  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.85
371. RUSSET AUTUMN GLENWOOD L.I.  
oil  
9 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.16  
"Golden greens"



372.            SPRING EVERYWHERE    ROCKLAND LAKE  
Lit.:        FRASER 1900 no.75  
                  "Brilliant light"
373.            SPRING - ROCKLAND LAKE  
                  oil  
Exbns.:     Kit Kat 1901 no.41  
                  Detroit 1903 no.6
374.            STILL WATER OF THE CROTON, MAHOPAC, NY  
                  watercolour  
Exbns.       AWS 1891 no.64 \$225.00
375.            SUNSET ON LAKE MAHOPAC, N.Y.  
Exbns.:     Townsend 1897 no.55 RESERVE \$100.00  
Lit.:        (LRAG) Letter from Fraser (New York) to W. Thomson  
                  Smith, 30 Oct 1897  
Prov.:       W. Thomson Smith (1897)
376.            AT SUNSET    MAHOPAC LAKE  
                  oil  
                  10 x 14"  
Lit.:        FRASER 1900 no.68  
                  "Boat floating idly gray rocks"
377.            THROUGH THE MEADOW, MAHOPAC, NY  
                  watercolour  
Exbns.:     AWS 1891 no.408 \$225.00
378.            TWILIGHT    ROCKLAND LAKE  
                  oil  
                  12½ x 18½"  
Lit.:        FRASER 1900 no.38  
                  "Sombre study"

379. A WINDY SKY GLENWOOD L.I.  
 oil  
 9 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.15  
 "Rich full color red cloud"

380. YOUNG SPRING ROCKLAND  
 oil  
 12 x 18½"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.6  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.13 \$100.00  
 "Green foliage sunny"

v. Vermont

381. BLUE MOUNTAINS, VERMOUNT, U.S.A.  
 10 x 18"  
Exbns.: Spooner 1907 no.42 \$50.00  
Prov.: Spooner; C. W. Irwin (1907)

382. MOUNTAINS IN VERMONT  
 19½ x 10½"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.20 \$100.00  
Prov.: C. W. Irwin (1916)

vi. Western U.S.A.

383. CATHEDRAL ROCKS  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Penn Academy 1893-94 no.140

383a. CATHEDRAL ROCKS, YOSEMITE  
 black and white  
Exbns.: Chicago 1893 no.2171  
Prov.: Century Co., N.Y. (1893)

384. CLEARING AFTER RAIN, MT. PALLISER AT LAGGAN  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.84
385. THE HUGH MILLER GLACIER  
 watercolour  
Lit.: Challenger notes (AGO)
386. RAIN AND MIST ON MOUNT PALLISER AT LAGGAN  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.83
387. SENTINAL ROCK  
 black and white  
Exbns.: Chicago 1893 no.2172  
Prov.: Century Co., N.Y.
388. SENTINAL ROCKS  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Penn Academy 1893-94 no.130
- c. Scotland
389. ABOVE BEN DOE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: TIE 1894 no.120 \$60.00
390. AFTERNOON TAINAULT SCOTLAND  
 watercolour  
 5 x 7"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.29  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.19 \$25.00 Stolen  
 "Exceedingly brilliant gem"
391. AMONG THE HEATHER  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.43

392. ANGLING IN THE HIGHLANDS, NOVEMBER MORNING  
oil  
Exbns.: RCA 1891 no.89  
AAM 1891 no.51 \$900.00  
Kit Kat 1901 no.1  
Lit.: FRASER, 1900 no.92 \$900.00
- 392a. AUTUMN IN THE HIGHLANDS  
Exbns.: NAD 1890 no.125  
Lit.: NAYLOR. I, 1973, p.317.
393. ON THE AWE, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.44
394. BED CRUACHAN FROM BONAWE FERRY, SCOTLAND (GATHERING  
STORM)  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.32
395. A BIT OF LOCH AWS BETWEEN THE SHOWERS  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RA 1889 no.1412  
Liverpool Autumn 1889 no.875 L40  
Lit.: GRAVES. 1972, p.164  
REID. 1979, p.408
396. A BIT OF SCOTLAND  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1891 no.100 \$100.00
397. TO BOROUGH GREEN IGHAM  
oil  
9 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.2 \$40.00  
"Heavy tone warm"

398. THE BRIG' O'MICHAEL AT DUNCRAGGAN, PERTHSHIRE,  
SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.2
399. AT BRODICK ARRAN  
watercolour  
13 x 9½"  
Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.155 \$80.00  
OSA 1890 no.8  
AWS 1894 no.258 \$90.00 (titled In Arran (Showery Weather))  
TAM 1911 no.30a  
TAM 1916 no.6 \$250.00 (titled Showery Weather, Arran)  
Ellis 1919 no.81  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1911; 1916; 1919)
400. CLOSE OF DAY AT APPIN, ON LOCH LINNHE, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.7
401. DUNNSTAFFNAGE AND THE SOUND OF MULL, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.22
402. EVENING ON BEN VENUE TRÖSSACHS  
oil  
9 x 14"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.33  
Detroit 1903 no.2  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.3 \$70.00  
"Deep purple tone"
403. THE FIRST SNOW ON BEN VENUE, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.10
404. A GLIMPSE OF NOVEMBER SUN ON BEN LEDI (NEAR CALLANDER)  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.79

405. A GLINT ON BEN LEDI IN NOVEMBER  
 watercolour  
 13 x 20"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.33 \$175.00 Sold P.G.B.  
 "Sombre wonderful light effect"
406. AT GORRIE ARRAN  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1894 no.166  
 AAM 1894 no.184 \$50.00
407. AT GORRIE ON THE CLYDE, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.71
408. HAZY AFTERNOON IN THE TROSSACHS, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.6
409. A HEATHERY HILLSIDE IN THE WILD HIGHLANDS  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1892-93 no.106  
Prov.: E. H. Del'Orme
410. A HIGHLAND NOVEMBER MORNING  
 oil  
Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.60 \$750.00  
 Chicago 1893 no.49 awarded diploma
- 410a. A HIGHLAND PASS  
Exbns.: NAD 1890 no.153  
Lit.: NAYLOR. I, 1973, p.317
411. HIGHLAND TWILIGHT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: BAC 1896 no.59

412. THE HILLS OF MORVEN  
 watercolour  
Exbns. : AWS 1894 no.443 \$481.00  
 Townsend 1897 no.40
413. THE HOLY ISLE IONA  
 watercolour  
 15½ x 17½"  
Lit. : FRASER 1900 no.48 \$78.00  
 "Very airy and sparkling"
414. IONA  
Exbns. : Kit Kat 1091 no.28
415. IONA SCOTLAND  
 watercolour  
 7 x 14"  
Exbns. : FRASER 1900 no.20 \$35.00
416. THE LAST OF THE DAY, BEN VENUE, SCOTLAND  
Exbns. : Townsend 1897 no.25
417. ON THE LINNHE LOCH (FROM APPIN)  
 watercolour  
Exbns. : RCA 1894 no.164  
 AAM 1894 no.181 \$250.00  
 Atlanta 1895 medal  
 Townsend 1897 no.64  
 Kit Kat 1901 no.9  
 Detroit 1903 no.40  
Lit. : FRASER 1900 no.39 \$175.00  
 "Brilliant splendid"
418. ON THE LOCH ETIVE, SCOTLAND  
Exbns. : Townsend 1897 no.39

419. ON THE LOCH ETIVE SIDE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.200 \$110.00  
 Chicago 1893 no.154  
 Townsend 1897 no.52 RESERVE \$75.00
420. A LONELY SHORE AND WILD LOCH ETIVE, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.20
421. LOOKING TO MORVEN APPIN  
 oils (3)  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.60 \$50.00 Sold P.G.B.
422. MIDST MEADOW, MOOR AND MOUNTAIN  
 watercolour  
 27½ x 18½"  
Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.147  
 OSA 1890 no.18 \$500.00  
 Liverpool. Walker Art Gallery 1910 no.42  
 TAM 1911 no.28  
 TAM 1916 no.8 \$600.00  
 Ellis 1919 no.83  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1916; 1919)
423. IN THE MISTS AND RAIN, APPIN  
 watercolour  
 18 x 13"  
Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.148 \$175.00  
 OSA 1890 no.1 \$75.00  
 Liverpool. Walker Art Gallery 1910 no.43  
 TAM 1911 no.33  
 Leys 1913 no.106  
 TAM 1916 no.4 \$350.00  
 Ellis 1919 no.79  
Prov.: Ellis (1911); Leys (1913); Ellis (1916; 1919)
424. A MOIST AFTERNOON, TAYNUILT, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.65



425. MOUNTAINS OF LINCHOIL  
Lit.: Challenger notes (AGO)
426. AT THE MOUTH OF A HIGHLAND RIVER  
oil  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.46  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.91 Sold A.G.R.  
"Argyll shire bold strong & brilliant"
427. NEAR BALLACHULISH, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.36
428. NEAR OBAN, SCOTLAND (WATERY SUNSET)  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.21
429. NOVEMBER IN HIGHLANDS  
Lit.: AGO Fraser file  
Prov.: R. L. Patterson
430. NOVEMBER TWILIGHT, PERTHSHIRE, SCOTLAND  
watercolour  
13 x 20"  
Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.196 \$175.00  
Chicago 1893 no.150 medal  
Townsend 1897 no.41  
TAM 1916 no.29 \$300.00  
Prov.: J. T. Rolph (1916)
431. OVER THE HIGHLAND HILLS  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1891 no.135
432. IN THE PASS OF BRANDER  
oil  
Exbns.: AAM 1891 no.52 \$250.00  
RCA 1891 no.88

433. ON A SCOTCH SALMON RIVER  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.47
434. SCOTCH FARMSTEAD  
 20 x 13½"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.35 \$200.00  
Prov.: J. S. Williams (1916)
435. ON A SCOTCH RIVER  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1894 no.165  
 AAM 1894 no.182 \$100.00
436. A SCOTCH SOLITUDE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1891 no.42 \$350.00
437. IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS, HORATIO McCULLOUGH  
 oil  
Exbns.: TIE 1881 no.286
438. STORM CLEARING OFF THE FOOT OF BEN CRUACHAN, SCOTLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.31
439. WHERE THE HEATHER BLOOMS, A NOVEMBER EVENING  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1892-93 no.107 \$150.00
440. WHERE A HIGHLAND RIVER MEETS THE SEA. MOUTH OF THE AWE  
 oil  
Exbns.: Ellis 1919 no.86  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1919)

## 441. WHERE A HIGHLAND RIVER MEETS THE SEA

watercolour  
18 x 13"

Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.154 \$200.00  
OSA 1890 no.38 \$200.00  
TIE 1900 no.271  
TIE 1903 no.229  
TAM 1911 no.30  
TAM 1916 no.10 RESERVE \$375.00  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1900; 1911; 1916)

## 442. IN THE WILD HIGHLANDS

oil

Exbns.: BAC 1895 no.44

## 443. IN THE WILD HIGHLANDS

watercolour

Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.195 \$175.00  
Chicago 1893 no.149 medal  
Townsend 1897 no.56  
Kit Kat 1901 no.46  
Detroit 1903 no.32

Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.49 \$200.00  
"Striking effect of light & shade"

## 444. WILD MORVEN

oil

Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.20  
Detroit 1903 no.12

## 445. WILD MORVEN SCOTLAND

watercolour  
8 x 13½"

Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.52 \$70.00

## 446. IN THE WILD PASS OF BRANDER, SCOTLAND

Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.37

447. WILD WEATHER IN LINNHE LOCH  
 7 x 4"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.14 Reserve \$75.00  
 Ellis 1919 no.90  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1916;1919)
- d. England
448. "A BIT" OF IGHAM MOAT HOUSE, KENT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.192 \$125.00  
 Chicago 1893 no.146 medal  
 Townsend 1897 no.45
449. "AFTERGLOW" AT TRUGHURST, KENT, ENGLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.70
450. AFTERNOON FRUIT GARDEN IGHAM  
 oil  
 10 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.62  
 "Constable's vein, rich & (illegible)
451. BACK OF THE VILLAGE, CHIDDINGSTONE, KENT, ENGLAND  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Penn Academy 1893-94 no.97  
 Townsend 1897 no.3
452. A BIT OF UPPER THAMES  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1893 no.638 \$200.00

453. ON A BLOWY MORN IN JUNE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.193 \$250.00  
Chicago 1893 no.147 medals  
Townsend 1897 no.57
454. BOYISH STUDY NEAR LONDON  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.57
455. BY THE MEADOW STREAM  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.198 \$200.00  
Chicago 1893 no.152  
Townsend 1897 no.50
456. A BYE PATH  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1894 no.167  
AAM 1894 no.185 \$50.00
457. THE CORNER, KENT  
wash  
Exbns.: Chicago 1893 no.2173
458. THE CORNER, KENT  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Penn Academy 1893-94 no.146
459. THE CORNER OF THE ROAD AT TRUGGERS  
watercolour  
Lit.: Challenger notes (AGO)
460. THE DUCK-POND AND OLD OAST-HOUSE OF TRUGGERS  
watercolour  
Lit.: Challenger notes (AGO)

461. DUNNSTAFFNAGE CASTLE  
Exbns.: oil  
 Detroit 1903 no.16
462. EARLY MORNING, VILLAGE OF ROOK  
 12 x 14"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.32 \$440.00  
Prov.: E. Whaley (1916)
463. EARLY TWILIGHT TRUGHURST  
 oil  
 10 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.67  
 "Lucid pale sky red roofs"
464. EAST GABLE, IGHTHAN MOTE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1892 no.498 \$100.00
465. AN ENGLISH COUNTRY ROAD  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1895 no.271 \$100.00  
 Townsend 1897 no.59
466. AN ENGLISH SPRING MORNING  
 oil  
 28 x 18"  
Exbns.: Chicago 1893 no.452  
 Kit Kat 1901 no.12  
 Detroit 1903 no.9  
Lit.: Fraser 1900 no.80  
 "Kent - Trughurst - Farm/ soft day - ducklings"
467. AN ENGLISH TWILIGHT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: BAC 1896 no.24

468. EVENING IN THE MEADOW, KENT, ENGLAND

watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1893 no.8 \$40.00  
 Townsend 1897 no.30

469. IN FAIRLAWN PARK, KENT, ENGLAND

Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.48

470. AT GORING ON THE THAMES

Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.9

471. A GREY MORNING ON THE THAMES

watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1893 no.29 \$75.00  
 RCA 1894 no.168  
 AAM 1894 no.186

472. THE HAPPY AUTUMN FIELDS NEAR RHINE CLIFF

watercolour  
 12 x 20"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.30 \$50.00 Sold P.G.B.  
 "Green & gold very pleasing"

473. AT HARDWICK ON THE THAMES

Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.74

474. AT HASTINGS

oil  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.55

475. IN THE HAYFIELD

watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1894 no.251 \$90.00  
 Kit Kat 1901 no.49  
 Detroit 1903 no.33

476. HAY FIELD IN ENGLAND  
watercolour  
9½ x 13½"  
Lit.: AGO Fraser file
477. A HEAVY, GREY MORNING ON THAMES  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.73
478. IN A HOP GARDEN  
oil  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.34  
Detroit 1903 no.21
479. HOP PICKING  
watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1893 no.96 \$40.00
480. HUMBLE HOMES, KENT, ENGLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.27
481. IGHTHAN MOTE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1892 no.534 \$250.00
482. IMPRESSION AT STREATLY ON THAMES  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.32
483. INGHAN MORE HOUSE  
Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Ja 1898
484. OFF THE ISLE OF MAN....McALPINE  
oil  
Exbns.: TIE 1881 no.268



485. A KENTISH BY-ROAD  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.24
486. A KENTISH BY-WAY  
 watercolour  
Lit.: Challenger notes (AGO)
487. A KENTISH HOME  
Exbns.: TIE 1907 no.85  
Prov.: L. Goldman (1907)
488. IN A KENTISH HOP GARDEN  
 watercolour  
 14 x 21"  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.49  
Lit.: (LRAG) Letter - from Fraser (New York) to W. Thomson  
 Smith, 18 Sept 1893
489. IN A KENTISH PARK  
 watercolour (?)  
 14 x 21"  
Lit.: (LRAG) Letter from Fraser (New York) to W. Thomson  
 Smith, 18 Sept 1893
- 489a. IN THE KITCHEN GARDEN, CHIDDINGSTONE CASTLE  
 watercolour  
 21 x 14"  
Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.150 \$225.00  
 OSA 1890 no.14 \$225.00  
 TAM 1916 no.7 \$250.00  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1916)
- 489b. A LOCK ON THE THAMES  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1890 no.138

- 489c.                   MAY EVENING TRUGHURST  
                           oil  
                           10 x 14"  
Lit.:               FRASER 1900 no.69  
                           "Twilight green gray"
- 489d.                   ON A MAY MORNING IN ENGLAND  
                           oil  
Exbns.:           BAC 1891(?) no.28
- 489e.                   MIDST FRAGRANT HAY  
                           watercolour  
Exbns.:           AWS 1894 no.252 \$125.00
- 489f.                   THE MILL AT MAPLEDURHAM  
                           watercolour  
                           14 x 10"  
Exbns.:           NYWC 1893 no.73 \$100.00  
                           Townsend 1897 no.61  
Lit.:               (LRAG) Letter from Fraser (New York) to W. Thomson  
                           Smith, 18 Sept 1893
- 489g.                   OAST HOUSES  
                           oil  
                           10 x 14"  
Lit.:               FRASER 1900 no.65  
                           "Dull greens and grays - red roofs"
- 489h.                   OLD ENGLISH COTTAGE  
Exbns.:           TAM 1911 no.37
- 489i.                   AN OLD ENGLISH STREET  
                           watercolour  
Exbns.:           AWS 1892 no.490 \$250.00  
                           Chicago 1893 no.1214  
                           Atlanta 1895 medal  
                           Townsend 1897 no.42  
Lit.:               (LRAG) Letter from Fraser (New York) to W. Thomson Smith,  
                           18 Sept 1893

490. THE POND OF IGHAM MANOR HOUSE, KENT, ENGLAND  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1891 no.3 \$90.00  
 Townsend 1897 no.58
491. QUIET ENGLAND  
 oil  
 10 x 14"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.35  
 Detroit 1903 no.3  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.63  
 "Quiet happy rich"
492. AT RHINECLIFFE  
 oil  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.20
493. RIVER SIDE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1894 no.169  
 AAM 1894 no.183 \$100.00
494. ROSE GARDEN CHIDDINGSTONE CASTLE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.5  
 Detroit 1903 no.37  
 TAM 1911 no.30(b)  
 Ellis 1919 no.82  
 (Garden)  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.58 \$300.00  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1911)
495. SHEEP GRAZING IGHAM  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.74  
 "2 hours sketch fine tone"
496. ON THE SILVERY THAMES  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWG 1891 no.134

497. ON THE SILVERY THAMES AT PANGBOURNE  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.53
498. SKETCH AT STREATLY ON THAMES  
 watercolour  
 5½ x 9"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.4 \$35.00  
 "Vigorous lifey sketch"
499. SKETCH IN A HOP GARDEN KENT  
 watercolour  
 5½ x 10½"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.5 \$25.00  
 "Very brilliant & lifey"
500. SOUTH GABLE, IGH THAN MOTE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1892 no.504 \$100.00
501. " SPRING AFTERNOON, TRUGHURST, KENT  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.72
502. SUNLIGHT TRUGHURST  
 oil  
 10 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.64  
 "Green canvas very happy"
503. SUNSET OFF THE ISLE OF MAN...McALPINE  
 oil  
Exbns.: TIE 1881 no.276
504. A TANGLE BACK OF THE MALTHOUSE, KENT, ENGLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.33

505. IN TENDER SPRING, KENT, ENGLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.28
506. ON THE THAMES  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.40
507. A THAMES BACK WATER FROM WHITECHURCH MILL  
oil  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.79  
"Swans, etc."
508. ON THE THAMES - FROM WHITECHURCH  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.72  
"White gray day - very fine"
509. ON THE THAMES - FROM WHITECHURCH MILL  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.73
510. ON THE TOW-PATH  
18 x 13"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.28 \$250.00  
Prov.: J. T. Rolph (1916)
511. ON THE TOW-PATH - UPPER THAMES  
Exbns.: Atlanta 1895 medal  
Townsend 1897 no.43
512. TWO IN HOP GARDEN  
watercolour  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.56
513. ON THE UPPER THAMES, LONDON, ENGLAND  
watercolour  
Exbns.: TIE 1902 no.148  
Prov.: James Rolph (1902).

