Identities, icons, stereotypical images and the Northern Myth constitute essential themes in Canadian culture and literature. The work endeavours to formulate definitions. Forms of identity and national consciousness fuse through all the chapters highlighting distinct approaches and the fluidity of the concept since there is not one general definition, but many. These terms invariably shift and reformulate themselves from one generation to the next and from society to society. Exploring these specific segments of cultural phenomena through the artistic expressions of The Group of Seven and Emily Carr, and contemporary Canadian poetic expressions, illustrate a greater overview of its meanings and understandings within contemporary Canadian society.

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Introduction

The notion of identity is an elemental factor within the personality of a human being and on a wider scale a nation. What is identity? How does it manifest itself? To what extent is this relevant or irrelevant within the individual or for a nation? These are some of the major questions that will be discussed and elaborated within the following chapters. This work intends to focus on the cultural and literary conceptions of identity and multiple identities in Canada by viewing specific cultural and literary segments, in order to find answers to questions concentrating on image, iconization, national consciousness in formulating the Northern Myth and the stereotypical images of the native within a unified cultural arrangement. These are all vital elements that constitute the coherent structural layout of a nation on the international stage.

The following work is a result of previous studies in an area that has held my continued interest for a longer period. I have been engaged in Canadian Studies for the past twenty-three years, in which time I have studied, researched, written a MA thesis and PhD dissertation and taught numerous courses on Canadian culture, arts and literature. This dissertation aims at collecting and uniting into one major thematic assortment the materials researched and culminated during the past two decades.

The cultural and artistic developments portrayed in the subsequent sections will elicit the artistic growth of two major identities within Canada. The first being Emily Carr on the West coast, in Victoria, British Columbia, while the second presents The Group of Seven on the East coast, in Toronto. The development of the two lines runs parallel in creating iconized images that become crucial in forming an overall Canadian national identity.

The first chapter aims at introducing the development of new artistic trends between the 1880s and the first two to three decades of the twentieth century with a special reference to The Group of Seven and Emily Carr. The major notion to be

dealt with here focuses on the emergence of Impressionism in Europe and how this ósmôspread through Europe eventually arriving on the North American continent. The formation of artistic groups seems to have been an interesting feature and by listing and presenting these relevant groups, both in Europe and in the United States, I wish to illustrate how Impressionism found a foothold in the various countries each developing their particular brand of ñidentityò within modern painting. The list of artistic groups provided here is limited to enumerating only those groups that had similar names, hence named their groups according to the number of artists involved. All these intriguing tendencies assisted in providing the future Group of Seven a sound foundation on which to build a national identity.

Since her death in 1945, Emily Carr has become a national image and icon within Canada. Through her writing and painting, separately, she has created an identity for Canada. These identities fuse with the personalities she creates of herself. The second chapter endeavours to portray Carrôs artistic development through her fictional writing, *The Book of Small, The House of All Sorts* and *Growing Pains: An Autobiography*. Through these works I wish to illustrate the multiple images and personalities Carr presents of herself and to what extent these works are infused with fictional elements that Carr makes use of in order to enlarge her own image. Does the portrayed image reflect the artist, Emily Carr? Are we in fact confronted with merely one personality or multiple personalities? The multiplicity of personal identities is further elicited and interpreted by Susan Huntley Elderkin in her critical essay *Recovering the Fictions of Emily Carr,* which also emphasizes the fluidity of Carrôs individuality, and also my notion of the self-created artist. Carrôs personality is not easily grasped, if at all, and through a thorough analysis of her works I wish to delve deeper in trying to understand this complex personality, which has also achieved the status of becoming an icon.

Who is in fact an icon? How are cultural icons created? Trying to establish a comprehensible definition of the icon constitutes the major argument of the third chapter, which endeavours to illustrate the whole notion of iconization and national identity in Canada. In focusing on Emily Carr and The Group of Seven, I intend to examine the hows and whys of Carr, Tom Thomson and The Group becoming icons. Here I find it relevant to include Tom Thomson, whose mysterious early death in

1917 made him an iconic figure almost overnight, and to integrate other interpretations of Thomson's life, namely Johanna Sloan's analysis of Joyce Wieland's film *The Far Shore* and Roy MacGregor's popular novel *Canoe Lake,* retelling the events leading up to that fatal moment. As a contrast to individual iconic figures it is engaging to examine the "group phenomena" portrayed by The Group of Seven, whose dominance of Canadian landscape painting created a national identity, that ultimately branded modern Canadian painting in the twentieth century. Their work was given an extra boost by the publication of F.B. Housser's book *A Canadian Art Movement, The Story of the Group of Seven.*

The image and identity which The Group of Seven and Emily Carr created was that of the Canadian landscape, but Carr's artistic oeuvre encompassed another angle that focused on native culture, which was highlighted by Carr's first fictional writing *Klee Wyck* consisting of anecdotes of her trips to the Native Indian villages of the West Coast. The village scenes and totem poles she portrays document a "vanishing culture" and the concept of the Indian as a stereotypical image features strongly. The notion of the stereotypical Indian and its creation, dealt with in depth in the fourth chapter, has a rich historical background that I would like to illustrate in reaching back to the period the first colonizers appeared on the North American continent. White Man's perception of the Indian becomes an integral element of the Canadian landscape, but its presentation offers a dilemma that is also examined here.

How is the Native Indian portrayed in Canadian literature? How does the Indian relate, if at all, to the Northern Myth created by White Man? As Canada is a Northern country the concept of the North as a myth creates an image and eventually an identity that plays upon the national consciousness. The fifth chapter aims at presenting both poetic and fictional narratives by Al Purdy, Henry Beissel (*Cantos North*), George Bowering (*Burning Water*) and Rudy Wiebe (*A Discovery of Strangers*), that provide examples for the demythologizing of the North by placing the Indian within the landscape and enforce the spiritual power of nature and the natural elements. Altogether the argument that "to a Canadian, North is an idea, not a location; a myth, a promise, a destiny" (Francis *ND* 152) will be examined and how this may be connected with the spiritual journey of Man.

Identities, icons, stereotypical images and the Northern Myth constitute essential themes in Canadian culture and literature, and by approaching and exploring these through specific segments of cultural phenomena, as The Group of Seven and Emily Carr, I anticipate in illustrating a greater overview of its meanings and understandings within contemporary Canadian society.

Chapter 1
Awakening Cultural Identities in Canadian Arts in the Early Twentieth Century

European Impressionism on Canadian Soil

The second half of the nineteenth century brought many changes within the artistic world both on the European and the North American continent. The younger generations were intent on seeking new horizons, experimenting and developing new methods with which to change the old accepted, conservative and customized norms. This tendency for change occurred in all areas of life from the arts to the sciences. The great innovative reforms taking place in the arts and especially in painting can be localized and pinpointed in Paris from the early 1870s, where there is an intense socializing in the cafés, as the Café Guerbois (ñImpressionismò), a regular place to gather, see, meet and hear the most advanced and experimental ideas on the arts. It is here that we find a number of young artists, who worked independently, but along parallel lines and attempted to paint in a singular manner through the use of uncommon technical approaches. These artists, however, did not belong to any official movement or group as such. Some of the most important names worth mentioning here are: Claude Monet (1840-1926), Edgar Degas (1834-1917), Camille Pissarro (1830-1903), Alfred Sisley (1839-1899), Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841-1919), and Paul Cézanne (1839-1909)[1], among others. What was different about them?

[1] These young artists may be considered the founding members of Impressionism. They were all likeminded intellectuals, who often painted together, comparing and discussing their works and exhibited together. Their first exhibition was held in April 1874 consisting of the works of thirty artists.

French art in general was dominated by the Académie des Beaux-Arts with the intent of preserving traditional French painting in its standards of content and style. The curriculum focused on historical subjects, religious themes and portrait painting, while still life and landscape were not valued. The Académie accepted carefully detailed, realistic images with the use of sombre and conservative colours (ñImpressionismò). These young artists, however, were not interested in painting in a studio, but rather in capturing the momentary and transient sunlight by painting *en plein air.* The techniques they adopted were: ñshort, broken brushstrokes that barely convey forms, pure unblended colours, and an emphasis on the effects of light. Rather than neutral white, greys, and blacks, Impressionists often rendered shadows and highlights in colourò (ñImpressionism: Art and Modernityò). Through their loose brushwork the effect they achieved was one of spontaneity and effortlessness. Their first exhibition as an Anonymous Society of Painters was held in Paris in 1874, which in effect launched the movement Impressionism. This was due to a critic, Louis Leroy, who was provoked by Monetôs painting *Impression, Sunrise* (1872) (see plate 1) to coin the term ñImpressionò in a satirical review published in the Parisian newspaper *Le Charivari* (ñImpressionismò). Leroy in fact accused Monet of having exhibited an unfinished sketch or ñimpressionò instead of a finished work. These works were open in composition, abandoned sentimental depictions, as well as explicit narratives, depicted leisurely outdoor activities in urban settings, daily activities, featured mixed social classes, establishments of entertainment, singers, and dancers, altogether projected a detached and objective view (ñImpressionism: Art and Modernityò). This was an altogether new approach and due to this these artists were confronted with a hostile public and utterly rejected by the officially approved art establishments. The fact that these artists often worked together and discussed their views and compared compositions urged them to continue to experiment and create a welter of singular techniques and forms.

The principles of Impressionism, incorporating heightened and vibrant colours, fluid brushwork and the emphasis on momentary ñimpressionsò, were best expressed through landscape painting and were assimilated through the experiences encountered outside the studio or classroom (Lowrey 17). Landscape painting in itself, and especially a realistic portrayal of nature, was not considered innovative, but

the approach of the Impressionists in eliminating human figures totally, or to a large extent, from the composition by placing the focus on the sensation of experiencing the raw colours of nature, hence our ñimpressionsò was what made it difficult for the public to comprehend. The public was ñusedò to being presented with ready made ñnarrativesòthat required no further telling.

The new artistic innovations taking place in contemporary French art became widely known from the 1880s attracting many young artists from the North American continent. These young artists looked to Paris for ñaesthetic inspiration and cultural validationò (Lowrey 17). In Canada the years following Confederation from 1867 onwards constituted major changes in the development of a national consciousness, which sought to build a strong nation based on firmly established identities and ideals. But even the cultural and artistic centres in Toronto and Montreal afforded very few opportunities for Canadians to view authentic examples of new French painting, because ñcollectors preferred the muted canvases of the Barbizon and Hague Schools insteadò (Lowrey 17). Many young artists, therefore, went to Paris and besides enrolling in one of the Parisian art schools they took sketching trips to the French countryside to paint *en plein air*. In the 1880s and 90s we already find quite a few Canadian artists, as Maurice Cullen (1866-1934), William Blair Bruce (1859-1906), James Wilson Morrice (1865-1924), Clarence Gagnon (1881-1942), Laura Muntz (1860-1930), Marc-Aurèle Suzor-Coté (1869-1937) and Maurice Prendergast (1858-1924)[2], involved in the French artistic scene and experimenting with Impressionist technical approaches together with other international artists. And it is important to stress that these artists inevitably shared their ideas with each other, painted together in order to develop their artistic skills and also compared their works. Since Paris had an active social life and these artists certainly took part in it, generally speaking, none of the artists would have been ñforcedò to work in isolation.

Perhaps it is worth making a note here, that in 1895 Morrice met the American painters, Henri, Glackens and Logan, and through their example he began to use

[2] This list of artists is not exclusive as there was certainly a lively coming and going, and here I am only focusing on the 1880s and 90s. Not all Canadian painters studied in Paris; another notable Impressionist female painter, whose name must be mentioned is Helen McNicholl (1879-1915), who studied in England. But Lawren Harris, the most notable figure of The Group of Seven studied in Germany.

small wooden panels (Lowrey 20) to make sketches *en plein air*, which he would later transform into large canvases in his studio. This fact is interesting, because The Group of Seven would also make use of such small wooden panels later on to make sketches, some fifteen years later, when being outside on their sketching trips in the northern regions of Algoma. And added to this Emily Carr also used such panels to make sketches in oil paint[3], when she went on her trips to the native villages and the forests of British Columbia. Quite a number of critical works, however, reflect upon this item in each case as being the singular invention of either The Group members or that of Emily Carr. From this minor detail one may rightly conclude, that during the 1880s and 90s quite a few Canadian artists were already moving back and forth between the continents bringing with them the technical knowledge and experience acquired in Impressionist painting, which lasted until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Parallel to this intense movement the end of the nineteenth century also brought a huge wave of immigration, which saw many young artists of various nationalities arriving in Canada, who were already equipped with ample knowledge of contemporary European Impressionism. The introduction of Impressionism in Canada, therefore, came during the course of several stages from the early 1890s onwards (Lacroix 41). And contrary to numerous critical writings that effectively date the emergence of Impressionism on Canadian soil with the formation of The Group of Seven, it is obvious that these principles were already there and in use by numerous Canadian and other immigrant artists.

The tenets of Impressionism in Canada were first totally rejected ensuing a struggle between its supporters and opponents, eventually ending over twenty years later with its acceptance. With the establishment of the Royal Canadian Academy in 1880 the new Canadian nation was intent on promoting the development of a ñCanadianò art by eliminating any formal or stylistic elements from other national schools. Impressionism was considered as ñmodernò painting that had to be resisted in order to ensure quality and high standards in art (Lacroix 42). But it was not only the official art establishments that denounced Impressionism to be ñeccentric and

[3] This would have been roughly after Carr returned from her stay in France in 1912. Obviously, this would have been one of the ingenious little ñinventionsòshe picked up during her stay.

perverseò (42), but many critics as well, who found the questioning of tradition and the intrusion of modern subjects unacceptable. As there were few French works to be seen in Canada in the 1880s, discussion of Impressionism by the press concentrated on technique. Nevertheless, according to Lacroix, Impressionist-inspired paintings were already produced by the early 1890s, examples are the canvases of Frederick S. Challener (1869-1959) and Mary Bell Eastlake (1864-1951), whose works were in effect exhibited in the 1894 Art Association of Montreal exhibition (47). Another important step that furthered development was the artist, Maurice Cullen, who returned from France in January 1896 and explored the Canadian countryside around the river shores of Quebec. Together with James Wilson Morrice they painted canvases that adapted the Impressionist style in their interpretations of the Canadian natural scenery (47). What in fact inspired them was the dazzling Canadian winter sunlight and snow of the countryside. These canvases were actually admired and considered to carry ñartistic honesty and sincerity in observation and renderingò (Lacroix 48), but to what extent they remained true to original French Impressionist painting is another matter. What critics found perhaps most difficult to accept was the choice of bright and vivid colours and the ñuse of varied pictorial techniquesò (49), which continued to be an ongoing debate even two decades later after the formation of The Group of Seven.

Impressionist-inspired painting after 1895 produced numerous works that explored the winter landscape in Canada and this duly furthered its acceptance on Canadian soil through the canvases of Cullen, Morrice, Suzor-Coté, Gagnon, J.E.H. MacDonald and others. Artists tried to adapt particularized light effects, which made many turn homeward where they sought to foster a national identity. The entire notion of seeking national identity and promoting the hardiness of the northern races was heavily emphasized not only in painting, but in literature as well, with Robert Grant Haliburtonôs well known expression with reference to Canada and the Canadian as ñNorthmen of the New Worldò (King 68). The alternative paths that lead to the realization that any similarities should be sought elsewhere other than France, and the ideal example could be in northern Europe, came only after seeing the works of northern artists. The first exhibition held on the North American continent presenting the works of Scandinavian painters was at the Columbian Exposition in

Chicago in 1893 (Stacey 60). The following remarks are quoted in Staceyôs essay by Charles W. Jefferys (1869-1951), an English émigré painter:

> Here we saw the work of artists dealing with themes and problems of the landscape of countries similar in topography, climate and atmosphere to our own: snow, pine, trees, rocks, inland lakes, autumn colour, clear air, sharply defined forms. é Our eyes were opened. We realized that on all our painting, admirable as much of it was, lay the blight of misty Holland, mellow England, the veiled sunlight of France, countries where most of our painters were born or had trained. (60)

The Canadian painters who saw this exhibition in 1893 reacted just as the would-be members of The Group (Lawren Harris and J.E.H. MacDonald) did in 1913, when the *Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art* was held at the Albright Art Gallery in Buffalo, New York. Harris and MacDonald must have known of Scandinavian art if only by reputation, and also the exhibition held in 1893, but their reaction was similar to that of Jefferysôtwenty years previously, describing the experience ñas one of the most rewarding that either of them had ever hadò (Newlands 18). The landscape paintings exhibited, especially that of the Norwegian Symbolist Harald Sohlberg (1869-1935) and the Swede Gustaf Fjaestad (1868-1948) focused on conveying specific national features and Nordic symbolism (King 69). From among the many specifically northern subjects, as winter landscapes that abounded in snow and the wilderness, Gustaf Fjaestadôs painting *Winter Moonlight* (1895) (see plate 2) seemed to be one of Harrisôand MacDonaldôs favourite, which MacDonald described in the following:

> The decorative foliage of his snow-hung boughs [had] a delicate charm we had never seen in art before. It all had a great Canadian inspiration for usé the finely harmonized pinks and purples and blues and cream-yellows of Fjaestadôs colourful snow. (Newlands 18)

Perhaps as a reaction to the exhibition and Fjaestadôs paintings, MacDonald also experimented with snowy images in *Snow Bound* (1915) (see plate 3) that used similar tones and pastel colours portraying a snow-laden spruce tree. The branches are pressed to the ground with its weight, the curving lines of the boughs being

contrasted with the untouched ñsculpturedò mass (Newlands 18) of snow. The painting offers an altogether beautiful, still and peaceful view of winter.

These winter landscapes were acknowledged and had value, because ñthey paid tribute to a typical Canadian realityò (Lacroix 51). The Canadian winter, the North and the snowy landscapes were appealing subjects for the public and the critics, who as the artists themselves were intent on achieving a specifically Canadian art. The early winter landscapes in Impressionist style helped to pave the way for the following generation of artists to combine and adapt ñthe techniques of painting in high keys to their perception of the Canadian landscapeò (51). Impressionism that eventually found its roots in Canada in the depictions of the rugged wilderness of landscape scenery promoted the awakening of cultural identities that were to be firmly established two-three decades later by The Group of Seven and Emily Carr. All these factors signified that the ñmany paths of Impressionism led both to and ï inevitably- away from itò(Lacroix 71).

European and North American Artistic Identities and Groupings

The new artistic trends that introduced modern painting in Europe from the 1870s saw the awakening of national identities. Impressionism which had its debut in Paris in 1874 with the exhibition of the paintings of an independent group of young artists, the *Anonymous Society of Painters, Sculptors, Printmakers*, who had virtually nothing in common except the fact that they used a new approach in painting and rejected the ultra-conservative attitude of the annual Salon. Their works managed to create a sensation by ñshockingò the public, press and artistic establishments into the realization that a new way of seeing and feeling was in the air. A new form of cultural identity had been born, that launched a cultural avalanche called Impressionism. This was not merely about a new method in painting, but about discovering the

undercurrents present in our environment, stepping beyond the boundaries placed by society into an area more permanent than that created by the human being, namely nature itself. Therefore, taking trips to the countryside in order to enjoy and ñfeelò the powerful presence of nature came foremost, and only secondary the aptitude of the artist to paint *plein air.* For the Impressionists painting landscapes did not mean a realistic portrayal of any natural scenery, but the momentary ñimpressionsò infused with the effects of sunlight at various times of the day. Many of the early Impressionist paintings, however, still depicted human figures within their landscapes that portrayed picnics, children playing outside, or peasants at work in the fields. Gradually *plein air* painting came to mean more the sensual impact of nature and the natural elements on the individual artist. But ultimately the Impressionist methods and techniques acquired in France, Germany and England greatly influenced the artist, and as Ernest Lawson (1873-1939), expatriate Canadian painter said: ñAs with medicine, French influence kills if taken in too large a doseò (Stacey 58). This would mean that the artists, who trained in France, England or Germany would be taught to use techniques and especially colours that suit the ñcolouringò of that particular country. This is what the English artist Charles W. Jefferys meant (see previous subchapter) when he referred to ñmisty Holland, mellow England and the veiled sunlight of Franceò (Stacey 60). Or for that matter Emily Carrôs perceptions, which she makes a note of in *Growing Pains: An Autobiography* by comparing England with Canada:

> All Englandôs things were tame, self-satisfied, smug and meekéThe forest was almost like a garden ï no brambles, no thorns, nothing to stumble over, no rotten stumps, no fallen branches, all mellow to look at, melodious to hearé (ñMartynò 143)

And A.Y. Jackson, Group of Seven member, was also known to have said that after ñthe soft atmosphere of France, the clear, crisp air and sharp shadows of my native country in the spring were excitingò (Newlands 20). These comparisons highlight the vital differences these painters faced in trying to adapt the skills learnt in their home environment.

The many painters that travelled back and forth between Europe and North America were intrigued by all the new occurrences taking place in Paris and were intent on learning first hand the newest trends. This is why most artists in the 1880s and 90s go to Paris. In view of the future Group of Seven members A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974) was the only one who followed this line and travelled to France in 1905, then again in 1907 enrolling in the Académie Julian for six months, then continued to travel in Italy. Arthur Lismer (1885-1969), Frederick Varley (1881-1969) and Franklin Carmichael (1890-1945), however, studied in Belgium, while Lawren Harris (1885-1970) studied in Berlin, Germany from 1904 to 1907. Frank Johnston (1888-1949) studied in the United States and J.E.H. MacDonald (1873-1932) emigrated to Canada as a teenager with his parents and first studied at the Hamilton School of Art. Then together with G.A. Reid (1860-1947) and William Cruikshank (1848-1922) studied at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design[4] (ñGroup of Seven Artistsò). Except for MacDonald, all the members studied abroad and acquired ample knowledge of the fresh impulses taking place in Europe. Tom Thomson (1877-1917) forms a category of its own as being more or less ñself-educatedò, who never travelled abroad and even critical sources are careful in providing information on where he ñmight have been likelyò to have studied[5]. A fact is that most of these artists worked at Grip Limited, Engravers and they met at the Arts and Letters Club in Toronto, where they were able to discuss the artistic and cultural trends arriving from Europe and the technical merits of painting. Added to this Thomson shared studios with A.Y. Jackson and Franklin Carmichael at the Studio Building, and began his sketching trips from 1912 onwards, later being joined by one or two of the would-be members. The discussions and the joint sketching trips all influenced the friendship, comradeship and the quality of their work, and also the realization that what they ultimately wanted was to create an altogether distinctive Canadian art ñsomething

[4] This is now the Ontario College of Art and Design.

[5] The National Gallery of Canada website provides the following information: ñThomson may have attended evening art classes at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, and studied with William Cruikshank in 1905. He acquired the strong design skills evident in his art in the Toronto commercial art world. Thomson's work reflects his exposure to Arts and Crafts design, the work of his artist friends, and contemporary Scandinavian art, as seen by Group of Seven members Lawren Harris and J.E.H. MacDonald in a Buffalo exhibition of 1913.ò

Canadians would recognize and supportò (Hill ñIntroductionò). This notion is further enhanced by F.B. Housserís book *A Canadian Art Movement* in which he quotes J.E.H. MacDonald:

> The Canadian spirit in art is just entering on the possession of its heritage. It is opening a new world and the Canadian artists respond with a spirit that is very good. This worldé has character attractive to the artist; not often so softly beautiful as ruggedly strong, large, homely, free, and frankly simple in colour. é It aims to fill its landscape with the clear Canadian sunshine and the open air, following faithfully all seasons and aspectsé (143)

They strove for nationalistic content, hence an identity, which was evident from the very beginning, but they were not the first Canadian artists to work towards these goals.

Compared to The Group, who benefited from living and working in a cultural centre of the nation like Toronto, Emily Carr (1871-1945) lived most of her life in a small provincial town, Victoria, on the West coast of Canada. Nevertheless, she too travelled abroad to study first in San Francisco (1890-93), then to England (1899-1904) and finally to France (1910-12). With each sojourn she acquired greater and greater technical skills, but each time she returned she was confronted with the dilemma of how to adapt her technical knowledge to the Canadian light effects, climate and topography. She felt that ñthe old way of seeing was inadequate to express this big country of ours, her depth, her height, her unbounded wideness, silences too strong to be brokenò and the way to fully express Canada was ñto be sensed, passed through live minds, sensed and lovedò (*GP* ñRejectedò 228). Except for her trips abroad Carr virtually worked alone in isolation until she met The Group of Seven in 1927. The so called ñGroup feelingò that she encountered and her deep friendship with Harris urged her to paint again with an added zeal. Though Carr never became the ñEighthòmember of The Group a symbolic bond was made.

The idea of forming groups is an interesting feature with reference to the artistic expressions of the first two decades of the twentieth century. These groupings were mostly created by artists who returned from abroad after a lengthier stay in France, England, Belgium or Germany, as some of the members of the would-be

Group of Seven, Emily Carr and many others during these decades. To generalize one may say that these artists felt the necessity of putting to use their artistic perceptions of the outer world in the service of their homeland. Each country has its own particular distinctive features, climate and topography whether we are referring to Northern Europe, Southern Europe, the United States, or Canada. The appeal therefore of these artists was that they ñbelieved the fine arts could play an active role in creating a better and healthier societyò (King 321). This form of civic reform had active followers in England, the Unites States and Canada, who had been ñhoping to tame violent passions, improve morals, inspire patriotism and uplift the spirits of their population [é] through a provident use of everything from architecture and monuments to music and public muralsò (321). These artistic inspirations were intended to promote a consistent national identity, and fundamentally a healthy society.

The idea of creating something basically distinctive called for the establishment of certain artistic groups within Europe and on the North American continent. In most cases these were painters, sculptors, writers and musicians, who revolted against the enclaves of the set establishments.[6] To begin with it is important to mention the Belgian group Les XX (*Les Vingt*), which was founded in Brussels in 1883 and consisted of twenty artists, who held annual exhibitions between 1884 and 1893. Each year twenty international artists were also invited to participate, some of these being Camille Pissarro (1887, 1889, 1891), Claude Monet (1886, 1889), Georges Seurat (1887, 1889, 1891, 1892), Paul Gauguin (1889, 1891), Paul Cézanne (1890) and Vincent van Gogh (1890, 1991) (ñLes XXò). From among the founding members of Les XX the well known Belgian neo-impressionist Theo van Rysselberghe (1862-1926) may be noted, who travelled extensively throughout Europe and his pointillist portrait *Alice Sethe* (1888) (see plate 4) may be considered a turning point in his life, which used merely points in blue and gold (ñTheo van Rysselberghe ò).

[6] The following list of artistic groups is limited in number and merely focuses on those that followed a distinguishable pattern of naming themselves according to the number of artists participating in the group on hand.

Following in chronological order the American group the Eight were substantial in creating "one of the main currents in twentieth century American painting" ("The Eight"). The original Eight included Robert Henri (1865-1929), leader of the group, Everett Shinn (1876-1953), John Sloan (1871-1951), Arthur B. Davies (1863-1928), Ernest Lawson, Maurice Prendergast (1858-1924), George Luks (1867-1933), and William J. Glackens (1870-1938). George Bellows (1882-1925) joined them later. The group was determined to bring art into closer touch with everyday life and thereby influenced the course of formulating a truly American art. They established themselves in the busiest neighbourhoods of New York and exhibited together only once in New York City, the Macbeth Gallery in 1908 ("The Eight"), but the exhibition caused a sensation with its utterly vivid and "wild" colours and forms, and eventually received mixed reviews. Within the group we find the Halifax, Nova Scotia born Ernest Lawson, who studied in Paris and the United States, who eventually settled in Manhattan and specialized in urban landscapes, *Upper New York City* (see plate 5) being a fine example of his unique style as "the most orthodox Impressionist of the Eight" (Stacey 58).

