THE NATURALIST'S LANDSCAPE: PHILIP HENRY GOSSE IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS, 1835–38

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> *This is what I prayed for. A piece of land—not so very big, with a garden and, near the house, a spring that never fails, and a bit of wood to round it off.*
>
> —Horace

RÉSUMÉ

Philip Henry Gosse faisait partie d'un groupe de colons anglais instruits qui, dans les années 1830, se sont laissés séduire par l'idée de devenir « gentilshommes cultivateurs » dans les Cantons de l'Est. Comme les autres, Gosse était principalement attiré par le pittoresque du paysage. Il n'a pas tardé à retourner en Angleterre où il est devenu un naturaliste renommé après la publication de The Canadian Naturalist, *ouvrage basé sur l'observation minutieuse des plantes et des animaux des environs de sa ferme du canton de Compton. Cet article examine les descriptions faites par Gosse du paysage local et présente son regard porté sur les relations entre la société humaine et la nature.*

ABSTRACT

Philip Henry Gosse was one of a number of well-educated British settlers seduced by the vision of becoming gentlemen farmers in the Eastern Townships during the 1830s. Gosse, like the others, was attracted primarily by the picturesque landscape. He soon returned to England where he became a widely read naturalist after publishing *The Canadian Naturalist*, which was based on careful observations of the plants and animals in the vicinity of his Compton Township farm. This paper examines Gosse's descriptions of the local landscape and discusses his attitude to the relationship between human society and nature.

Philip Henry Gosse was one of a number of articulate middle-class English emigrants drawn to the Eastern Townships during the 1830s by the promise of abundant inexpensive land, a salubrious climate, and picturesque scenery. The initial experiences of some of these genteel settlers are described in their letters published in the promotional brochures of the London-based British American Land Company which had recently acquired much of the region's remaining wild land.[1] Still more informative are the Stacey letters and the Peel letter-diary written by members of two well-connected English families who also arrived in the Sherbrooke area during the 1830s.[2] Most of these individuals returned to England after their romantic illusions of life as landed New World gentry were dispelled by mosquitoes, early fall frosts, uncultivated Yankee neighbours, and a lack of financial returns for their hard labour. Philip Henry Gosse was no exception though he is the only one whose subsequent life in England has not been lost to us because he became a much-published naturalist as well as Britain's premier zoologist.[3]

Today Gosse is best known as the inventor of the salt-water aquarium, and as the uncompromising religious fundamentalist described by his son, Sir Edmund Gosse, in the remarkable memoir, *Father and Son*.[4] While P.H. Gosse's endeavours as a farmer in the Eastern Townships were anything but successful, we do have an interesting description of this experience written by his son in an earlier, less well known publication, *The Life of Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S.*[5] For this biography, Edmund relied heavily on his father's journals, and on an unpublished memoir that can be found in the Cambridge University Library.[6] In addition, Philip's farm diary for 1836–37 is in the National Archives of Canada, and his first publication, *The Canadian Naturalist*, is based on observations from his Compton Township farm.[7] The journals record the dissonance between Gosse's pastoral fantasy and the harsh realities of farm life, but *The Canadian Naturalist* describes another more harmonious world, one in which the adaptation of a wide variety of creatures to their environment revealed a skilled designer who governed nature as a benevolent creator.[8] There are only occasional glimpses of the broader landscape in this volume, but, as we shall see, one in particular provides a rather different view than the standard picturesque image that middle-class British settlers painted of the region.

Gosse did not migrate directly to the Eastern Townships from England, for he had worked eight years as a counting-house clerk in Carbonear, Newfoundland. He was, therefore, not a member of the class of British half-pay officers and professionals who formed

the social elite of the Sherbrooke area during the pre-Rebellion era. But his paternal grandfather had been a wealthy cloth manufacturer, and his father – feckless as he may have been – had studied under Sir Joshua Reynolds before becoming a "perambulatory miniature-painter." Due to his struggling mother's efforts, the bookish Philip was able to attend a good boarding school for a year before becoming a junior clerk at the age of fifteen.[9]