514. THE VILLAGE STREET, CHIDDINGSTONE  
 watercolour  
Lit.: Challener notes (AGO)
515. THE WEALD OF KENT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.2  
 Detroit 1903 no.34  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.89 \$345.00
516. WHERE POPPY'S GROW IN THE WHEAT, KENT, ENGLAND  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.11  
 e. France
517. OLD HOUSES, DIEPPE  
 oil  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.19
518. SHORE, DIEPPE  
 oil  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.17
- 518a. THE WHARVES AT DIEPPE  
 oil  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.13
- f. Unspecified
519. AFTERNOON IN A FRUIT GARDEN  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.36

520. AN AFTERNOON IN A HAY-FIELD  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.16
521. AFTER THE HAY IS CARRIED, THEN THE BIRDS BANQUET  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.8
522. AFTER THE STORM "ALT-NA-KRIUGH"  
 watercolour  
 14 x 20"  
Exbns.: Jenkins Art Sale 1922 no.74  
Prov.: John S. Williams (1922)
523. AMONGST THE HAY  
 watercolour  
 10 x 12"  
Exbns.: Spooner 1907 no.41 \$36.00  
Prov.: Spooner; R. Y. Ellis(1907).
- 523a. APPLE BLOOM  
Exbns.: NAD 1894 no.94 \$80.00  
Lit.: NAYLOR. I, 1973, p. 317
524. AUTUMN  
 15 x 20"  
Exbns.: Spooner 1907 no.86 \$55.00  
Prov.: Spooner; Watson (1907)
525. AN AUTUMN SOLITUDE STILL WATER  
 watercolour  
 6½ x 10"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.27 \$40.00  
 "Brilliant rich colour"
526. AN AUTUMN SPRING MORNING  
Exbns.: NAD 1890 no.59  
Lit.: NAYLOR. I, 1973, p. 317

527. AN AUTUMN STUDY  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.176 \$50.00  
 AAM, 1880 no.123
528. AUTUMN TINTS  
 oil  
 14½ x 10½"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.25 \$100.00  
Prov.: Col. J. B. Miller (1916)
529. THE BIRD ROCK  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1881 no.105 \$40.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, pp.341-42
530. BLOWING FRESH OVER THE BAR  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA Benefit Auction 1877 no.141 \$16.00 Sold  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.253
531. A BLOWY MORNING IN JUNE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1890 no.139
532. THE BOAT LANDING  
Exbns.: TIE 1907 no.84
533. ON A BRIGHT JUNE AFTERNOON  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.78
534. THE BROOK  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1867 no.205 \$15.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.134  
Prov.: Augustus J. Pell (1867)



535. A BY-PATH IN THE HILLS  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1886 no.361 \$100.00
536. IN CHILL OCTOBER  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1888 no.415 \$400.00  
 Kit Kat 1901 no.8  
 Detroit 1903 no.39  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.59 \$100.00
537. COAST SCENE, RISING TIDE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA Benefit Auction 1877 no.139 \$17.00 Sold  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.253
538. COAST SCENE, TIDE OUT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA Benefit Auction 1877 no.133 \$16.00 Sold  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.253
539. A COLOR NOTE  
 oil  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.15
540. COMING RAIN  
 watercolour  
 10 x 5 1/2"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.31  
 Detroit 1903 no.29  
Lit.: FRASER-1900 no.1 \$40.00  
 "Corn field - deep rich tones"
541. COMING STORM  
Exbns.: Oliver, Coate 1883 no.25

542. A CORNER IN BUCKWHEAT  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no. 26

543. A CORN FIELD  
 oil  
Exbns.: AAM 1864 no. 89  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p. 47  
Prov.: William Notman (1864)

544. COTTAGE, TREES, BLUE SKY  
 14 x 10"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no. 16, \$150.00  
Prov.: L. Goldman (1916)

545. DAWN  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no. 24

546. DESERTED  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1890 no. 157 NFS  
 OSA 1890 no. 42 \$75.00

547. A DESERTED CORNER  
Exbns.: TAM 1911 no. 31  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1911)

548. A DEWY SPRING MORNING  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1891 no. 339 \$250.00

549. EARLY MORNING, LOW TIDE  
Exbns.: OSA Benefit Auction 1878 no. 51 \$75.00 Withdrawn  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p. 255

550. AT EARLY NOON  
watercolour  
Exbns.: BSWP 1892 no.15
551. END OF A STORM  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.42  
Detroit 1903 no.30
552. A FALL STUDY  
watercolour  
Exbns.: TIE 1881 no.104 \$40.00
553. A FINE SEPTEMBER AFTERNOON  
Exbns.: AAM 1895 (watercolour prize)  
Townsend 1897 no.67
554. AT FLATLANDS  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.19
555. FLOATING WHARF  
oil  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.56
556. ON A FRESH JUNE MORNING  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.151 \$225.00  
OSA 1890 no.13 \$225.00
557. FROM THE HOTEL WINDOW, IPSWICH  
oil  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.14

558. A.FROWNING CAPE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.180  
Prov.: James Smith (1880)
559. IN FULL BLOOM  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.17
560. FULL TIDE IN THE CREEK  
watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1893 no.145
561. GLACIER RUIN  
Exbns.: Townsend 1897 no.76
562. IN THE GLOAMING  
7 x 4"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916. no.13 \$75.00  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1916)
563. THE GLORY OF THE FALL  
watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1879 no.140 \$75.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.255
564. GLOUCESTER FISH HOUSE  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.86 \$75.00  
"Hard & clear"
565. IN GOLDEN AUTUMN  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1881 no.81 \$50.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, pp.341-42

## 566. A GREY AFTERNOON ON THE FARM

watercolour

21 x 14"

Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.152  
 OSA 1890 no.35 \$225.00  
 TAM 1916 no.9 \$300.00  
 Ellis 1919 no.85

Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1916; 1919)

## 567. GREY MORNING (DROPPING TIDE)

oil

Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.59 \$100.00  
 AAM 1880 no.46

## 568. GRAY MORNING

oil

Exbns.: TIE 1893 no.495  
Prov.: OSA (1893)

## 569. ON A GRAY MORNING

watercolour

Exbns.: SAA 1890 no.85

## 570. GREY EVENING

3 x 5"

Exbns.: Spooner 1907 no.70 \$31.00  
Prov.: Spooner (1907); Prof. Loudon

## 571. HAPPY AUTUMN

watercolour

12½ x 19½"

Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.25  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.52  
 "High key of color"

## 572. A HARD ROAD TO TRAVEL

watercolour

Exbns.: ASPW 1867-68  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.134

573. HARVEST FIELD  
Exbns.: TAM 1911 no.40  
Prov.: Frank McMahon (1911)
574. THE HAUNT OF THE MUSKRAT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1893 no.197 \$200.00  
 Chicago 1893 no.151  
Lit.: Times (NY) 3 Jan 1898
575. HAYFIELD  
Exbns.: TAM 1911 no.34
576. HAY FIELD STUDY  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.90
577. HAYMAKING  
 watercolour.  
 14 x 10"  
Exbns.: AGT Inaugural 1926 no.224  
Prov.: Mrs. Whaley (1926)
578. HILLSIDE AND SHEEP  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1892-93 no.331 \$110.00
579. A JUNE FRAGRANCE  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1890 no.141
580. LANDSCAPE  
Exbns.: Colonial 1886  
Prov.: R. B. Angus (1886)

581. LANDSCAPE  
Exbns.: AAM Loan 1914 no.52  
Prov.: Van Horne (1914)
582. LANDSCAPE  
 watercolour  
 18 x 13"  
Exbns.: AGT Inaugural 1926 no.225  
Prov.: C. W. Irwin (1926)
583. LANDSCAPE  
 watercolour  
 19½ x 10½"  
Exbns.: AGT Inaugural 1926 no.226  
Prov.: C. W. Irwin (1926)
584. LANDSCAPE AUTUMN MORNING  
 oil  
Exbns. SCA 1868 no.42 NFS  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 23 Dec 1868  
 REID. 1979, p.138
585. LAST OF THE DAY  
 oil  
Exbns.: NAD 1893 no.116 \$400.00  
 Kit Kat 1901 no.51  
 Detroit 1903 no.8  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.82  
 "Rhine Cliffe sombre twilight"  
 NAYLOR. I, 1973, p.317
586. LATE AUTUMN  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: BSWP 1892 no.14
587. A LAZY MORNING  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1882 no.155 \$50.00  
 BAC 1884 no.84 \$80.00  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 22 May 1882  
 REID. 1979, pp.253; 342; 344

588. LITTLE CORNER  
Lit.: watercolour  
FRASER 1900 no.87
589. A LITTLE WAYSIDE BIT  
Exbns.: watercolour  
Detroit 1903 no.26
590. A LONELY SHORE  
watercolour  
14 x 10"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.78  
"...gray & misty"
591. A LONELY SHORE  
18 x 13"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.26  
TAM 1916 no.19 \$150.00  
Prov.: C. W. Irwin (1916)
592. A LONELY SHORE CAPE ANN  
watercolour  
Exbns.: FRASER 1900 no.23 \$35.00  
"Airy subject full..."
593. MARSH LANDS  
14 x 10"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.17  
Prov.: L. Goldman (1916)
- 599a. IN MAY-TIME  
Exbns.: NAD 1892 no.33 \$350.00  
Lit.: NAYLOR. I, 1973, p.317



594. MEADOW  
oil  
12 x 8"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.76  
"Harrison (illegible)"
595. MIDST RUSTLING LEAVES AND FOUNTAINS MURMURING  
watercolour  
18 x 13"  
Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.153 \$200.00  
OSA 1890 no.32 \$200.00  
TIE 1900 no.270  
TIE 1903 no.230  
TAM 1911 no.29  
TAM 1916 no.11 \$375.00  
Ellis 1919 no.87  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1900; 1911; 1916; 1919)
596. A MILL-RACE  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1886 no.37  
OSA 1886 no.167 \$40.00
597. MOONRISE AND AFTERGLOW  
oil  
Exbns.: NAD 1891 no.164 \$250.00  
Kit Kat 1901 no.50  
Detroit 1903 no.7
598. MOSSY BANKS  
watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1890 no.140
599. MOUNTAIN BEHIND WHEATFIELD  
Lit.: AGO Fraser file  
Prov.: Dr. Norman Walker

600. IN THE MOUNTAIN MISTS  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1877 no.37 \$35.00  
Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 14 May 1877  
REID. 1979, p.251
601. A MOUNTAIN ROAD  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1886 no.16  
OSA 1886 no.182 \$100.00
602. AT THE MOUTH OF THE TIDAL RIVER  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1886 no.38  
OSA 1886 no.131 \$40.00
603. NATURAL ARCHES  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1881 no.39  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.341-42
604. NEAR THE CLOSE OF A STORMY DAY  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1886 no.8
605. 'NEATH THREATENING SKIES IN SPRINGTIME  
oil  
Exbns.: RCA 1891 no.90  
AAM 1891 no.53 \$250.00
606. NINE HAY FIELD STUD(IES)  
watercolour  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.55

607. A NOOK  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1882 no.14 \$20.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.342
608. AN OCEAN RAMPANT  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Peil 1888 no.38
609. THE OLD FARM HOUSE  
watercolour  
10½ x 19½"  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.15  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.85 \$150.00  
"Peaceful pleasant"
610. THE OLD HOUSE  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.22 \$5.00  
"Painted for W. S. Dinner"  
Prov.: W. S. Dinner
611. A PEACEFUL HOUR  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1877 no.53 \$35.00  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.251
612. PLUM TREES IN BLOOM  
oil  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.10
613. A POOL IN THE WOODS  
Exbns.: AAM 1897 no.52  
Prov.: Van Home (1897).

614.

## A PRETTY NOOK

watercolour

Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.156 \$80.00

OSA 1890 no.27 \$80.00

TAM 1911 no.30c

Ellis 1919 no.84

Prov.: R. Y. Ellis (1911; 1919)

615.

## A PROMISING FAMILY

oil

10 x 14"

Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.39Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.71 Sold MacBeth 35Prov.: MacBeth

616.

## A QUIET OLD BIT

Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.48

617.

## QUIET AFTERNOON

oil

Exbns.: OSA 1877 no.40 \$35.00Lit.: Mail (Toronto) 14 May 1877

REID. 1979, p.251

618.