Within Europe there were three groupings that are worth mentioning, the first being the Hungarian "Nyolcak", the Eight, the naming again referring to the number of painters banding together to create an image of modern painting in Hungary. What in effect brought them together was the fact that they had all studied in Paris at the Académie Julian between 1902 and 1908. The eight painters who established the Eight were: Károly Kernstock (1873-1940), the spiritual leader of the group, Róbert Berény (1887-1953), Dezsõ Czigány (1883-1937), Béla Czóbel (1883-1976), Ödön Márffy (1878-1959), Dezsõ Orbán (1884-1986), Bertalan Pór (1880-1964) and Lajos Tihanyi (1885-1938) (Szalay "Doc. film"). Czóbel already seems to have been an accomplished artist by the time he went to Paris, and according to the documentary film, *The Hungarian Eight*, he knew the French Fauves personally, even exhibited together with Matisse in 1905. The friendships made in France did not end, but continued in Hungary on the property of Kernstock in Nyergesújfalu. This was not an artistic community as such, but many came here to paint. A good example of Kernstock's landscapes is the *Park* (1910) (see plate 6), with the characteristic features of the group's artistic style. They were in fact referred to as the "Hungarian

Fauvesò characteristically using thick brush strokes, vivid and vibrant colours of pinks, blues, greens and browns (Szalay). Altogether they had three exhibitions: the first in the winter of 1909-10 with only thirty-two paintings, the second being in 1911, which consisted of forty-nine works and the third in 1912 with the canvases of only four of the members painted in mostly the Expressionist vain encompassing illusionary scenes. The reviews of the press were rather mixed, some attacked them for their use of ñdisproportionate bodies, nudes, and unnatural coloursò (Szalay). Their painting, nevertheless, formulated a distinctive Hungarian national image and identity that formed the basis of modern Hungarian painting.

The number eight seemed to prevail among artistic circles and in Northern Europe, namely Sweden a group of young artists ñcalling themselves The Young (De Unga) opened their first exhibition in Stockholm in 1909. The group had formed the previous year around the leading figure of Birger Simonsson (1882-1938), and included such artists as Isaac Grünewald (1889-1946), Tor Bjurström (1888-1966) and Leander Engström (1886-1927)ò(ñSwedish Artò). These painters also studied in Paris and eventually came under the artistic influence of Henri Matisse, however, according to various sources the works they exhibited in 1909 seemed to have rather come under the influence of Cézanne. After a few years The Young movement split up and in 1912 the core of the group established themselves as The Eight (De åtta). The most important figure in the group seems to have been a woman, Sigrid Hjertén (1885-1948), who used vibrant colours, that conveyed more human figures than landscapes as in *Studio Interior* (1916) (see plate 7), which established a basis for modern Swedish painting. ñAlong with her husband Isaac Grünewald, Einar Jolin (1890-1976) and Leander Engström, Hjertén constituted the groupôs Stockholm wing, a Swedish Fauvism with its roots in Matisseôs art: a strongly coloured, decorative style, while Nils Dardel (1888-1943) developed an elegant Naivism and Birger Simonsson and Gösta Sandels (1887-1919) formed the Gothenburg wing with a more lyrical, picturesque styleò(ñSwedish Artò).

The third group that should be mentioned as being important for the development of modern art in Germany was the Group of Eleven in Berlin. In February 1892, a group of Berlin artists united in the *Free Association to Organize Artistic Exhibitions*, they were all members of the *Verein Berliner Künstler*

(Association of Berlin Artists). On November 5th, 1892, in the *Berliner Architekturhaus* (Berlin architecture house), an exhibition showing paintings by Edvard Munch (1863-1944) was inaugurated and during the inauguration, leading members of the *Verein Berliner Künstler* were so shocked by the paintings that a few days later, they closed the exhibition. As a reaction to the forced closure of the exhibition, a new Group of the Eleven was established where among others Franz Skarbina (1849-1910), Walter Leistikow (1865-1908), Max Liebermann (1847-1935), Max Klinger (1857-1920) and Ludwig von Hofmann (1861-1945) participated in order to sponsor new young artists on a private base (ñBerlinís Belle Epoqueò). Here too, as in the previously mentioned countries, changes had taken place against the conservative art establishments. The new ideas, colours, forms and technical skills introduced were to launch a new era in modern painting with an example for the modern German Impressionist style being Franz Skarbinaís *Walking in the Woods* (1893) (see plate 8), which used the soft tones of yellows, greens and blues characteristic of the French Impressionists.

The cultural and artistic developments and changes that began in France, specifically in Paris, spread throughout Europe and the North American continent launching secessionist movements that initiated the foundations of modern painting between the 1880s and 1920. The lively coming and going of these young modernists introduced manifold controversial innovations, which virtually stopped with the outbreak of World War I. After the war reforms continued in Canada and the United States that strove to educate the public through art based on the ñphilosophy of the City Beautiful Movementò(King 322). The desire to create a distinctly Canadian art in spirit returned after the war with a new urgency.

With the end of the war Harris and the other artists also returned to Toronto and the discussion of forming an independent ñart school and producing a Canadian art magazineò (Hill 87) were again initiated. They had in mind a very ambitious program:

> To develop an unacademic, Canadian art in which the nation could take pride and which would be materially supported by collectors, to show Canadians that art permeated all aspects of their lives, and to reform the

> educational system so it would train designers and artisans for employment in industries that would manufacture distinctively Canadian products, generating economic and social benefits for the whole of society. (Hill 87)

In order for these Toronto based artists to fulfil their ideas on the national stage they needed to establish a label for themselves that would define them as a distinctive brand. As they had already exhibited their works together in the previous years they were often referred to as the "Algonquin Park School" (King 330) in the press, but instead of forming a school or an association they decided on becoming an official group. Harris and some of the others were in fact familiar with the international groups that had been established by young modernist artists in the past two to three decades and the fact of there having been quite a few "Eights" in the past. In 1920 they were a nucleus of seven young Canadian artists, who wanted to "produce something really significant" (King 330), the only one missing was Tom Thomson, who would have been the eighth, therefore the name "Group of Seven" came quite naturally. In calling themselves a group they merely wished to emphasize that "they were a cooperative group of like-minded artists joined together to articulate their ideas for the advancement of Canadian art" (Hill 88). The Group's first official exhibition was scheduled to open on May 7, 1920 and it was planned to be a group show that consisted of the works of: Lawren Harris, Arthur Lismer, A.Y. Jackson, J.E.H. MacDonald, F.H. Varley, Frank Johnston, Franklin Carmichael. From 1920 onwards the Group held annual exhibitions until 1931, which was to be their last group show, and allowed twenty-eight other Canadian artists to contribute, as well. They decided to disband and form a new group that better represented artists from across Canada calling themselves The Canadian Group of Painters, which held its first exhibition in 1933 presenting the works of fifty-two artists including the Group of Seven (Newlands 58).

During the decade that they worked together as an official group they achieved to become the symbols of the Canadian art establishment and had given Canada a definite identity through the representations of its unique landscape. Though there had been many others seeking to portray similar objectives, as

discussed within this chapter, still as individuals they were not able to achieve that level of fame and domination of the Canadian art scene that The Group had in their time. Nevertheless, all of these painters succeeded in portraying a segment of Canada through their interpretations of the Canadian landscape, hence awakening the cultural identities of a nation that needed to establish itself on the international scene.

Similarly, the enumerated artistic groups had the important role of creating a distinctive art that provided each country, mentioned earlier in the chapter with regard to a specific group, the foundations of modern art and painting. These groups were able to bring together the artists, who singularly would not have achieved the recognition that they in fact did as a group. This specific "group feeling" encouraged and strengthened an individual local artistic development, while the naming of the groups seemed to follow a pattern begun at the end of the nineteenth century in Western Europe.

Chapter 2

Identities on Being Canadian in Emily Carr's Fictional Writing

The concept of identity and by nature its definition is very difficult to grasp as definitions in dictionaries are not precise. They may often be outdated or even simply too ambiguous. When speaking of identity most people understand its meaning or even meanings, but in essence its ambiguous aspect remains. Identity as such may be regarded on a social, even national or personal scale. By social identity one may refer to the group characteristics of a people by using the differentiating labels as hippies or punks or that of the different generations as teenagers, adults and/or the elderly. These may overlap to some extent with that of the national identities, but here the symbolic representations of a nation pop automatically into one's mind. This would be a tree, flower, bird, or other representative animal of the region, specific colour(s), locations (perhaps names of cities, towns relating to a historical event), a thing or a collective term (as a building, or an umbrella term as police or army, etc.), and various historical or still living personalities. As the list narrows so the definition or understanding of its meaning becomes more obscure. When discussing the individual person it is generally known that everyone has an identity, that is everyone is different, no two persons are alike, this is what makes the human being an individual. Is individuality then an identity? Does a person have merely one identity or can we speak of multiple identities? Individuality certainly seems to overlap with identity to some extent, and certainly individuals may have several identities. Is an identity a characteristic or personal feature? Identity may in fact be considered a specific personal characteristic. And people may have in this sense several identities,

that differentiate them from other human beings. What is it that makes someone stand out from the general crowd? The person may seem an ñaverageò personality, but in effect achieves some merit, that will differentiate this person from a group. I do not wish to go into the psychological depths of these theories I merely wish to point out that an identity we consider to be outstanding is non-static and very fluid. This is often based on the collective view of a society as to who may be regarded as being a greater or lesser individual or personality. When a society or nation requires heroes, great personalities or icons, these individuals seem to surface instantly. Every nation has its own set of identities, symbols and icons, that reflect these needs.

In narrowing my scope I would here like to shift my attention from a general viewpoint to a specific example namely Canada. This is a relatively young nation, in comparison to European or Asian countries, in desperate need of symbols and great individuals from the time of its formation in the middle of the nineteenth century. Great personalities were wanted whose deeds were considered as being so outstanding that they were looked upon as icons. These individuals were in effect present, but they had to be ñdiscoveredò by society and their nation. A nationôs culture is a reflection of its individuals, who create cultural artefacts that in turn give a country its particular identity.

The development of Canadaôs artistic and cultural heritage was a gradual process that continued well into the twentieth century. From the turn of the century there were numerous artists, painters who sought to portray Canada, and particularly that specific angle of artistic representation that would eventually formulate a new identity for the nation. On the West coast of Canada there is one individual who has become a household name, Emily Carr. She has become a cultural icon and her work, whether it is her painting or her writing, is an outstanding example for what Canadian identity represents. But how does Carr identify herself? She is a rather mysterious personality, a lover of Native culture, nature and animals, but a misfit and misanthrope within her own society. In following this line of thought does she have one identity or multiple identities? And which of these identities can we actually discover within her paintings or in fact in her writing be it fictional or autobiographical? The complexity of Emily Carr's personality is difficult to unravel. Certainly, the difference between the person she was and the artist who Canada discovered as its

own are not the same. The nearest one may come to finding and understanding Carr herself, hence her identities is through a close analysis of her writing and her artistic expressions.

Small and Her Little Town

In seeking to uncover Carrôs identity or identities I consider it relevant to begin with her writing in which she actually goes back to her childhood and presents herself as the young *Small*. This work titled *The Book of Small* was published in the autumn of 1942 and consists of two slim volumes. The book took shape slowly during the years 1937-41, building on a base begun in 1934. Commercially and critically *Small* was a success and the first edition of the book sold out immediately. Interestingly, the book was also published in England, the only Canadian book to be published in wartime. In Victoria, British Columbia, *Small* was received with great enthusiasm by the local newspapers, as well.

The book was indeed a great success, but many of the townspeople in Victoria may have been somewhat offended, though no one made any outright complaint, perhaps because of the existing social arrangements and ties, or simply because they were too well bred to complain directly to the offender. Still, Carr suspected that she had stepped on some toes. Carrôs sister, Alice, seemed to reproach *Small*.[7] Apparently, Alice was very sensitive to any criticism or ridicule concerning her family in the stories (Blanchard 284). She had seemed to like *Cow Yard*, the earliest of the *Small* stories, but it seems that Alice would not even listen to Dilworth read *Sunday* on the radio. Ultimately, the only books of Carr she genuinely seemed to like were *Klee Wyck, Bobtails* and *Pause*, the books that were safely remote from her and their family.

[7] There are references on numerous occasions in her writing (for example in *Growing Pains, Hundreds and Thousands*) and diaries about her sistersôdisliking Carrôs behaviour, singing, her painting and also her writing.

Emily Carr enjoyed going back to her childhood. Through the anecdotes featuring in the book she was able to round out her past with incidents that portray those years of her life when she was still discovering herself and her surroundings. She wants the reader to see her life as a finished whole, but what is it that the reader is in fact given? We are given glimpses and fragments of a little girlôs life, mostly joyous ones, but also instances of their family life, which seems harmonious on the surface, but with ample underlying currents. These tensions relate to her parents, who merely feature in the background, but nevertheless define their lives. The father is constantly seen as ñstrict, stern, punctual and orderlyòand that

> Father was a stern straight man. Straight legs and shoulders; straight side-trim to his beard, the ends of which were straight-cut across his chest. From under heavy eyebrows his look was direct, though once in a rare while a little twinkle forced its way through. (*BS* ñTimeò68)

These characteristics not only relate to his personality, but everything that is connected to him even his religion:

> Fatherôs religion was grim and stern, Motherôs gentle. Fatherôs operated through the Presbyterian, Motherôs through the Anglican Church. *Our* religion was hybrid: on Sunday morning we were Presbyterian, Sunday evening we were Anglican. (*BS* ñThe Blessingò26)

There is ample irony and humour behind her words, but psychologically the heavy imprint of her father is still there. The humour defining the work helps Carr achieve a necessary distance from the forced restrictions and limitations in her childhood. The joy, humour and irony present throughout is the ideal way out for Carr to come to terms with her past and inevitably score a few points on her ñenemiesò. Therefore, the mischievous child, *Small,* is just one of the identities that Carr wishes to present and have the reader accept since acceptance was one of the problematic issues in the authorôs life.

For Carr it was *The Book of Small* that set the tone for her emotional bond with Ira Dilworth, who was in fact an important person in her later life. He sympathized

with the child Small and for her this was his acceptance of her young and ñnaughtyò self that respectable society had driven into hiding decades before. Carr dedicated the book to him and in her will she left the manuscript, along with all her others, to his care. In effect he became Small's guardian. Eventually she came to be so dependent on Dilworth that without him, in turn, Small would have ceased to exist. Carr needed a figure like Dilworth beside her, who was at once her guardian, father, brother, and friend in one person. Therefore, Small was at once Carrôs liberated childhood self and her muse, an essential identity and voice that was able to mask the real Carr.

As with all her writing Carr was careful in how she structured her work. The *Book of Small* consists of two distinctly separate sections, the first one about her family, which gave the book its title, containing twelve brief stories of Emily's early childhood. The second comprises twenty-four short stories, about the turn-of-the-century Victoria, B. C., with its upright matrons, its Natives, Chinese and pioneers, its flower-scented streets and meandering cows. The first twelve stories all take place before the Carr family was broken up by the death of the parents. The telling of the misery that followed their death, and Carr's long and turbulent rebellion against her older sister, Dede, was left for the posthumously published *Growing Pains*.

Small seems to be more reserved and structurally better crafted than the later books. It is light, funny, vivid, and pure entertainment as seen through the eyes of a young and mischievous child, who sees all, but still maintains her purity and innocence. Interestingly, the stories that relate to her family are only half the amount of the second section. Presumably, many of these childhood experiences may have been painful for Carr and she may have found it difficult to reach back in her past for further events and still keep up a light tone. The second part of the book continues the humorous tone, but the anecdotes are now more detailed, and highly ironic. And it is quite obvious that Carr found it easier to write about her town than her own family, especially her father, because she is able to fully distance herself from all the directly personal issues. In this way the second half of the book is a nostalgic evocation of a simple, sleepy time and place that contrasted painfully with the war-blasted realities of 1942. Carrôs humour and irony at its height likens Victoria to a ñcowò

> Victoria was like a lying-down cow, chewing. She had made one enormous effort of upheaval. She had hoisted herself from a Hudson's Bay Fort into a little town and there she paused, chewing the cud of imported fodder, afraid to crop the pastures of the new world for fear she might lose the good flavour of the old to which she was so deeply loyal. Her jaws went rolling on and on, long after there was nothing left to chew. (*BS* "Father's Store" 95)

Victoria, compared to a cow is tame, placid, and extremely slow in its movements, but as Carr stresses, very loyal to the old Monarchy, to such an extent that the rigid hold on the "English way of things" is favoured above all. To prove her point Carr mentions some of the locals in town, whose loyalty and love of the British Monarchy went beyond normal measures. One particular fact was that the better situated families kept governesses instead of letting their children go to the local school. But perhaps the best example for this "ultra-Englishness" is Carr's father, who "was a wholesale importer of provisions, wines and cigars" (95). And all his goods for sale were placed

> High along the wall ran four long shelves holding glass jars of sample English sweets – all pure, all wholesome, all English. The labels said so. (*BS* 98)

The extreme loyalty, pretence and sham present in this small and tightly knit community is that particular feature that Carr is virtually unable to accept in her childhood and later as a grownup. Therefore she goes out of her way to be "different" and the fact that she becomes a great painter of the huge British Columbian forests, something very Canadian, and a writer, who praises the Canadian being establishes a certain distance and identity that Carr needs to heal those early wounds.

As seen in the *Book of Small* life in the Carr household followed a very strict and orderly pattern. In the first series of stories we get a glimpse of regular family events. Through these stories we get to see Richard Carr as a very stern and authoritarian father, whereas Mrs. Carr, the mother, is a "very delicate" and sickly creature. When describing the parents Carr makes obvious comparisons, whereby the father is strict, stern, straight, and orderly, while the mother is small, delicate, frail, weak, and sickly, but she also likes to sing like her daughter, which suggests a secret kinship between

mother and child. Carrôs love for her mother is given further depth in *Growing Pains,* but here she concentrates on the personality of her father. The most appropriate example with which to launch her work was to portray an important weekly routine in their lives. In the very first story titled ñSundayò we learn that:

> All our Sundays were exactly alike. They began on Saturday night after Bong the Chinaboy had washed up and gone away, after our toys, dolls and books, all but *The Peep of Day* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, had been stored away in drawers and boxes till Monday, and every Bible and prayer-book in the house was puffing itself out, looking more important every minute. (*BS* 28)

The highly important event of the Sundays followed a very monotonous procedure, where everything had to be in order, and this meant not only the household but the children, as well. Everyone seems to have accepted this orderliness except for the mischievous little Small. But this may be viewed as a relevant ceremony, as well, that linked all members of the family together. Carr may portray this event as an unpleasant obligation, as no child ever enjoys being told what to do, still this is one of the voices or identities that the author actually allows and wants the reader to see. This is Carr the mischief-maker at her best.

Within the book her exact age is unknown, as in most of her writing. Again she seems to present the identity of an ageless woman for whom only Small's joy and happiness matters. The anecdotes seem to be bubbling with the happiness of the child, who in effect seems to grasp hold of the reader leading the way around Victoria, along the streets and pastures, and finally arriving in her favourite place ñThe Cow Yardò:

> The Cow Yard was large. Not length and breadth alone determined its dimensions, it had height and depth also. Above it continually hovered the spirit of maternity. Its good earth floor, hardened by many feet, pulsed with rich growth whenever there was any protection from the perpetual movement over its surface. ...Of the three little girls who played in the Cow Yard, Bigger tired of it soonest. Right through she was a pure, clean child, and had an enormous conscience. The garden rather than the Cow Yard suited her crisp frocks and tidy ways best, and she was a little afraid of the cow. Middle was a

> born mother, and had huge doll families. She liked equally the tidy garden and the free Cow Yard. Small was wholly a Cow Yard child. (*BS* 29)

Small's love seems to encompass the whole universe. She has an over abundance of love she wants to share with everyone and everything, but directs it mainly towards nature and the animals. This over excessive affection for the natural world is heavily stressed, just like in all her works. The comparison of the tidy garden with that of the messy, dirty and neglected cow yard emphasizes the basic differences between the sisters. Small is everything the others are not. The older sisters are extremely conscious of outward appearances and follow the unwritten rules dictated by their community. Small, however, disregards all such behavioural codes and allows her pure instincts to reign. As she is a happy child she enjoys giving voice to her happiness, therefore Small sings in the Cow Yard, much to the embarrassment of her sisters:

> Small's singing was joyful noise more than music; what it lacked in elegance it made up in volume. As fire cannot help giving heat so Small's happiness could not help giving song, in spite of family complaint. They called her singing a 'horrible row', and said it shamed them before the neighbours, but Small sang on. She sang in the cow-yard, mostly, not that she went there especially to sing, but she was so happy when she was there among the creatures that the singing did itself. She had but to open hear mouth and the noise jumped out. (*BS* 30)

Smallôs singing is her saying no to the pretence that in fact rules the lives of the people in her neighbourhood and within her own family. To what extent this particular habit of hers is based on truth or not is here irrelevant rather it is the mature Carrôs answer to all the restrictions she faced in her childhood. Perhaps Small dared to do what Emily Carr did not and the intensely vibrant charm and identity that Small radiates allows the author to step behind this mask.

The anecdotes featuring in the first section of the book mostly relate family events or fragmented occurrences, however, ñWhite Currantsò, seems to be an exception, though it is conveniently hidden between two others that are more characteristic of the volume. On the surface there is nothing particular about the

language or the narrative style Carr uses, since it is basically the same as the others in this section. The only hint that ñWhite Currantsò is different is the repetition of the word ñitò in the very beginning:

> It happened many times, and it always happened just in that corner of the old garden.
> When it was going to happen, the dance in your feet took you there without your doing anything about it. You danced through the flower garden and the vegetable garden till you came to the row of currant bushes, and then you danced down it. (*BS* 53)

Here Carr inserts an unusual event, a magical fairy tale dream, and according to Elderkin this may be seen as her later attempts to explain the meaning of the event over the course of her life (21). Elderkin follows this up by saying that the event may be seen as a reaction that Carr has selected as being typical, within the guise of Small, but also her youth (21). The most relevant remarks that Carr here situates are about ways of seeing:

> The white currants ripened first. The riper they got, the clearer they grew, till you could almost see right through them. You could see the tiny veins in their skins and the seeds and the juice. Each currant hung there like an almost-told secret.
> Oh! You thought, if the currants were just a wee bit clearer, then perhaps you could see them *living,* inside. (*BS* 53)

The importance of ñseeingò is highlighted in the above passage that focuses on the idea of going below the surface and viewing things or the outside world from inside out. From seeing the currants a whole ñvisionaryò experience develops, which becomes a secret untold. Small is the only one, who knows the secret, we as readers are placed on the outside and are not given the chance to enter the magical world of Small. The fantastical vision continues as she is wrapped in the colour and the smell, the warmth of the sun, the droning of the bees until:

> Everything trembled....you began to tremble too; you seemed to become a part of it...Somebody else was there too. He was on a white horse and he had brought another

> white horse for me. We flew round and round in and out among the mauvypink blossoms, on the white horses. ...In and out, round and round we went. é Everything was going so fast - the butterflies' wings, the pink flowers, the hum and smell..., the little boy and the white horses and I were in the middle of it, like the seeds that you saw dimly inside the white currants. In fact, the beautiful thing was like the white currants, like a big splendid secret getting clearer and clearer every moment - just a second more - andé (*BS* 54)

But here the dream is suddenly interrupted and Small comes back to reality as a grownup picking beans speaks to her. The anecdote draws attention to what is ñburied beneath or hidden within ò (Elderkin 22), but does not provide a complete interpretation of its meaning. Interestingly, Carr uses voices and characters with whom she identifies, but it would be a mistake to connect the figure of Carr the artist with the images of Small. There does not seem to be a unified character of Emily Carr. She constantly eludes us, therefore these anecdotes can be read as ñmetaphors of recoveryò (Elderkin 23), where Carr is in fact trying to ñunearthò the neglected ñ*her*storiesò (23) into history. She knows exactly what parts of her past have been buried, but instead she focuses ñmore on what is not immediately visible and thereby suggests a way of readingò (23) basically all her life stories. The immense amount of detail we are presented in her writing allows the author to ñcover and recover herselfò (23). But we should not want to understand everything rather try to acknowledge the contradictory images of herself, as Small is one of those personalities. Since this allows her multiple and fluid identities to run free.

The stories featuring in *the Book of Small* as in *Klee Wyck* form separate units. Each recalls incidents from the past and provides the reader with glimpses of a family, its friends and its town. The second part of the book titled ñA Little Town and a Little Girlògives a vivid and picturesque sketch of Victoria at the turn of the century.

> Victoria, on Vancouver Island, British Columbia, was the little town; I was the little girl. It is hard to remember just when you first became aware of being alive. It is like looking through rain onto a bald, new lawn; as you watch, the brown is all pricked with pale green. You did not see the points pierce, did not hear the stab - there they are! (*BS* 34)

Emily Carr's Little Town just seemed to evolve out of nothing, taking from the great Canadian wilderness. But once there Victoria's development is very slow, which Carr compares to that of a cow. This highly ironic and humorous image, as already mentioned above, presents a very complacent and loyal image of its inhabitants to the English Monarchy. The glimpses portraying the town are twofold: on the one hand they present specific characters, among these her father, whose "ultra-Englishness" and homesickness for the Mother land defined their lives in contemporary Victoria;

> As far back as I can remember Father's place was all made and in order. … Everything about it was extremely English. It was as though Father had buried a tremendous homesickness in this new soil and it had rooted and sprung up English. (*BS* "Beginnings" 76)

on the other hand, we get to know that Canada is unlike England, with its different variety of plants, wood, landscape and its original inhabitants, the Natives.

> Chinaman and Indian played a very real part in young Victoria. … The Indian squatted upon each doorstep to rest. The Chinaman never rested… To our sombre landscape [the Indians'] careless picturesqueness was an enrichment. He was the link between the primitive and civilization. (*BS* "East and West" 107)

Carr was born in Canada and also grew up there, therefore any links with England were only from the stories she heard from her parents and neighbours. She felt no direct loyalty to that country and her distinctions between the Old and the New country are very clear in her writing. Emily Carr was not only a true Canadian, but she was also very attached to her hometown. That is the reason her stories seem so sentimental, because there is a deeply felt affection behind her words. The town is an essential part of her, as if "bred into her bone", and though she does leave Victoria for a number of years to study, she always returns. The anecdotes featuring in the second part of the *Book of Small* show a slow, but nonetheless, gradual progress that the town has undergone since her childhood,

> Victoria ceased to be an English naval station: Canada navied herself. é Victoria knew a little boom ï a little bustle ï but it was not her nature to boom and bustle; she slumped, settling to slow easy development ï reticent, calm, deliberate. (*BS* ñGrown Upò 167)

As her town advances, so the people come and go and those who are constant must gradually succumb to the changes that force themselves upon a ñsleepy townò

Within these stories Carr tries to encompass almost all of society, from the different kinds of people to the various institutions. The people, who feature in the stories are the basic stereotypes who helped mould Victoria into what she is now. The character sketches are colourful, full of metaphors, and are often used to ridicule the ñultra-Englishnessò that the gentility tried to preserve whether they believed in it themselves or not. In ñCharactersò Carr gives her figures names, but it is difficult to assess whether these are real or just made up. It is through these characters that she voices her humour and sarcasm:

> Strange characters came to little Victoria. It seemed as if people who could not fit in anywhere else arrived here sooner or later till Victoria poked, bulged and hollowed over queer shapes of strange people, as a snake, swallowing its food whole, looks lumpy during digestion. Victoria had some hard lumps to digest. (*BS* 35)

ñDigestionò may have been extremely slow, and Emily Carr's Victoria had to accommodate both the good and the bad through many decades, but it finally ñgrew upò Emily Carr is very critical, but again that is one of her identities, that we must ultimately accept. The mature artist and author views the world around her with the calmness of that ñcowòshe had earlier compared Victoria to be and

> So stands tranquil Victoria in her Island setting ï Western as West can be before earthôs gentle rounding pullôs West east again. (*BS* ñGrown Upò 168)

And perhaps the image or identity that Carr wishes to project at the end is the mature and majestic Carr, like that of her Victoria. So, growth is a natural progress in which

Victoria grew up and with it Emily Carr, but in heart she was still that same little girl or so she wanted us to believe.

Growth and progress are the natural components of advancement in the life of an individual, and specific phases within this development are always decisive. Carrôs writing also portrays a twenty year period in her life in *The House of all Sorts*, which ñuncoversòyet again another of her identities.

Emilyôs House of all Sorts

Emily Carr's last exhibition before the outbreak of World War I was held in Vancouver in 1913. How successful this exhibition was is difficult to say. It actually received a cordial review in the *Province,* the local newspaper, but the emphasis was on the worksô value as historical record rather than art. Carrôs aim had in fact been to document the villages, totem poles and Natives of the West Coast before all Native culture and artefacts would decay and the Indian completely vanishes.[8] In order to attract public attention and clarify her intentions in putting together the whole exhibition Carr gave a series of lectures. But people in general had strong reservations about Native art and merely customary notions about the Indian. One of these prevalent ideas was that it was gloomy, queer and strange. Though the exhibition itself may have been considered a success, Carr herself was disappointed, because she had in fact hoped to be able to sell all her paintings to the provincial government.