Though Gosse grew up in the port town of Poole, it was quite natural that he would acquire the middle-class appreciation for the "picturesque" as defined by William Gilpin's travel accounts of the English countryside during the 1780s. Gilpin had transferred to Britain the European concept of landscape which had originated in the art of Renaissance Italy. He used the term "picturesque" to describe landscape scenes that embodied roughness and irregularity in contradistinction to Edmund Burke's categories of the "sublime" (inspiring sensations of fear and awe) and the "beautiful" (evoking pleasure and tenderness).[10] The British elite's appreciation for the picturesque, as reflected in landscape painting and landscape architecture, may have emerged as a reaction to the late eighteenth century enclosure movement which produced neatly hedged fields that looked small in comparison with the unbroken commons and fields that they had replaced.[11]

While Gosse was much too devoted to religion and science to wish to ape the landed gentry, he shared its aversion to the growing liberal political movement, and it was partly because of the Irish agitation in Newfoundland that he decided to leave that colony.[12] His growing interest in entomology also fuelled his desire to find a new field for research, and during the winter of 1834–35 he joined in the plan of his merchant friend, George Edward Jaques and his genteel wife, Ann Heap, to become colonists in Upper Canada. According to Gosse, their interest in that colony had been aroused by reading "some flaming accounts of the fertility of the regions around Lake Huron, and of the certainty of success being attained in agriculture by emigrants settling there." Gosse was further enticed by "a pleasant volume of gossip by a lady, in which she enthusiastically and in much detail, although unscientifically, described the insects and familiar flowers of Upper Canada."[13]

The naïveté with which Gosse embarked on his farming endeavour is reflected in the letter he wrote from Newfoundland attempting to convince his younger brother to join him:

> We would have all things in common; we could entomologize together in the noble forest, and, in the peaceful and happy pur-

> suits of agriculture, forget the toils and anxieties of commerce. [...] The land where I go is exceeding fertile and productive, and, with little more than half the toil necessary on an English farm, it will yield not only the necessaries, but even the luxuries of life.[14]

When Gosse and the Jaqueses arrived in Quebec, however, they were given very different accounts of the prospects held by their intended destination, and persuaded to visit the Eastern Townships. Once there, they were convinced – according to Gosse's son – "that they had found a land flowing with the milk and honey of prosperity."[15] As a result, they purchased a 110-acre farm beside the Coaticook River near the present-day town of Waterville. Gosse later confessed in his unpublished "Anecdotes and Reminiscences of My Life":

> The country, cultivated & well-peopled, in the height of its summer beauty, was charming; & the profusion of fine butterflies, & other insects, which of course I could not stop to catch, altogether dazzled my imagination; so that the important matter of selecting a scene of residence and occupation <u>for life</u> (so far as I knew); – had no hold on my serious thought. Like a child, I felt and acted, as if butterfly-catching had been the great business of life.[16]

Gosse's obsession with butterflies obviously made him rather unique, but a letter to a friend reveals that, as with the other British middle-class immigrants to the area, the visual setting was an important consideration: "It is a picturesque-looking place, containing hill and dale, hard and soft wood, and streams of water."[17] During his first autumn in the region, Gosse elaborated on this theme to another friend in England:

> The trees are now beginning to fade in leaf, which causes the forest to assume a most splendid appearance. The foliage is of the most gorgeous hues; the brilliant rich crimson of the maple, the yellow of the elm, the orange and scarlet of the other trees, set off by the fine dark green of the beech and the nearby black of the cedars and pines, give a beauty, a splendour, to the landscape which cannot be conceived by those who have not seen it.[18]

Even after he had become disillusioned with his farming experience, Gosse praised the "pure air, healthy climate, [and] excellent water in abundance" to be found in the Eastern Townships.[19]

Gosse and his friends soon decided to divide the farm in two, "the notion of all toiling together, in an atmosphere of refined intelligence, for a common purpose, having broken down at the first moment."[20] Gosse's sixty-acre allotment included a maple sugary

and an apple orchard, each of which combined the practical with the picturesque. A major attraction of the Eastern Townships to genteel settlers was its suitability for raising livestock because British improving farmers believed that it was necessary to maintain soil fertility, not only by rotating crops and ploughing back all stalks and stubble, but by feeding most of the grain to cattle and sheep in order to produce manure for the arable.[21] Perhaps because he had limited funds at his disposal, having chosen to pay cash for his land, Gosse concentrated instead on agriculture. He planted wheat, oats, potatoes, buckwheat, peas, turnips, and grass, leading Reverend Thomas Fyles – an later resident of the Eastern Townships – to make the following critical observation:

> Instead of dividing his land into meadow and pasture, and purchasing young stock to raise and sell at a profit, keeping only small portions of land successively under the plough – just so much as he could manure thoroughly and work with comfort; he plowed up much unenriched soil, and laid out for himself much unprofitable labour. I have often wondered what he intended to do with his two acres of turnips [...] without storage for the preservation of the produce, or stock to consume it, or any available market – for his neighbours would grow what they wanted of such like crops for themselves.[22]

Gosse's farm journal reveals that, in order to compensate for the fact that the only livestock he owned was a horse and cow, he experimented with spreading loads of leaves on his fields.[23] He felt that such laborious work was necessary because, according to his biography, "the whole farm, although originally of good land, was sadly neglected and exhausted by the miserable husbandry of its former possessors."[24] While half his land remained uncleared, Gosse noted that this section consisted largely of "black timber," that is, coniferous trees that indicated low and swampy soil not well suited to agriculture.[25] Much the same could probably be said of the farm as a whole, for by the 1860s the buildings had collapsed and all the land was in pasture.[26]

Gosse, nevertheless, maintained a cheerful front for his family in England, writing to his father in June 1836:

> if you could peep at me, you would haply see me at the tail of the plough, bawling at the top of my voice to the horses; or casting the seed into the ground; or mowing seedy grass; or pitching the sun-dried hay to the top of the cart. The country is a lovely one, especially at this most charming season – *formosissimus annus* – when the ground is covered with grass and flowers, and the

> woods adorned with masses of the richest foliage, enlivened by birds of sweet song and gay plumage.[27]

But Gosse's farm diary also records that he spent many hours picking stones, and he later admitted that he and George Jaques had found "the drudgery of the farm work very different from what it had seemed, as we had looked at it through the halo of romance. Our hands blistered with the axe and the plough; our backs ached with the unwonted toil; no intellectual companions brightened our evening hours; our neighbours, – few & far between, – were all low, sordid Yankees, sharp & mean; we saw no books, save those we had brought with us."[28]

Gosse still had time to pursue his passion for entomology, which became "from the mere salt, the condiment, of life, almost its very pabulum."[29] With winter arriving unusually early in 1836, Gosse's crops were frozen and his resources exhausted, forcing him to return to teaching for the second year in succession. By the following summer, economic necessity had spurred the idea of writing a natural history of the local area – no doubt inspired by Gilbert White's *Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* (1789) – by expanding on the material carefully recorded in his entomological journal.[30] Gosse would later recall that the publication in 1840 of his self-illustrated *The Canadian Naturalist. A Series of Conversations on the Natural History of Lower Canada* "was an epoch in my life; for it made me Author by profession."[31] He would eventually write more than forty books and pamphlets, as well as 230 articles on scientific and religious themes, and be elected to the Royal Society in 1856.[32]

In his first published volume, the only one set in Canada, Gosse is primarily concerned with the local flora and fauna, not the landscape, but one interesting passage describes a specific environment that is very different from the dominant picturesque image of the Eastern Townships. Gosse's scientific curiosity had led him to explore with his brother what he called the Bois Brule, "a large tract of land, lying at no great distance, but so hidden in the recesses of the woods, and so out of the way of any traveled road, that it is not often visited, except by the trapper." Here, in what was clearly a peat bog, there were plants such as the pitcher plant not commonly found in the Eastern Townships, but Gosse found the atmosphere of the place to be somewhat oppressive, if not threatening. He describes how, on the arduous first quarter mile through "very rough slash," his mouth and nostrils became coated with "clouds of light cottony down" dispersed by seed-pods of the Indian Wickup. As he and his brother struggled a further mile and a half along the wet and slimy stones of a stream

bed, their clothes were "bedaubed with a nasty substance which we discovered to proceed from thousands of *Aphis Lanata* (?) which we had crushed; they were so thickly clustered round the branches of the alders as to make a solid mass, half an inch thick, covered with filaments of white down." The next mile and a half was much easier, as it was a logging road, but Gosse found it interminable because it was lined on both sides "with the stumps of large spruces and hemlocks, which had been felled the previous winter."