## A QUIET BIT OF RIVER

watercolour

Exbns.: AAM 1886 no.13

OSA 1886 no.132 \$40.00

619.

## A QUIET NOOK

oil

Exbns.: OSA 1882 no.31 \$25.00Lit.: REID. 1979, p.342

Mail (Toronto) 17 May 1882

620.

## A RAINY DAY ON THE HILLS

oil

Exbns.: OSA 1882 no.15 \$20.00Lit.: REID. 1979, p.342

621. THE RAPIDS  
oil  
5½ x 8½"  
Exbns.: AGT Inaugural 1926 no.229  
Prov.: E. Rolph (1926)
622. A RIFT IN THE RAIN  
watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1882 no.142 \$60.00  
AWS 1883 no.318-  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.342
623. THE RIGHT OF THE ROAD  
Exbns.: AWS 1872  
Lit.: AGO Fraser file  
GAGEN. n.d., p.29  
COLGATE. 1943; reprint ed. 1967, p.23  
Prov.: J.,B. Miller
624. THE RISING STORM  
watercolour  
21 x 14"  
Exbns.: AGT Inaugural 1926 no.228  
Prov.: North American Life Assurance Co. (1926)
625. RIVER SCENE  
Lit.: AGO Fraser file  
Prov.: North American Life Assurance Co.
626. ON THE ROAD TO PLAXTOL  
watercolour  
10 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.81 \$100.00  
"Sunny Rd. very warm"
627. A ROCKY BEACH  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.175 \$50.00

628.           ROCKY BEACH  
oil  
12 x 17"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.3 \$100.00  
Prov.: W. H. Browse (1916)
629.           A ROUGH ROAD TO TRAVEL  
19½ x 9½"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.24 \$150.00  
Prov.: Col. J. B. Miller (1916)
630.           SALMON CAMP  
4½ x 7½"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.7 Stolen \$35.00  
".....bright and sunny"
631.           ON A SALMON RIVER  
black and white  
Exbns.: BAC 1884 no.231 \$50.00  
Lit.: REID, 1979, p.344
- 631a.          ON A SALMON RIVER  
Exbns.: NAD 1894 no.282 \$350.00
632.           IN SCENTED SUMMER  
watercolour  
13½ x 9½"  
Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.149 \$125.00  
OSA 1890 no.5 \$125.00  
AWS 1891 no.121  
TAM 1911 no.27  
TAM 1916 no.12  
Ellis 1919 no.88  
Prov.: Spooner (1891); R. Y. Ellis (1916; 1919)
633.           SEA-WEED ROCK AT LOW WATER  
watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA Benefit Auction 1878 no.50 \$150.00 Withdrawn  
Lit.: REID, 1979, p.255

634. SHEEP GRAZING  
oil  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.19  
Detroit 1903 no.11
635. A SHOWERY DAY  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.43
636. SKETCH  
watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1880 no.71
637. SKETCH  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM Dominion 1880 no.267
638. SKETCH  
watercolour  
Exbns.: TIE 1897 no.99
639. SKETCH  
watercolour  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.27
640. SKETCH, IPSWICH  
oil  
Exbns.: Detroit 1903 no.18
641. A SMILE IN THE STORM  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA 1873 no.76 \$125.00  
Lit.: Can Mon, III. no.3. Mr 1873, p.261  
REID. 1979, pp.215-16

642. SQUALLY SUNRISE  
oil  
Exbns.: OSA Benefit Auction 1878 no.111  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.255
643. STORM AND WILLOW  
Exbns.: TAM 1911 no.36  
Prov.: North American Life Assurance Co. (1911)
644. STORM CLOUD  
Exbns.: TAM 1911- no.38  
Prov.: L. Goldman (1911)
645. STUDY AT SUNSET IVY HATCH  
oil  
9 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.6  
"Brown study"
646. STUDY TREES  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1868 no.117  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1868  
REID. 1979, pp.135-36  
Prov.: William Notman (1868)
647. A SUMMER AFTERNOON  
watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1890 no.142
648. SUNLIGHT  
oil  
Exbns.: Kft. Kat' 1901 no.37  
Detroit 1903 no.4



649. A SUNNY AFTERNOON  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM 1886 no.43  
BAC 1886 no.186  
OSA 1886 no.174 \$40.00.
650. A SUNNY ROAD  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1893 no.473 \$150.00  
Kit Kat 1901 no.18  
Detroit 1903 no.44
651. SUNNY SPRINGTIME  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1895 no.334 \$200.00
652. SUNNY SPRINGTIME  
watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1896 no.351 \$40.00
653. THE SUNSET FLUSH  
watercolour  
21 x 14"  
Exbns. RCA 1893 no.201 \$200.00  
Chicago 1893 no.155  
Townsend 1897 no.63  
TAM 1916 no.1 \$200.00  
Prov.: Henry Barber (1916)
654. SUNSET ON A GRAY AFTERNOON  
watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1886 no.101 \$40.00  
Pell 1888 no.37
655. SUNSET STUDY  
oil  
10 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.61  
"Good rich color study".

656. THROUGH THE HAY  
 watercolour  
 13½ x 9½"  
Exbns.: RCA 1890 no.158 NFS  
 OSA 1890 no.6 \$100.00  
 TAM 1911 no.32  
 TAM 1916 no.5 RESERVE \$150.00  
 Ellis 1919 no.80  
Prov.: R. Y. Ellis. (1911; 1916; 1919)
657. IN TIME OF PRIMROSES  
 oil  
 10 x 14"  
Exbns.: Atlanta 1895 medal  
 Townsend 1897 no.47  
 Kit Kat 1901 no.38  
 Detroit 1903 no.5  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.70  
 "Delightful spring grays"
658. A TROUT POOL  
 oil  
Exbns.: Pell 1888 no.53
659. TWILIGHT  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: RCA 1881 no.84  
Prov.: James Spooner (1881)
660. TWILIGHT AFTER THE RAIN  
 watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1895 no.265 \$250.00
661. WATER AND MOUNTAINS  
 27 x 18"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.33 RESERVE \$500.00  
Prov.: E. Whaley (1916)

662. THE WAY TO THE RIVER  
watercolour  
Exbns.: BSWP 1892 no.13
663. WHEAT FIELD AND TREES  
10 x 5½"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.21 \$50.00  
Prov.: Frank MacMahon (1916)
664. WHERE SHADOWS WANDER  
Exbns.: CNE 1930 no.49  
Prov.: B. Willis (1930)
665. IN THE WILDERNESS  
watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1873 no.102 \$40.00  
Lit.: Can Mon III. no.3. Mr 1873, p.261  
Mail (Toronto) 17 Ap 1873  
Can Mon. III. no.6. Je 1873, p.546  
REID. 1979, pp.215-16
666. A WILLOW  
Exbns.: Kit Kat 1901 no.24
667. WILLOW TREE IPSWICH  
watercolour  
10 x 14"  
Lit.: FRASER 1900 no.29 \$40.00  
"Heavy greens very strong study"

## II. Portraits

668. PORTRAIT  
coloured photograph  
Exbns.: AAM 1865 no.23  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.47  
Prov.: William Notman (1865)
669. PORTRAIT  
17 x 26"  
Exbns.: TAM 1916 no.34 \$150.00  
Prov.: Mrs. R. Wilkes (1916)
670. PORTRAIT OF BISHOP OF MONTREAL  
oil  
Exbns.: AAM 1865 no.16  
AAM 1870 no.17  
Lit.: Gazette (Montreal) 28 Feb 1865  
Herald (Montreal) 28 Feb 1865  
Gazette (Montreal) 1 Mr 1865  
Herald (Montreal) 9 Mr 1870  
REID. 1979, pp.47; 134; 139  
Prov.: William Notman (prior 1865); AAM 1865
671. PORTRAIT OF LORD METCALFE  
oil  
Exbns.: AAM 1865 no.20  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.47  
Prov.: C. A. Low (1865)

## III. Illustrations

672. ILLUSTRATIONS TO WHITTIER'S "FOUNTAIN"  
watercolour  
Exbns.: OSA 1877 no.71a  
Lit.: REID. 1979, p.251

## IV. Cityscapes

673. EAST 47TH STREET

watercolour  
Exbns.: NYWC 1893 no.157

674. PASSING TRAINS - A COLD EVENING ON SIXTH AVENUE

watercolour  
Exbns.: AWS 1895 no.288  
Lit.: VAN RENSSSELAR. Century. LIII (XXXI). no.4. Feb 1897,  
 repr. p.515 (titled A Winter Evening on Sixth Avenue)

## V. Still-lives

675. LILACS

watercolour  
Exbns.: AAM Art Union 1867 no.8 \$225.00  
Lit.: Herald (Montreal) 16 Feb 1867  
 REID. 1979, p.134  
Prov.: J. W. Mounford (or Mumford) (1867)