This was her last exhibition in Vancouver as she had come to realize that she could no longer earn a living by teaching and selling her work. So, she decided to move back to her home town, Victoria. Carr had no new illusions about Victoria: it was still an ñimpossible field for workò(*GP* ñRejectedò227) as she stated in a number of her writings. Added to this, the town had too many childhood memories, which she would have cared to be without. She wanted desperately to be acknowledged as an

[8] The notion of the ñvanishing Indianòis discussed at length in my chapter titled *The Image-makers of the Stereotypical Indian in Native Canadian Culture.*

artist, but in her hometown she was just "little Emily"a member of the distinguished Carr family. This was the image her sisters did live up to, but Carr always went out of her way to avoid or deliberately behaved as a misfit. Now that she was back in Victoria she had to find a way to maintain herself and still be able to continue painting.

Many people in Victoria lived quite comfortably by taking in roomers or boarders. Emily Carr decided to build her own apartment house and become a landlady herself. Except for the fact that she began too late, it was a sound idea. In 1911 the sisters resolved to sell some land. By the summer of 1912, when they were actually ready to sell, real estate prices had begun to collapse. The Carr sisters sold the lots for what the market would bring and the rest of the land was divided among them. Dede, the oldest, rented out the old house and built a cottage at 231 St. Andrew's Street, where once the vegetable garden had been. Lizzie lived with her, turning her lot into a magnificent garden. Alice built a combined house and school at 218 St. Andrew's. Emily Carr's lot was at 646 Simcoe, around the corner from her sisters and right next to Beacon Hill Park. She moved into her new house in June 1913.

> The House of All Sorts could not have been quite itself in any other spot in the world than just where it stood, here, in Victoria, across James's Bay and right next to Beacon Hill Park. (*HAS* "Foundation"3)

The actual foundation of the "House of all sorts"was built on a location that had deep roots. The memories of her entire childhood were located here giving the place greater meaning:

> Underneath lay something too deep to be uprooted when they dug for the basement. é It was in my memory as much as it was in the soil. No house could sit it down, no house blind what my memory saw ï a cow, an old white horse, three little girls in pinafores, their arms full of dolls and Canton-flannel rabbits made and stuffed with bran by an aunt, three little girls running across the pasture to play "ladies" in the shrubberies that were screened from Simcoe Street by Father's hawthorn hedge, a hedge now grown into tall trees, flowering in the month of May. (*HAS* "Foundation"3)

The deep imprint of these memories made it difficult for Carr to detach herself and become the businesswoman that was essential in becoming a landlady. Another problem was her innocent candid manner in trying to make the place into the kind of loving house she had grown up in. She treated her tenants as guests, and visibly shrank from the handling of money. She expected people to recognize her essential vulnerability and respond in kind. There was no middle ground for Carr; there was either honesty or betrayal. However, her tenants with their lies, their petty demands and their shrewd bargaining for whatever they could get out of her, pointed inevitably towards betrayal. In essence the years she spent as a landlady forced Carr to learn to handle the most varied facets of the human kind, but one may rightly assert that she did not really succeed in this ground. She was too much of the introvert to accomplish this that is why she ultimately found solace in her animals. Through the many pets she kept and loved she was to a certain extent able to recreate her childhood ñcow yardò, the place where she was the happiest.

Due to the First World War she found it more and more difficult to make ends meet. She tried many things among them making pottery. Finally, she began making hooked rugs from raw wool yarn and the remnants of old clothes, combining traditional native designs. They found buyers more readily than her pictures did. In a way, this kept her increasingly tenuous connection with art alive. Painting during the years of the First World War became all but impossible for months or even years at a time. Whether this is true or not or even partly is somewhat difficult to ascertain since in one anecdote she writes about her studio, which was the ñchief roomò in the building, that

> The purpose of its building had been to provide a place in which I could paint and an income for me to live on. Neither objective was ever fully realized in the House of All Sorts. (*HAS* ñStudioò87)

While in another story she writes that

> Through the studio only could you enter my four-room flat. A tap at the door ï I was caught at my easel; I felt exposed and embarrassed as if I had been discovered in my bathtub! It was a curious agony. (*HAS* ñArt and the Houseò91)

The two examples prove how contradictory Carr's writing is, which suggests yet again[9] that she "virtually creates her own model" (Elderkin 17). This is Carr "creating and re-creating earlier versions of herself" (18), which the reader may accept, but at the same time should resist formulating a unified image of the artist.

The helplessness and frustration of those twenty years, undiminished by time gave tension and bite to *The House of All Sorts* written thirty years later. This was the last book to be published in Emily Carr's lifetime. The book came out just before her birthday in 1944. Into it she packed twenty-two years of drudgery and bitterness along with the lethargic ladies and the blustering men, the tyrant furnace, the frozen pipes and the battle of the hose. Structurally it follows that of *The Book of Small*, with two interrelated, but nevertheless separate sections: the first relating "glimpses" of her apartment house with its "colourful" tenants; the second presenting deeply emotional anecdotes of her beloved Bobtails. In "Bobtails", the stories present her first dogs and the sane balance they gave her days, providing a finely tuned counterbalance to the whole of the book. The work is one example of how often in her life Carr kept herself going through sheer contentiousness. As in all her writing humour was her strongest weapon. And like most of her writing this is also a funny book with an ample amount of irony, sarcasm and deeply felt emotions. But while the reader may find it funny, cheering the author on when the meanest of tenants are indirectly punished, there is a barely controlled savagery in the caricatures of the worst tenants. Nowhere are her verbs more violent than in this book. The dynamic metaphors often approach the grotesque. She seems to be detached from the humanity of her subjects, which are described as impersonal images as animals, things, or even points of geography. To illustrate this she saw a crying baby as:

> The infant's head, as it were, split in two - eyes, cheeks, brow retired, all became mouth, and out of the mouth poured a roar the equal of Niagara Falls. (*HAS* "Mean Baby" 47)

[9] As in *Klee Wyck, The Book of Small* and also in *Growing Pains* the anecdotes form individual little stories. When closely compared they often contain contradictions proving that Carr was in fact creating her own identities, therefore these should be enjoyed rather than taken at face value.

Another example is an old woman she calls Grannie:

> She seemed conscious of her upper half only, perhaps she used only a handmirror. Her leg was pathetic and ignored. The scant petticoat came only to her knees, there was a little fence of crocheted lace around each knee. Black stockings hung in lengthwise folds around the splinters of legs that were stuck into her body and broke at right angles to make feet. Her face-skin was yellow and crinkled as the shell of an almond - the chin as pointed as an almond's tip. (*HAS* "Blind", 58)

One incident, out of many, when a family came to inspect a flat:

> Both women flopped into easy chairs and lay back, putting their feet up on another chair; they began to press their shoulder-blades into the upholstery, hunting lumps or loose springs. Meanwhile their noses wriggled like rabbits, inflated nostrils spread to catch possible smells, eyes rolling from object to object critically. After resting, they went from one thing to another, tapping, punching; blankets got smelled, rugs turned over, cupboards inspected, bureau drawers and mirrors tested. (*HAS* "Awful Particular", 68)

The identity of the landlady as presented by Carr shows a struggling personality that must learn to distance herself from her tenants, but the dilemma of where that boundary is poses contradictory emotions:

> "There chatter, dear, all you like." He turned the key on his peace – what about mine? I pulled the dust-sheet over my canvas. Landlady's sighs are heavy – is it not enough to give shelter, warmth, furniture? Must a landlady give herself too? (*HAS* "Always Something", 46)

The identity of the landlady as presented within this work is difficult to grasp, as it is not static, but rather fluid. We are in fact presented with a multiple array of landladies, multiple identities, to be able to suit the multiplicity of tenants and situations that arose within those twenty years. Her tenants came in "all sorts", and those she liked are remembered affectionately. During these years there were many tenants who lived up to her early vision of peaceful communal living. But whether it was sympathy

or pure hatred she felt, her emotional life was dominated by her tenants. She could not feel, in the middle of this tug-of-war, the detachment that would later transform this into art. Like her paintings and her dogs, the house was an extension of her being.

The House of All Sorts, like all her writing, is best read as a record of feeling rather than a narrative of facts. There are numerous incidents mentioned in the stories that seem almost unbelievable, for example, that her tenants roused her at six or seven in the morning to demand scouring powder or fresh flowers, or that one of them woke her in the middle of the night because her dog was snoring. Carr rearranged the facts in order to ensure her readerøs sympathy, a process also used in *Klee Wyck* and *The Book of Small*. She used fiction to explain a smouldering accumulation she badly needed to justify, perhaps to herself as much as anyone, this is a means by which ñCarr both recovers her physical and emotional health and simultaneously distances our ability to comprehend her as a single identityò(Elderkin 23).

The recurring motifs of her private grievances and prejudices are woven through the stories. During her years as a landlady she had ample time to observe people. Within the stories she makes statements and comments about life and about the various kinds of people she had to deal with. The comments are often funny, but the bitterness and disappointment of these years is also strongly felt.

Since her early childhood Emily Carr had not lived on close terms with married couples. In her book she remarks that marriages, like people, come in ñall sortsò:

> ...I discovered I could place `Marrieds` in three general groupings - the happy, the indifferent, the scrappy. ...There are qualities of sound and qualities of silence. When the sounds were made only by inanimate things, you knew that couple were the indifferent type. When you heard terse jagged little huddles of words, those were the snappers! If there was a continuous rumbling of conversation, contented as the singing of a tea kettle or the purring of a cat, you knew that couple had married happily. (*HAS* ñMatrimonyò37)

On the whole her view of marriage became progressively grimmer on the one hand, and more idealized on the other, perhaps as a reflection of her own childhood

memories. Where one partner dominated the other, in her stories, Carr identified passionately with the victim, whether it was husband or wife, and thought herself happy to be well out of it.

The old conflict between respectability and rebellion became more polarized, too. Though, she was openly contemptuous of her sistersô middle-class scruples, she was herself genteel to the bone. Examples are her rage over the airing socks, or even most notably the ñpeach scantiesòdrying on the curtain rod,

> Coming up Simcoe Street I stopped short and nearly strangled! There, stretched right across the front windows of the Dollôs Flat, the street side of my respectable apartment house, dangled from the very rods where my fresh curtains had been when I went out ï one huge suit of menôs natural wool underwear, one pair of menôs socks, one pair of womenôs emaciated silk stockings, a vest, and two pairs of peach scanties. (*HAS* ñPeach Scantiesò73)

Another of her horrific experiences was when she discovered once or twice that she had rented to ñunmarriedsò. The manner in which such situations had to be dealt with required experience,

> Perhaps the most awkward situation for the inexperienced young landlady was how to deal with ñunweds.ò Every apartment house gets them. They are often undiscernible, even to the experienced. One learns in time to catch on to little indicationsé (*HAS* ñUnmarriedò84)

Though the related incidents are humorous still the unwritten rules of moral behaviour within society determined life in contemporary Victoria. And as a landlady running an apartment house, hence a business, Carr had to maintain strict control over whom she allowed into her house. Respectability had to be preserved even at the cost of perhaps not renting out one of her flats. This is somewhat at odds with the personality of the misanthrope that Carr projected towards the outside world, but this again was one of the constructed identities of herself. She had to be different from the rest and this she created through the many animals she kept, her unconventional manner of dress and her being a temperamental artist.

During these years her life was not only dominated by her tenants, but also by her Bobtails. In the second part of the book, titled ñBobtailsò, she gives a warm and

loving account of them. She also dedicates this section of the book to her sister, Alice, by quoting from one of her favourite poets, Walt Whitman[10].

> I think I could turn and live with animals, theyóre so placid and self-containéd, I stand and look at them long and long. (Carr *HAS* 112)

In her animals Carr was able to find the peace, harmony and joy that seemed to mostly elude her among people. Here, she sketches each of her pets as an individual in a very realistic and down-to-earth manner. Her dealing with animals carries obvious affection as she ñwould far rather have banned humans and catered to creaturesò(*HAS* ñDogs and Catsò36).

In 1917, after Carrós dog, Billie, died, she hit on the idea of breeding Old English Bobtail Sheepdogs.

> The idea of a Bobtail kennel did not rush into my mind with a sudden burst. It matured slowly, growing from a sincere love of and admiration for the breed, awaked by my dog, Billie, a half-bred Old English Bobtail Sheep-dog. (*HAS* ñKennelò114)

The ñBobiesòwere a saving joy, a never failing source of humour and comfort during the third and longest dark period of her life. As in England and in France she believed that her art career was over. She thought she would be a landlady all her days and this filled her with helpless fear and frustration, which is given expression at the very end in ñHow Long!ò in an almost desperate cry: ñóHouse! House! How long?ôFrom the frozen garden I looked at it, hulking against the heavy skyò(*HAS* 111).

In comparison with the first part of the book ñBobtailsòis full of warmth and tender love for her animals. There is nothing grotesque or sarcastic about her feelings towards them. Animals and nature seem to become one:

> Like a turbulent river the Bobtails raced among gay flowers and comfortable shrubs on their way from sleeping-pen to play-field, a surge of grey movement

[10] The quotation is originally from Walt Whitmanós *Song of Myself.* Carr was an ardent reader of Whitmanós writing and found his concepts on nature, animals and transcendentalism to be compatible with her own conceptual visions.

> weaving beautiful patterns among poppy, rose, delphinium, whose flowers showed more brilliantly colourful for the grey intertwistings of shaggy-coated dogs among them. (*HAS* ñGardenò123)

Carrôs selection of words, as seen above, become colourful, imaginative and playful comparable to the ñvisionary worldò presented in *The Book of Small.* This is the same magical imagery as Smallôs ñCow Yardò, a beautiful and enchanted place exclusively for Carr and her pets. The seclusion of her back garden is stressed a number of times in the work highlighting Carrôs need for a place where her tenants were not allowed to enter, where she could in fact detach herself completely from the miseries of the human world.

With the help of her ñBobiesò and her other pets she was able to forget the everyday agony of being a landlady. Her early morning walks in Beacon Hill Park were something not only the dogs looked forward to, but Emily Carr, as well.

> Pell-mell we scampered down the hillside. A flat of green land paused before letting its steepness rush headlong down clay cliffs. The sea and a drift-piled beach were below. Clay paths meandered the bank. They were slippery;...The dogs hurled their steady four-footed shapes down the steepness, and awaited me on the pebbly beach. Sea-water wet their feet, wind tossed their hair, excitement quivered in every fibre of their aliveness. On our return the house was waking. The dogs filed soberly under yet blinded windows, mounted three steps to the landing, sank three steps to the garden, passed into their play-field, earnest guardians of our house. I went to my daily tasks. (*HAS* ñBeacon Hillò122)

The dogs allowed her to be compassionate, protective, patient - all the things she could not be in the flawed human world. And, like her art, they gave her the illusion of omnipotence, an essential identity in creating the individual that was capable of confronting a ruthless world. Animals took her home, to the mysterious, never exhausted process of life itself. Through them she kept her art alive, simply because they made up for the idealism that was its source. Without them she might have turned hopelessly misanthropic or made a peace of sorts with the world - in a word,

grown up - and perhaps lost the dynamic, mystical communion with nature that made her paintings into what they ultimately became.

The closing of this phase in her life ended with Carr finally selling her house, ending her business, which was most probably a relief. But simultaneously she also had to close her kennel and sell all her dogs, which was her greatest anguish. The identity of the landlady is one of the many identities of Carr, which is to be enriched by further identities in her following book titled *Growing Pains.*

The óGrowing Painsô of a Canadian Artist

From the year 1927, when Emily Carr first met The Group of Seven in Toronto and among them Lawren Harris, she continued to maintain a regular correspondence with him. His letters were a source of joy and fresh inspiration that provided her with the keenness to paint again. In one of his letters dating back to 1933 Harris tried to persuade Carr to write her autobiography, but she dismissed the idea immediately saying ñWhoôd want to read it?ò and ñWhat had I to write about?ò(Blanchard 284). But it seems that though the idea had been forgotten instantly, it still hovered in her mind, slowly germinating. And when in 1938 Eric Brown, director of the Canadian National Gallery, asked her to write her autobiography Carr finally consented.

The first version, the story of her painting and writing career, was written in 1938 and probably finished in 1939. The second, published version, composed from scratch without any reference to the first, was written in the early 1940s. In the course of writing the final version Carr reread Harrisôold letters from the 1930s and saw how much he had helped to boost her morale and the development of her career. She gave the finished version to Harris to read in 1943, added some forty pages of manuscript at his suggestion and dedicated the book to him.

In accordance with Emily Carr's wishes *Growing Pains*, her autobiography, was published posthumously in 1946. The book consists of three parts, in which Carr's life is basically divided into three main episodes encompassing her studies in San Francisco, England, and France. The book begins by reaching back to Carr's symbolic birth, her Baptism. There are altogether three chapters on her early adolescent life in Victoria, B.C. including one of the very few chapters written about her mother. The various passages vary in length, some are very short (a page or two), while those that had relevance for Carr are longer (varying between seven to nine pages). Her style is characterized by simplicity and sincerity that contained humour and ample irony. The overall tone, however, differs from her other works. The multiplicity of identities portrayed here encompasses that of the aged and mature artist, an experienced woman and the naïveté of a child. This complexity of individual identities is continuously "uncovered" and "recovered" allowing the reader visual glimpses of only momentums the author wishes us to see. We are not allowed inside, but have access to this world only from the outside, in effect this is the "almost told" magical vision experienced in "White Currants" featuring in *The Book of Small.* Among the identities presented, the one projecting the image of the "Canadian" is perhaps foremost within this work. The constant comparisons between the Old and the New World are present throughout comparing landscapes, colourings, features and manners. Carr's Canadianness is an identity that is now openly pronounced and accepted. This acceptance is now enriched with self esteem and pride for what she had reached and accomplished in her life. She now has something to say to Canadians, and through her merits she has been made a Canadian icon.

The chapters are built up chronologically and in this way provide the reader with a continuous "story" instead of just "glimpses" at random as in *Klee Wyck* and *The Book of Small*. The linearity is maintained throughout, but the short chapters are still constructed as short anecdotes, which may also be read individually. Though, the details are often inconsistent we have to understand that such distortions show us the writer building her idea of herself, or rather "burying" certain events in her life while presenting records of her self-creations. This issue is best illustrated in Carr's anecdote "My Sister's Visit", where she describes her sister's non-reaction to her work:

> ñI suppose you thought these were wallpaper?ò pointing to my studies on the wall. My voice was nasty. I felt bitter. My sister was peeved. She neither looked at nor asked about my work during the whole two months of her visit. It was then that I made myself into an envelope into which I could thrust my work deep, lick the flap, seal it from everybody. (*GP* 139)

The metaphorical image of the envelope that signifies communication and information to be transferred is here tightly sealed, and instead attempts to limit our access to that specific knowledge. According to Elderkin, the envelope is the metaphor of autobiographical act that Carr presents. ñThe desire to reveal the private rivals the desire to create a public subject safely distant, one that resists conventional methods of interpretation.ò(24) This writing thereby achieves ñan activity valued in its own right.ò(24) Carrôs work therefore remains ñan almost told secretòthat is guarded by the many identities displayed in her writing all being meta-morphosed into the sealed envelope. This sealed envelope contains information about the author, but as we have no access, we cannot come any closer to understanding her. How much information do we in fact have on Emily Carr?

The factual data of oneôs life provides merely the surface layer of an individual, in order to ñunderstandòsomeone in depth we must inevitably dig deeper. Carrôs writing is essentially viewed as autobiographical with an abundance of material based on her writings, which are nevertheless often contradictory. *Growing Pains* offers a symbolic beginning to Carrôs life through a brief view of the manner in which she was baptised. Baptism is a spiritual birth regardless of when it actually occurs. The first part of the book, therefore, begins with Emily Carrôs Baptism.

> My baptism is an unpleasant memory. I was a little over four years of age. My brother was an infant. We were done together, and in our own home. Dr. Reid, a Presbyterian parson, baptized us. He was dining at our house. I would have been quite content to sit on Dr. Reid's knee, but his tipping me flat like a baby infuriated me....Dr. Reid hung on to a curl and a button long enough to splash water on my hair ribbon and tell God I was Emily; Father sat at the table with the fat family Bible open at the page on which the names of his seven other children were written. He added ours, Richard and Emily, which as well as being ours were his own name and Mother's. The

> covers of the Bible banged, shutting us all in. The Bible says that I was born on the thirteenth day of December 1871. (*GP* ñBaptismò3)

Baptism is usually considered unpleasant for a child and in this respect Carr is no exception. This passage is, however, very sarcastic, but also humorous and well written, though there is an underlying cynicism directed at religion in general, not just Dr.Reid, and also her father. The godlike omnipotence of her father is strongly felt and the whole event is portrayed as a necessary recording in the ñfat bibleò, into which once added it tightly chains and incarcerates all. These shackles are for a lifetime and there is no escape. The boundaries and limitations in life are in fact these symbolic shackles that Carr strives to be rid of. This is a bondage that is certainly decisive in Carrôs personal development and the handling of her relationship with her father.

Carr seems to have been a favourite with her parents and her close relationship with her father lasted until her early adolescence. She seems to have had a soothing influence on her father that is why her mother and her oldest sister, Dede, would often send her to walk home with her father if he had been irritable. For a few years she obeyed willingly, not realizing why she was sent. But gradually:

> ...I began to think for myself - then I saw that I was being used as a soother for Father's tantrums; like a bone to a dog, I was being flung to quiet Father's temper....I resented this and began to question why Father should act as if he was God. Why should people dance after him and let him think he was? I decided disciplining would be good for Father and I made up my mind to cross his will sometimes....when he saw I was serious his fury rose against me. He turned and was harder on me than on any of the others. His soul was so bitter that he was even sometimes cruel to me. (*GP* ñMotherò7)

The act of turning against the bonds restricting free movement is understandable for a wilful child, but this passage hardly explains the intensity of her later feelings for her father. We cannot even understand how she managed to provoke him to ñfuryò and what that meant exactly. In fact, the trust that had grown up between them was suddenly and violently shattered by an event Emily Carr never mentioned to anyone.

From her letters and late journals the story can be pieced together, though much is left unexplained. And many of the critical works on Carr try to find an explanation, but whether the conclusions drawn are correct or not only Carr could say. Altogether, Richard Carr was a very possessive father, and he was particularly possessive of this daughter. Whatever the explanation, the damage was severe, and Carr shrank from her fatherôs presence, and the love and trust she had felt for him vanished for good. With time what was eventually left was Carrôs harsh critical judgement of her father and this is particularly stressed in her writing. And obviously it is also Carrôs wish to leave these bits of her life ñburiedò and ñsealed within her envelopeò. Rather she seems to want to focus on the contradictory features of her parents, which is already mentioned in *The Book of Small* and now here.

Carrôs mother is mentioned in the *Book of Small* as being the opposite of her father in her features and temperament, where she was small, frail and motherly, her father was big, straight and stern. Her mother is equated with everything that is good, therefore all past experiences related to her memories are wonderful. Though the *Book of Small* makes numerous references to her mother, still there is no separate anecdote dedicated to her memory. Here, however, there is a relatively long chapter on her alone. In the sketch ñMotherò Carr expresses her wish to be excused from walking with her father. Though, her mother is shocked, she voices it in a peculiar way: she takes her daughter on a picnic in Beacon Hill Park. This is a rare treat, because the children almost always had to share their mother among them. They walk through the pasture, through the lily field to the padlocked fence on the edge of their land. There her mother unlocks the gate.

> The binding-chain fell away from the pickets. I stepped with Mother beyond the confines of our very fenced childhood. Pickets and snake fences had always separated us from the tremendous world. Beacon Hill Park was just as it had always been from the beginning of time, not cleared, not trimmed. Mother and I squeezed through a crack in its greenery; bushes whacked against our push. ...we sat down under a mock-orange bush, white with blossom and deliciously sweet. We talked very little as we sat there...I was for once Mother's oldest, youngest, her companion-child. ...while the flowers of the bushes smelled and smelled and sunshine and silence were spread all around, it almost seemed rude to crunch the

> sweet biscuit which was our picnic.... When I had three daisy chains round my neck, when all Mother's seams were stitched, and when the glint of sunshine had gone quiet, then we went again through our gate, locked the world out, and went back to the others. (*GP* ñMotherò8-9)

The passage is one of the very few the author wrote about her mother in such detail. This picnic meant so much to her that it became the final confirmation of her motherôs love for her. Her mother died when Carr was twelve, and they were never again close in quite that way. The meaning of the picnic is also deepened by an unspoken context: the rejection of her father and her adult grief for her mother. Then there is the larger context of her writing, for the chapter gathers into itself images from other passages. Her father is entirely, vividly himself, but he is also fence and padlock. He is also a ñbinding-chainò, social convention and religious authority. Her mother is the lily field, the mock-orange bush, the boy and the white horses, virginity and maternity in one. She is everything that is joyful, spontaneous and creative. Carr is her motherôs companion-child and there is no necessity for words between them, communication and understanding is complete in itself. The picnic is a magical experience shared only by mother and daughter outside in nature ñnot cleared, not trimmedò. This little episode is similar to the anecdote ñWhite Currantsòin the *Book of Small* giving emphasis to a magical moment in her childhood. To what extent these moments are true or coloured by Carrôs imagination is here irrelevant, rather it is the happiness and perfection of a given moment that counts. The self-created image of perfection is just one of the identities of the author, and interestingly, these images of fulfilment are only complete when located outside in pure natural surroundings, within the raw Canadian landscape. Ultimately, this is the scenery that will provide the outlet for Carrôs mature painting.

From childhood Carr was a keen observer of nature and her environment, but the technical excellence of drawing had still to be learnt. As Victoria was a ñsleepy townò in Carrôs time, the only place where she could obtain further art training was abroad. The first time Carr was able to leave home was to study art in San Francisco in 1890. During these years she makes friends, learns to be independent and starts to see her career take shape beneath her hands. After she returned to Victoria she

realized that the kind of work she had brought home was "humdrum and unemotional" and is simply "objects honestly portrayed" (*GP* "Home Again" 73). She had not been able to get beneath the surface and felt like a child just learning to write the letters of the alphabet. What was she looking for? She had enjoyed the freedom of being away from Victoria, but she always returned though she knew the social environment she grew up in. In San Francisco she was taught only the basic technicalities of drawing, which Carr knew was not enough for her. She now knew that she definitely wanted to continue with her studies and preferably in Europe where the art scene was thriving, especially in London or Paris.

When a "real French artist" and his "English artist-wife" (*GP* 76) came to Victoria to paint a few landscapes Carr thought that there would finally be some "art scene" in her town. Instead they "painted a few faraway mountains floating in something hazy that was not Canadian air" and "packed up and went back to the Old World, saying that Canada had no scenery" (*GP* 76). This is one of the many instances where Carr compares the Old and the New World through her use of wry humour, because for her Canada's vastness "took your breath away" (*GP* "Love and Poetry" 81). The imagery of freedom, endless space, rugged and untamed beauty of the Canadian landscape and forests was bred into her bone, it was her essential being. The mysterious and magical beauty of the Canadian landscape attracted Carr like a magnet, and wherever she went abroad this is what she ultimately sought.

As Carr is determined to deepen her knowledge and advance her artistic skills she saved enough money to go and study in London. The second part of the book is entirely dedicated to her five years' stay in England. We get lengthy and descriptive passages about her life in London, her prolonged illness and her time spent sketching and painting in the English countryside. She could not endure to stay in London for long periods of time because the so called "city disease"[11] always overtook her whenever she settled in a metropolis. She tried to overcome this by continually "escaping" from the city and going to parks and nearby forests. The

[11] Carr spent eighteen months in the East Anglia Sanatorium, in Suffolk, from her five year stay in England. In her writing she only refers to this as her "city disease", but whether her illness was due to overwork and/or a mental breakdown or other psychological disorder is uncertain. This is something Carr wished to keep "buried" and though there is an abundance of guessing in the many critical works, the specific cause is not known.