Finally, they reached "the borders of the Brule, which was not a clearing, as I had expected, but was covered with a stunted and ragged growth of moss-grown spruce, from eight to twelve feet in height, exactly resembling the small woods of Newfoundland, on the borders of large marshes." The Gosse brothers walked a few rods into the Brule, but, seeing no clearing amidst "the ugly, dead, half-burnt spruce" which apparently covered thousands of acres, they decided to return home. Gosse noted that it was "a resort of wolves, bears, and other wild animals, though we perceived no sign of life in the stillness which pervaded the solitude; nor indeed in the whole journey, with the exception of one or two little birds, which were not near enough to be identified; and a few insignificant insects, in the forest." On the way home, the two men took another route which led to a path "lined with young maple, birch, beech, etc. which met overhead at the height of about twelve feet, forming a very perfect and regular continued Gothic arch, or rather a series of arches. This long green avenue was the pleasantest part of our walk."[33]

In this passage can be found echoes of the antipathy to wilderness – what Northrop Frye called the garrison mentality – that is said to have characterized the early Canadian outlook.[34] Gosse's uncomfortable experience with the prolific seeds and aphids aside, however, it was not a malevolent Nature that repelled him, but the barrenness of the peat bog. There were, admittedly, wolves and bears in this environment, but Gosse was more moved by the stunted trees and the apparent lack of birds and insects. This was an environment he had become quite familiar with during his eight years in Newfoundland, and the denouement of Gosse's story makes it clear that, like the other British settlers of his era, he was attracted to the open deciduous forests that covered much of the Eastern Townships. They were all seduced by the dream of an emerging Arcadia which, in the classical world, was the border between tilled land and wilderness, but which can also be defined as the balance between nature and culture.[35]

In *The Canadian Naturalist* can be found early manifestations of a concern about the harmful impact of humans on the ecological balance, a concept which was not defined scientifically until the twentieth century. Referring to the mass destruction of "the great crow blackbird" by early settlers, with the result that their crops became infested with worms and insects, Gosse exclaimed: "How short-sighted is man! [...] and into what disastrous calamities would he plunge himself had he but the power, as he has too often the will, to alter the decrees and arrangements of Providence!"[36] In Gosse's view, humanity's God-given role was to live in harmony with Nature insofar as this was possible. He was particularly concerned about the slaughter of deer, writing that "this appears to me a useless waste; the dominion over the inferior animals being given to man for the supply of his necessities, or for his protection: certainly not for the wanton destruction of animal life."[37] Even wolves, which Gosse helped to hunt because of their threat to sheep, were not to be demonized: "it is absurd to say that any animal is 'fierce without provocation, and cruel without necessity;' [...]. Their thirst for blood is an irresistible instinct implanted in them by an allwise God, and the tiger or the wolf could no more exist without slaughter, than the sheep without cropping the herbage."[38]

While Gosse defended Nature, he also found that the land he owned was parsimonious as far as providing a living was concerned. Furthermore, he lacked the financial resources and social connections that other middle-class British newcomers to the area (themselves generally birds of passage) could rely on.[39] He placed his farm on the market even before his harvest failed yet again in the fall of 1837, and sold it at a sacrifice during the winter.[40] The following year found Gosse teaching in Alabama, and he finally returned to England in 1839 with little to show for his years of hard work aside from the manuscript that would soon be published as *The Canadian Naturalist*. Gosse later admitted that he might have been no more successful had he and the Jaqueses followed their original plan of settling in the Huron District of Upper Canada: "The land, doubtless, was far more fertile there; but then it was clothed with heavier timber, which we should have been compelled to fell, ab initio, even before we could erect a hut to cover our heads. The labour would have been far severer; the life far more recluse & savage; our means even less available." In Compton he had at least been able to teach school for three winters.[41]

When he wrote *The Canadian Naturalist*, however, Gosse's disappointment was still fresh, and his prospects still very uncertain, mak-

ing him less inclined towards a charitable assessment of the region. He began with a lengthy critique of the false impression created by travellers' accounts for "holding out expectations to the settler, which, in a majority of cases, he no more realises than the loon who chased the rainbow, in the hope of attaining the golden cup."[42] As for the favourable accounts written by actual residents, Gosse claimed that their descriptions "are mostly given while the novelty of a forest life, and the excitements of a new country, are fresh; before they have begun to feel the want of that society to which they have been accustomed, and of those luxuries and refinements which only an old state of things can give."[43] Gosse's criticism was also directed against the glowing accounts which had originally drawn him towards Upper Canada, but he added that, while he did not oppose emigration in general, "I think that emigrant makes a very unfortunate choice, who fixes on the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada as his place of residence. From what I have heard from many sources, I believe that Upper Canada offers an incomparably greater advantage to the settler, without the peculiar drawbacks of this country." Among those drawbacks were a generally poor soil and a growing season so short that land could not be harrowed until well into May, while frosts as early as August 12 would "destroy or greatly injure the wheat before it is ripe, and often quite cut off the buckwheat and potato plants." Nor was there much time for leisurely pursuits, for even during winter the farmer's time was largely taken up by tending the cattle and cutting and hauling firewood.[44]