## VI. Genre

676. DUCKLINGS

Exbns.: NAD 1891 no.292 \$50.00  
Prov.: NAYLOR. I, 1973, p.317

ERRATA

461. DUNNSTAFFNAGE CASTLE should be moved to section c. Scotland

585. LAST OF THE DAY should be moved to section d. England

522. AFTER THE STORM "ALT-NA-KRIUGH" should be moved to section  
d. England

404. A GLIMPSE OF NOVEMBER SUN ON BEN LEDI (NEAR CALLANDER) and

405. A GLINT ON BEN LEDI IN NOVEMBER are the same work



I. Sunshine and Shower



II. A Shot in the Dawn - Lake Scugog

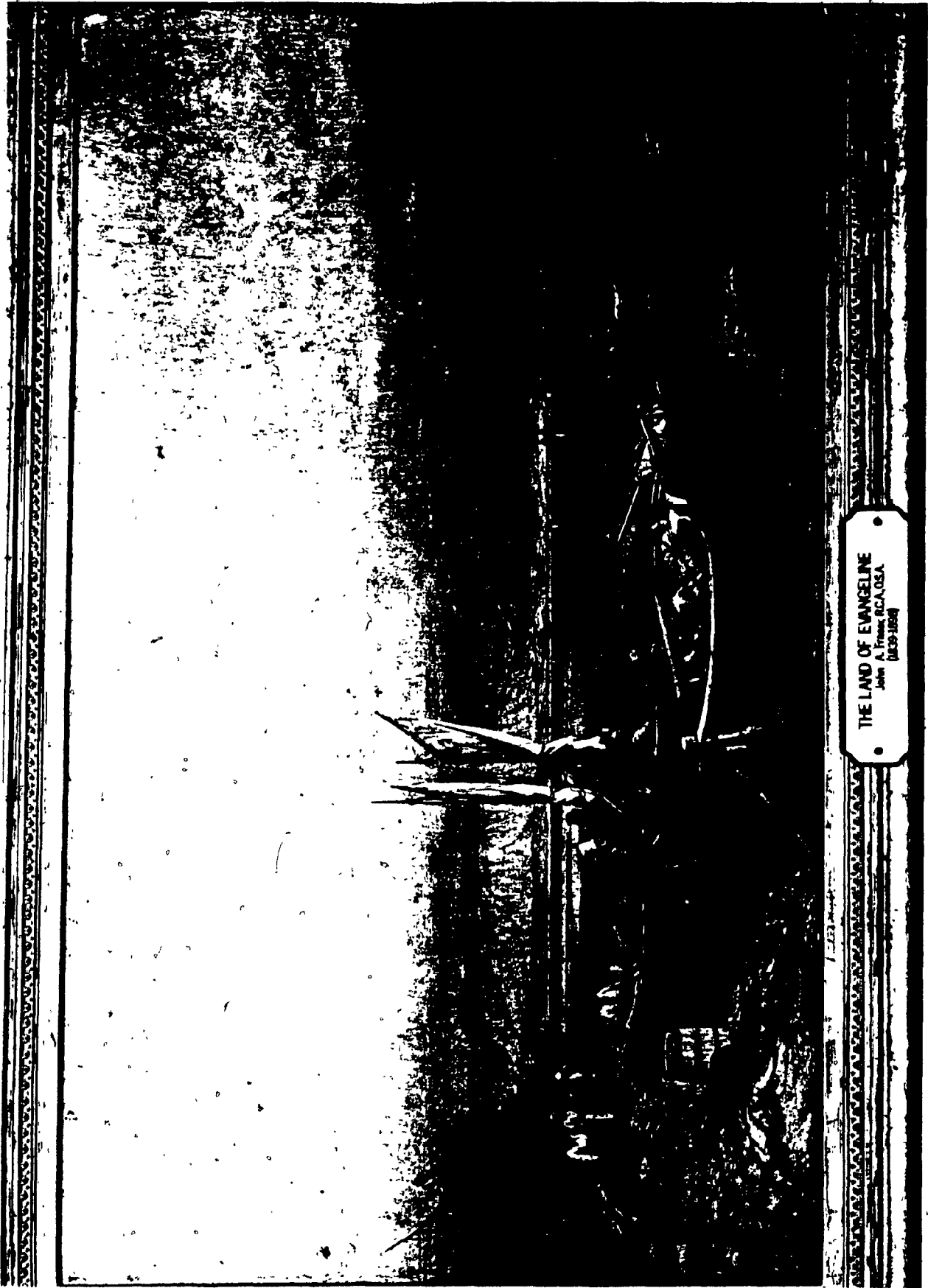




III. September Afternoon, Eastern  
Townships



IV. Unidentified Landscape



THE LAND OF EVANGELINE  
John A. Frank, R.C.A. USA  
(1939-1958)

V. A Seaside Idyl



VI. Morning on the Beach at Percé



VII. In Breezy October (Bay Chaleur)



VIII. Laurentian Splendour

# OUTING.

Vol. V.

NOVEMBER, 1884.

No. 2.

## A SCAMPER IN THE NOR'-WEST.

At the close of a warm July day (having left my fellow-citizens at Chicago shivering in their winter garments, I feel justified in mentioning this not otherwise phenomenal fact), after several hours' travel through parts of Illinois and Wisconsin, passing little of interest between the pretty meadow stretches around lovely Milwaukee and the noisy, brawling Bad river which the Wisconsin Central Railway crosses several times within a few miles of Ashland, the car stopped at Chequamegon Bay on the south shore of Lake Superior.

The sun had just dipped behind the hills on the opposite shore, and the view of the bay in the after-glow was sufficiently grand and impressive to exact tribute of admiration from some fifty, mostly prosaic, and all hungry, travellers, although on the tables of the splendid hotel were temptingly displayed dainties, dear to city folk, such as brook trout and wild strawberries with real cream.

The few days subsequently spent in the immediate vicinity of the hotel were full of pleasure. Boating, fishing, and sketching were the chief occupations, and, however wearied one might be with the toils of the day, it was pleasant to know that one could count upon the most complete rest and comfort at the Hotel Chequamegon, which is certainly, as far as the writer's experience goes (and it is not inconsiderable), away beyond most of the large summer hotels in the West and Nor'-west.

Having procured an intelligent guide, a good sailor and fisherman combined, in "Frank," who was the justifiably proud possessor of a still little Mackinaw boat (than which there is nothing better adapted to sail the treacherous waters of our inland seas), our life was passed mostly on the water, coasting lazily and sketching the many pretty bits that occur along the western shore.

There is much that is beautiful as well as interesting, marking the destruction that the angry sea, lashed by the wild nor'-easter, is constantly working amongst the old red sandstone of Lake Superior, cutting out of the soft rock many a cavern in whose dark sounding depths lurk goodly-sized speckled trout, with which a cool-headed angler who can throw a fly deftly, and at the same time preserve his equilibrium in a tossing skill, may soon fill his basket.

It is very interesting to note where parts of the shore, being made of better metal than the rest, have withstood the assaults of wind and wave which long ago have cut out the softer stone leaving these masses isolated. They stand here and there like lonely sentinels, but their old friends, the lordly pine and the lady birch, still cling to them through good and ill, vagabonds often in the fullest sense, for they have no visible means of support.

In some places the striking and fantastic forms, startlingly suggestive of cathedrals, towers, altars, grottos, bells, and other strange forms, carved by water in the bright red rock, seem irresistibly and, indeed, painfully to suggest in the twilight that one is trespassing on Nature's terracotta works.

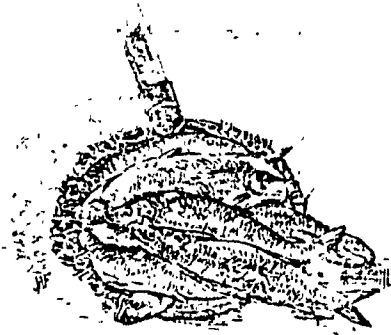
At the entrance to the bay from the mighty lake, between the South Channel and Madeline Island, the largest of the Apostle group, and at the extreme easterly point of a spit of sand called "Long Island," landed, in 1640, one whose name will forever live in the history of our country, as evangelist, explorer, and martyr. Here, full of Christian zeal and enthusiasm, Père Marquette raised the cross in the wilderness. On a spur of Madeline Island, known as La Pointe, he founded a mission which so flourished that, twenty years later, he built, on a cliff which he called "Pointe de Froid," the first Chris-

POOR COPY  
COPIE DE QUALITEE INFERIEURE

tian church on the American continent, north and west of Hochelaga (now Montreal), in Canada, at that time a colony of France; and it is recorded that in one year he made five hundred converts amongst the Indian tribes. The church stands to this day, and is regularly used by the Franciscan friars. Its interior is particularly picturesque and quaint, though the exterior is neither. The church is full of interest, being much the same as when built, notwithstanding the wear and tear of the centuries.

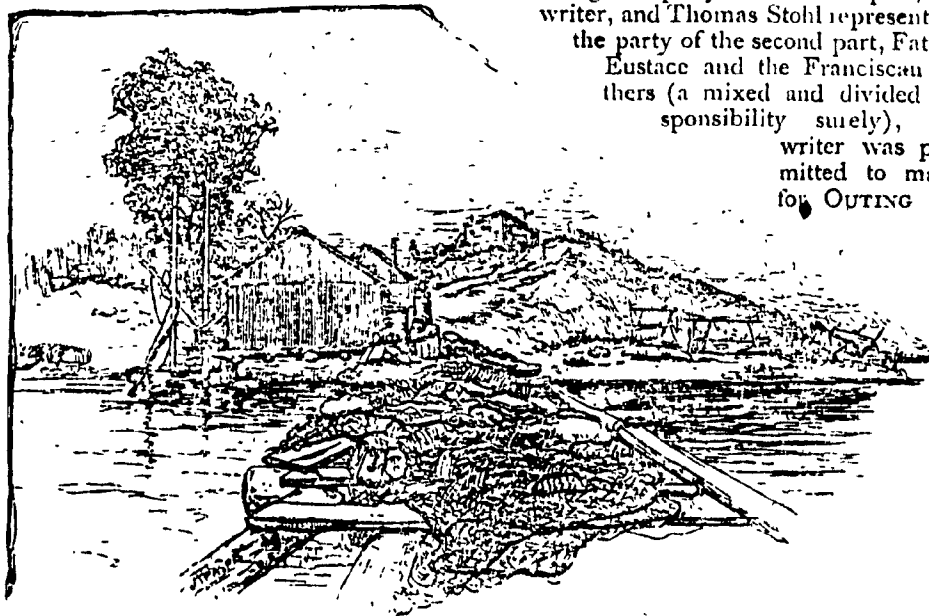
It was constructed of rough logs, put as closely together as possible, tied or braced with cedar strips latticed one over another, and fastened to the logs with wooden pegs, the interstices being filled with clay. In 1835 its foundation and many parts of the building were so much decayed that it was necessary to repair and rebuild portions, and put an exterior casing over the whole, hence its comparatively modern appearance. Whether glass windows were originally used or not is unknown; but it was found necessary to remove the little 4 X 5 panes of "bull's-eye," because, from constant rattling in their decayed sashes, they were worn as thin as writing paper, and were no longer weather-proof. The church contains a veritable "old master," brought from France by Marquette; but as far as could be judged in the bad position it

occupies, high up between two windows, this "Taking down from the Cross" does not possess any particular merit. Its chief charm to us consisted in the curious man-



WHITE FISH

ner in which the old canvas was nailed on the frame by rude iron nails, evidently fashioned in the wilderness by the saintly fingers of the old fathers. Then we were shown some very fine old-time altar vessels and vestments. And after a good deal of diplomatic manoeuvring, which occupied the whole of a long summer day, and entailed two trips across the bay to Bayfield, where a solemn contract was entered into in the presence of a notary, the contracting parties being the party of the first part, the writer, and Thomas Stohl representing the party of the second part, Father Eustace and the Franciscan fathers (a mixed and divided responsibility surely), the writer was permitted to make for OUTING the



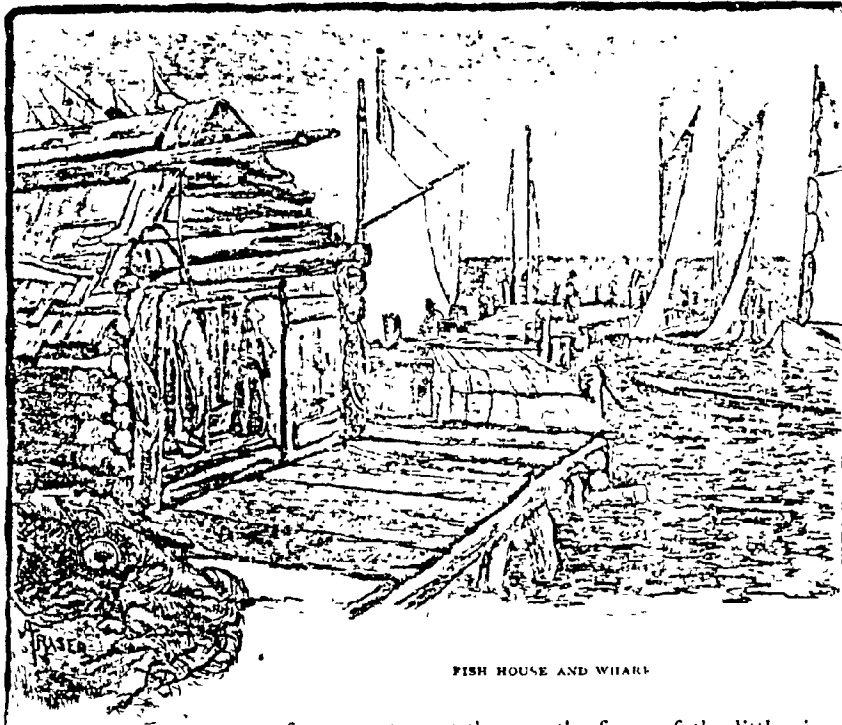
FISHING STATION, SAND ISLAND.



only sketch ever made of the interior. The mission should be blessed, for it is certainly "poor and needy." Help is never solicited, though, at the entrance there is the usual contribution-box; but it is so very usual that strangers overlook it as a matter of course, and the local worshippers are really too poor to help it much. The accumulation of four months, when we visited it (at which time it was materially swelled by a recent contribution), amounted to three dollars and

buildings, the winter homes of the fishermen, the old church, the modern school-house for the Bayfield children, and a few bits of decayed sidewalk, are all that remain of what was once the most important town on Lake Superior.