English landscape and natural scenery were not enough for Carr, although she tried to paint with the use of the technical advice given and what she had learnt there. She views everything and everyone through her conscious "Canadian eye" and we are constantly confronted with her comparisons about English and Canadian nature:

> All England's things were tame, self-satisfied, smug and meek - even the deer that came right up to us in the forest, smelled our clothes. There was no turmoil of undergrowth swirling round the boles of the trees. The forest was almost like a garden - no brambles, no thorns, nothing to stumble over, no rotten stumps, no fallen branches, all mellow to look at, melodious to hear, every kind of bird, all singing, no awed hush, no vast echoes, just beautiful, smiling woods, not solemn, solemn, solemn like our forests. This exquisite, enchanting gentleness was perfect for one day, but not for always - we were Canadians. (*GP* "Martyn" 143)

She was able to sum up the essential differences between the English and the Canadian landscape. She also realized that what she particularly missed was the freedom, the vastness and the great spaces of the Canadian landscape. And this is exactly what she wanted to paint: the space, the vastness, the wild and "untrimmed" places, and the "throbbing" colour. The mystery and solemnity of the Canadian forests were for her unique and nowhere else to be found.

After her return to Canada she visited several Native villages in 1907 and this is when she decided to document the vanishing heritage of British Columbia's Native Peoples.[12] As a result of these sketching trips she came to realize that she had learned many things in England, but it was Indian Art that

> broadened my seeing, loosened the formal tightness I had learned in England's schools. Its bigness and stark reality baffled my white man's understanding. I was as Canadian as the Indian but behind me was Old World heredity and ancestry as well as Canadian environment. (*GP* "Vancouver" 211)

[12] For further details and analysis see chapter on *The Unfolding an Artistic Career: Emily Carr's Oeuvre.*

Indians taught her directness and quick, precise decisions, but "who except Canada herself could help comprehend her great woods and spaces? San Francisco had not, London had not" ("Vancouver" 212). The realization that what she sought is to be found right there in the Canadian forests and native villages came slowly and gradually. What she unconsciously searched for was to portray the Canadian landscape, within her own locality, since that was where she had always enjoyed being from her childhood. This is Carr's most decisive feature and identity on being Canadian.

Between 1905 and 1910 Carr visited many remote Indian villages and painted hundreds of watercolours, but she was not satisfied with the results. Why? She had difficulty in translating what she saw and felt with the technical knowledge she had acquired through her earlier studies. She realized that she was still not properly equipped to achieve her goal, so she left for Paris in July 1910. She achieved good results in her painting and was even accepted in the Salon d'Automne, which was still the showplace of "advanced" painting. Her year spent in France is briefly featured in the third part of the book. Though her French work impressed the Canadian critics, the wider public was unable to accept "her new way" of painting, but she was not discouraged. She realized that Canadian "people did not want to see beneath surfaces. The West was ultraconservative" (*GP* "Rejected" 228). The ultraconservative attitude relates not only to Carr's closer environment in Victoria, but on a larger scale Vancouver and the province of British Columbia. But she was in fact happy that she had been to France, because she was now certain that

> More than ever I was convinced that the old way of seeing was inadequate to express this big country of ours, her depth, her height, her unbounded wideness, silences too strong to be broken ï nor could ten million cameras, through their mechanical boxes, ever show real Canada. It had to be sensed, passed through live minds, sensed and loved. (*GP* 228)

This was indeed a decisive moment in her life and if she had continued painting without the financial worries that eventually forced her to shift in another direction and concentrate on making a living, things might have been easier for her. Nevertheless,

the turning point in her life came when she met The Group of Seven in 1927. The years between 1913 and 1927 were considered the darkest in her life based on her writings, especially the *House of All Sorts*. She retreated to her apartment house and virtually accepted defeat. The bitterness of these years is a crucial factor in Carrôs life.

Travelling to the East and seeing The Groupôs works stimulated Carr to start painting seriously again. Lawren Harrisôletters also helped to cheer and encourage her. Harris saw that Carr was intent on visually expressing the Canadian West Coast, her aims equalling that of The Group in the East. Both Carr and The Group strove to fully articulate the Canadian landscape in their painting and to identify with the larger spiritual power of nature. To better achieve her aims he advised her to ñgive up Indian motifs. Perhaps you have become too dependent on them; create forms for yourself, direct from nature.ò (*GP* ñRejectedò 238) She took his advice, and freely experimented with forms, shapes and colours, and her new canvases gradually departed from her earlier works.

Her paintings in the first half of the 1930s no longer show an interest in the heavy infolding sculptural forms of the deep forest and the use of dark solemn colours. Instead she sought the swirling, airy images of loggerôs clearings, forests or the seashore. By the time she painted *Scorned as Timber, Beloved of the Sky* (1935) (see plate 9) her unique style had become attuned to every nuance of expressive feeling. Her brushstrokes are a variety of swirls, flutters, streaks, sweeps, and dabs that respond to the least emotive tremble due to her highly pitched attentiveness. The colours are light and airy, the ground foliage with its heavier tones bounds it to the earth as a substance that is firm and stable. The spindly tree becomes one with the sky and the use of light creates the ñimpression of ecstasy and transcendenceò (ñLandscapeò). Another well known example is her painting *Strait of Juan de Fuca* (1936) (see plate 10), which is full of rhythm and the brushstrokes are light and spare. The light tones of blue, green, orange and white merge into one harmonious vision. They unite everything in one continuous flow of movement. Space merges into the objects lifting them into its own living momentum. These works are open, lyrical, light and sure, which is evidence of the profound resolution achieved by a giant, striving personality.

By the mid 1930s Carrôs and Harrisôstyle began to diverge and the parallels that were till then quite visible disappear. Although Harris shifted from landscape painting to abstraction, his style remained the same. Carr, on the other hand, stayed within landscape painting and achieved a final, radical transformation that sharply distinguished her late work from her earlier work and from that of any other painter.

> I was not ready for abstraction. I clung to earth and her dear shapes, her density, her herbage, her juice. I wanted her volume, and I wanted to hear her throb. (*GP* ñLawren Harrisò260)

Within these paintings Carr had finally achieved what she had been looking for since she met The Group in 1927. Her works abound in spiritual energy, which suggest that she has now found transcendence and peace. ñShe has discovered her own unique language to depict the power and exuberance of the western landscapeò (*GP* ñLandscapeò). The last six sketches in *Growing Pains* present an aged and mature artist, who had achieved to transcend the personal and managed to create an identity on being Canadian. She was now at the height of her career, a successful painter and writer, and one who has been fully accepted and acknowledged. She had given the West an identity in the way The Group formulated theirs in the East. For someone who had come from an ultra English social milieu Carr had established the image, hence identity, of the Canadian artist in the West.

Her dilemma at the very end of her autobiography is her own conflict with her physically aged body and her young and lively soul. She must face reality and accept herself, as she has now been accepted by her public. She appropriately finishes her work with an anecdote on the ñWild Geeseò in which she realizes that she has grown old and reflects whether the wild geese accept old age or not.

> What of the old or maimed goose who could not rise and go with the flock?...When the flock were away, animal-wise he would nibble here and nibble there, quietly accepting. (*GP* ñWild Geeseò281)

Until her illness forced her to stop working she had hardly noticed the passing of time. She was still young at heart, full of life and enthusiasm. She was still full of

ideas she wanted to realize in both writing and also in painting. She even found that old age had õgroundedò her as if she were a õnaughtyò child who had been punished.

> Old age has grounded me too. Am I accepting? God give me the brave unquestioning trust of the wild goose! No, being humans, we need more trust, our hopes are stronger than creaturesô hopes. Walt Whitmanôs words come ringing, - *We but level this lift to pass and continue beyond.* (*GP* 281)

But she does accept the fact that she has grown old, she even seems to be prepared. She has finished a lifeôs work and has entrusted her manuscripts to her dear friend Ira Dilworth. She made her whole life look complete with all the loose ends neatly tucked in. This is the impression *Growing Pains* intends to give her readers. The multiple identities depicted in her writings are her own self created images, the identities she wants us to see, because the õsealed envelopeò containing her õother selfò is hidden within it. Therefore, her life portrayed as the Canadian artist can be fitted into a frame structure making it out to be just as perfect and complete as nature and the animals had been for her.

Chapter 3

Creating Cultural Icons within Canadian Art

Every nation has its own set of heroes and icons that help define its own particular identities. The aim of this chapter is to define the important personalities that enabled Canada to create and invent its own distinctive icons. There is an abundance of heroic personalities and iconic figures, but here the focus will be on the arts and in particular painting. The end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century brought many new changes and perceptions in the artistic world in Canada and these changes ultimately reflected the way these artists began to see their own environment. However, the iconization could only take place in the last few decades of our own time, for Canada, too, had to reach a maturity that allowed for a better understanding and acceptance of these personalities.

The first question that comes to mind is whether Canada has any heroes. One answer is George Woodcock's well known remark:

> Canadians do not like heroes, and so they do not have them. They do not even have great men in the accepted sense of the word. ("Canada's medal quest")

Another interesting comment by Woodcock on this issue is that:

> Heroes impose on others, and Canadians do not like to be imposed on, but they think they are, and hence they are inclined to identify with martyrs, particularly as martyrdom is the kind of fate into which even a moral, rational man can be trapped. (McCaffery, Murray *Editorials*)

This comment was made a few decades ago and since then many changes have occurred within Canada. But the answers are to be located in the past. Canadian history, the fierce climate, a harsh land and the geography, according to Charles Taylor ñfavour the ordinaryò Canadians still respect the ñpioneering virtues which impose restraint and engender mediocrityò (Taylor 289). This notion of mediocrity is also voiced by Robertson Davies, who further adds, that Canadians ñlack a capacity for excellence and achievementò (ñLiterature and Mythsò). How do we create heroes? Revolutions are one particular example, but Canada lacks revolutions and its rebellions have been mainly noted for their ineptitude. The Americans, one the other hand, have an abundance of exemplary figures. Northrop Frye asserts that:

> A culture founded on a revolutionary tradition, like that of the United States, is bound to show very different assumptions and imaginative patterns from those of a culture that rejects or distrusts revolutions. é and has something in common with the Toryism it opposes. (ñLiterature and Mythsò)

The conservatism referred to by Frye suggests that when compared with the literature of the US there is a notable difference in their aesthetic styles. In this sense American fiction is considered to be more optimistic and outgoing, even more populist and likely to contain violence (ñLiterature and Mythsò). According to Claude Bissell, ñthe strong romantic tradition in Canadian literature has much to do with its original conservatismò and Canadian fiction tends to ñfit in more as part of European than American literatureò (ñLiterature and Mythsò). And to further compare American and Canadian writing Margaret Atwood suggests that an appropriate symbol for the United States is ñthe Frontierò meaning ña place that is new, where the old order can be discardedò, while Canada she chooses to symbolize as ñSurvival, hanging on, staying aliveò (ñLiterature and Mythsò). Atwood, therefore, stresses the different attitudes of the two countries in viewing authority. Hence ñrebels and revolutionaries are not heroes in Canadian literatureò (ñLiterature and Mythsò). If they are not heroes then who may be considered as such?

In defining the hero or heroic figure the general idea that emerges is that it is a real individual, who was given the status of hero for its contribution to some great cause or event that has historical significance. When I began browsing on the

internet curious as to what may appear under the heading ñCanadian heroò or ñCanadian iconsò there were several websites that offered ñTop 10ò lists, but these tend to generalize. One of the lists provided under ñCanadian iconsò gave symbolic representations as ñmaple syrup, the Canada Goose, beaver, Tim Hortons, the Loon, totem poles, Mounties, CBC, maple leaf and hockeyò (ñCanadian Iconsò 2). In this sense icons may be a thing that represents an object or a symbolic group, or even an animal. Another website, however, was more specific and listed some well known celebrities as ñTerry Fox, Margaret Atwood, Billy Bishop, Norman Bethune, David Suzuki, Bryan Adams and Wayne Gretzkyò (ñCanadian Iconsò 1). These previously listed names may seem somewhat subjective and may refer to famous and well known celebrities, who may be ñidealized or held in esteem for superior qualities or deeds of any kindò (McCaffery, Murray *Editorials*), but does it make them icons, as well?

There is a general pattern that seems to fit the heroic figures, because as Sherrill Grace has pointed out, these people usually died young and violently, and they mostly lived flamboyantly. Added to this they were written about in biographies, histories, fiction, poetry, plays, sung about or had films made about them (Grace 106). But she quite distinctly distinguishes between the hero and the icon. Being written about may be one step in getting oneôs name listed among the ñgreatest Canadiansò, but according to Grace becoming an icon depends on the ñartists and storytellers who transform them into larger-than-life figures and give their lives a meaning ï for a national story, for an epic event, or for their timesò (Grace 107).

Canadian history has produced its own heroes or heroic figures, though mostly not in their own lifetime. Due to the conservatism and mediocrity which have only begun to wane in the past two or three decades numerous personalities of outstanding quality have been tolerated, but were nonetheless suffocating under the extremely rigid ñgarrison mentalityò that characterized Canadian society. Although these changes are now evident Ronald Sutherland, Canadian literary critic, points out, that ñthese changes are making Canada and its fiction more American in that they involve a greater emphasis on values such as pride in country, self-reliance, self confidence, individualism, independence, and optimismò (ñLiterature and Mythsò). The creation of icons therefore has become relevant in strengthening these virtues and

this is done through the art of biography. Usually the ideal subjects for the ñinventionò of icons are dead, and ñpreferably die youngò(Grace 110). Other determining criteria are that they were mostly outsiders, with their own particular flaws, they were not able to fit the patterns and requirements placed by society, hence they were considered eccentric, weird and even mad. And perhaps the most important feature is the element of mystery in their respective lives.

Since I wish to remain within the sphere of art and specifically that of early twentieth century painting the figures I intend to focus on are Emily Carr, Tom Thomson and The Group of Seven. Why these artists and not others? Firstly, they all fit the above listed pattern and, secondly, they were all responsible for establishing Canada with an identity through their landscape paintings. The Group and Tom Thomson gave a definition of Canada as a northern nation, while Emily Carr established her own trademark of totem poles and forests of British Columbia.

Emily Carr ñ The Iconized Woman and Artist

Emily Carr has become the image of the Female Canadian, whose life was, and to some extent still is, a mystery. The process of ñinventingò her and making her into an icon functions on two levels. First, Carr idealized and invented herself in her own autobiographies (*Klee Wyck, The Book of Small, The House of All Sorts and Growing Pains*), which were published shortly before her death and posthumously. This enabled her to present her life to the public from her own perspective. It also helped to clarify some of the mysteries surrounding her and asking for an understanding from her public. And secondly, to date there have been many works written on and about her life and art: several biographies (some highly autobiographical), art history books, catalogues, major critical studies, at least two volumes of poetry, six plays, documentary films, several childrenôs books, some unusual music, at least two

portraits by other painters (John Boyle and Gordon Rayner), two sculptures by Joe Fafard, numerous tourist trinkets and artifacts, and the Carr house in Victoria (Grace 124). The masses of artistic invention produced certify Carr as a Canadian icon. Interestingly, most of the works that iconize her are by female writers, which as Grace points out ñrepresent a specifically female vision of Canada, of life more generally, and of human creativityò(Grace 124).

The numerous works written on and about her life and art present a very strong-willed woman, who dares to confront her own family and society with her own views and independence. She is willing to go against the unwritten rules of an ideally tightly-knit Victorian society, where a womanôs morale and reputation are considered very important. Interestingly, on the occasions that Carr goes abroad to study art in San Francisco, London and later in France, she gives the impression in her acounts of being alone, whereas in reality she was mostly accompanied by her sister, Alice. On her trips to the various Native villages she is always accompanied by either her sister or someone else and is certainly not as isolated and lonely as she makes herself out to be. But ultimately the woman and artist, whose life is a constant battle for recognition and acceptance, filled with frustration and rejection portrays herself in her books as ñsheò would like to see herself, and gradually acquires her own artistic ñstyleò from the end of the 1920s. Carrôs meeting with The Group of Seven in 1927 has such a stimulating effect on her that she immediately begins to paint again. She now begins to seriously experiment with forms, brush technique, and colours. She continues to correspond regularly with Lawren Harris, who encourages her to leave her native themes and return to nature, the landscape. Carrôs process of mature artistic development may be considered from this time onwards. She finds her source of inspiration within the forests of British Columbia, which becomes her ñfountainò of wisdom. The paintings show Carr experimenting with the breaking down of forms, simplifying, giving certain objects greater focus and there is a tendency toward abstraction and simplification, which may be due to Lawren Harrisôinfluence, though she does not follow his line of artistic development, but returns to her portrayal of the forests and the various visualizations of open expanses of sky.

The source of Carrôs work examined by a contemporary British Columbian poet Kate Braid in her volume of poetry titled *To This Cedar Fountain* (1995), offers a

challenging image of Carr's oeuvre. This book is the author's and a woman's response to Carr's life, painting and writing, which is an attempt to establish and locate the meaning and source or "fountain" of Carr's artistry. The volume is constructed as a form of dialogue, which "takes place on many levels and is replicated visually by the layout of the book" (Grace 125). Throughout the work we can distinguish between a general image of Carr with her comments to which Braid responds, and on the other hand, pages where a Carr painting is reproduced on the left-hand page with Carr's comments and remarks above it, and on the right-hand page we find Braid's poem reflecting on the painting and Carr's comments. Due to the interesting layout of the book the reader is prompted to read back and forth across the pages, while thinking about Carr's comment, viewing the painting and considering Braid's own reflections on the painting. This is what happens when viewing Carr's painting *Cedar* (1942) (see plate 11), which shows a thick and dense forest of pines all very dark, sombre and brooding, without any ray of light and sky. The many shades of dark greens and browns reflecting the dense interior of the forest, which seems to be inviting the viewer to step inside and enjoy the swaying, swirling movement of the trees, the exhilarating and vital energy as Carr says "bursting, rising, passing through the material and going beyond and carrying you with it" (Braid 26). While Braid's reactions to Carr's comments and the painting are:

> This tree is too busy rushing upward
> to put on any bulk.
> It's *down-to-the-core-and-bursting, boys*
> with a *let's-get-on-with-it-quick*
> kind of energy.
>
> It's growing so fast it has
> set up a wind in the forest.
> Other branches rattle with it
> bully boy brash in the forest,
> flinging out bits of itself
> heedless of order, in a fury
> to get on with it.
>
> Grow! Quick!
> It's bursting out all over
>
> green motion

green heat. (27)

The vibrant energy and movement emerging from Carr's work and comments are also present in Braid's responses and her own uses of words "rushing upward", "bursting", "growing", "rattle", "flinging", "motion" and "heat" reflect and further enhance the painter's visionary conceptions.

The two voices of the artist and poet seem to connect across the page presenting to us what each artist sees and feels. Braid's reading of the painting voices thoughts and feelings that Carr may have found "unspeakable" and expresses "longings" (Carr's word) that Carr paints. This after all underlies the function of a dialogue: "it has voices in communion, moving through a process, giving and taking, sharing views, disagreeing, negotiating new perspectives, revealing sudden truths" (Grace 126).

The pages without any paintings by Carr are given over to general comments made by the artist. One of these refers to the woods where Carr reflects on the thrill and enjoyment their presence provides as:

> Those woods é moving, joyous, alive, quivering with light, springing, singing paeans of praise, throbbingly awake. Oh, to be so at one with the whole that it is *you* springing and *you* singing. (Braid 24)

The childishly naïve outburst mirrors the painter's pure and sincere sentiments, using the words "moving, joyous, alive, quivering," "singing" and "springing". The words express physical excitement and impatience at wanting to be given full expression, which are fully visualized in her boldly colourful and impressive paintings. Carr's reflections are then assessed by Braid's own thoughts, feelings and responses on the right-hand page countering and voicing in words the emotions felt and understood by Braid, the poet. Her poetic formulation voices with greater emphasis Carr's visual perceptions in the poem titled *Swaying*:

Nothing is still in her forests

nothing dies

except that it forms the humus

for everything else

that moves breathes sways

trees

rocks

stumps

the wind is elated

to have such glorious

waving company

to honour it. (25)

The formal layout of the poem gives greater stress to the constant "swaying" and movement by the appropriate selection of words as "moves", "breathes", "sways" and "the wind is elated". The words bring to mind the images in Carr's visual works.

Parallel to the natural landscape, Carr's other thematic interest was the documenting of native totem poles and native village scenes, which she began systematically painting from the year 1907 in order to create a series that would help save the vanishing heritage of British Columbia's Native Peoples (Braid *Rebel* 155). Carr held an exhibition of nearly 200 Native paintings, drawings and sketches in Vancouver 1913. To clarify her objective Carr also gave lectures during the exhibition. In terms of public interest and critical response the exhibition may have been considered successful, though Carr was unable to sell her paintings to the provincial government, which inevitably forced her to return to Victoria.

Carr's Indian series from 1912 are characterized by a "painterly Post-Impressionist style" ("Early Totems"), minute details (of landscape, sky, foliage, people, objects, etc.), that bears a striking difference from her early 1930s totemic paintings. With this in mind it is interesting to compare the paintings *Cumshewa* (1912) (see plate 12) and *Big Raven* (1931) (see plate 13), which portray the same

landscape and totemic figure of the raven. *Cumshewa* is lighter in colour (light blues, whites, yellows, reds, and oranges), uses a black outline to give shape and form, and makes use of the watercolour technique Carr had learned in France. Here, Carr concentrates more on documenting the totem, but ultimately ñfailed to capture the power of the poles and the complexity of the carved animal and human formsò (ñEarly Totemsò). Though the watercolours painted after her time in France were better in quality than those done before, still these works were ñflat and static compared to her later canvases. She would wait nearly seventeen years before returning to this subject matter and would then finally possess the confidence, the skill and the intent to create bold, powerful paintingsò (ñEarly Totemsò).

Carrôs breakthrough came when she visited the studio of The Group of Seven in 1927 and was able to sell three of her watercolours to the National Gallery. From the money she received for her paintings she was able to go on an extended sketching trip along the coast of British Columbia. The work Carr produced in this period was ñthe most visibly influenced by external sourcesò From Lawren Harris, Carr borrowed a ñlimited colour range, emphasis on green and blue hues, smooth geometric shapes and the inclusion of light to symbolize a spiritual presenceò (ñModernismò). The totemic paintings done in this period now abandon the motivation for documenting and focus on ñrecording the emotional and mythological content embedded in the totemic carvingsò (ñModernismò). In *Big Raven* we find the identical scene portrayed as in *Cumshewa*, but our responses are ultimately different. *Big Raven* is one of the paintings featuring in Braidôs book, where Carr makes the following comments:

> The great bird is on the post in tangled growth, distant mountain below and a lowering, heavy sky and one pine tree. I want to bring great loneliness to this canvas and a haunting broodiness, quiet and powerful. (78)

Carr is successful in achieving the ñlonelinessò and ñhaunting broodinessò that she speaks of. The painting is certainly darker in its overall tones, which is accentuated by the use of oil paint instead of watercolours as in *Cumshewa.* The canvas ñdepicts sinewy foliage circling the foot of the totemic bird. The sky consists of geometric

shafts that shine down as the great bird stares nobly away from the viewer, accepting its fate" ("Modernism"). The totemic raven seems to grow out of the tangled foliage, striving towards the sky to become one with the above spheres, capturing our attention at the very first glimpse. Braid's response to the painting reflects upon the play of light and colours:

> Light parts in slicks
> of iridescent colour.
> Everything is liquid
> except the cedar bird,
> fruit of the forest
> frozen into another form.
>
> Before, men tried
> to capture light
> honed it, held it down to this
> condensed darkness
> that turns around now
> and tries to fly. (79)

The dialogue created through the particular layout between painter/artist and poet/artist move back and forth stressing and enhancing Carr's comments and painting, giving further emphasis through Braid's poetic interpretations. Braid seems to understand the surge of emotional and spiritual upward movement involved, and this emotional upheaval is outlined through the oppositions "light" and "dark", "liquid" and "frozen", and "capture" and "fly" in her poetic response to *Big Raven*.

Braid fully achieves her task as there is a gradual biographical narrative throughout the volume and the dialogue moves on presenting to us the sensitive female side of the artist. Subtle momentums of Carr's life feature from the beginning to the end of the book, presenting her early disappointment in being merely tolerated, but unable to fit in to her own environment. Then her slow, but growing awareness and acceptance of her eccentricity, loneliness and isolation paralleled with her celebration of nature and art. This is matched with Braid's responses and this element of dialogue and autobiography fuses and interconnects throughout the whole volume, whereby it becomes a fine portrait of Carr allowing us to learn just as much about the poet/creator/biographer as well as about her subject. Emily Carr, the icon,

thereby, emerges as more than just an artist, but rather as a distinct personality, who represents Canada and the Canadian Being on a grand scale.

Tom Thomson ñ interpretations of a mysterious death and the mystified life of an icon

Discovering the hidden meanings and mysteries of oneôs life and death, while providing it with yet another interpretation is what invention entails. And Tom Thomson is an appropriate candidate as Robert Stacey has said, ñHad he not existed, he would have had to be inventedò (Grace 133). And he has been invented from the time of his early and mysterious death to the present. When considering his relatively short life, we ultimately come to realize that we know very little about him. Unlike Carr or The Group of Seven he did not leave any written evidence behind him, we only have his paintings and one relevant self-portrait, a watercolour painted in 1902 (see plate 14). We know for certain the major facts about his life according to which he was born in 1877 into a large middle-class family in Ontario, as the sixth child among ten, and grew up on Rose Hill Farm at Leith, near Owen Sound. He loved the outdoors and fishing, with which he was always associated. The two or three photographs taken of him always show him either in his canoe or fishing outdoors in natural surroundings. On the basis of various sources he did not seem to have had much postsecondary education, and his formal art training seems to be slight, as well. Was he then the romantic embodiment of the ñself-educatedò man? He worked in Seattle for a few years in photo-engraving and commercial design, then moved to Toronto in 1904. From around 1909 he was employed by the firm Grip Limited, where he met the future members of The Group of Seven. According to Charles C. Hill, Thomson may have spent at least one session at the local art school, the Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design, and if so, then probably taking evening classes, since he worked during the day (113). The Grip became a

central place and its environment was to influence Thomson's later work. Arthur Lismer one of the founding members of The Group wrote the following on Grip and Thomson:

> Tom Thomson when I first met him in February 1911 was one of a large staff of young commercial artists at the Grip Ltd., a prosperous and up-to-date engraving house in Toronto. é Thomson had a fine and well proportioned sense of design, and he could letter in good style. Usually he prepared working drawings from sketches for engraversé On the same staff were other artists ï Jim MacDonald, Frank Johnston, Tom McLean, Fred Varley, Frank Carmichael, and myselfé MacDonald was the most important influence on Tom Thomson at this stage. These young artists worked hard all week and sketched on Saturdays and Sundays. On Monday it was MacDonald in his corner seat who gave his opinion on the sketches and offered philosophical encouragement. He was already recognized as a Canadian artist. Thomson in 1911 had not tried his hand at sketching out of doors. Perhaps it was that hitherto he did not feel he could do anything with the medium of oil painting, oré he was not ready to emerge. It was in the summer and fall 1911 that Thomson first emerged as a sketcher. His efforts were primitive. They had a child-like quality, but like a child's work, with good quality and character. It was in the country around Toronto, on the Humber River, in the bush near York Mills and on excursions into the country around Lindsay and Lake Scugog where he and others went fishing that Thomson first painted. (Hill 114-115)

This passage emphasizes that Thomson's artwork prior to 1911 consisted of drawings in ink, watercolour and coloured chalk. And only after 1911 did he begin experimenting with oil paints and sketching outdoors. Another important factor in his artistic development is that he relied on his fellow artists for guidance and instruction, and his profound development occurred within the last five years of his life. In his sketches one is able to follow the season's passing, from the late winter snow to the budding of spring, the skies of summer and the changing of fall leaves from red to yellow to the first snows of winter (Hill 112).

When Thomson unexpectedly died in 1917 he had been a painter for merely five years producing the works for which he became famous as *The Jack Pine* (1916-7) (see plate 15)*, The West Wind* (1917) (see plate 16), and *Northern River* (1914-5)

(see plate 17). These works alone have become Canadian icons. Thomsonôs sudden death and the mysterious circumstances under which he died gave rise to a lot of speculation.

Based on various sources Thomson set out in his canoe on Algonquin Parkôs Canoe Lake on a July day in 1917 apparently to go fishing, but he never returned. His overturned canoe was found the next day and his body a week later floating in shallow water. He had a four-inch bruise on the side of the head and fishing line wound around his one ankle. The official verdict was that he had drowned (Grace 134). Many people rejected this idea simply, because someone who was reputed to be an expert canoeist and fisherman was highly unlikely to die in this manner. Some were certain it was murder, while others suspected suicide. His death became a mystery and enigma that baffles the mind, and eventually led to him being invented and iconized. His fellow painters even erected a cairn in his memory with its description of Thomson as ñArtist, woodsman and guideò whom nature ñtook him to itself at lastò, making the manner of his death altogether vague. And since then many versions of the Tom Thomson story have been created in films, plays, novels, poems, short stories, biographies, exhibitions, paintings and pieces of sculpture by other artists, songs, websites, trinkets, and T-shirts (Grace 136).