The landscape of *The Canadian Naturalist* is quite different from the picturesque environment described repeatedly in the settlement brochures of the British American Land Company, the letter-diary of Lucy Peel, and Gosse's own letters to friends and family. While the book does include the occasional description of a colourful sunset, the northern lights, or a fall maple forest, Gosse's perspective is generally a more focussed one, directed to the wild plants and animals he encountered, and most particularly to the insects which were his true passion.[45] The literary device Gosse uses is that of a rather stilted conversation between a curious young boy and his didactic father as they go for walks on the farm at various times of the year. W.O. Raymond writes that "Gosse by this device takes his reader by the hand, as it were, and leads him forth into the heart of nature."[46] Raymond also notes parallels with Gosse's American contemporary, Henry David Thoreau, but, Gosse's farm environment does not come to life the way Thoreau's Walden Pond does. Gosse would not have become one of the most widely read of all British

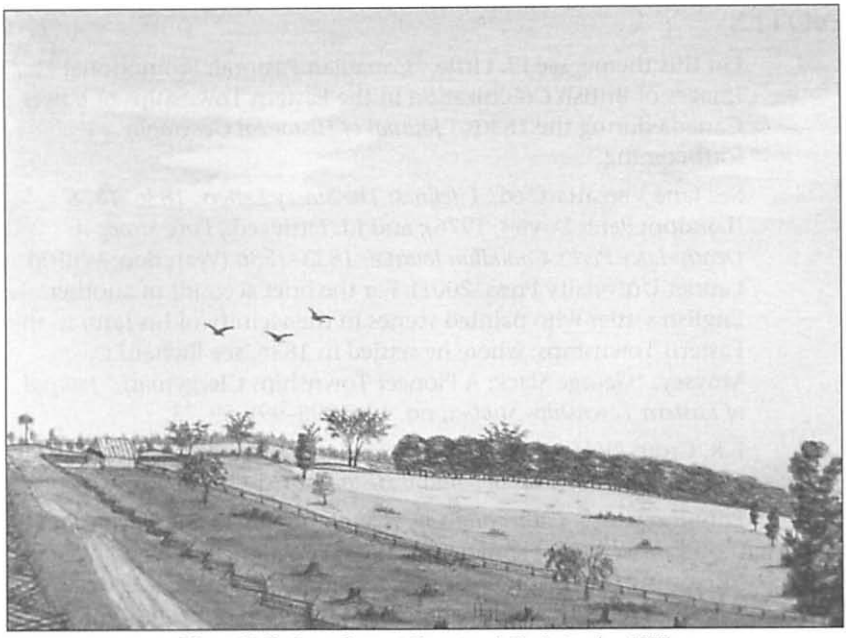
naturalists had he not been a talented writer, but, in contrast to Thoreau the transcendentalist philosopher, he had a scientific mentality and a narrowly dogmatic religious outlook.[47]

One gains a clearer picture of the landscape surrounding Gosse's farm from a description by Reverend Fyles, the amateur entomologist who made a pilgrimage there in 1892:

> When I reached the higher ground I turned; and what a glorious view was presented to me! A lovely rolling country opened towards the north, its rounded hills tufted with maple woods. Columns of white steam and dun smoke, rising amidst hills of more mountain-like formation, showed where the mining works of Capleton were located. Between the spot on which I stood and those distant hills was the rise, forming the middle distance, on which Tilden's tavern formerly stood. Around the spot, as in the days of Gosse, but more restricted, and now of second growth, is a stretch of woodland, which in the many hues of autumn, and lit by the brilliant morning sun, was very beautiful.

Fyles goes on to describe the colours of the various trees in much the same way Gosse had, but then his attention shifts to the traces left by human occupation, creating a sense of nostalgic melancholy that Gosse displayed little interest in: "Near the railway, not many rods from Gosse's farm and at a bend in the stream, was a small neglected burial-ground in which the white rounded head-stones rose amidst a tangle of brambles, golden-rod and everlastings. I walked over to it and found it recorded on one of the stones that Henry Learned died August 13th 1837. (Gosse may have attended his funeral). He was laid beside 'Lovy' his wife."[48] Not only was Gosse not hedonistic enough to be a romantic, while in the Eastern Townships he was an outsider in an incompatible social environment as well as being an increasingly discouraged farmer who had to labour hard in order to survive.