While cruising about we frequently ran over a "pound net," and occasionally were the thankful recipients of a "few fish" on overhauling a party returning from "the lift." Moreover, we once enjoyed the hospitality of a family of Chippewa Indians



FISH HOUSE AND WHARF

forty cents, —rather too slim an income even for a priesthood sworn to own no worldly wealth.

At La Pointe the North American Fur Trading Company, whose fortunes were directed by John Jacob Astor, had a principal trading-post, which has long been abandoned; indeed, all the greatness of the place has gone, or, rather, been transferred to Bayfield, on the railway route to Duluth. Its once busy streets that resounded with the "*chanson*" of the French voyageurs, mixed with the noises of traffic, are silent and choked with a prodigal growth of the sweet dog-rose and other Western wild-flowers, —a few modest

at the mouth of one of the little rivers that empty into the lake, who were "pound fishing" in the intermittent manner peculiar to the aboriginals. The man had just finished a neat little bark tepee, which he lent me for the night, and I found it much more comfortable and fly-proof than my usual sleeping-places on board the open boat, or on the pebbly beach with a sail for mattress and coverlet.

At the important station of Shaw and Neveux's, at Sand Island, we had every opportunity to get initiated into the *modus operandi* of the Lake Superior fisheries. We bore away in a stout craft, broad of beam, amply sparred, and with deep centie-board, close-hauled in a stiff nor'-

easter. She lay over nearly to the gun-wale, as, with bending masts, she flew over the hissing seas, till we brought up into the wind at the first net.

After making a line fast to "the stake" two men took hold of one of the sides of the square of the net and commenced to haul. Gradually, with muscles swelling and sinews cracking, they brought the struggling, leaping mass to the surface. The third man now proceeded rapidly to take out the fish with a large dip-net, and throw them helter-skelter into the rocking boat. What a sight! White-fish, shining and iridescent, lake-trout of enormous size; suckers, mullet, sturgeon, cat-fish, "lawyers" (the contemptuous title bestowed by the simple fishermen upon the hated net-breaker, the dog-fish); and last, but by no means least, many a splendid brook-trout of dimensions not often seen in those taken with rod and line. Taking the leaping and splashing of the fish, the difficulty of keeping footing on the slippery planks of the boat, the confusion caused by the novel sights and sounds, and the fruitless attempts to keep clear of the flying water and fish-slime, the gymnastics I performed must have been wonderful! At any rate, they were profoundly appreciated and enjoyed by the fishermen.

After readjusting the nets we visited others, and the same operations were repeated there several times, till, with a boat literally full, we bore away to the fish-house, where the fish were thrown into a drainer fixed alongside, the lid was shut down, and we went into the house, where five men with wonderful rapidity dressed them. The largest and finest were simply opened and cleaned, being intended for the "fresh" market; those of inferior size were beheaded as well, salted and packed in barrels.

By and by, as the afternoon wore away, all of the morning's catch was ready, in one shape or another, for market; in good season a tug hove in sight and dropped anchor a few hundred yards away; the boxes of fish for the "fresh" market were hauled out of the house and their contents dumped into a large boat, and we rowed away to the tug, on board of which they were soon thrown, by dip-net and "fork," and as the East began to glow in the golden light she steamed away for Duluth, laden with her "caller" harvest of the lakes, which, perhaps, before another set of sun would satisfy the wants of thousands; or, packed in ice, would be on its way to the Eastern

markets, where even down by the sounding sea the white-fish of Lake Superior has its enthusiastic admirers. But to appreciate properly, to realize thoroughly, the dietetic qualities of a white-fish, you must treat it as the fishermen do. Put it into a pan with a very little water, some slices of liver and bacon placed alternately between and amongst finely chopped onions the whole mass baked till it is done (when the fish readily lifts from the bones), the result realized will be, — well, more than gastronomic imagination can compass.

After supper one evening the men went out to draw the seine. It was a very pretty and picturesque sight, but unprofitable in its results. Three men stationed themselves at a point designated on shore and three others rowed to them from the wharf with the seine, a line from which was thrown to one man, who caught and retained it, while those in the boat rowed off the length of the line. They then commenced to "pay out" the seine, the floats flashing golden in the green and purple water. They moved in a half-circle, towing inshore, and paying out gradually as they did so. When all was out they brought the hauling-line to shore and landed two of the men, who took charge of it, while the single man rowed out to the centre of the seine marked by the line of shining and glittering floats and carefully watched "the bag" while all on shore commenced to "draw" the seine.

The two parties gradually came together; and as they hauled in the net they piled it carefully and orderly on the shore, the outer part with the corks or floats at top, the under part with sinkers underneath, the man in the boat the while following "the bag," to relieve it if by accident it should get caught in a snag. The fish taken were suckers, and being few and worthless, were thrown back into the lake. The net was carefully examined as it was piled in the boat, taken out, and laid out to dry on reaching the dock. The white-fish spawn in the spring and early summer months; the lake trout in the fall, — from 15th October to 15th November. — and the harvest is best in both cases during the spawning season. After depositing their eggs, the fish scatter away.

During the summer many siskiwits are taken along with the lake-trout, which they closely resemble; but the fishermen can easily detect the difference by the fact that the eyes are much closer together; they run heavier and fatter, averaging

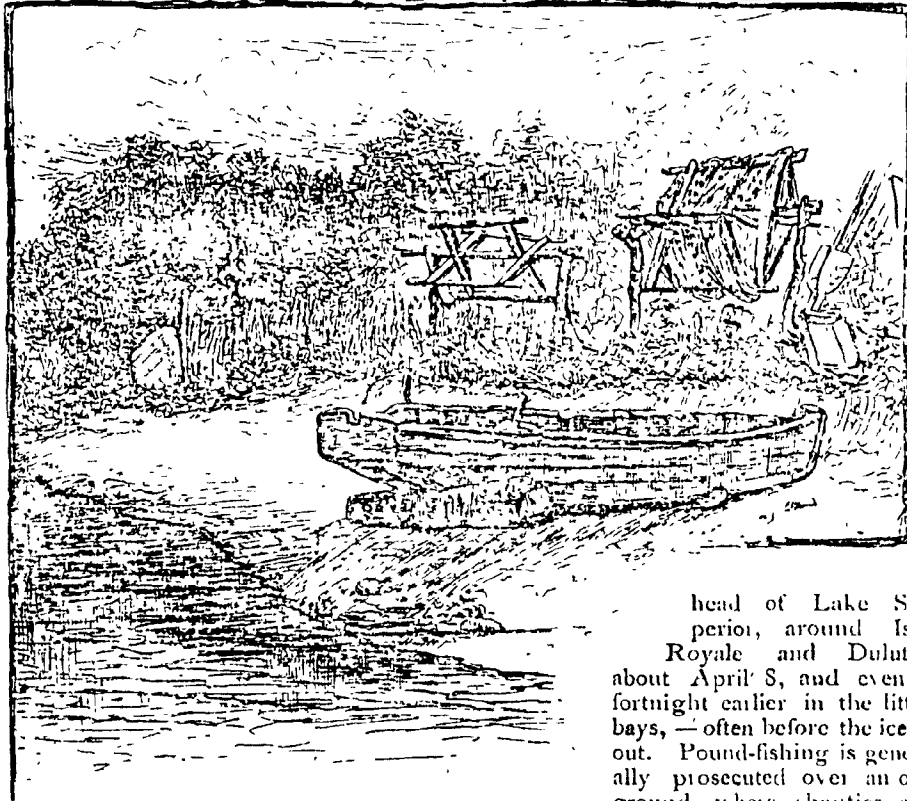
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fifteen pounds, and frequently weighing twenty-five pounds; and their meat is superior to the true trout, but exceedingly rich. Though they run in company with the lake trout, they seem to have no regular spawning season. When the ice leaves

"sucking" fish. It neither bites at a bait nor does it rise to a fly; but, unlike most "suckers," its skeleton consists of vertebrae and ribs, with a bunch of small bones at each side.

The fishing business begins at the



ON SHORE

head of Lake Superior, around Isle Royale and Duluth, about April 8, and even a fortnight earlier in the little bays, — often before the ice is out. Pound-fishing is generally prosecuted over an old ground, where shanties are already built; but a new ground is chosen for gill-

netting, in about one hundred fathoms. The first thing is to put up a shanty, "reefs" upon which to dry the nets, and a capstan to haul the boats on shore. The men go out every day, unless tempests prevent them, to lift both kinds of nets. Each boat is managed by three men, who run thirty nets, three gangs of ten each. It is a pleasant, though rough and laborious life in the summer, but its hardships are sometimes terribly severe in the fall and winter months, and it is no mere figure of speech to say that those who engage in it must be bold and reckless, for they literally take their lives in their hands. Moreover, the profits are very uncertain, as with all fishing. Frank, our skipper, had made a

the bays they run in shoals near the shore; they are then full of eggs; but often when taken, during the summer months, are in the same condition. The catch of white-fish is greatest during the summer from the 15th of June to the 15th of August, and the latter month is the best for pound-fishing. Gill-netting is carried on at all times, including, to some extent, the winter months. At the end of July the fish leave the bays for the deep water, and return to the shallows in the late fall after the last "run" of trout to devour the eggs of the latter fish; they then go back to the deep lake, revisiting the bays and shallows in spring to spawn in their turn. The white-fish of Lake Superior is a



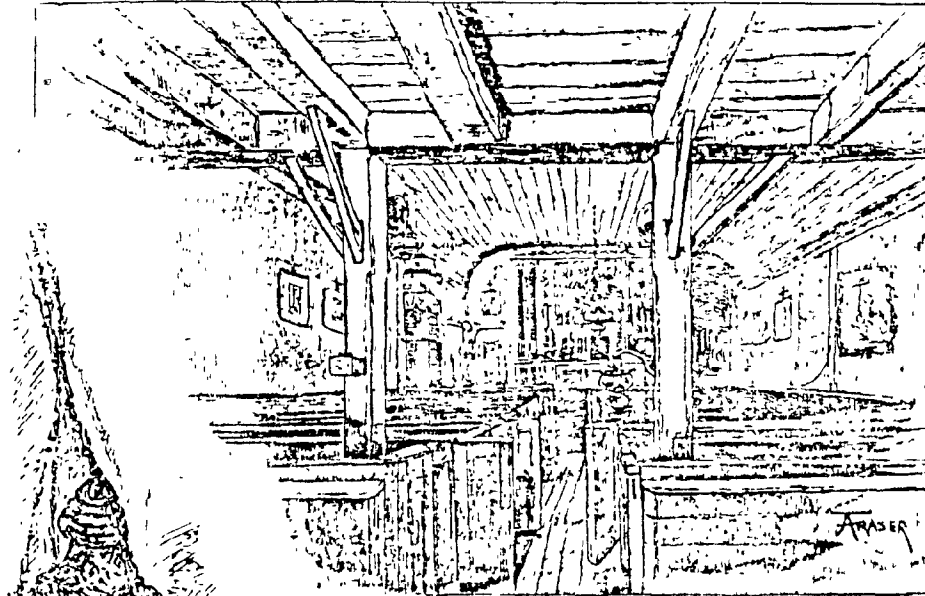
## XIV. Interior of St. Joseph's Church

A SCAMPER IN THE NOR'-WEST.