From among the countless works and representations of Thomson one may note Joyce Wielandôs 1976 film *The Far Shore*, which according to Grace is ñan allegory of Canada, embodied in the figure of the artist as an anglophone northern landscape painter in love with a francophone musician, é [which] reinforces the iconicity of Thomson as representative of the North, of artistic vision in tune with nature, and of the best possible unified future for the countryò(136). The many varied interpretations of Thomson further enhance the mysterious aspect of his life and the notion of connecting his natural genius with the spiritual forces of nature. Therefore, the works featuring Thomson in the various genres carry this added mystery and allow the readers and viewers to formulate questions.

The *Far Shore* is a film that also encourages us to ask questions. Joyce Wieland (1931-1998)[13] spoke of herself as a "political artist" and her artistic oeuvre certainly testifies this concept. This underlies Wieland's comment that she was setting out to make a political film, embedded in a romance (Sloan 112). At the time of its release the film was assessed quite seriously and received many thoughtful and favourable press reviews, generating ample discussion. However, the film did not become the "box-office" success that had previously been predicted. According to film critiques the film must be considered an experiment.

> From an art-historical point of view what Joyce Wieland did with the landscape genre is radical, original, and experimental in the most profound sense. Through the medium of film and through the narratological and affective drive of the movies, Wieland sets the still landscape in motion. (Sloan 113)

Therefore, the film is in "many ways a culmination of an exploratory and innovative art practice" (Sloan 114). The film, according to Sloan interestingly manages to connect the landscape and melodrama, resulting in a unique format of "melodramatic landscape film" (15).

The film is not about Tom Thomson's life and artistic legacy, rather the "conservative Thomson icon is dislodged, to be replaced by a more open symbol of Canadian cultural identity" (Sloan 5). Because Thomson is such an enigmatic personality, his life and death seem to demand to be retold constantly. Though Thomson died in 1917, and the setting of the film is 1919, Wieland brings the artist back to life in order to die again for a new audience. But as already mentioned, the film is not about Thomson's life, rather he remains a mystery, and the major outline of

[13] Joyce Wieland studied at Central Technical School, Toronto, and in 1960 held her first exhibition of paintings at the Isaacs Gallery, Toronto. There she showed paintings in an abstract expressionist genre as well as drawings and cartoons and later her constructions. From 1962 to 1970 she and her then-husband, artist Michael Snow, lived in New York, where she became an important figure in the experimental film world with such award-winning films as *Rat Life and Diet in North America* (1968) and *La Raison avant la passion* (1967-69). She was also widely known for her feature-length film *The Far Shore* (1976). Wieland's work was exhibited throughout Canada, in the US and in Europe. Passionately concerned with the aesthetic perspective of the woman artist, Wieland drew inspiration from Canadian history, politics and ecology ("Joyce Wieland").

the story concentrates on Eulalie, a Quebecoise, and it is through her consciousness and visual experiences that we see the Tom Thomson character come alive.

The film focuses on three main locations, namely scenes of rural Quebec in the beginning, then the rural milieu of the city, Toronto, with major interiors as Rosedale mansion, Rossôoffice, a restaurant and Tomôs shack. And only towards the end of the film do we see Ontarioôs ñnorth countryò There are only four characters (Tom, Eulalie, Ross and Cluny) featuring in the film, but they all carry within their personalities the usual melodramatic ingredients. Eulalie and Ross are married, though not happily, and the audience is presented with the impression that this is a marriage of business interest. Ross and Cluny are business associates and friends, but we also learn that they had been at war together. With this Wieland makes us aware of the political situation following the First World War on a wider perspective. And finally there is Tom (Thomsonôs fictional name being Tom MacLeod) the artist and painter, with whom Eulalie falls in love. The characters may be further divided as ñgoodòand ñbadò, whereby Ross and Cluny may be considered the ñbad guysòbeing ruthless, intent on exploiting those held to be inferior, but in this respect also the land for a profit, since he wishes to mine silver in the ñnorth countryò Ross as an engineer (being violent and hypocritical) is the exact opposite of Tom (honest and gentle and the ñgood guyò), who represents the artistic side of the modernist imagination. The male characters dominate the film and they are also in charge of the domestic arrangements. The interior domestic space seems to constrain the characters eliciting a melodramatic excess realized in the form of emotional upheaval and the eruption of desire. Interestingly, Eulalie moves within this harsh world of greedy and dishonest men, and Wieland encourages us to see from Eulalieôs perspective. The film displays a wide range of male types and it is within this masculine ñworldòthat Eulalieôs personality gradually achieves coherence. Through Eulalieôs character Wieland introduces a series of political issues as the tensions explicit in the anglophone and francophone relations, feminism and womenôs emancipation, and also the ecological exploitation of the ñnorth countryòduring the 1970s evident in the Creesôfight for the preservation of their land. Accordingly, Wieland also took part in these demonstrations. Eulalie, as a Quebecoise, is virtually a ñstrangerò and ñforeignerò(so called by Ross) in a male dominated world, and as a francophone, and

her sensitivity is further enhanced by the fact that she is a musician, a pianist, whose only emotional outlet is when she is able to play the piano. Therefore, it is Eulalie who features as the central figure with all the others revolving around her. It is therefore inevitable that she falls in love with Tom, who ultimately represents all that is honest, good and natural. Wieland, here also makes use of Tomôs shack, which is based on a historical fact, since Thomson actually lived in such a shack during the winters of 1915-16 and 1916-17, when he was unable to finance the cost of renting a place in the Studio Building and his friends built him this shack beside the studio building, which ultimately became a cult object, to be later bought and relocated by the McMichael Collection and placed in Kleinburg, Ontario. Within the film the shack is the location where a number of short scenes take place, which may be considered relevant for the narratological development of the storyline and we also get a glimpse of Tom working on one of his paintings. Actually, this is one of the rare occasions when we do see him at his work. The shack takes on a quasi symbolical meaning, since it is here that Eulalie comes when she is lonely to talk to Tom, it is also here that she sees him paint, and it is again here that they ultimately fall in love. These are intimate scenes that are in stark opposition with the outside world. The only other occasion that Tom is seen painting is in the ñnorth countryò actually almost eighty minutes into the film when we see Tom for the first time perched on the bank of a lake painting on a small panel. This is again a historical fact that Wieland makes use of since Thomson and The Group of Seven were known for the small sketches they made while moving around in Algonquin Park. This is the only moment in the film when he is seen alone and also painting in the natural environment. And this act of *plein-air* painting in nature is what Thomson and The Group is famous for (Sloan 53).

The first part of the film moves rather slowly, but the pace of the last part, which takes place in the ñnorth countryò suddenly quickens and all the action occurs quickly and somewhat confusingly. All the tension that had been melodramatically kept under control now surfaces and erupts, and all the characters become active. Wieland gives the ñnorth countryò added emphasis in showing how nature acts as a catalyst bringing all the conflicts to the surface, where the characters transform. Here Tom is not a detached observer anymore, but a lover, fugitive and finally murder victim. A very symbolic and certainly decisive moment in the film is when Eulalie fully

clothed dives into the water to swim across the lake to Tom. According to Sloan, with this act "she washes away her old life and claims the landscape for herself" (82). This way Eulalie's attempt to break out of her "gilded cage" is successful, thereby managing to leave one world ("one shore") behind, and she is on her way to another place, the "other shore". Throughout the film Tom is closely associated with the land, while Eulalie is like a "water deity. She is also water-like in its constant movement and shape-shifting" (Sloan 107). Eulalie swimming towards Tom may be viewed symbolically and according to Sloan through this act Tom becomes Eulalie's wilderness and also her inspiration (108). But what does the "far shore" symbolize? Through her actions Eulalie seems to be reaching out for something that is otherwise unattainable such as freedom, fulfillment and happiness. From the moment Eulalie dives into the water with the intention of reaching the "other" shore and through this act, her beloved, Tom, our expectations are triggered hoping for a happy end where the lovers are finally united. Wieland, however, still manages to surprise us and we realize that the "far shore" is perhaps "an imagined landscape, a site of refuge; a place of ecological, aesthetic and sexual bliss" (Sloan 116). We must realize by the end of the film that the natural environment is now much more than merely a beautiful background, since it has acquired a specific function, which

> é achieves a kind of agency and narrative force in relation to the human characters. The vectors of desires and gazes in Wieland's film are complicated by the impact of the natural environment. And the erotic figuration of man/woman does not, in a sense, take place against or even in nature, but rather *with* nature. (Sloan 109)

The lovers are first pursued by Ross and Cluny, then finally murdered, which ultimately hinders them in achieving their goal of reaching a/the "far shore".

The major notion behind the northern myth that it is utterly pure, wild and ultimately empty of animals and human beings is false, still this wilderness imagery has become so embedded in the Canadian imagination, that for a Canadian artist to aesthetically interpret the Canadian landscape it is essential to find a way through this imagery created by Tom Thomson and The Group of Seven. And Wieland's

interpretation allows the introduction of contemporary ideas, political issues and a new perspective of emotionally understanding the landscape. In this way the landscape is brought back to life.

Other interpretations of the Thomson mystery are two novels of date, which may be considered noteworthy, Roy MacGregorís *Canoe Lake* (1980) and *Northern Light* (2010) that try to unravel the mystery behind Thomsonís death. McGregor was born in Huntsville, south of Algonquin Park, and his brother had married Winnifred Trainorís sister. To clarify matters, Winnifred Trainor had been the woman, who may have been pregnant by Thomson and whom he was supposed to marry. Whether this is true or not is difficult to decide, but the novels are regular who-done-its based on Thomsonís life, the people he knew and the places he frequented. McGregor, therefore, is the person, who knows the landscape, the people, the stories and the most intimate rumours. He is the ñinsiderò who may be able to shed light upon the mystery. In the 2002 edition of his novel *Canoe Lake* MacGregor has added an authorís note in which he provides factual evidence given by a woman in her nineties in 1977, who had been at Canoe Lake that spring and summer of 1917. She had been at Mowat Lodge for extended stays with her husband, during which she also befriended Thomson and also the wife of Shannon Fraser, the lodge proprietor. The story she told MacGregor contradicts the contemporary newspaper reports at the time of Thomsonís death saying that ñno foul play is suspectedò (MacGregor 285), because her tale was in fact foul and tragic. The information that MacGregor here gained is embedded in the novel though the work focuses on a woman named Eleanor Philpott, who as she later in life learns was adopted as a newborn baby. The novel takes place in 1961, appropriately just a year before Winnifred Trainorís that is the fictional Miss Janet Taylorís death. With the bits of information she gathers from various people she begins to hunt for her true identity. She goes back to Huntsville, which is fictionalized here as Vernon, to search through the newspaper reports of the time, to talk with still living friends of Thomson, such as Russell Pemberton, and to meet Janet Taylor.

The structural development of the story revolves around Eleanor Philpottís and Russell Pembertonís meetings, which inevitably triggers Pembertonís memories going back to the time of his youth, his futile love for Janet Taylor, and his meeting

and friendship with Thomson. The novel is based on the story MacGregor was told in 1977, but added to this we also get a glimpse of the happenings of that fatal day in July 1917. At the end the novel remains a mystery, and MacGregor admits to having ñno proofò but Eleanor Philpott is able to come to terms with her own identity and psychological persona, though she has no concrete evidence that she is Tom Thomsonôs and Winnifred Trainorôs child.

MacGregor's latest book, *Northern Light* is a biography, mystery, travelogue ï and forensic investigation leading to the positive identification of Thomson's skull, a big deal in the expanding circle of the Thomson-obsessed (Shribman). But foremost it is a novel dedicated to the memory of Winnifred Trainor the woman who had raised questions and suspected foul play. According to MacGregor, she too had been a ñwoman of mystery and mysterious motivesò (Shribman). Winnifred Trainor is believed to be the woman figure featuring in Thomsonôs 1915 painting *Figure of a Lady*. Interestingly, this is not one of his characteristically known works, since the majority of his paintings feature some climatic aspect of nature rather than human beings, but in this instance we have a female figure sitting leisurely on a rock blending very nicely into her natural surroundings, the lake and the encircling mountains in the background. Winnifred Trainorôs personality and role in the mystery evolving around Thomsonôs death has been largely neglected, but MacGregorôs story manages to present a real flesh and blood woman, with depth and emotions. Both novels are a good-read, however Macgregor is not interested in the paintings or Thomsonôs artistic legacy, rather the mystery and fascination surrounding his death. This he does by focusing on the characters surrounding Thomson and their emotional attachment, thereby intent on showing the psychologically humane side of the artist and ultimately his relationship to Winnifred Trainor.

The interest in Tom Thomson is still maintained today and over the years this has been closely linked with the beauty and power of the northern wilderness. This emphasis of nature and spirituality connects him with Carr and also the members of the Group of Seven, especially Lawren Harris. Thomson has ñalso been invented as a natural-born painter, a self-made genius, free of doctrines and schools and the influence of formal trainingò (Grace 142). But it was his rather bizarre death that contributed most to his iconization, because through his death it is possible to mourn

the loss to Canadian art and the dream of the northern wilderness, and this provides us with ample room in which to continue inventing him.

The Group of Seven ñ Identity and Iconization

From Thomsonôs iconic presence the next step is The Group of Seven, whose essential connections with nature and the northern wilderness form an integral part of their whole being. Though Thomson and The Group are closely linked, one may imagine, that had he lived he would have probably been one of the founders, though Housser does state that The Group had no founder, but was a joint idea (146). Still Thomsonôs death had been a devastation and blow to the other painters not only as their friend, but also because he represented that idyllic link with nature and the romantic vision of the self-educated man.

Contrary to Thomson the members of The Group were individually well trained artists, who had studied art and acquired their technique mostly in Europe, more precisely in France, Belgium or Germany, while others studied in the Unites States or in Toronto. One of the significant personalities within The Group is A. Y. Jackson (1882-1974), the only member who comes from Montreal. His art training had begun in Montreal at the Art Association of Montreal under instructor William Brymner (1885-1925), who was one of Canadaôs most respected painters and had trained at the famous Académie Julian in Paris. The Académie Julian was one of the most prestigious art schools in Paris, where many of the well known artists of the day had studied painting technique and theory. Jackson also enrolled in the Académie in 1907 (for six months), but according to Larsen he was somewhat disappointed, because though he learnt technique and theory, still his instructor (Jean-Paul Laurens[14]) had discouraged the students from admiring and imitating the

[14] According to Wayne Larsen, A. Y. Jacksonôs instructor had been Jean-Paul Laurens, but none of my sources mention this. Rather various sources seem to suggest that Jean-Paul Laurens had taught at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris, instead of the Académie Julian. Sources mention that he had two sons, Paul Albert Laurens (1870ï 1934)

Impressionists (17). Jackson spent two years in France, which gave him sufficient time and opportunity to learn about the new modernist art trends occurring at the time[15]. The Académie Julian and the cafés of Paris were lively meeting places for artists of many nationalities among them a group of Hungarian artists, who called themselves The Eight (*Nyolcak*) and officially formed in 1909. Did Jackson ever hear of them or was he acquainted with any one of them? There is no evidence in any of the works to suggest this idea. Still, it is rather intriguing to think that the Hungarian groupôs name may have had any influence in the actual naming of The Group of Seven.

The painting techniques that these artists studied and brought back with them to Canada were considered altogether revolutionary, too vibrant in their use of colours and thick, rapid brushstrokes. Jackson for example was unable to sell any of his French paintings, because the Canadian public was not accustomed to the "new European trends". Most of the artists of the future Group of Seven worked at Grip Ltd. and from work associates developed friendship and a mutual understanding for art. Lawren Harris was an exception since he had an independent income, but he too, had studied in Europe, though not in France but in Germany (from 1904 to 1907). Ultimately, their meeting place came to be the Arts and Letters Club located in an old courtroom behind Torontoôs No. 1 Police Station. This is where they were able to meet regularly and discuss their views on cultural activities, exhibitions, and the arts. The importance of being able to discuss arts and painting with each other and also go on sketching trips together helped to enforce their friendship and encourage one another in their painting. This group-feeling and belonging certainly helped to strengthen their beliefs even when they were sharply criticized in the media. The encouragement and strength, which they gave each other is what Carr lacked in British Columbia and eventually led to her loneliness and isolation, and to put her painting aside for many years.

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and Jean-Pierre Laurens (1875ï 1932), who became painters and teachers at the Académie Julian. Is there a possible mix up of names?

[15] One of the ground-breaking works of the time was Pablo Picassoôs *Les Demoiselles dö Avignon* (1907), which was considered shocking, revolutionary and controversial, and led to wide anger and disagreement, even amongst his closest associates and friends. The work is also viewed as the seminal in the early development of both Cubism and modern art. But the ultimate question of who or what inspired Picasso came to be one of many later debates.

These painters were looking for something new in their portrayal of Canada and they came to realize that

> The North, like the West, creates types. It is an indication of ourselves! The North, like the West, to be expressed in paint demands the adapting of new methods. (Housser 14)

And their realization was that "the new art, method and all, can only occur through the love of the landscape, soil and air" (Housser 17). An important momentum that gave them the conviction to continue was when MacDonald and Harris went to a Scandinavian exhibition of Northern landscapes in Buffalo (New York) in 1913. This was a rewarding experience since they saw in the northern subjects (wilderness landscapes, winter and the snow itself) a reflection of their own yearning to celebrate what was dear to them about their land. The official formation of The Group in 1920 further strengthened their beliefs and gradually won the acceptance of the critics and the public by the early 1930s. The Group's formal manifesto formulated in F. B. Housser's book, *A Canadian Art Movement* (1926), was an essential step in inventing The Group and making them icons, though not individually, but as a group. Together they established a new approach to landscape painting, which came to be linked with the myth of the North. The romantic mythologizing of the Canadian wilderness branded their work like no other artists before them. Therefore, like Carr in her writing, The Group created their own myth and aided by Housser's book established an identity of the Canadian Being.

Emily Carr, Tom Thomson and The Group of Seven have become icons, who were invented by themselves and later by countless other artists, but the spirit they created lingers on, which is perhaps best formulated by Housser:

> é in these Northern Ontario canvases is a spirit which as time advances will be capitalized in literature and more recognizable in the race than it is at present. While these pictures live we can never forget our cradle-environment. The work of the pioneer and the explorer and the tenacious love of the red Indian for the land of his ancestors will be better understood and the spirit of still unwritten epics will be preserved for us on canvasé .They have lit a fuse along which the spark will travel to the creative repository of the nation's life. Their movement is to-day about the only activity

> in Canada providing encouragement to those who desire to see our people liberated from the hypnotic trance of a purely industrial and commercial ideal. (156)

The significance of what these artists created is the foundation of a nationôs identity, to which many other artists were and are able to add their own particular voices and interpretations of the Canadian Being. Through their works the Canadian landscape, whether it is the Northern regions of Algoma or the forests of British Columbia, has acquired an iconic meaning that cannot be denied and the artists, themselves, have achieved an iconic status in this long process.

Chapter 4

The Image-makers of the Stereotypical Indian in Native Canadian Culture

The Aboriginal Peoples living on the North American continent is a fact that cannot be overlooked though this verifiable truth has issued numerous discussions relating to their presence and absence during the past centuries.

The First Peoples are the earliest known inhabitants of the North American continent. Numerous archaeological findings testify that people had been living in the Canadian East Coast region as far back as ten thousand years ago. However, it is believed that these peoples arrived thirty thousand years ago over the Bering Land Bridge between Siberia and Alaska. The First Nations and the Inuit were the first group of Aboriginal Peoples. The First Nations settled in all areas of Canada, specifically the coastal areas where they hunted and fished, while those who lived on the prairies followed the buffalo herds, which they hunted for food, clothing and tools. The peoples living in Central and Eastern Canada hunted and grew vegetable crops. The Inuit, however, settled in the Northern regions of Canada adjusting to the extremely harsh climactic conditions, hunting seals, whales, caribou and polar bears. By the time of European contact these peoples had formed into distinct nations (ñAboriginalsò).

The terminology used is First Peoples and First Nations with reference to the Indigenous Peoples of Canada. The terms First Peoples and Aboriginals are comprehensive as they include the Inuit, Métis and the First Nations. The latter term, however, is limited to the Indigenous Peoples of North America in Canada and their descendants, excluding the Inuit and the Métis (Berry "What's in a name?"). Today,

in order to clarify matters members of First Nations tend to refer to themselves by their group or national identity. They refer to themselves as a Mohawk, Ojibwe, Haida or Cree by identifying with a specific national label that places greater emphasis on their national belonging.

The question that inevitably arises when considering origin, time span and terminology is the notion of who the Indians are. When European discoverers as John Cabot and Christopher Columbus, among others, arrived in the Americas over five hundred years ago, he thought he had reached the East Indies.[16] Therefore, the people he met with there he called Indians. This was certainly a mistake created by White Man, but there are certain notions that try to clarify this. The oldest still surviving terrestrial globe by Martin Behaim marks the entire South Asian subcontinent as India. And added to this when Columbus embarked on his voyage he was given a letter of reference in Latin by the Spanish monarchs that he was sent *ab partes Indie* (ñtoward the regions of Indiaò). Believing that he had actually reached the Indian Ocean he naturally called the inhabitants there Indians (Berry ñWhat's in a Name?ò). Though Columbusôs mistake was recognized, still the name has become a label that collectively called the Native Peoples of the Americas as Indians. This, therefore, was a mistake created by White Man that was given further emphasis in place naming. In reality Columbus met a large number of different and distinct indigenous cultures, but no Indians. And even later on

> As European colonists began to move into the Americas in the 17th and 18th centuries, and have more sustained contact with the resident peoples, it became clear that the residents were not a homogenous group sharing a unified culture and government, but discrete societies with their own distinct languages and social systems. Early historical accounts show that some colonists attempted to learn and record the autonyms of these individual groups, but the use of the general term "Indian" persisted. (Berry ñWhat's in a name?ò)

The fact that the Indian is the invention of the European is also voiced by Robert

[16] An appropriate example is the naming of the islands of the Caribbean as the West Indies (Berry).

Berkhofer Jr. in his work, *The White Man's Indian*:

> Since the original inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere neither called themselves by a single term nor understood themselves as a collectivity the idea and the image of the Indian must be a White conception. Native Americans were and are real, but the Indian was a White invention… (3)

The Indian, therefore, began as White Man's mistake and eventually resulted in becoming a White Man's fantasy. They became Indians, in other words anything that non-Natives wanted them to be.

Through the concept of the imaginary Indian, the intention is to portray the image of the Indian, the stereotypes that gradually evolved since the discovery of the North American continent. How did White Man or the colonizer view and consider the Indian? How did the white communities approach them or treat them? And above all what image of the Indian did the white colonizer portray in their writings and paintings?

From their first encounter Europeans viewed the Aboriginal Peoples through a screen of their own prejudices and preconceptions. The cause is mainly the wide gulf separating the two cultures in its traditional, social and religious conceptions. Thereby, Europeans have tended to imagine the Indian rather than to know the Native People. White Man projected unto the Natives all the fears and hopes they had for the New World, which meant that if America was viewed as a Garden of Eden, then Indians were seen as blessed innocents, as children of Nature. If, however, America was seen as an alien place, then Indians were considered frightful and bloodthirsty savages. The numerous written accounts by the English discoverers[17] dating from the last quarter of the 16th century describing the inhabitants of the continent mostly depended on the preconceived prejudices of the

[17] The fifteenth and sixteenth century is generally seen as a period of massive geographical explorations by the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French and the English. There are many written accounts and illustrations of the Native inhabitants (their features, clothing, eating habits, manner of living, etc.) of South and Central America as well as North America, but here, within this work, I wish to restrict myself to examining specifically the North American Indian and the accounts written by English explorers and colonizers.

writer. Richard Hakluyt the Younger published his greatest collection, *The Principal Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598-1600), containing acutely opposing descriptions of the inhabitants of the New World (Berkhofer 16). What these narrations in effect stressed was the fact that the natives were readily available for English exploitation and colonization.

Late sixteenth century England was well acquainted with these early projections of the Indian, which were linked with the collective terms heathen, barbarian, savage, and pagan, showing the symbolic attributes assigned to the various continents. Based on this notion the European continent was portrayed as an intellectual, cultural, military and political superiority, often pictured wearing a crown, and armed with guns, surrounded by books, scientific devices and Christian symbols. Asia was depicted as being richly dressed, but without any superior signs of books, learning or religion. America and Africa were illustrated as being naked, the former usually wearing a feathered headdress and carrying a bow and arrow (Berkhofer 24). In short, Europe represented power, civilization and Christianity confronting nature and pagan religion in America and Canada.

The tendency for Europeans to associate nationalities with uniform moral and intellectual traits was by all means an accepted phenomenon, which would suggest that stereotyping newly met peoples would be a natural reaction as such. The playwrights of Elizabethan and Jacobean England based their enigmatic ñforeignò characters on these well accepted preconceptions. Some of the most famous literary stereotypes certainly originate from Shakespeareôs own plays, as his Caliban, Shylock, Othello, and also his Turks, Italians and others, who had to be presented as fully recognizable nationalities to his audiences. The stereotypical Indian is brought to life in Shakespeareôs play *The Tempest* (1610), where Prospero, the great White magician, settler and colonizer, is willing to educate and treat Caliban[18], the colonized inhabitant of the island, as a member of his family until Caliban misuses Prosperoôs hospitality through his act of attempting to rape Miranda, Prosperoôs daughter. Shakespeareôs portrayal presents a frightening savage with all the typical

[18] Derived from the word ôcannibalò with an obvious reference to the Indian being not only bloodthirsty and savage, but also a cannibal (eater of human flesh), encompassing all its cannibalistic features.

characteristics featured in the earliest written accounts. However, the figure the playwright creates is extremely childish in its behaviour (hence ñnatureøs innocent childò), who as a result must be treated harshly in order to ñreformò and educate him. Since this is a romantic comedy the Native of the island must be presented as a grotesque savage[19], who is simultaneously childishly naive and easily ridiculed by the intellectually superior white colonizer. His response to Prospero is aggression, anger and hatred, and a constant reminder to the audience that in time he will revenge himself on Prospero, but White Man is always one step ahead. Caliban, however, is afraid of Prospero, the great magician, and has no power whatsoever to combat his enemy. The image displayed is a very realistic perception of the Indian in early seventeenth century England, which the playwright would have most notably based on various contemporary sources (diaries, travelogues, or anecdotes).

With the passing of time Native and colonist had more and more to do with each other, this being a gradual and unavoidable process in the development of the colonization of North America. European-North Americans, however, continued to perceive Indians in terms of their own changing values. With the spreading of white settlements from the earliest coastal areas to the inner and northern regions the conflicts gradually increased. Closer contact with the Natives revealed basic differences between the idealized vision of the Noble Savage and the reality of Native culture. The Indians were to begin with an essential means of survival for the white settlers and later important allies in the wars the colonial powers waged against each other. And as long as they were ñusefulò they were regarded positively. However, when the wars came to an end the White settlers no longer needed military allies. Here one must distinguish between the American colonies and that of the formation of the Canadian provinces as there is a gap of over half a century between the two nations in terms of creating durable political institutions and a unified nation. It also follows that the overall handling of the Indian question was dealt with differently. But in each case once there is no further need for the ñservicesò of the Indian, the Native becomes marginal to these new issues as Whites invent a new

[19] The savage appearance is highlighted by his deformed physical body, which reflects upon the medieval notion that physical deformity carries with it an evil mind.

identity for themselves as Americans and as Canadians. The Indian is an integral part within the process of this self-identification, and thereby becomes the image of the *Other*.