Under these circumstances, it should not be surprising that *The Canadian Naturalist* is said to be the least readable of Gosse's books.[49] This early effort as a writer nevertheless reflects what a recent assessment refers to as Gosse's "descriptive genius and his remarkable ability for word painting."[50] It deserves to be better known as the first popular account of natural history in Canada, and for the valuable information it provides as one of the very few natural histories ever written about the Eastern Townships region.[51]



View of P.H. Gosse Farm at Compton, L.C., September 1837
(Courtesy of the National Archives of Canada, negative C-50140)

Gosse appears to have painted this minutely detailed watercolour, which measures only 7.2 cm x 9 cm, with the assistance of a "camera lucida." This instrument projected the image of an object on a plane surface where it could be traced by hand. Gosse's farm journals for 1836 reveals that he spent a good deal of his time during the fall hauling stones from the "loghouse field," shown here on the right side with several stumps still unremoved. Fosse had separated this field from the pasture with a post and rail fence, considered far superior to the old snake rail variety seen here beside the road which divided his land from that of his friends, the Jaqueses. In The Canadian Naturalist, *Gosse referred to "those unsightly zigzag fences, so offensive to the eye of one accustomed to the verdant and blooming hedgerows of England" (p.12), and he mentioned experimenting with native thorn-bushes as hedges for his farm (p.140).*

Source : L'art des Cantons de l'Est/1800–1950 *(Sherbrooke : Centre de documentation, Galerie d'art du Centre culturel, Université de Sherbrooke, 1980), 33; J.I. Little,* Colonizing an Eastern Frontier : Compton County, Quebec, *vol. 58 of* Canada's Visual History *(Ottawa: National Museum of Man and National Film Board of Canada, 1981), 14–15*

NOTES

1 On this theme, see J.I. Little, "Canadian Pastoral: Promotional Images of British Colonization in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada during the 1830s," *Journal of Historical Geography*, forthcoming.

2 See Jane Vansittart, ed., *Lifelines: The Stacey Letters, 1836–1858* (London: Peter Davies, 1976); and J.I. Little, ed., *Love Strong as Death: Lucy Peel's Canadian Journal, 1833–1836* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001). For the brief account of another English settler who painted scenes in the vicinity of his farm in the Eastern Townships, where he settled in 1836, see Richard D. Moysey, "George Slack: A Pioneer Townships Clergyman," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, no. *13* (1998–99): 59–73.

3 L.R. Croft, "P.H. Gosse in Newfoundland and Lower Canada, 1827–1838," *Archives of Natural History, 21*, 1 (1993): 2.

4 Edmund Gosse, *Father and Son: A Study of Two Temperaments* (London: William Heinemann, 1907; Penguin, 1986). For an interesting discussion of Gosse's role in precipitating the aquarium craze, as well as his eclipse due to his rejection of evolutionary theory, see Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History, 1820–1870* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980), 117–18, 123, 245–50.

5 Edmund Gosse, *The Life of Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S.* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Rubner and Co., 1890).

6 Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 7017, Anecdotes and Reminiscences of My Life by Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S. [1888].

7 National Archives of Canada, MG24 I63, P.H. Gosse 1836–37, "Journal;" Philip Henry Gosse, *The Canadian Naturalist. A Series of Conversations on the Natural History of Lower Canada* (London: John Van Voorst, 1840; Toronto: Coles, 1971). For a recent history of Gosse's Canadian career, see Douglas Wertheimer, "Gosse, Philip Henry," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. *11*, 363–4.

8 On this theme, see Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 33–5.

9 Gosse, *The Life*, chapter 1.

10 Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), chapter 3; Janet Wright, *Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984), 12; John Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, 1730–1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 57.

11 Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 1, 10, 13–14, 66.

12 Gosse, *The Life*, 43, 47, 81–2.

13 Gosse, *The Life*, 85–6. It is assumed by Croft ("P.H. Gosse," 9) that this book was Catharine Parr Traill's *The Backwoods of Canada*, but it was not published until the following year, in 1836.

14 Quoted in Gosse, *The Life*, 87.

15 Gosse, *The Life*, 91. The farm's location was range 3, lot 22, and the price was £50 currency. Archives nationales du Québec à Sherbrooke, greffe C.A. Richardson, n.p., no. 982, conveyance by Benjamin Pomroy to Philip H. Gosse, 7 Aug. 1835.