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that, during a recent pow-wow of the surrounding tribes, everything, big or little, young or old, that could run on four legs, wag its tail and bark, had been killed, cooked, and eaten by pagan and Christian Indians alike. Odanah's lovely meadows, its graceful elms, and long stretches of wild rice glowing golden and green in the afternoon sun, the picturesque groups of Chippewa "tepees," its birch-bark canoes gliding silently and shadow-like over the placid

mosquitoes in New Jersey, where they are large and fierce. I have lived with them on the Canadian salmon rivers, where they are so bold and strong that they are said to have carried away the cooking utensils, and in many other parts of our continent I have known them, or, rather, they have known me; but the mosquitoes of the Indian village of Odanah excel them all for voracity, pertinacity, audacity, and every other vile attribute common to flies. An-



INTERIOR OF ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH.

ANCIENT COMMUNION SERVICE

waters of the Kakagon, its interesting pictured or sculptured rocks, where the red people have from remote ages recorded their history by rude but graphic pictures scratched on the soft rock: its wild-fowl, which even at that early season were wonderfully numerous; its trails worn in the red clay and travelled for centuries by moccasined feet, — all are remembered as vividly as if seen but yesterday; but the pleasure of the remembrance is sadly marred by — the flies. I have been intimate with

other winged fiend, common in the woods upon these Western shores, is the "deer-fly," of which I had heard wonderful accounts from hunters, trappers, and lumbermen who had made its acquaintance. It is in appearance not unlike a honey bee, but rather larger. It has the wide, laterally spread wings peculiar to all "flies of prey," and is a strictly business insect, all its movements being characterized by energy and decision.

It does not hover, or hesitate, or lovingly linger over its victim, singing the while its plaintive lay, but goes direct for a particular piece that it has decided to have, takes it, and is off. My first introduction to the pest was rather singular. I was sketching, one drowsy, murky, hot morning, the still air and gray sky promising a drenching presently. Behind me

## XV. Ancient Communion Service





XVI. The Rogers Pass



XVII. Spring in the Hop Country,  
Trugghurst, Kent





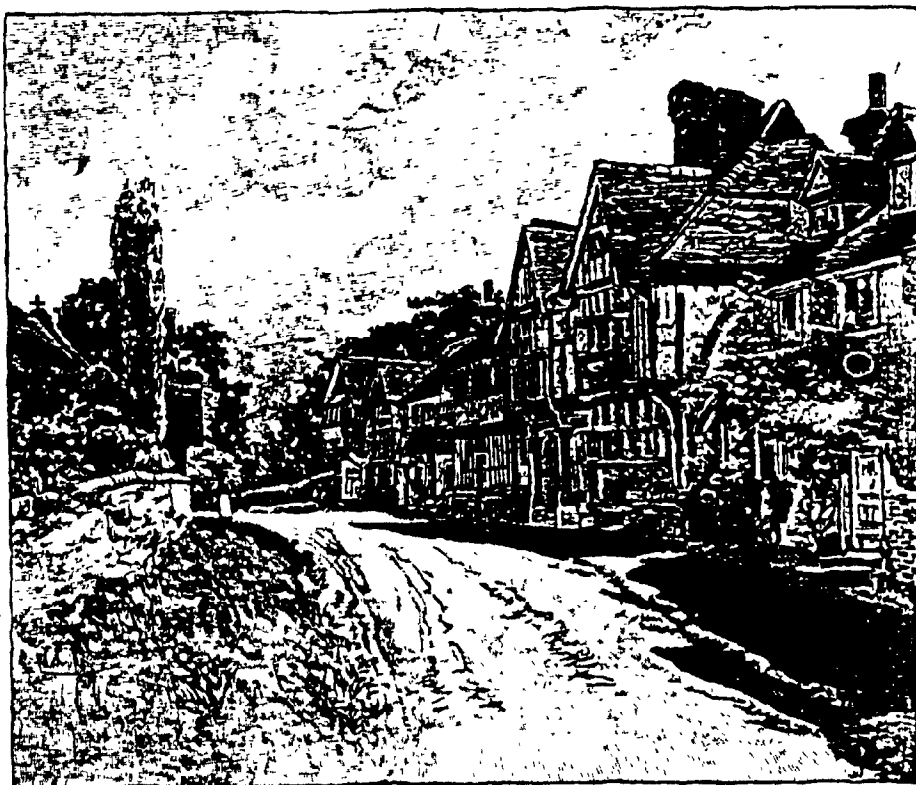
XVIII. Landscape with Figures



XIX. The Weird House in the Moat

## DROWSY KENT.

WITH PICTURES BY JOHN A. FRASER.



THE VILLAGE STREET, CHIDDINGSTONE.

ENGRAVED BY P. ATKIN.



**C**HIDDINGSTONE and Truggers—names that sound to some Americans sweeter than Tunbridge Wells, redolent of gay society in a bygone age. The Weald of Kent—name that has I know not what of grandeur; perhaps because it stirs obscure memories of British tribes, of Cæsar and his patient legionaries, of Saxon swarms, of many a war between provincial kings with British and Saxon names, of reckless hordes of Danes, and of prudent Normans, hard as the iron of their helmets, steadfast in getting and keeping as ever the Romans were. Chiddingstone and Truggers—their are no memories of the heroic past, but of the lovely rural life of England, bathed in an atmosphere like cream and unsalted butter, smelling of hay and hops, leisurely and smooth as the foam on beakers of brown ale.

In a hamlet of southern England like Chiddingstone the people are a constant pleasure to Americans who move too fast and have nerves. Their voices are as smooth as the landscape, and their manners are restful—like the rounded outlines of the huge trees they have guarded for centuries with jealous care. Not the least pleasing is their historical perspective. What a delightful jumble is the view of the past, as it presents itself to Kentish men, wherein the primitive inhabitants who spoke we know not exactly what, and lived in cyclopean structures like Kits Côté (which means "in the tongues of their Russian cousins just simply "stone house"), or in burrows under the chalk, are confused with the early British of Keltic speech, the latter again with Saxons and Danes, and all the foregoing with Norman invader and Flemish immigrant.

Chiddingstone, for instance, is essentially

Saxon; but the Druids, whose Brahminical iniquities have left a deep stamp on the minds of the people of the British isles, are pressed into service, and a stone on the calm fields behind the village has been erected by popular fancy into an altar from which Druids "chode" those who violated their wicked laws. At the most, we can suppose that this stone was the rally-place of a Saxon family called the Chiddings, but in Chiddingstone itself that explanation were far too prosaic to be accepted without scorn.

VIII; Sir Philip Sidney's Penshurst, with its baronial hall and exquisite rose-gardens; Knole, with its Elizabethan gables; and Igham Mote, with its girdle of water, and gray walls mirrored far beneath the swans floating at their foot, are too near to permit of travelers bestowing much attention on such humble spots as these. Yet here one absorbs the best that England has to give. Here are inns not yet ruined beyond recall, where overhanging upper stories and queer, bare tap-rooms still exist, and a cleanliness and a decorum, probably not very



IGTHAM MOTE.

ENGRAVED BY E. H. BULLOCK.

Truggers, too. The name is a contraction of Trug-hurst, the haunt or home or nest of trugs, deceivers, ladies of light behavior. But generations of most decent and moral folk have happily forgotten the meaning of that word, and are glad to believe that Truggers signifies the bottom or foot of the wood.

Chiddingstone and Truggers are off the track of the tourist, known only to hop-pickers who at harvest-time pour in squalid thousands from London, and to half a dozen artists who have discovered their many charms. The castle at Hever where Anne Boleyn captivated Henry

ancient, supply the modern touch without detriment to the general air of antiquity. Here at dawn the tall trees and the coppices ring and trill with the fairy babble of small birds; the low-hanging clouds tinkle with the voices of larks; if you are in great luck, the cuckoo sounds from some place you cannot indicate, or the nightingale — but then you must be a veritable child of fortune — witches the night with its rare song.

— Kent in its relation to Britain to the north is like Munster in its relation to the rest of Ireland, a rich agricultural land of rolling hills,

fine woods, and quiet streams. With less striking natural beauties than some parts of Munster, such as Killarney, the Suir valley, and the Kerry hills, it has far more historical places and a much higher grade of cultivation. The inland farms have a picturesque feature in their red-tilted roofs and their singular conical towers, one of which may be seen in the illustration on this page. These quaint towers are locally known as "oasts," and are as important to the economies of Kent as to the landscape. The word may have to do with *oogst*, Dutch for "harvest," but more likely with *ostu*, *osto*, Finnish and Esthonian for "barter" and "sale." They are part of the great Kent harvest, and are intricately bound up with the prosperity, not of Kent alone, nor of the hordes who journey down to Kent to win wages in the harvest, but of the annual budget of England. These hop-kilns with picturesque smoke-stacks, where the hop-harvest is sold, are mighty factors in the payment of those sums which keep the British empire powerful all the globe over—that empire which the Cinque Ports of Kent and Sussex did so much to found.

When the lovely hop-vines have been torn from their poles, and the hop-fields, far more beautiful than the Rhenish vineyards, are despoiled and hideous, the hops are cured in the buildings crowned by these towers. Then from

the drying fires and sulphury fumigations in the oasts rises that pungent smell of hops, which is so pleasant in the open and so hateful in cabin or store. The hop, which comes down from antiquity, was mightily encouraged in this fair land of Kent when monasteries were strewn thickly over the country. Here in Kent it was that St. Augustine landed and baptized. As in Irish Munster, so in English Kent the monks chose well the sites of their buildings, and proved good stewards for the farms they laid out or gathered in by gift or craft. The Saxon love of ale found them no laggards, and if the special monastery brews have disappeared, yet the hop-farms remain, just as the farmer stays long after Druids, pagan conquerors, Norman sea-lawyers, and haughty prelates have vanished and left few traces of their pomps behind. Not alone in delightful old Canterbury, but in many other parts of Kent, ruins and portions of buildings still in use testify to the wealth and taste of the old monks, whose pride and haughtiness seem to have made almost as deep an impression on the rustic mind as the cruelties of the Druids.