But this image forms a separate entity and is closely linked with the idealized vision of the Noble Savage. The development of the cult of the Noble Savage was influenced by a primitivist tradition, which in effect dreams of a paradise on earth. This vision of the myth of the Golden Age is a perception the Renaissance explorers had when they encountered native peoples. The primitivist concept assumes native peoples living in harmony in nature and existing free of the burdens placed by European civilization. As the geographical explorations ventured further in the Western hemisphere so too did more information reach the European nations and Native Americans ñentered the literary and imaginative works of European writers, particularly the French" (Berkhofer 73). This was a vital step in the development of the Noble Savage tradition and as Berkhofer states:

> [The] American Indian became part of the bon sauvage or Noble Savage tradition so long an accompaniment of the Golden Age or paradisiacal mythology of Western civilization. First the natives discovered and conquered by the Spanish and then those invaded by the French and English joined the *bon éthiopien, bon oriental*, and *bon nl'gre* as a convention for enunciating the hopes and desires of European authors or for criticizing the institutions and customs of their own society, or in providing new imagery for the intellectual, literary and artistic styles of the day. (74)

The image of the Noble Savage was used as a critique on European society and culture and according to Berkhofer the major foundations were laid between the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth century (75). Most scholars ñcredit Montaigneôs synthesis of French and Spanish accounts of Mexican and South American Indians with French scepticism and humanism as the first full-length portrait of the Noble Savage as critic of contemporary European civilization and model of what men ought to, and could, beò (75). The tradition was continued in the eighteenth century by Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau and other well known philosophers, who made use of the Noble Savage and the American Indian in their critical moral and political essays.

Interestingly, in England Hobbes and Locke had made use of the Indian already in the seventeenth century as ñexample for the conception of the state of natureò (75), but it was never as popular as it had been in France. Berkhofer associates this with the fact that the revolution in France had occurred a century before and in England the ñrational savage merged with or was succeeded by the sentimental savage as a precursor of Romanticismò (76). Certainly, English Romanticism considered the cult of the Noble Savage as one of its major elements that voiced the rugged beauty and harmony of nature, the notion of reaching the transcendental state of perfection and being one with nature. The great Romantic poets (Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats) of the early nineteenth century offer a multitude of examples within their poetry for the ñspontaneous overflow of powerful feelingsòinduced by the presence of nature.

On the North American continent the ideological conception of the Noble Savage was used only during the Revolutionary era in the English colonies (Berkhofer 76), perhaps to strengthen and boost the united emotional moral in their war against the Monarchy. The situation in Canada is, however, different since no revolution took place against the Mother country, rather a gradual appropriation of native lands and systematic disruption of a native culture. But by the early and mid nineteenth century the fact of the Indian was merely an image since the general public was not in touch with the Native anymore as they were placed in reservations and pushed further north and west discreetly far away from white settlements. It was, therefore, the task of the ñImage-makersò, a handful of writers, painters, photographers and missionaries, who made the arduous journey into Indian country. Through their works (diaries, essays, drawings, and paintings) the Canadian public was able to acquire an impression of who the Indian was and their lives.

The Image-makers were largely responsible for creating the ñimaginary Indianò, which Whites have believed in ever since. Perhaps some of the most notable figures are Benjamin West, Paul Kane, Emily Carr, Edmund Morris as artists and among the missionaries one may mention John Maclean, John McDougall and Egerton Ryerson Young. They all set out on a long journey in order to discover native culture and bring back their works to be exhibited and published for a public interested in the Indian.

From among the above mentioned artists Benjamin West was the only American, who also painted Canadian themes. One of the most famous historical paintings done by West is the *Death of General Wolfe* (1771) (see plate 18), which became one of the most enduring images of the British Empire. His success even earned him the appointment of being named the official court painter of the king. The work is still considered an accurate representation of the past, but as a historical document it is largely a work of fiction. The painting depicts a battlefield with an obvious battle going on in the background, while in the foreground a highly tragic event is taking place. At its centre focus we find General Wolfe lying on the ground obviously wounded and dying. He is surrounded by his loyal officers on both sides and we find in full view on the left side a Mohawk warrior squatting and posed as a muscular sage. The figures in the foreground are drawn with minute precision, every detail clearly outlined, while the background figures tend to melt into one hazy mass, even the sky being darker suggesting an ominous ending. The painting is emotionally charged, all eyes focusing on General Wolfe, who is about to die or has just died. This utterly sentimental depiction of an historical event brought Benjamin West his greatest success overseas before a public whose only interest lay in a romantic setting and a glorified death.

In examining the exact historical facts it turns out that Wolfe did not die on the battlefield at all, and only one of the men present in the painting was actually there when he died. The other officers who were in attendance apparently refused to be included in the painting, because they disliked the General so much (Francis *II* 13). But perhaps the most interesting feature of the work is the figure of the Mohawk warrior. According to historical sources the General despised the Native People therefore none would have been present at his death. Then why did West include the Indian in the painting? Factual truth does not seem to have bothered the artist, and as he was an ardent admirer of the Noble Savage cult he included the contemplative Indian mourning the death of his beloved commander. The muscular image, naked torso, and reflective pose do not really fit into the thematic setting, but nevertheless emphasizes the symbolic meaning of the Noble Savage as a ñnatural virtue of the New Worldò(Francis *II* 13).

Whatever the circumstances behind the making of the painting, West achieved

enormous success and popularity, which continues far into the twentieth century. The work has been reproduced in countless schoolbooks as an authentic historical view of a battlefield. Interestingly, no one doubted the authenticity of the painting then or even now. And perhaps authenticity was not of importance, but rather the image it conveyed. Even in the nineteenth century Indians existed only as images like that of the Mohawk warrior in the painting. This is the ñimaginary Indianò that the public came to know and recognize and this is what the artists intended to present to them. In this sense these artists were working to satisfy the requirements of the public.

By the mid nineteenth century the Native population was rapidly decreasing in number due to the effects of disease, alcoholism, starvation and deprivation. Their extinction was in fact already foreseen therefore making a systematic record of the ñNoble Savageò in his natural setting seemed an important task for the future generations. The first artist in Canada to embark on such a mission was Paul Kane[20], an Anglo-American society portrait painter, who set out in 1845 to journey to Indian country. His personal aim as he wrote in his *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America* (1859)*:*

> The principal object of my undertaking was to sketch pictures of the principal chiefs and their original costumes, to illustrate their manners and customs, and to represent the scenery of an almost unknown country. (Francis *II* 17)

His intention was to complete a series of one hundred large canvases portraying the Northwest frontier from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Coast (Francis *II* 20). Within his works we find not only portraits of chiefs usually depicted in their traditional and ceremonial dress, with strong and ruthless facial features presenting the image of the bloodthirsty and savage Indian, but also landscapes illustrating native dwellings or hunting scenes. Kane was a documentary artist and according to Daniel Francis:

> [Kane] worked within certain conventions and manipulated

[20] Anna Jakabfi discusses Paul Kaneôs endeavours to record the noble savage before he becomes extinct and his tendency to romanticize his subjects in his paintings of the Native Peoples and also the fact that he was a ómereôdocumentary artist merely wishing to make ñmementosòand a personal profit from his travels (ñThe Oldest Immigrantsò31).

> his images to suit the demands of these conventions. Though he was praised for his accuracy, he often added details of setting and landscape to highlight the romantic flavour of the scenes, and he sometimes *cheated* by adding clothing and artifacts foreign to the Indians in the paintings. (*II* 21)

Kaneøs rendering of nineteenth century Indian life made him a pre-eminent artistic interpreter of the Indian. Even today many history books featuring the nineteenth century Indian will have one of Kaneøs paintings included. Although his canvases conveyed power and beauty Kane did not ñhave a realistic sense of the Native cultures he visited. He was essentially a tourist among the Indians. He spoke no Native languages; he had a superficial understanding of Native customsò (Francis *II* 21). Altogether, his expedition had aimed at ensuring his own artistic success while being less concerned with the actual plight of the Canadian Native population.

Roughly fifty years after Kaneøs endeavours Edmund Morris was commissioned by the Ontario government to accompany a party that travelled through Northern Ontario between 1907 and 1909. He held an exhibition in 1909 at the Canadian Art Club in Toronto where fifty-five portraits were displayed together with native artefacts, headdresses, and clothing. He, too, earned a great deal of attention and praise from the press and the public (Francis *II* 27). Compared to Kane, Morris not only made sketches and paintings, but immersed himself in the history of the Plains tribes, his research being in depth rather than superficial. His intention was to preserve a record of the individual Indians, but contrary to Kane, he did not believe that the Indians were disappearing from the West. His diaries from these western trips[21] seem to reveal a man who had a genuine admiration for the Plains Indians (Francis *II* 29).

While Edmund Morris was making a record of the chiefs of the Plains Indians, Emily Carr was attempting to complete a similar venture on the coast of British Columbia. Like the artists before her she too embarked on a quest to visit the villages along the coast. Unlike Kane, Carr is no documentary artist, though she does endeavour to give a visual record of Indian life. She decided to make a record of the

[21] The diaries were published as *The Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris: Western Journeys 1907-10* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1985).

West Coast totem poles when she visited the Native settlement of Sitka with her sister in 1907. Here they visited the famous Totem Walk, an assortment of totem poles created specifically as a tourist attraction. Carr did not have much personal contact with the Natives in Victoria, but she has always had an understanding for them. As a misanthrope, herself, she idealized the Indian for their freedom and not being burdened by the restrictions and unwritten rules of society. Perhaps unknowingly she was attracted to the idea of the Noble Savage and the notion of the Imaginary Indian. She certainly believed, like Kane, that the Native People and their culture were condemned to vanish. She exhibited her Native works in Vancouver in 1913 with almost two hundred canvases (oils, watercolours and sketches) and gave lectures in order to clarify and highlight the event. In one of these lectures she clearly sees herself as the saviour of Indian culture:

> I glory in our wonderful West and I hope to leave behind me some of the relics of its first primitive greatnessé Only a few more years and they will be gone forever, into silent nothingness, and I would gather my collections together before they are forever past. (Francis *II* 31)

Her reference to ñtheyò is somewhat ambiguous as it is not obvious whether she is referring to the cultural artefacts, as the totem poles, or to the Native Indian in general. Nevertheless, she genuinely understands and feels the plight of the Native people, unlike Kane, whose superficial interest was merely to record and simultaneously maintain a distance. On her excursions to the various native villages Carr wanted to see and experience how the Natives lived and she also had a longstanding friendship with Sophie Frank, a First Nations woman living on the Squamish reserve. In fact, one of the chapters of *Klee Wyck* titled ñSophieò is dedicated to her memory. Though Carr feels for and understands the natives, she also idealizes the Indian for what it ultimately symbolizes. Carrôs conceptual relation with the Native theme is further elaborated with reference to her painting and writing in the following subchapter titled *Carrôs Indian Ouvre.*

The image-makers referred to above were just some of the most notable, but there were many others who followed in their footsteps. However, they agreed on one fact namely that the Indian was disappearing, and through this they were in

effect writing off the Indian. This was naturally the easiest course to follow, but in effect the Native was faced with the sad reality of extinction or acculturation. The process of acculturation is slow and gradual and entails falling in line with the restrictions and rules placed by White society. This meant giving up everything that defined them as a People. First and foremost they had to learn the English language, which was easier for the young children who were placed in residential schools taught by missionaries, but difficult for the grown ups and there are ample instances for their inadequate knowledge of English in Carrôs *Klee Wyck*, where we find many funny and/or ironical situations for misunderstandings due to their broken English. The other very important issue in their lives is their whole religious belief system, which was actually forbidden on many reservations. Religion is also a vital entity that determines a culture and Native culture has many superstitions connected with the supernatural world (earth, water, sky, nature and animals), and ceremonies at certain times of the year that specify their entire world view. In taking away their language and religion an entire culture is disrupted and destroyed. But their process of acculturation went even further where their family relationships, that is polygamy, was forbidden. They had to change their personal appearance (hair, manner of dress, etc.) and table manners. The smallest details of everyday life had to be transformed completely and without reversal. Only through this total transformation was the Indian given a chance to survive, if not, they were doomed to extinction.

In actual fact, the demographical data also showed that the number of the Native population was drastically falling. According to statistical data, in 1881 there were 108 500 registered Indians living in Canada, by 1915 their number had decreased to 103 750. Causes were disease, alcohol abuse and social dislocation (Francis *II* 53). This would most probably be an approximate figure since not all Natives were registered Indians. One of the most serious causes of deaths according to Francis was tuberculosis, but the influenza epidemic at the end of World War I also caused 3,700 lives within the native population (*II* 53). This also shows that the Indian was in fact vanishing but it was taking longer than many had predicted. The entire image of the vanishing Indian was in actual fact too convenient for many to give up, because the Indian meant doomed. But what has happened to this image?

The image has in fact died out. How was this possible after all the disastrous

causes affecting their lives? According to Francis before World War II the most important thing concerning Indians was that they were doomed (*I*/ 57). Then again reverting to demographical data their numbers began to grow and they began to assert themselves politically more and more strongly.

> Far from being a vanishing people, Native Canadians seemed to be increasingly alive and kicking, determined to speak for themselves, and to be heard. It was hard to characterize them as passive, doomed people when they were in the headlines and in the courts. Despite a century of being told about their own disappearance, Indians were here to stay. (Francis *I*/ 58)

Naturally Canadians did not expect the Indians to adapt to the modern world, because they were considered simply strangers to modern progress. The Indian was an idea or concept of the past tied to the traditional mode, if they assimilate and change they will therefore become less Indian. And the Imaginary Indian created by White Man cannot become modern. Therefore, in view of the entire concept of the Imaginary Indian it is best summed up by Daniel Francis:

> Canadians prided themselves on the fact that they, unlike their American neighbours, did not believe that ñthe only good Indian was a dead Indian.ò But in practice this is exactly what they did believe. True enough, Canadians did not engage in the outright extermination of their Native population. However, they wholeheartedly endorsed the assimilation of the Indian, which in the long run meant the same thing, an end to an identifiable Indian people. In this view of the world, the only good Indians were traditional Indians, who existed only in the past, and assimilated Indians, who were not Indians at all. Any other Indian had vanished. (*I*/ 60)

What is the difference between reality and fantasy? And to what extent do the stereotypical images of the Indian still function? In view of the development that occurred in the past hundred years it is obvious that Natives refused to live within the stereotypes and were not willing to disappear or even become extinct. The politically correct terms used nowadays do obliterate the term Indian from the English

language, but not from other languages. In Hungarian, Spanish or even German the word Indian is still used and the stereotypical images of *feathers, tomahawk, scalp, savage, moccasins, bow and arrow,* etc. are still there in our imagination. These stereotypical notions are further emphasized and strengthened by the movie industry through the great westerns, that projected preconceived and idealized visions of the Indian. The past and the present have nevertheless created a distance in this long historical process, and this existing gap, has become the distance between fantasy and reality, which is ultimately the distance between Indian and Native.

The Unfolding of an Artistic Career: Emily Carrös Oeuvre

In the past decades numerous Canadian writers among them, Doris Shadbolt, Maria Tippett, Paula Blanchard, Gerta Moray and Kate Braid, just to mention perhaps the most significant ones, have given Carr's life and work a new understanding. Doris Shadbolt's *The Art of Emily Carr* (1979) and her recent work *Seven Journeys* (2002), Maria Tippett's *Emily Carr: A Biography* (1979), Paula Blanchard's *The Life of Emily Carr* (1987), Gerta Morayös *Unsettling Encounters* (2006) and Kate Braidös *Emily Carr: Rebel Artist* (2000) and her volume of poetry *To This Cedar Fountain* (1995) all concentrate on Carr's career both as a writer and a painter. These works are all intent on exploring her inner, subjective experiences. They try to unravel and understand the rich complexities and contradictions that make Emily Carr into what she is.

What is the truth about Emily Carr? Was she really a mystic and a hard-headed ambitious professional?! She seems to have been both at once and much more. According to an article Emily Carr was just ña lonely, disagreeable, paranoid, and egocentric soul who somehow seems all the more remarkable for the fact that her work did not show itò(Collins 30-31).

Still, the many-sidedness of her character and the fierce energy that helped her shake off discouragement, and even despair, formed her into a unique personality. ñShe would not be what ótheyô wanted her to be, and it was partly to spite óthemô that she became what she wasò (Moray *PW*).

Carr grew up in a society that was full of ósham.ô She found it everywhere, in English manners, formal religion and often in the close relations of her friends. She fought pretence passionately all through her life. The óultra-Englishnessô that she hated and clearly obstructed her psychological and artistic development is defined by Blanchard as:

> ...to carry the garrison mentality to its most ludicrous extreme. It was to cling obsessively to the safety of an obsolete tradition and to try to force everyone else to cling to it as well . ...The powerful ultra-English adults of her childhood were collectively Emily Carr's bête noire, and they had a strong negative shaping influence on her personality, accounting for much of her permanently embattled stance. (Blanchard 48)

In writing her short stories and ñsketchesò she seemed to be able to hurt certain family interests, and cause friction between her sisters. Whether this was done consciously or not is difficult to tell. Still, the books are a way of putting to rest old guilts and airing old grievances. The events portrayed in her writing are seen through Carr's eyes and what we see is what she wishes us to see. In this respect some aspects of her life, such as her relationship with her father, remain a closed book for the outsider. Though, some scholars seem to suggest that her discord with her father in her early teens may have been the result of her eventually not marrying at all (Laurence 7). Whatever this conflict with her father had been certainly left her embittered towards her father for the rest of her life.

Carr's writings seem to be her ñresolution of the problem of a personal mythò (Blanchard 10). Quite often the books are concerned more with emotional than with factual truths. For example, she often exaggerates her isolation on her trips north; she consistently portrayed herself as younger than she was; and she made herself more sinned-against by her tenants than she actually was. The language and style is characterized by simplicity, directness and sincerity, and as Ira Dilworth writes:

> Words are used by her with great courage, sometimes taking on new and vivid meanings. They are in her writing the equivalent of the quick, sure brush strokes and dramatic, strong colours which are so characteristic of her canvases. (Dilworth, *KW* "Foreword")

Her prose style has much in common with poetry. Certain sketches in *Klee Wyck* as "Canoe", "Sophie", "D'Sonoqua" and "Century Time" are able to "transcend the usual limits of prose and become (but without aesthetic offence) lyrical" (Dilworth, *KW,* "Foreword"). This is well illustrated by her use of metaphorical language, and the cadence of her writing. Through her prose she is capable of expressing, and putting into words emotions she is otherwise unable to illustrate visually on her canvases. Her painting and writing in this sense complement each other and are there to fill in those gaps that Emily Carr required to express her own creative imagination. To give expression to her creative genius she had to be peculiar and out of the ordinary.

Emily Carr needed to be different than the rest, to feel rejected by society and only this way could she build an idea of herself and ultimately through this idea achieve what she did. It was her reinforced sense of alienation which helped her preserve her creativity. Besides being a creative and talented writer she was a remarkable painter[22] as well, who managed to destroy some of the traditional notions about female artists. First, she was not the English "lady" she was brought up to be, like her sisters, Dede, Lizzie or Alice; secondly, she did not, always, stay in her home town, Victoria, but moved about and educated herself abroad (San Francisco, England and France). She did not paint portraits or domestic scenes, but landscapes and native themes, which made her an altogether rare female painter. And it was eventually the landscape theme (namely the huge forests of British Columbia) in which she would find fulfilment, recognition and fame. The reason she was different is due to the fact that as a landscapist she identified herself with that larger, impersonal universe, which till then had been exclusively the field of the "free-roaming" male. Also her colours are strong, her style deeply sculptural, bold and sweeping. No wonder she was praised for painting with the strength of a man.

[22] In my opinion she was foremost a painter and only secondly a writer though she seemed to have instant success with her writing in the early 1940s. But by the time her writing was in fact published she was an established painter.

The years she spent abroad were in no way as influential on her painting as one would think. San Francisco from 1890-1893 had only been her first step in beginning to see her career take solid form. The time she spent in England (1899-1905) and France (1910-1911) had more impact on developing her own technique. She had quite a few good masters in England (watercolourist John Whitely, Julius Olsson and Algernon Talmage), who helped her in her first attempts to capture the subtle play of light and colour in a forest, and this seemed to be the solid beginning of what was to be her own kind of painting.

This, however, was not enough for Carr, because even after her five yearsô stay in England she was still not satisfied with her results. She felt, that she was not able to capture the feeling and depth of the Canadian forest as she had been able to do in England:

> Even across one field there was soft hazy distance, distance gradations were easier here to get than in our clear Canadian atmosphere and great spaces; everything was faded, gentle here.
> Colour did not throb so violently. English landscape painting was indolent seeing, ready-made compositions, needing only to be copied. (Carr *GP* 157)

The years she spent in Vancouver, before going to France, were years in which Native Indian culture was becoming her creative inspiration. Emily Carr had always felt a strong fascination for the Indian, but her personal contact as a child living in Victoria and later as an adult was somewhat limited, restricting her movements within an ultra English milieu. Her first trip to the Native villages near Ucluelet took place in 1899. This encounter with Native culture marks the beginning of many further sketching and painting trips along the coast. Carrôs journeys between 1907 and 1912 are significant as she paints hundreds of watercolours -since she then worked exclusively in that medium- and decides to paint a programmatic series that would record these mostly deserted and decaying Native villages and its totem poles. In this sense Emily Carr cast herself very much in the mould of Paul Kane (1810-71)[23], a

[23] Paul Kane (September 3, 1810 ï February 20, 1871) was an Irish-born Canadian documentary painter, famous for his paintings of First Nations peoples in the Canadian west

documentary artist. Her knowledge of Native culture as such, however, is highly questionable. Carr has a tendency to romanticize these journeys in her writing, just as Kate Braid mentions, that she has a tendency to exaggerate her exact age. She usually mentions herself as being younger, whereas she was already in her late twenties. Even her view and understanding of the native way of living seems somewhat exaggerated and romanticized. The idea of preserving Native culture lest it should die out corresponds with Francis Danielsø concept of the image-makers portraying the stereotypical Native. It is true that many of the villages Emily Carr visited were by then, in many instances, abandoned and left to decay, though she never actually writes or concerns herself in depth with questions as to why the Natives have left their villages and the specific causes as to their drastic decrease in their population. Instead, she highlights the intense harmony that exists between the Natives and nature. Essentially what attracted Emily Carr in the natives was

> é their fine sense of discrimination, their acceptance of that part of nature that was in themselves so that they could fight what was really alien. (Blanchard 73)

Carrøs love of nature included her fascination and attraction for the native way of life that embraced the whole concept of living in total harmony with nature, without any of the vital necessities of civilization. This notion is further given emphasis by the fact that in her later life it was eventually nature and landscape painting, without any signs of civilization that became her sole trademark. Her paintings depicting the huge forests of British Columbia present nature in all its untouched purity.

Carr continues painting using the technique she learnt in London, but she is not satisfied with her results and decides to go and study in Paris so that she might study first hand the new art trends blossoming in Europe.[24] She hoped to acquire the sort of pictorial language she might express herself with. By the end of 1911 Carr was thinking of moving back to Vancouver. Her work seemed to have begun to go

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and other Native Americans in the Oregon Country. Kane travelled across the continent to document a changing world, but then succumbed to the tastes of his audience when presenting his final work (ñPaul Kaneò).

[24] Emily Carr was looking for the ñnew artò thriving in France, though not the Cubism of Picasso, but rather the aspects of Impressionism, Post-Impressionism and Fauvism.

stale. She realized that she must separate herself from the French landscape and return to the far greater challenge of her own country. The fact is, that ñno painter coming from a European tradition had ever successfully interpreted the spirit of the westò(Blanchard 120), and this was what she was anxious to try.

Back in Vancouver she gave an exhibition of her ñFrench workò. The use of strikingly brilliant colours and broad Fauve sweeps of paint represented the most advanced and accomplished experimental painting to be seen in Canada at the time. Strangely enough the press notices were quite favourable and contrary to what we find in her books, it was not the press that attacked her then, but the person off the street, the person who came to a gallery to be chic or polite or because they had nothing in particular to do.

Although she had learned many things about the embattled artist in France, she had not learned anything about detachment. ñI feel about my paintings exactly as if they were my children,ò she once said; ñThey are my children, of my body, my mind, my innermost being. When people call them horrible and hideous I resent it deeply - I canôt help it. I know people don't have to like my pictures, but when they condemn them I feel like a mother protecting her youngò(Blanchard 127).

From this time onwards she painted pictures employing the intense colour and broad, expressive brushwork she had learned in France. But while she tried to paint native subjects in a French manner, which entails the French vibrancy of colour and disregard of petty details, she was not able to work with complete freedom as she had in Brittany. The reason she had gone to France in the first place was to liberate her compositions from fact, to learn to transcend it as the Native people did. This meant that the ñriot of colourò that had taken everyone by surprise was now mostly confined to small landscapes painted near Vancouver, trying at this point in her life to somewhat distance herself from the native theme.

Although she was struggling to find her sense of artistic identity she would eventually rise to the very top. The best paintings of this period are still landmarks in the development of one of the most distinctive styles in Canadian art. The following important step in her painting career was her meeting with The Group of Seven in 1927. She wrote in her journal:

Oh, God, what have I seen? Where have I been?

> Something has spoken to the very soul of me, wonderful, mighty, not of this world. Chords way down in my being have been touched. Dumb notes have struck chords of wonderful tone. Something has called out of somewhere. Something in me is trying to answer. ...Jackson, Johnston, Varley, Lismer, Harris -up-up-up-up! Lismer and Harris stir me most. Lismer is swirling, sweeping on, but Harris is rising into serene, uplifted planes, above the swirl into holy places. (Carr *HT* 25-26)

Emily was fascinated by their work. She recognized her own deepest feelings clothed in their words and painting. Though, none of the members of The Group had as much formal art training, in years, as Emily Carr the philosophical kinship between The Group and Carr was remarkable. As she read Housser's book on The Group of Seven she suddenly felt the years of isolation melting away.

The Groupôs painting expressed besides the visual beauty of the wilderness their joy at taking part in it, discovering it and becoming part of it. In this respect they belonged to an existing Edenic tradition in North American painting. ñWhat they painted and experienced was a vision of Adam in the New World, a Garden rough and unpruned, but essentially innocentò(Blanchard 172). The same sense of wonder was at the very heart of Emily Carr's love of art and Canada.

In their search for the very soul of Canada they explored the wilderness, camping and painting together, sharing ideas and technical mastery. Like Emily Carr, they made small, rapid sketches on the scene. These sketches were in oil on small wooden or hardboard panels which ideally suited the needs of a travelling landscape painter. The sketches themselves are masterpieces of vibrant colour that remain, apart from the studio canvases that were painted later from them, among the more remarkable treasures of Canadian art.

The creativity of The Group had begun years before its formal organization as an exhibition society. Many of their masterpieces were painted well before their 1920 exhibition. The Group consisting of a band of like-minded painters had a constant core of five: Lawren Harris (1885-1970), J. E. H. MacDonald (1873-1932), A. Y. Jackson (1882-1974), Arthur Lismer (1885-1969) and Frederick Varley (1881-1969). Over the years some had drifted away while others had come in.

However, there are some significant differences between Emily Carr and The

Group of Seven. For example, none of The Group had to go entirely outside the field of art to earn a living as Emily Carr had to. The fact that they were all males working together in an open climate must have helped to strengthen their spirits. They joined together in their own studio building in Toronto, learned from one another, cheered one another on, and defended each other in the press. They also exhibited together, though not formally until 1920. All in all, they did not feel the utter detachment and loneliness that Carr had. Where Emily Carr had turned away, The Group had rallied. Where she fled from attack, they sometimes went out of their way to provoke it, especially regarding the press and media.

When seeing their work Emily Carr had to admit that her work was not up to theirs. In comparison her work seemed too tame. She also felt that her work belonged more to the Native Indian than to her. She was also an outsider not only as a Westerner, but also as a woman. Lawren Harris was the only one who welcomed her warmly enough to dispel her doubts. Her meeting with him on 17 November 1927 was the most significant event of her life. She continued to correspond with him regularly, writing about the problems concerning her work and Harris responded to it by cheering her on, giving her advice, and writing about his own theosophy.

From the end of the 1920s she exhibited regularly both in the East and the West. She remarked in 1933 that ñpeople here don=t like my work, it says nothing to them, but they like what is said about it in the East. In other words, they like the 6kick up=not it. That=s the hurt.ò (Blanchard 183). She kept on painting until her illness forced her to stop. This is when she seriously started writing, mostly encouraged by her friends.[25] She had started writing earlier by recording her trips in her notebook. Later she attended a course in creative writing and sent some of her earliest stories to various publishers with the hope that they might be published, but everything she

[25] Helen Ruth Humphrey was Associate Professor Emerita and taught English at U.B.C. from 1945 to 1963. She taught at Victoria College from 1927 to 1945. Humphrey was a long-standing friend of B.C. artist Emily Carr whom she met when she was teaching at Victoria College and Carr was a struggling artist. She was apparently among the first of the friends who discovered the potential of Emily Carr's writing and encouraged her when she began her second career as a writer after ill-health prevented her from going into the forest, travelling with her van, or sketching at summer cottages. There is also some evidence that she assisted Carr with her early short stories. Humphrey herself received an honorary doctorate from Mount Allison University in 1977, recognizing her services to Canadian literature and teaching. She died on October 21st, 1984 (ñHelen Ruth Humphreyò).

sent off to be reviewed was rejected.