16 "Anecdotes," vol. 2, 207.

17 Quoted in Gosse, *The Life*, 92.

18 Quoted in Gosse, *The Life*, 98. A similar description can be found in Gosse, *Canadian Naturalist*, 314–15.

19 Gosse, *Natural History*, 110.

20 Gosse, *The Life*, 95.

21 Kenneth Kelley, "The Transfer of British Ideas on Improved Farming in Ontario during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Ontario History, 63* (1971): 103–11.

22 Rev. Thomas W. Fyles, "A Visit to the Canadian Haunts of the Late Philip Henry Gosse," *Entomological Society of Ontario Annual Report* (1892): 25.

23 P.H. Gosse, 1836–37 "Journal." See also, Gosse, *Canadian Naturalist*, 316.

24 Gosse, *The Life*, 95.

25 Gosse, "Anecdotes," vol. 2, 210.

26 Fyles, "A Visit," 24–5.

27 Quoted in Gosse, *The Life*, 98.

28 Gosse, "Anecdotes," vol. 2, 209. For a summary of Gosse's farm diary, see J.I. Little, *Colonizing an Eastern Frontier: Compton County, Quebec*, vol. *58 of Canada's Visual History* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, National Film Board of Canada, 1981), 14–15.

29 Gosse, "Anecdotes," vol. 2, 209.

30 Gosse, *The Life*, 97, 102.

31 Gosse, "Anecdotes," vol. 2, 219.

32 Wertheimer, "Gosse," 364; Barber, *The Heyday*, 241.

33 Gosse, *Canadian Naturalist*, 297–302. Much of this passage is also printed in Gosse, *The Life*, 106–9.

34 Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971). For critiques of the garrison mentality thesis proposed by Frye, Margaret Atwood, John Moss, and other literary critics, see Mary Lu MacDonald, "The Natural World in Early Nineteenth-Century Canadian Literature," *Canadian Literature*, 111 (Winter 1986): 48–65; and Susan Glickman, *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

35 Evan Eisenberg, *The Ecology of Eden: An Inquiry into the Dream of Paradise and a New Vision of our Role in Nature* (Toronto: Random House, 1998). xxii, 164.

36 Gosse, *Canadian Naturalist*, 325.

37 Gosse, *Canadian Naturalist*, 270.

38 Gosse, *Canadian Naturalist*, 39.

39 See Little, *Love Strong as Death*. The Stacey family was in a similar situation to Gosse (see Vansittart, *Lifelines*), but he was more mobile because he had no dependents.

40 In contrast to his departure from Newfoundland, Gosse makes no mention of the political unrest at this time as a factor in his decision, though the preface to *The Canadian Naturalist* does state that "the Author has felt it to be no common privilege to be able to solace himself by these simple but enchanting studies, amidst the fatigues of labour, and the stormy politics and martial alarms of the times."

41 Gosse, "Anecdotes," vol. *2*, 210–11.

42 Gosse, *Canadian Naturalist*, 108.

43 Gosse, *Canadian Naturalist*, 109.

44 Gosse, *Canadian Naturalist*, 110–11.

45 According to Fyles ("A Visit," 29), however, the "Entomological portions of the *Canadian Naturalist* are the weakest."

46 W.O. Raymond, "Philip Henry Gosse and *The Canadian Naturalist*," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol. *45*, series 3 (June 1951): 43–4.

47 Thoreau may have had a stronger appreciation than Gosse for wilderness, but he too believed that civilization was needed as a balancing force, and he felt intimidated by the wild environment he encountered in northern Maine. See Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), chapter 5.

48 Fyles, "A Visit," 24. Ruins and graveyards were an important feature of the picturesque. See Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 10, 40.

49 Barber, *The Heyday*, 241.

50 Croft, "P.H. Gosse," 18.

51 There is no mention of Gosse's volume, for example, in Rebecca Raglon, "Canadian Nature Writing in English," in Jon Elder, ed., *American Nature Writing* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 105–39. In addition to information about local plants and animals, *The Canadian Naturalist* describes the farmer's yearly round of activities, including land clearing (216–17), potash manufacturing (290–2), maple sugar making (67–74), ploughing (339–40), haying (211–12), grain harvesting (290–2), threshing (304–5), and the winter marketing of meat (340) as well as cutting wood (353).