At first blush Kent might seem to mean the promontory or headland, like the "pen" in Penzance, the "ness" in Dungeness, the "corn" in Cornwall. In many names about the British and Irish coasts Ken and Cann mean that.

But the fact that the Romans found the name Cant and not Can points away from that meaning. Philologists solve it offhand by noting the Germanic word *kante*, corner, and observing how nicely Kent balances Cornwall on the west corner of Britain. But such a name smacks of the person who knows all about the shape of Great Britain, has maps before him, and is, in fine, a modern bookman. Places rarely get their names in that way. Kent retains a name given it before the Kelts entered Great Britain, when the populace were not Aryan in speech at all. In the tongues like Finnish that survive from this period in the north and center of Europe Kent would mean an untilled plateau, and Kant would mean the people, folk, race—simplest of meanings, one which underlies a majority of the terms for old peoples and old lands.

Thrust out eastward toward France and the Netherlands, Kent has been the natural objective of conquerors and streams of immigration, so that its population has always been more disturbed and mixed with various strains than that of any other part of the British isles. There is no Kentish type now, if indeed one ever existed



THE DUCK-POND AND OLD OAST-HOUSE AT TRUGGERS.



ENGRAVED BY PETER ATHER.

BACK OF THE VILLAGE—CHIDDINGSTONE.

for any length of time, but the soft, rich climate tames complexions to a somewhat similar hue, and gives to the Kentish man and woman a certain sedateness that suggests Holland. Sheep grazed on chalk-lands, and watered at streams running through the chalk, are said to make bone, and grow tall; but the chalk of Kent seems to have had no special influence on the stature of the people, perhaps because until recent years nobody dreamed of drinking water when there was such a flood of good ale in the land. In later centuries Kent has been a favorite ground for the rich from London belonging to every race and nation under heaven; hence its many cathedrals, castles, Norman keeps, monasteries, and granges; hence also a further complication of the race. As a rule the stranger is well treated at the show-places, although the proximity of London, and occasional acts of lawlessness on the part of cyclers, Sunday tourists, and hop-pickers, render the rustic less urbane than he is by nature. I say urbane advisedly, for the city to the north is so gigantic that one often feels that Kent is nothing more than a suburb of London.

Especially is this so at the berry-picking and at the hop-harvest, for then the lower, though not the lowest, ranks of London march on Kent as the hordes of Jack Cadé once marched from Kent on London—"some in jags and some in rags, and some in 'fairly decent gowns.'" It is a mistake to suppose that the annual exodus from London is rowdy or beggarly. In such a concourse there are black sheep, but a stranger who does not seek them is not likely to know of their existence.

On such occasions Americans cannot fail to note the difference between the people of England—that is, the commons—and the educated, well-to-do classes. The term "merry



A KENTISH BY-WAY.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE F. MATHIE.

England" is a puzzle to foreigners until they mix with the common folk. There they find what the American masses lack, and the British upper classes are at great pains to suppress — jollity and good cheer, a happy spirit making light of hardships, a fraternal warmth that seems like a breath from Utopia. The upper classes in the British Isles are a prey to the disease of self-consciousness. They seem to be forever taking the measure of one another's right to live, and this unfortunate habit of mind readily leads them unconsciously to a feeling that other people, native or foreign, who are not in the ranks they approve, really have no adequate excuse to exist at all. To see Englishmen unaffectedly merry without recourse to spirits or beer one needs but to visit the hop-fields of Kent in the harvest, and observe the families in their camps or their cheap lodgings enjoying a picnic, yet laying by a small wage for the winter's coal. It is a delightful sight, and I need not say that Royal Academicians, not to speak of Associates, or of thousands of artists beyond their narrow pale, have drawn, engraved, carved, washed, and painted the scene more times than there are words on this page. But note that

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they have done this with a certain air of genteel condescension, a turning of the jolly, chaffing Britisher into a Greekish figure, and his "gal" into a conventional type of English rural beauty. This has been done to make the lower classes palatable to the self-conscious upper.

Frankly, one great attraction of places like Chiddingstone and Truggers is the absence of the perverted Briton who is thinking about himself and trying to gage your position in life. Until he mends his wits the world will be too small for him and sensible folk. An edict might be tacitly enforced to segregate him and his kind at certain watering-places in special hotels, whither the not unknown American, too like him, may be recommended to resort. Pray Heaven that he continue to stay superior to Chiddingstone and Truggers! Let him be told that only common people go there, artists and stray Americans, and some poor clergy and verse-makers of even less account. His own station in life will be distinctly lowered if he be known to resort to Chiddingstone and Truggers. He may drive rapidly through Chiddingstone's only street, and gaze upon the Weald

from the high road near the Rock Tavern; but it should be firmly represented to him that yonder towers are those of Penshurst, where lives the Lord de Lisle, and that there is a railway station and a good modern hotel at the village, while at Seven Oaks there is a show hostelry and the famous seat of the dukes of Dorset.

*Procul, O procul!*

The Weald, or wild, of Kent has traces of its pristine savagery only when seen from afar. Then, when seen through the thick air, there is something in its crumbly cliffs, and a moorland aspect to its dales and plains, which justify its name. Spenser had the scenery of Munster in mind when he wrote the "Faery Queen," but if he had not been in Ireland when he

mere fashion, that such residences as Igham Mote were carefully encircled with water, and defended by a drawbridge now no more to be seen.

The Mote is a classic example of the dwelling of a country gentleman or rich farmer in the north of Europe before gunpowder became the arbiter of local feuds. If a raiding party could hope to take Igham Mote save by surprise, there was need of special men-at-arms and no small science of war. But as soon as cannon came in, its position in a hollow made it quite untenable, and the stone arch took the place of the drawbridge. At a very early period it may well have been the site of a British family, whose round houses and huts, each



IN THE KITCHEN GARDEN, CHIDDINGSTONE CASTLE.

ENGRAVED BY J. THORPE.

wrote, he might well have restocked the Weald in imagination with its old forests (it was still the place for ship-timber in his day), and sent his knights and damsels traveling through its haunted shades. A debatable land it must have been as late as the Danish invasions; even under Elizabeth it was not for slight cause, or a

house or hut representing a separate room in the buildings of ages which succeeded them, stood huddled together within a fringe of trees, the whole settlement surrounded by water or marsh. To complete that early picture, let us imagine the good roads, far and wide, blotted out, and mere cattle-paths and horse-trails the

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only indication that human beings lived on this edge of the Weald.

There is a fascination in a primeval landscape. No one wonders if a man brought up in the backwoods has homesickness for the rude life of his boyhood. But homesickness for landscapes like those of Kent must be just as violent. It is the half and half land, the country neither wild and abounding in wild beasts and wild men, nor cropped and savory with hay and apples, nor charming with the abundant flowers following agriculture on a small

find the right moment to maké the doubtful attempt.

Rambling about these fields and poking along these neglected hedge-rows, at imminent danger of being suspected of designs on a rabbit, and haled before a pitiless country magistrate, it is hard to remember that the sea is not far off. Yet, as the crow flies, it is scarce twenty miles southerly to the Channel, and half as much again to the North Sea and the estuary of the Thames. No wonder the old philologists explained Kent by German *kante*, point



THE CORNER OF THE ROADS AT TRUGGERS.

scale, that strains the love of one's native place. Kent is one of the parts of England without grand natural features that seem most likely to keep a firm hold deep in the hearts of men and women who have made their homes in India, Australia, or America. Perhaps the extreme complexity of their blood makes them stay abroad. As a matter of fact, comparatively few do return to pass their closing years in these delightful villages. Those who attempt it often repent of their romance, because the big horizons to which they have become used pursue them home, and make the English landscape seem small and feeble. But all of them cherish somewhere in their minds the purpose of returning at some period. For the most part old age overtakes them before they

or corner. It is a corner of England over which many clouds fly. The magical disappearance of a landscape some fine day disabuses one of the belief that sea influences do not penetrate so far inland. It is preceded by sights like the paintings of the latter-day impressionists, a lovely vagueness of everything without loss of color, when the sea-fog sweeps up and shuts you in, and suddenly things are not. Singularly enough, the fog seems to muffle most small sounds, like the twitter of birds; but there are others, like loud shouts or the sounding of a horn, which appear to travel farther, or at any rate seem louder against that background of hush.

Then it is easier to realize that a good day's march will bring one to Winchelsea, once a great

member of the Cinque Ports, and the bearer of the brunt of many inroads from the Continent, and many valiant sea-fights in the Channel, before it was overwhelmed by water and blotted from the land. In 1616 a map shows a wide estuary where no land exists, and in the mouth of the estuary a shoal marked, "Old Winchelsey Drowned." New Winchelsea, built back on higher land, fared hardly better, for its harbor silted up, and its trade, even to its smuggling ventures, vanished into thin air. Noting this, and listening to the tale of the Cinque Ports and their vicissitudes, Kent and Sussex no longer seem a land of stable country joys. Verily it appears that the violent currents of the Channel may some day carry off piecemeal the whole peninsula, and deposit it bit by bit in the North Sea. Such a record of towns overwhelmed and ports left wastes of sand, of great marshes turned into terra firma, and leagues of arable farms utterly washed away! Only last year the sea ruined the greater part of one town on this coast. As one thinks it over, and notes how little the outpouring of money and labor for eight centuries has availed to stop the ocean from using this seaboard as a plaything, one gets to feel that these peaceful acres are hardly as

secure as the low-lying farms and towns of Holland.

But I do not know that this specter of the future makes Kent any the less enjoyable. Whenever and wherever within its borders one escapes the London smoke, Kent, barring few spots, is a restful, dreamy country. The white cliffs on the Channel, the flat lands of Romney Marsh, the views from the North and the South Foreland, the queer old towns paralyzed by the retreat of the sea, and the loud new towns built to accommodate the modern millions who want sea-air or sea-bathing, have each and all special attractions. But the contemplative man who loves his Spenser and his Gray, and sometimes dips gravely into Cowper and Crabbe for a certain pleasing monotony, a certain level line in their intellectual horizons — such a man had better give up the giddy sights at the watering-places, and the rush of historical reminiscence at the dead towns which once belonged to that great civic family called the Cinque Ports. Let such as he slip down to Chiddingstone, and visit the old churchyard, or seek some retired garden where the roses, grafted on hardy brier stocks, grow to the size of trees, and there absorb the brief but delicious British summer in commune with his favorite poet.

*Charles de Kay.*



LOOKING OVER THE WEALD OF KENT.

SKETCHED BY P. ATHEL.



XXVIII. The Heart of Scotland