Although, the first stories were all declined, she was only temporarily discouraged. Writing seemed to involve a lot less pain than painting. This seemed to give back the precious odds and ends of her own life and allowed her to rearrange them to suit her.

The first book to be published was *Klee Wyck* (1941) a series of short sketches based on her experiences among the Native Indians. The book was an instant success and also won the Governor Generalôs Award for the best book published in Canada in 1941. The *Book of Small* followed a year later and also turned out to be a success. Like all of Emily Carrôs books it is autobiographical: describing her family life in nineteenth-century Victoria from the point of view of Emily Carr as a child, nicknamed ñSmallò *The House of All Sorts* was published in 1944 just a few months before Emily Carr died. The book recalls her period as a landlady and breeder of Bobtail Sheepdogs. Finally, her autobiography *Growing Pains*, discussing the portrait of a female artist and presenting a life she wished to display to the outside world, was written between 1939 and 1944, but was published, by Carrôs request, posthumously in 1946.

By the end of 1944 she had finished preparing her last show, seen her third book in print, left her art to the West, completed all her manuscripts and entrusted them to Ira Dilworth's (1894-1962)[26] hands. Although she had other unpublished manuscripts lying around and perhaps other shows in mind her major work seems to have been done. Did she feel that her time was perhaps almost up?

During the last three or four years of her life she worked with great haste. She once wrote Ira Dilworth about her feelings concerning death, but it was not fear that she felt but calm speculation:

[26] Ira Dilworth (1894-1962) was an important figure in Emily Carrôs later life. He became her confidante, and literary conduit. After Carrôs death in 1945, Dilworth became one of the trustees of her estate and her literary executor. He corrected Carrôs spelling and grammar and edited The Book of Small. He also wrote an introduction to her work in *Klee Wyck* (1941), which reveals his affection and concern for her. Dilworth lived in Victoria and taught in a school from 1915 and was a prominent figure in the city. Later he moved to Vancouver and taught at UBC from 1934-38. He was able to further promote Carr's career by gaining influence as director of CBC Radio's British Columbia broadcasting from 1938 to 1946. He ultimately became director of the English language CBC network in 1956 (ñIra Dilworthò).

> I used to wonder what people who were uncertainly facing death thought about it. They seldom mentioned it and I often wished they would.(We are rather cowardly about that thing.) Now I look on it very much as I used to look...on going out into the woods in the van in the old days, busying myself in the preparation of leaving things as straight as I can, and leaving the new camp to be itself when I get there. (Blanchard 290)

Emily Carr was an average Canadian woman from British Columbia whose life was like the lives of many others at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although she fought and struggled throughout her life in order to make ends meet as a single woman, she created an artistic legacy that is by all means unique. Through her artistic representation of the forests of the West Coast she realized an expression of what Canadianness means. Being Canadian and interpreting her Canadianness through the landscape resolved itself to become her artistic oeuvre. This is Carr's legacy for the future generations of Canadians.

Klee Wyck ñ Carrös Perceptions of Native Culture

The sketches in *Klee Wyck* were mostly written in 1937-38. Emily Carr worked with such haste that she completed seventeen stories between March and the end of July 1937. These stories with some additions and subtractions became the book *Klee Wyck*. Besides writing she also continued to paint. As far as her illness allowed her, Carr seemed to be working at full speed. Around December 1938 Ruth Humphrey showed the stories to Ira Dilworth, regional director of the CBC. He liked the stories and several were read over the air. This took place in early 1940 and they were followed by other broadcasts in 1940-42. Dilworth took several stories to the Oxford University Press in Toronto, where they were accepted. In the end two books were published: *Klee Wyck* in October 1941 and *The Book of Small* followed a year later.

Ira Dilworth became Emily Carrôs editor as well as her beloved and trusted friend. He corrected spelling and punctuation and helped her organize and polish up her material. But the style is entirely Carrôs. Publishing an unknown writer in wartime Canada was considered a very risky venture because so few trade books could be published at all. But *Klee Wyck* became an instant success and a classic. The reviewer of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* wrote: ñ*Klee Wyck* is one of the show pieces of Canadian bookmaking in 1941, and I think it will be extensively read for its charm and deep feelingò (Blanchard 275). A few months later the book won the Governor Generalôs Award for the best book published in Canada in 1941. The author had great satisfaction over its success. Incredibly, Carr seems to have finally reached a far greater public than her painting ever had. Still, one has to acknowledge that, fine as her writing is, it is unquestionably a lesser art than her painting, however, the works were capable of opening the doors that her paintings were unable to do.

What was behind her success? Perhaps several factors that coincided at that particular moment, specifically the significance of a Canadian identity that helped to strengthen morale and emotional attachment emphasizing the notions of belonging and integrity during a time when a war was going on in Europe. The childlike naïveté of the narrator and its easily digestible style may have been like a breath of fresh air with a glimpse of another view on life. This was a momentum that laid the foundations for a specific perspective of what Canadian identity should focus on. Interestingly, the Native theme and subject is one of the central issues upon which Carrôs iconic image rests. This particular form of cultural appropriation and stereotypical image-making is an issue already examined in more detail in the first subsection of this chapter. Through the vivid evocations of the Native and the forest Carr would finally touch that wider public imagination her painting had failed to reach. Since *Klee Wyck* was immediately loved and understood, at least on the narrative level, Carrôs writing set the public on her ground. For the more thoughtful readers it formed a kind of bridge to the less accessible world of her painting. For others it became part of the Canadian national character and physiognomy making Carrôs name into a household word in Canada.

With this instant success Carr was able to translate the Canadian landscape as a unique spiritual expression whereby any Canadian would instantly recognize the

shaping forces of their land and identity. Though she had hoped to achieve this through her art the greater success came with her books. This success was then gradually followed by her painting.

What is *Klee Wyck* about? The book is a collection of vivid prose sketches forming the basis of her experiences among the Natives of British Columbia. Natives are not the sole characters of the book because animals and nature share role, too. However, nature seems to be the basic element, just like in her paintings. The sources of these stories are the excursions that Carr took, visiting a series of Native villages along the West Coast. The twenty-one short sketches emerged largely out of Carr's two northern excursions. "Tanoo", "Skedans", "Cumshewa", "Sailing to Yan", and "Cha-atl" were based on her 1912 journey, while "Greenville", "Friends", "Salt Water", "Kitwancool" and "Canoe" on her 1928 visit. "D'Sonoqua" and "Two Bits and a Wheel-Barrow" are set in Koskimo villages visited in 1912, 1929 and 1930. "Juice" is set in the Cariboo after her six-week visit en route to Victoria from England in 1904, and "Sleep" and "Wash Mary" in her Victoria childhood. "Uclulet" and "Century Time" are derived from her first visit to that Native village in 1898 and 1905, respectively. "Sophie" is a product of her long lasting friendship with Sophie Frank encompassing the period from 1908 to the 1930s, while "The Blouse" and "The Stare" are difficult to place or date.

Writing took Carr back vividly on those sketching trips and these helped her to relive those happy memories while forgetting her ailments. But even if *Klee Wyck* was written for the pure joy of reliving and travelling among the Natives she loved, it is also didactic. We learn from Carr that she has seen Sophie Frank drunk, that Aleck Douse was "straight from jail" and the Native in "Sleep" had "coarse hair" and was "dirty all over" (*KW* 57). But like the smallpox epidemic in "Cha-atl" and "Cumshewa", the influenza in "Uclulet", the starving dogs in "Greenville" or the resentment on Indian Tom's face, all according to Carr was the fault of White Man. Was it not the missionary who "came and took the Indians away from their old villages and the totem poles and put them into new places where life was easier, where they bought things from a store instead of taking them from nature"? (*KW* 52) Was the Indian reserve across the water from Vancouver not "a different world - no hurry, no business?" (*KW* 25) Was the "Lesser Missionary" not "glad when she came out of the

dark forestò (*KW* 5)? Whereas the Indians were linked to their land, slipping ñin and out of their places like animalsò because ñtides and seasons are the things that rule their lives: domestic arrangements are mere incidentalsò (*KW* 49). So for Carr, the Natives were in harmony with nature whereas White Man was not. And ultimately from what she witnessed on her trips Carr realized that White Man was the cause of the native villages becoming deserted and the artefacts (for example the totem poles) relating to Native cultural heritage being left to decay and rot away. This is why she eventually comes up with the idea of documenting the totem poles for the sake of posterity. Did she wish to follow in the footsteps of Paul Kane the documentary artist? Perhaps in a sense, but Carrís attitude to Native culture is different, because there is an emotional attachment and also understanding involved. And the sketches in *Klee Wyck*, but also her Indian paintings, are a testimony to her deeply felt appreciation for a culture, which allowed a ñfreedom of expressionò that Carr always felt that she was denied from her childhood onwards.

If Emily Carr seems to romanticize with the Indians and their way of life she seems to project herself as a model figure even more. From her very first visit in Ucluelet she is heartily accepted. The Indians tell her that she has ñno fearò, is ñnot stuck upò, and knows ñhow to laughò (*KW* 4). This is why she is given the name ñKlee Wyckò meaning the ñLaughing Oneò in Nootkan language. She is accepted in every village, even in the hostile Kitwancool where the Indians have ñchased missionaries out and drove surveyors off with axesò (*KW* 107). Therefore, she seems to be a doer of good deeds throughout the book, because she removes porcupine quills from the starving dogs, offers a Bartlett pear to the thirsty Doctor Cabbage, gives a blouse to the dying Mary, and writes Louisa's and Mrs. Greenís catalogue orders.

But Carr, the ñsaviour of Indian cultureò, is also humble before them. In Ucluelet, for example, she ñfelt so young and empty standing there before the Indiansò (*KW* 4). Though she was twenty-seven when she first went to Ucluelet she refers to herself as a mere schoolgirl of ñfifteenò (*KW* 3). She continually makes references to ñweò, but in actuality never mentions who the ñweò consists of, though we do know from biographical data, that either her sister Lizzie or Alice always accompanied her on these trips. Interestingly, Carr only gives her Native characters names (as Louisa, Jimmy, Sam, Millie, Sophie and Susan), while the white

characters are referred to merely as "Greater or Lesser Missionary" or an "enormous Irishman" (*KW* 3). These references seem to suggest that in reliving these memories Carr consciously excluded all her perceptions relating to her ties with white man's society. Within the highly romanticized world of *Klee Wyck* there is room only for the young and innocent Emily Carr, her friendly Natives, and the mysteries of nature in its pure and untouched form. Even the gesticulating conversations with the old man in Ucluelet and the old woman in Greenville further perpetuate the child-like atmosphere and the highly romanticized mystery implied by Native culture.

Carr idealizes herself in these sketches. According to Maria Tippett in her essay on *Klee Wyck*: "at Toxis where Carr recalls that 'visitors were rare', there was a large white community, Ucluelet, across the bay. At the Arrandale cannery on the Nass River she lived in a cottage and ate her meals in the mess. On her trips to Alert Bay and the Queen Charlotte Islands before 1928 she always travelled in the company of a white person" (57). Though one cannot doubt the courage displayed by Carr, especially on her later trips, the idea that she lived with the Indians totally alone and separated from the estrangements of white civilization seems to be exaggerated.

Emily Carr often seems to waver between fact and fabrication. In some cases names are made up, in others they are consciously altered. For example, the two ladies in Ucluelet, Miss Armstrong and Mrs. Swartout, are called "the Greater" and "the Lesser" Missionary. For the most part white man remains anonymous; the farm girl in "Cha-atl", Maria, is an exception, the seamen, Jones and Smith of "Salt Water" less so. Her Indian characters are more often named, though they are sometimes altered from their real life models. Sophie Frank remains Sophie (most probably due to the strong emotional tie that existed between Carr and Sophie), but Emily Carr's friends at Skidegate, Will and Clara Russ, whose names she would certainly not have forgotten, are referred to as Jimmie and Louisa in the five stories in which they appear. Their sons, Will and Walt, are altered to the equally alliterative Jim and Joe, while Clara's mother, the pipe-smoking Mrs. Brown becomes Mrs. Green. Another feature worthy of note is that all the Native characters have or have been given Anglo-Saxon names, as mentioned above, rather than names from their appropriate native languages. Is this due to Carr's inability to remember native names or she simply takes the liberty of naming her characters herself? While some changes and

omissions may be attributed to lapses of memory it is not unusual to find that elsewhere in Carr's autobiographical writing names have been altered to enhance the fairy-tale image of her romanticized fictional world. In giving her past a fictional alternative, by omitting and changing the names of actual people, Carr was able to distance herself from reality and retreat into her own imaginary world. This is a world consisting of only those, who in fact accepted Emily Carr as she was, with all her eccentricities.

The twenty sketches or ñglimpsesò not only describe the forests of the Western coast but also the ways of the Native Indians. Carr seems to be sorry that all these old Native cultural traditions are dying out due to the ñmodernò way of life they have had to accept in order to become a part of white man's society. The reason she envied the Indians is because they were in unison with nature but above all ñthere were no shamsò (*KW* 19). She had fought against the ñultra-Englishnessò of her society since her childhood and it is often this ñshamò that she ridicules in her writing. The strict and rigid Victorian morale and ñgarrison mentalityò[27], which surrounded Carr in her childhood had a suffocating effect on her and ultimately led her to strengthen her will in wanting to ñbreak outò. The freedom and, purity - in the sense of living without pretensions, - that she craved for was eventually found among the Native Indians. The fact that she had Native friends like Sophie Frank, remained single and lived alone, kept many animals (bred sheepdogs, had a pet rat and monkey, among others), her unusual mentality, artistic profession, and choice of clothes all enhanced her reputation as an eccentric.

The sketches featuring in the book are not connected with each other, but form individual units of their own. Carrôs style is basically characterized by simplicity and sincerity. As a result, there is in her writing a quality of immediacy, the ability, by means of descriptive words chosen with the utmost accuracy to carry the reader into the heart of the experience she is describing. Her choice of words often takes on new

[27] This is a phrase taken from Northrop Frye, who in viewing the earliest Canadian settlements said that these were mostly isolated military communities, where the psychological development of its inhabitants progressed toward that of either the fighter or the deserter. The ófighterô was the character type, who worked hard for the positive advancement of the community, while the ódeserterôwas characterized by rebelling against the set of rules defining that community (ñNorthrop Frye, Garrison Mentalityò).

and vivid meanings. These are in her writing the equivalent of the quick, sure brush strokes and dramatic, strong colours that are so characteristic of her canvases, as Ira Dilworth mentions in his ñForewordò to *Klee Wyck* (Dilworth xi).

Emily Carrôs art owes much to her experiences in the Indian villages she writes about in *Klee Wyck*. Through this and the ambiguity which the Native himself felt towards the potent, unpredictable natural forces surrounding him, she was able to bring these to full artistic expression. From the end of the 1920s Carr's interpretation of the dialogue between forest and totem deepened and darkened, which is largely due to her meeting with The Group of Seven. The understanding and kinship she felt with Lawren Harris was evident from their first meeting and the technical advice on colour and form that he gave Carr was what she needed to boost her morale. With his help and guidance she was finally able to realize on canvas the emotional tension she had felt many times over during the years. ñFrom Lawren Harris, Carr borrowed a limited colour range, emphasis on green and blue hues, smooth geometric shapes and the inclusion of light to symbolize a spiritual presenceò (*Modernism and Late Totems*). The heaviness of the forms, the depth of shadow and the brooding solemnity of the totems, like *Kitwancool* (1928) (see plate 19), can be felt as oppressive, but also spiritually awe-inspiring. The huge figures of the totem poles occupy the central position of the painting with a range of green shades. The poles facing each other are placed along both sides of the path that lead to the village. These serve to spiritually protect the inhabitants from physical and spiritual harm. The background presents different tones of blue, being lighter on the left side and darker with a mixture of different shades of blue on the right hand side. Though the totemic figures seem foreboding and menacing still the protective images carved onto the poles suggest a depth of caring and affection. Nevertheless, people in Carrôs own time often found her work disturbing, sinister and full of foreboding. Whereas fear exists in native art, it is not a dominant theme in Carr's work, though she did believe in it as a necessary element. She could not achieve a full realization of the Western forest without confronting death and the dread of death.

Much of the strength of her mature paintings lies in their ambiguity that is in the balance between terror and affirmation, between the malevolence of Dôsonoqua and the immense gentleness of the totem mothers at Kitwancool. In comparison to

Kitwancool, her work *Alert Bay* (1912) (see plate 20) is one of her earlier canvases painted shortly after her return from France. This work is livelier, colourful and not bold or sculptural at all. The sketches in watercolour that Carr made in Alert Bay employ the colour technique and the black outlines that give shape to forms, which she had learnt in France. Here, ñshe did not entirely revert to the documentary impulse, but she reined in her creative expressiveness to represent the poles as accurately as possible. She began once again to paint what she saw in front of her, rather than exploring the significance and expressive power of the totems themselvesò(*Early Totems*). The tones of yellows and oranges depicting the houses, the hillsides and the sky, however, are the Fauvist colour scheme she had acquired in France. Whereas *Alert Bay* is still marked by her faithful realism, *Kitwancool* is more simplified, weightier and there is a definite move towards abstraction. Ultimately, Carr's explorations with form led her away from fragmentation and abstraction. She was not interested in breaking down and recombining shapes, but in enhancing the integrity of each. Cubism to some extent helped her continue to simplify the forms of the ever growing, unmanageable Western forest. Space, and attention to the full significance of each separate form in space, are necessary to that ordered, brooding calm that Carr achieved in the finest works of this period.

In considering Carrôs whole oeuvre it is essential to examine her writing along with her painting. A detailed and circumspect balancing of the two achieves a full and in depth image of the artist. As Carrôs painting developed, her art gradually shifted away from the flat, static and unemotional work she produced in her early years. Though her painting and artistic progress was always foremost in her life, still keeping a diary, making notes and comments alongside became a regular habit for Carr. Furthermore, she also studied some creative writing[28] and tried her hand at writing short stories, though these were never accepted by any publisher at the time. Nevertheless, it is apparent that her prose style eventually matured parallel with her painting enough to enfold towards the end of her life when painting outdoors became

[28] She enrolled in a writing course in 1926 and started to think seriously about becoming a writer. Then, according to Paula Blanchard, in 1934 Carr enrolled again in a summer course at the Provincial Normal School taught by Bellie de Bertrand Lugrin, a professional writer. (ñLiterary Carrò)

progressively limited due to her weakened heart condition. Interestingly, Carr's prose style has much in common with poetry, which can be seen in her "rigid selectivity in the use of diction, in her daring use of metaphorical language, in the rhythm, the cadence of her writing, and in her consciousness of form" (*KW Foreword*). A beautiful piece of personified metaphorical language is found in a passage from "Century Time":

> In the late afternoon a great shadow-mountain stepped across the lake and brooded over the cemetery. It had done this at the end of every sunny day for centuries, long, long before that piece of land was a cemetery. Dark came and held the shadow-mountain there all night, but when morning broke, it was back again inside its mountain, which pushed its grand purple dome up into the sky and dared the pines swarming around its base to creep higher than half-way up its bare rocky sides. (*KW* 95)

Another example for the lyrical quality of her writing is a passage from "Canoe":

> The canoe passed shores crammed with trees - trees overhanging stony beaches, trees held back by rocky cliffs, pointed fir trees climbing in dark masses up the mountain sides, moonlight silvering their blackness. Our going was imperceptible, the woman's steering paddle the only thing that moved, its silent cuts stirring phosphorous like white fire. Time and texture faded...ceased to exist...day was gone, yet it was not night. Water was not wet nor deep, just smoothness spread with light. (*KW* 110)

Her portrayal is abundant with nature imagery (the trees, cliffs, mountain, moonlight reflected on the water, silence etc.), her descriptive writing becoming at once vivid and visual to such an extent that we can almost see this image reflected on one of her canvases. As stated by Ira Dilworth, "such writing transcends the usual limit of prose and becomes (but without aesthetic offence) lyrical" (*KW* "Foreword").

In "D'Sonoqua" there is suspense and a tense emotional crescendo which have the quality of a "musical symphony with its dominant themes" (*KW* "Foreword"). Within the story the use of certain verbs seem to be especially descriptive and colourful providing an altogether gloomy and malevolent atmosphere. This sketch is

in itself almost like a light Gothic thriller, where the reader is made to feel the presence of a menacing Dõsonoqua[29]:

> The nettle bed ended a few yards beyond her, and then a rocky bluff jutted out, with waves battering it below....The forest was behind her, the sea in front. Her head and trunk were carved out of, or rather into, the bole of a great red cedar. She seemed to be part of the tree itself, as if she had grown there at its heart,...I stood looking at her for a long, long time. The rain stopped, and white mist came up from the sea, gradually paling her back into the forest. It was as if she belonged there, and the mist were carrying her home. Presently the mist took the forest too, and wrapping them both together, hid them away. (*KW* 33)

We learn from the story that it is only many years later when Carr is again sketching in an Indian village that she comes across another image of Dõsonoqua carved into the supporting post of a once great centre beam (*KW* 34). Carr stresses the ferocity and intensity of the stare, here too, as in the first pole.

> The stare though not so fierce as that of the former image, was more intense. The whole figure expressed power, weight, domination, rather than ferocity. (*KW* 35)

She also learns that Dõsonoqua is ñthe wild woman of the woodsò, who carries children away to her caves (*KW* 35). But to her further queries whether Dõsonoqua is good or bad Carr does not get any decisive answers from Indian Tom. Carr presents the ñstereotypicalò non-communicative Native, thereby emphasizing the great divide existing between White manõs culture and that of Natives. Whether Carr does this consciously or not is difficult to assess, though she does tend to favour and appreciate the Native understanding of nature and its mysteries. Based on the story, Carr encounters a third figure of Dõsonoqua in the third village:

[29] Dzunukwa (also spelled D'Sonoqua and Zunoqua), the wild woman of the woods representing the dark and dangerous side of Canadian wilderness, stealer of children yet bringer of wealth to the Kwakwaka'wakw. Anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss indicates an ambiguity in gender as well as in attitude. She is featured sometimes as being hostile, sometimes not. In another aspect Dzunuk'wa, is the possessor of the ñWater-of-Lifeò, a gift she would bestow on people fortunate enough to encounter and overcome her. Her most important role is the bringer of wealth and good fortune (ñDõsonoquaò).

> Like the Dzonoqua of the other villages she was carved into the bole of a red cedar tree. Sun and storm had bleached the wood, moss here and there softened the crudeness of the modelling; sincerity underlay every stroke. é She appeared to be neither wooden nor stationary, but a singing spirit, young and fresh, passing through the jungle. No violence coarsened her; no power domineered to wither her. She was graciously feminine. (*KW* 39-40)

As the above passage shows, this figure is not ferocious in the sense that the other figures were. This image of Dzonoqua is featured on one of Carrs canvases from 1931 (see plate 21). The painting captures well the dark, sombre atmosphere, through the use of dark colours. There is no expanse of sky, but the dark green foliage of the trees and the thick, lush undergrowth. The interesting features of the painting are the many heads of cats with their gleaming yellow eyes looking out towards the viewer and the carved totemic image of Dzonoqua, who is standing at an angle looking at some distant point, but not towards the viewer like many of her other totemic paintings. There is a swirling and sweeping movement of the undergrowth and trees, and the cats seem to be caught up within this swirling sea of greenery. The whole scene seems to be a unified momentum of movement, except for the totemic figure of Dzonoqua, which seems to be in control of the complete fairy tale-like atmosphere. Dzonoquas features are faithfully visualized on the canvas and also recorded in the story:

> Across her forehead her creator had fashioned the Sistheutl, or mythical two-headed sea-serpent. One of its heads fell to either shoulder, hiding the stuck-out ears, and framing her face from a central parting on her forehead which seemed to increase its womanliness. She caught your breath, this Dzonoqua, alive in the dead bole of the cedar. She summed up the depth and charm of the whole forest, driving away its menace. (*KW* 40)

The minute details of the totemic figure show that Carr was still intent on documenting what she saw resolutely, but now she placed this in stark opposition with her visual impressions of the forest, thereby communicating a mood of danger

and tension. The imminent danger and sense of unknown presence visualized in Carrôs later paintings show her occupation of trying to unite the natural world with that of the spiritual world, which she ultimately found in the forests and the Native elements featuring in her paintings.

The originality and simplicity which marked all her work, whether it was her painting, rug-making, pottery or writing, remained uninhibited to some extent by academic literary standards. The foundations of her painting were ultimately the studies she undertook abroad, but these served only as a starting point for further development, which she had to undertake alone in order to finally achieve the height and quality of work she produced toward the end of her life. There is some source of literary influence, however, since she was a devoted reader of the poems of Walt Whitman. What attracted her was Whitmanôs deep feeling for nature and his vigorous style. Her interest in discovering the mystical in the natural landscape links her with a line of artistic modernism in North America of the time, which owed much to the writings of Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau (*Artistic Context*). Carr was not the only one imbued by Whitman, but also Lawren Harris, who sought the ñindividual union with the greater self, with that which is also timeless and beautifulò (Davis 109). The obvious place to find that greater and perfect world is in nature. One of the main characteristics with which Harris could identify was Whitman linking the divine and the rude, which was in fact an important notion in the understanding of Canadian landscape painting in the 1920s (Davies 110). Whitman explores this particular aspect in his poem titled *Leaves of Grass*:

> The earth never tires;
> The earth is made silent, incomprehensible at first ï
> Nature is rude and incomprehensible at first;
> Be not discouraged ï keep on ï there are divine things,
> well envelopôd;
> I swear to you there are divine things more beautiful
> Than words can tell. (111)

The idea that nature is at once rude, rough, powerful, incomprehensible, divine, and a greater force to be reckoned with, is the same feature that Carr was struggling to understand in her British Columbian forests and natural landscapes. Therefore,

remaking nature in spiritual terms was not enough since art and nature still had to be linked in some way. Their solution, however, was to reconcile the tension existing between art and nature, by emphasizing that "art and nature are based on the same laws" (Davis 114). Harris eventually found his answer in the North, which he saw "as having specific mystical and pictorial characteristics" (Davis 114). He shared his ideas and views with Carr, who was also engaged in uniting these tensions between art and nature, but for her the answers were to be located in the dense forests of British Columbia. And as Harris expressed in a letter he wrote Emily Carr in 1930:

> But I have an idea ï confirmed by what I felt in Europe ï that we here, in our own place, on new land, where a new race is forming[,] will find for the present and perhaps for some time to come, that the fullest life in art for us comes by way of nature, sharing and imbibing her life; her deep, deep intimations ï and establishing ourselves by getting that into our art. (*Harris Carr Papers*)

Nature and its symbolic spirituality combined with the native theme become the ultimate solution for Carr in portraying on canvas her interpretations. With this she distances herself from Harris, but in the process encounters her own personal visual expression of the Canadian landscape.

No matter how we read them, the sketches in *Klee Wyck* and Carr's paintings are closely linked, because they both try to catch glimpses of nature, the animals and the Natives, since they are all a part of it. This is the art of eliminating all but the essentials. The essentials being those elements of nature that contribute to her impression, which she sets down in its barest and most compressed form.

Chapter 5

Canadian National Consciousness and Identity within a Northern Frame of Mind

The myth enveloping the North has held many adventurers and seafarers intrigued and occupied for many centuries. The mysteries evolved mostly due to the fact that the areas of the Northern hemisphere were difficult to navigate, because of the unfavourable weather conditions prevailing for most of the year. These areas were unaccountably viewed as a blank space and as such allowed a whole series of speculations and theories to build up. One of the most enduring theories was the existence of the Northwest Passage. This was supposed to flow between the land bridge and America through which one may reach North Eastern Asia, the Orient, and its riches. The appropriation of those territories was therefore considered crucial by the great European monarchies. The charting of the Arctic was a very slow and gradual process over the past centuries roughly from the early fifteenth to the early twentieth century in which each and every expedition drew further territories on the map. Though these territories were considered empty by White Man, one of the first discoveries within these areas was the fact that it was inhabited by the Inuit and Native Peoples. This of course did not stop further expeditions, but enforced the realization that inland expeditions may rely on the resources and guidance of the local population. White Manôs reliance on the Aboriginal population also meant their survival under such harsh climatic conditions. The discovery of the Arctic was White Manôs main purpose, the fact, that it was already inhabited came only second. The

mystery surrounding the Arctic and the Northwest Passage created a myth of the North that was imagined as being empty and void of human inhabitants. Their erasure from the landscape was important in maintaining this myth throughout the centuries. Their relocation, if at all, came rather late in the twentieth century. How did the relocation occur and by whom? The present chapter will focus on the idea and myths of the Canadian North and the Northern landscape by seeking to relocate the Native (and the Inuit) and representations of the Aboriginal Peoples within this framework and view how this has kept a firm hold on Canadian national consciousness and identity.

Is the North a ñvast blank canvas of a landò (Beissel 7) or something more? How do we define the North? One of todayøs often discussed issues is the formation of definitions that concern the Canadian North. Inevitably, one must distinguish between the Northøs image and its reality. A certain fact is that nearly half of Canadaøs land mass lies north of the sixtieth parallel. Where is the North or rather from where do we define the North? One often accepted view is that Canadaøs North is a part of the great sweep of northern lands and seas above where most Canadians live (ñThe Canadian Northò). Other notions view the Canadian North or the North as a political definition for a region that consists of Canadaøs three territories: Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut. Yet, an alternative definition that concerns the description and natural phenomena in general, says that it is that portion of the country that lies north of the tree line (this includes Canadaøs geographical centre): covering most of Nunavut, and the northerly parts of the Northwest Territories, Yukon, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and Labrador. Based on this popular imagination white people do not seem to perceive the North as a whole, but rather ñregard only particular and very localized northern situationsò, which would include references to the Northwest Passage, a particular Arctic expedition, the Inuit, the cold and possibly the Klondike (Hamelin 7). The whole notion reflecting on Cartierøs expression with reference to the North, ñthe land God gave to Cain,ò still echoing in scientific literature in mid twentieth century (Hamelin 8). The mystery persists and perhaps it is most appropriate to follow Henry Beisselø notion that

> The canvas of this land is heavy
> with the tales time tells
> of periodic revolutions over and over
> from Cambrian to Pleistocene
> epic struggles painted over each season
> layer upon layer
> each scene buried and reconceived
> every hundred million years or so
> and finally cast in stone
> by natureôs determined hand. (45)

The imagery of natureôs immense power creating and forming this land ñlayer upon layerò is heavily emphasized. ñNatureôs determined handò overrules that of Man and perhaps this notion of nature versus Man is the idea behind the mystery or myth of the North. This being a place White Man had been unable to conquer and had to unwillingly submit himself to its every whim.

The idea of the North seems altogether ungraspable and its conceptual boundaries are also fluid. ñThe North occupies the imagination, filling it with dreams of high adventure and fabulous wealth. To a Canadian, North is an idea, not a location; a myth, a promise, a destinyò (Francis *ND* 152). The concept of nordicity, thereby, depends on the measure of northernness that other Arctic territories share. This means that Canada is a country situated in the northern part of North America, whose population is concentrated along its borders with the United States and is often assumed not to have a ósouthô Why? This is due to the fact that óthe Southô is only perceived as a region when it is contrasted to or viewed from those in óthe Northô (ñNorthern Canadaò). If we are not looking for physiographical or political definitions, but merely wish to approach this from a traditional and partly literary angle we might say that,

> It is the land of the midnight sun, of the Klondike Gold Rush and the Northwest Passage, of Robert Service and ñ*The Cremation of Sam McGee,*ôof the search for the lost Franklin expedition and the law of the North-West Mounted Police. It is also towering mountains, rushing rivers, and Canadaôs first self-governing Native territory. This is the North, truly the beautiful land. (Hughes 14)

The conceptions of the North projected by outsiders are often based on the North as images rather than the reality of the region. The popular view of the North as a "cold, forbidding, and inhospitable wilderness" (Coates 3) has done more harm than good in terms of development. These northerly areas are often viewed as being barren and desolate and without any form of human habitation (and often photographed as such), is only one of the false conceptions that still survive in our minds. Canada's North has in fact been populated for thousands of years by the Inuit, the Dene Indians and the Cree of Northern Quebec. The so-called treeline roughly separates the traditional lands of the Inuit from those of the Native Peoples. For many Natives and Inuit, the North with all its inhumane conditions, had been a home for many centuries. Today, however, the traditional and the modern mode of living, ultimately introduced by the civilization brought by White Man, exists side-by-side.

The history of exploration is largely the history of European and American activity in the North. The main idea behind these explorations, however, was from the very beginning based on the notion that America was overarched by a land bridge connecting North Eastern Asia to North-Western Europe via Greenland. The Northwest Passage was located between the land bridge and America, beginning in the Atlantic somewhere not far north of Labrador and trending west and south before emptying into the Pacific in the vicinity of modern-day Oregon State. This was the opinion of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose *Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia* appeared in 1576 (Francis *DN* 13-4). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a series of zealous adventurers convinced themselves, sometimes against all evidence that across the giant inlet sea, which later came to be known as the Hudson Bay, lay the pathway to China (Francis *DN* 31). The existence of a Northwest Passage over the Pole leading into the Orient and China with all its riches kept the imagination of many adventurers active well into the nineteenth century.

There were two possible ways of exploring the North, by sea and overland. From the moment White Man first set foot in the North he relied on the Aboriginal Peoples for guidance and survival. As long as the coastal areas were being charted it was possible to navigate with huge ships in fair weather conditions, but no overland

expedition or exploration would have been possible without Native assistance. During the same period the Indians and the Inuit went about their daily lives indifferent to the motives and mishaps of the intruders from far away (Francis *DN* 9). Native contact with European civilization was a gradual process, which certainly had the effect of influencing and changing the lives of the different tribes. The meeting of White Man with the Native serves as a basis for numerous literary works, which tend to romanticize contact with the Native, presenting the occurrences through an imaginative White Manôs perspective. Only later in the second half of the twentieth century do we find examples of novels, as George Bowering's *Burning Water* (1980) and Rudy Wiebeôs *Discovery of Strangers* (1994) that permits a dual perspective to enter their stories by allowing the Native to openly express its uninhibited views of White Man and its ósuperior civilizationô

The nineteenth century conceptualization and depiction of the North, especially works of literature or essays, neglect to consider the Aboriginal Peoples as existing elements of the Northern landscape. Carl Berger in his essay, *The True North Strong and Free* (1966) considers and presents Canadaôs contemporary official views of the North and its racial inclinations about the strong and sturdy races of Europe that were attracted to Canada during and after Confederation in 1867. Berger provides many references of the day where Canada was mentioned as ñthe Britain of the North,ò ñthis northern kingdom,ò the ñTrue North,ò or described Canada as ña young, fair, and stalwart maiden of the northò (Berger 84). These references developed the image of a race of men with the strength of iron and steel. The strong and sturdy Northern races of Europe were attracted to Canada and many of the important nationalist thinkers of the time (as Charles R. Tuttle, George Parkin, among others) considered that Canada as a nation must consist of the Celtic, the Teutonic, the Scandinavian elements, the Norman French, the Saxon and the Swede. Since only the sturdy races of Northern Europe are able to survive the Canadian northern climate and develop Canadaôs character and identity. According to the Nova Scotian Charles R. Tuttle (1848-?), the climate and soil serve as creative forces, which will determine the character of the people. And the immigrant, he wrote, being ñignorant, rude, and unmannerly,ò their character is transformed, and they become self-reliant and exhibit a ñmanly independenceòunder the influence of British institutions and ñthe

broad rivers, boundless prairies, high mountains, and pathless woodsò (Berger 88). George Parkin (1846-1922), a native of New Brunswick and Principal of Upper Canada College during the late 1890s, said that the Canadian climate is ñone of our blessings,ò because the ñsevere winter climate of Canada is perhaps the most valuable asset that the country hasò (89) In his view a temperature of minus twenty below zero ñseemed to give an added activity to peoplesô steps and a buoyancy to their spirits.ò This means that the climate demands a vigorous effort; ñit teaches foresight; it cures or kills the shiftless and improvident; history shows that in the long run it has made strong racesò (Berger 89).

The image of Canada and the North was reinforced and maintained in the novels, travelogues, journals, poetry, memoirs of adventure and works of scientific exploration[30]. Another notable personality was James Oliver Curwood[31], an American writer of popular fiction, who invented the term ñGodôs Countryò to describe the Canadian North and wilderness. Though Curwood was never specific about its exact location, therefore Godôs Country became a place of the imagination and for his many readers and ñviewers who saw his films it became synonymous with Canada itselfò (Francis *ND* 156). But there were many more best-selling writers, who set the location of their works in the North, and to further experience the setting and location many even went to live there for brief periods. But there are also countless works whose authors set their location in the North without ever having been there often using the depictions of the North displayed in other travelogues or simply tales told by travellers. In each case the North always featured as an empty space, where White Man was the only one brave enough to battle the elements. The Aboriginal Peoples were, however, nowhere mentioned as being a vital and integral part of the Canadian

[30] A few notable examples of works that were very popular and highly influential in portraying the myth of the North: Warburton Pike: *The Barren Ground of Northern Canada /1892/;* Frank Russell: *Exploration in the Far North /1898/;* Agnes Laut: *Lords of the North /1900/;* Gilbert Parker: *An Adventure of the North /1905/;* Ralph Connor: *Corporal Cameron /1912/;* Agnes D. Cameron: *The New North /1909/;* J. W. Tyrell: *Across the Sub-Arctic of Canada /1897/;* Vilhjalmus Stefansson: *My Life with the Eskimo /1913/.*

[31] James Oliver Curwood (1878 -1927), writer of pulp fiction, but also notable for his own film productions. He produced twenty-six novels and dozens of film scripts based on his stories (ñJames Oliver Curwoodò). Titles of a few of his notable films: *Back to Godôs Country* (1919); *Nomads of the North* (1920); *The Golden Snare* (1921); *The Girl from Godôs Country* (1921); *Jan of the Big Snows* (1922); *The Broken Silence* (1922); *The Alaskan* (1924).

North. Where is the Native Indian? According to Daniel Francis in his *The Imaginary Indian:*

> Over the years the Indian of stereotype, the Imaginary Indian, has had many identities. When the first Europeans arrived in New France, they held fairly positive opinions about the aboriginals they encountered, and upon whom they relied for protection. They admired aspects of Native character and society and they believed that Indians while ñprimitiveò had the capacity to become ñcivilized.òAs Native people showed antagonism to the ambitions of the colonizers, however, relations between the two groups deteriorated. Euro-Canadians began to demonize the Indian, especially the Iroquois. No longer were Indians noble savages extending the hand of friendship. Instead they became the ignoble savage, the wicked, bloodthirsty redskin. In the nineteenth century, racial theories which described the Indian as biologically inferior became popular. Non-Natives argued that Indians were a deficient people condemned to disappear in the face of a superior civilization. Once Canada was settled from sea to sea, Indians were pushed to the margins of society and largely ignored. (221)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the Native had been forced through the settling of Canada and the gradual spreading of towns, villages, communities and homesteads to live on reserves in isolation and retreat further and further north and west. Therefore, the average Canadian of the time had no real contact with either the Natives or the Inuit. They became a myth, a legend to be read about in fictional works written by the white colonizers, who presented the events of the narratives from their subjective angles. The Native and also the Inuit were not merely ignored, as Francis mentions, but basically erased from the literary landscape. This also meant the reduction of their roles to supporting roles in adventure narratives, which showed a desire for a Romantic nationalism.

The Native came to be considered as a race that is soon to disappear from the face of the Earth. That is why numerous endeavours were taken by Canadian artists to travel to distant places in the West and the North and locate the various tribes. This sense of pathos involved in the subject appealed to the White audiences and gave the work urgency.

This sense of urgent mission also influenced the manner in which the Natives were portrayed. These artists became amateur ethnographers in wanting to record

the traditional lifestyles and lives of Natives, but at the same time ignored any evidence of Native adaptation to White civilization. Due to this, these paintings were often highly romantic and idealized images of the Indian based on what the artist believed aboriginal life had been before its contact with White Man.

Paul Kane was one of the first, among many, to paint a whole series on Native culture. There were several Canadian artists who tried to follow in Kane's footsteps, and three in particular became important interpreters and preservers of Native culture. One was Frederick Arthur Verner (1836-1928)[32], who became known for his popular paintings of buffalo. Another was Edmund Morris (1871-1913), a landscape painter who became a Native portrait artist. And the third was Emily Carr (1871-1945), who painted a whole series of brooding, dark, vibrant coloured oil paintings of the West Coast Haida totem poles with the intention of preserving these for future generations.

The image of the Northern myth in Canadian art was strengthened by the paintings of the "national movement" in Canadian art, The Group of Seven. They identified the Canadian being through the Canadian landscape, like Carr, and this became the essence of their painting. For them and through their works the North became a mirror of national character and identity. They portrayed the rugged terrain of the Canadian Shield and the changing seasons in the Northern woods. The artists of The Group believed that nature was more than simply a visual feast of form and colour, and sought in their work, like other landscape artists of similar belief, like the Romantics, to transcend mere physical description of the outside world. They regarded nature as a powerful spiritual force.

According to F. B. Housser in his book, *A Canadian Art Movement: The Story of the Group of Seven*:

> The message that the Group of Seven art movement gives to this age is the message that here in the North has arisen a young nation with faith in its own creative genius. (Hulan 139)

[32] Verner was fascinated by Paul Kane and virtually followed in his footsteps. Anna Jakabfi further elaborates Verner's achievements in her essay *The Oldest Immigrants* (30). Here I merely wish to make a note of his name as being an important figure in recording the "vanishing Indian".

The new image of the North was projected by the increasing popularity of outdoor activities such as canoe trips to the hinterland, and voyages that allowed the individual to live out the enduring and hardy adventures depicted in literature. Experiencing, but not conquering the natural elements gains importance.

The image of the North as being mysterious and mystical definitely inspired the Groupôs Romantic nationalist vision (Hulan 140). These artists worked to eliminate European influences in their painting styles and techniques, by trying to find an altogether new form of expressing and portraying the Canadian landscape. They realized that the Canadian northern landscape, as it is different in its colour scheme, immensity and appearance cannot be painted using the colours and methods studied in Europe. Therefore, they experimented outdoors in natural surroundings and concentrated on observing the slightest nuances in colour, movement and light effects. ñFor The Group, especially for its most articulate spokesman, Lawren Harris, the natural environment was the North, although, the discovery that Canadian nationality was connected with the north was hardly newò (140) In their work they focused on the ñCanadian Northò and ñCanada as north,ò thereby conflating this image, but their images (here the reference is only to the landscapes) consist of only the natural elements. These artists experimented with sketching the same landscape or perspective under different climatic conditions to emphasize the immense strength and force of nature. Their paintings depicting the various natural phenomena are basically without human beings. ñThe north is represented as a blank page from which the presence of all people have been erased, presenting the viewer with a territory to be occupied and possessed, and a symbolic space, a topos being namedò (Hulan 141). The call of the North urges an instantaneous response that ñdrives the man to mobilityòand in some cases offers ñan escape into the North, where distance from daily, monotonous round serves as nourishment, and even renaissanceò (Hamelin 12). And wherever the notion of escape into the North can be found in literature, there is also some form of Romanticism, and it is this that seems to account for the Northôs appeal to the idea of a national consciousness and identity.

What Lawren Harris sought in nature, especially the North, and projected through his paintings was the individual union with the greater self, that is timeless

and beautiful, where the personal is to be transcended. As Harris said, ñAll great art is impersonal, achieved by a sublimation of a personal ecstasyò(Davis 109). And the easiest place to see that greater, perfect world is out in nature.

Vibrations of Art in Modern Canadian Poetry

The Group of Sevenôs aesthetic had a great impact on modernist poetry. Its influences may be detected in the appropriation of imagism and free verse techniques in depicting the landscape. A befitting example of an almost replica of Tom Thomsonôs *The West Wind* (1917) (see plate 22) and Arthur Lismerôs *Old Pine* (McGregor Bay 1929) (see plate 23) is A. J. Smithôs poem, *The Lonely Land* (1936). This is an imagist verse with bold clarity that provides a dramatic and imaginative illustration of the Northern elements.

> Cedar and jagged fir
> uplift sharp barbs
> against the gray
> and cloud-piled sky;
> and in the bay
> blown spume and windrift
> and thin, bitter spray
> snap
> at the whirling sky;
> and the pine trees
> lean one way. (Smith 98-9)

This is Smithôs best known poem where the Northern landscapes depicted in the above mentioned paintings are expressed through words. As in the paintings the cedars and pines are shown to be tormented by the harsh and powerful elements, the wind, the rain and the cold, twisting and bending the trees almost to the excess of breaking. But these trees and plants still survive:

> This is the beauty
> of strength

broken by strength
and still strong. (Smith 99)

Images of nature battling with the extreme elements of the North suggest an awe-inspiring power, which is to be wondered. The poem is rich in subtly controlled vocabulary and carefully modulated rhythms. This is not a descriptive poem, but rather the visual is given sound. ñThe dissonance, resonance, cry, etc. become audibleò (Hulan 141). Here, as in the paintings there is only the blank page of nature without any signs of human habitation or presence. The natural cycle of life is continuous and requires no human intrusion.

The poems featuring in Al Purdyôs (1918-2000) volume *North of Summer* (1967) also provide glimpses of the North through a personal experience. Purdy was described as a ñversifying journalistò, and some of his books have in fact been poetic accounts of journeys, such as *North of Summer* (1967), based on a trip to the Arctic. His poem, *Trees at the Arctic Circle,* describes in detail the dwarf trees, and ground willows,

They are 18 inches long
or even less
crawling under rocks
groveling among the lichens
bending and curling to escape
making themselves small
finding new ways to hide (Purdy 84)

Purdy compares these with the ñgreat Douglas firsò or the ñdwarf shrubs of Ontarioò, landscapes with which he is more familiar. Though he seems ironical and regards the willows as ñCoward treesòhe comes to realize that

And yet ï and yet
their seed pods glow
like delicate grey earrings
their leaves are veined and intricate
like tiny parkas
They have about three months

to make sure the species does not die
and that's how they spend their time
unbothered by any human opinion
just digging in here and now
sending their roots down down down
And you know it occurs to me
about 2 feet under
those roots must touch permafrost
ice that remains ice forever
and they use it for their nourishment
they use death to remain alive (Purdy 85)

These images appropriately illustrate the immense potential of the natural elements combating each other in order to survive. As in the previous poem no human presence is noted except for the persona giving an account of the circumstances. In its visual depiction Arthur Lismer's painting *Pine tree and rocks* (1921) (see plate 24) provides certain similarities by presenting a solitary pine tree, not a ground willow, among rocks and boulders in Georgian Bay[33], with its twisted trunk showing visible signs of its constant fight for survival. The brilliantly vibrant and vivid colours of blues, greys, browns and whites, achieved by thick brushstrokes further enhance the solemnity and the immense struggle of the elements. The poem *Arctic Rhododendrons* also focuses and seemingly magnifies the Rhododendrons as being

é small purple surprises
in the river's white jacket
and after you've seen them
a number of times
in water-places
where their silence seems
related to river-thunder
you think of them as "noisy flowers"(Purdy 81)

The images of colour provide visual projections, while the references to silence and noise focus on the audible effects. The length of life allotted these plants by the natural elements is given emphasis here, as well, as Purdy states that it "lasts two weeks in August/ and then dies"(81). Purdy's visual encounters with the curiosities of

[33] The members of The Group regularly went on sketching trips to Algonquin Park, which is a vast forestry reserve north of Toronto. The Park stretches between Georgian Bay on the west and the Ottawa River to the east (Newlands 24).

nature in the Arctic region result in transporting these closer to the average reader. In this sense the myth of the North becomes a reality, something that is now graspable.

But Purdy is also a storyteller, who creates poetry through plain talk. He uses a vernacular style, resists metric convention and shows a strong feeling for the past (as in his poem titled *Inuit)*. He also places the peoples belonging on the Northern map as the Inuit or the Native allowing their space and history to drift into his poetry. Purdy portrays a Northern reality rather than a myth, thereby demythologizing the firmly grounded myths of the North. His poems consist of short lines, open-ended free verse and concentrate on details (as in the above cited poems) and people. He tells stories in poetic form and traces the tensions between the Northern myth and Northern reality presenting an altogether new approach.

The presentation of modern poetry would not be complete without Henry Beissel (1929-), whose *Cantos North* (1982) is a major endeavour in discussing Northern Canada with its ancient forests, tundra and eternal ice. The work is a cycle of poems, consisting of twelve *Cantos*, focussing on Canada as a land, as a state with flashes of history incorporated, and as an idea. The *Cantos* may be read individually, but together it creates a universal epic. The *First Canto* begins by making it obvious that we are in fact dealing with the Arctic region, the North, without giving a specific location:

> North my love north
> where the earth stands firm
> against the continental drift
> and whirls the stars about us
> like a frozen wheel of fire,
> look north for the future
> in a chrysalis of snow. (7)

The image of the ñchrysalis of snowò is comparable to a metamorphosis taking place like the cycle of life with its abundance of wealth and riches. This is a continuous cycle, one that is never ending, the only ñinterruptionò is the coming of ñhomo sapiensò. This is a region where ña victorôs wreath is woven from poison ivyò(10), and it is all about ñsurvivalò(11). The images ñrivers run immemorialò, ñexplosive energy of glaciersò(8), ñthe weight of snow cripples, breaks trees hereò, ñan ice rain turns the

boreal forest into a fairy-tale of glassò and ñthe sky is master of us allò (9) portray the ñprimordial rootsò (9) of the natural history of the land. Contrasted to the eternal history of the North, the coming of man as immigrant or conqueror is relatively short. With the appearance of man the focus now shifts from the land itself to that of human settlement and the taking of the land by white invaders, which is already foreshadowed by a reference to ñCartierôs curseò (8). This is later again referred to with the arrival of White man as ñthis land that God allotted to Cainò (19), where ña dream of pioneers became a nightmareò (15). The notion of the land as being eternal and existing before the time it was ñGondwanalandò (8) is heavily interlinked with the myth of the North. As the author stresses, this region with its emptiness, and untouched purity, is a ñvast blank canvas of a landò (7). Beissel fully emphasizes the awe-inspiring nature of the land and the fact that ñthis vast stretch of frozen country never yielded to imperial commandò (26). And with white manôs arrival ñthey came here to make a killing. Thus civilization came north. In barrels of brandy, gunpowder, bibles and beadsò (26). The images presented throughout with reference to the historical happenings of the conflicts between the Natives, Inuit, and white man, the territorial wars between the French and the English, the murdering of the Acadians, and the expeditions within the Northern region seeking Cathay and the Northwest Passage, are all explicit and highly ironical. The North has set its own limitations whereby the colonizer is punished for its intrusion and destruction. The ñIò persona of the poem, the epic bard, therefore praises the glories of nature:

> I sing the bravery of the unknown
> enduring the north that cannot be taught
> pity. War fetches no glory and no honour
> where living is victory. Here
> where winter comes before autumn
> summer is brief and rolls out a carpet
> of yellow poppies at the feet of black spruce
> marching in columns northward,
> lifeôs spearheads into the millennia. (30)

Though civilization may disrupt the lives of the Aboriginal Peoples, it cannot change the endless ñcirclesò of nature. The primordial emptiness of the North offers a challenge to white man, but this land cannot be conquered. And only ñto endure is to

belongò (39), which Beissel further explains that ñnot by mastering the tree do you harvest its fruit but by submitting proudly to its seasonsò (39). How should the North be approached? According to Helmut Markus

> This vast empty land will never be understood by the conqueror, nor even by the natural historian, the geologist and the cartographer. The "landscape" in its essence, as a whole, a Gestalt, as a physical ever-present reality though not separated from its history, can only be comprehended by way of empathy, of a corresponding landspace of the mind i.e. as a myth, as a non-empirical entity consisting of the present, the past and the possible. (Markus 31-32)

The myth of the North can be fully expressed in poetry, because in Beisselôs interpretation the North is not simply Canada, but rather ñthe Canadian wilderness being a symbol of primordial natureò (32), in other words it is the ñcentre of creationò (32). In following this reasoning ñthe north is a condition of the southò (Beissel 44), and ñthe north is the graveyard of all ambitionò (57), it all begins and ends here, this is the core of mother earth to which man remains bound. Western man has lost this spiritual connection with the mother earth when he conquered her, and instead has a ñdialectical relationship to natureò (Markus 32). Does the poet convey a solution for man? Man must recall his basic roots by accepting the fact that he ultimately comes from nature and is bound to it. But in order to achieve this he must experience the original ñprimordialò state of nature, which is the North. The ñIò persona, being the epic bard singing the song of nature, but also bearing the message of the poet, sings his final vision:

> I am creation
> from words into love
> from knowing dying
> to praise the north
> where all life converges
> to open out again
> into another mystery. (60)

The ñmysteryò however is not something ambiguous, but plainly to be seen if only man is willing to see and undergo the metamorphosis already alluded to in the

beginning of the work within the imagery of "chrysalis of snow" (7). Man has the possibility of unfolding like a pupa and becoming altogether something new and beautiful within the eternal cycle of life as "I sing winter so forever into spring" (60).

The North, therefore, is to be experienced and the Canadian northern landscapes featuring in the paintings of The Group of Seven are also an experience projecting vivid images of landscapes (with vast expanses of sky, huge glaciers with vibrant colours, rock formations, rapid rivers, waterfalls, deformed and broken trees, etc.), while the poetic endeavours focus on audibility (as in Smith's, Purdy's and Beissel's poetry). These visual and audible images emphasize the immense power and spiritual force of Nature and the natural elements that have an altogether overwhelming effect on Man. The poetic endeavours presented underline and stress the vibrant and overpowering forces that Man encounters and experiences in the northern regions of Canada. Both the poetic and artistic presentations are vital experiments in coming to terms and experiencing Canada's North and the myth of the North. Though these artistic expressions are featured in the earlier writings and paintings as pure, and untouched "blank spaces" without any sign of human habitation or forms of wildlife, the realization that the Aboriginal Peoples and the Inuit are an integral part of the northern landscape and must be accepted as such within the Canadian national consciousness and identity came to be realized only in the second half of the twentieth century.

Modern Fictional Narratives on Challenging the Northern Myth

The firmly implanted myths about the Canadian North that have defined the Canadian being and identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries slowly began to change in the twentieth century as writers and artists wanted to depict the *True North* through a personal experience as an essence of literary imagining. Writers, artists, poets, and journalists travel to the north as ethnographers do, meeting people, taking notes, and turning them into polished literary texts when they return home. These literary works, however, are twofold since they either present accounts of nature without the presence of human occupation (like the landscapes of The Group of Seven or Emily Carr, and countless adventure narratives) or now include the Aboriginal Peoples and proceed to depict them as being an integral part of the northern way of life and tradition. In Canadian literature this becomes an exercise in "post-colonial liberation", which may be a way of removing the "dead hand" of tradition from the throat of national literature that has been suffocating it for such a long time.

A literary work that deals specifically with the theme of exploration in the north in fictional form is George Bowering's *Burning Water* (1980). The work is no adventure story, but rather a "metahistorical parody, which turns the reconstruction of history into a deconstruction" (Kuester 99). The novel is based on the journals of Captain George Vancouver and Archibald Menzies (the ship's surgeon), and other historical documents. This is, however, no 'average' historical novel as Bowering does not clearly separate historical fact from mythology. There are two distinguishable storylines running parallel, the story of George Vancouver's exploration of the west coast of North America, which sought the Northwest Passage, and George Bowering the author writing his book. Therefore, the personal angle of

the author is embedded in a fictional account of a historically relevant factual occurrence.

To supply the work with a visionary approach, Bowering inserts some subchapters on the local Native Indians, who discuss their understanding and views of the great English ships and white men. These sections are humorous, and highly ironical in their presentation. The irony targets white civilization as opposed to Native culture and way of life. The strong opposition existing between the two cultures is clearly distinguishable throughout the novel as nature and Indigenous culture are closely linked, as opposed to white man and his colonial attitude. The Natives are illustrated as childishly innocent, and naive, but nevertheless full of curiosity on seeing the huge English ships, which they compare to ñtwo immense and frighteningly beautiful birds upon the waterò (Bowering 14). Whether the images of the ships as birds are fact or a vision becomes a matter of a joke between the younger and older Indian:

> ñThen you do think there is something to facts?ò
> ñOf course. But facts can only lead us to visions. Some of us, at least, were born to see visions.ò
> (Bowering 15)

The idea of ñfactò and ñvisionò is given a further twist with a word play on ñfancyò and ñimaginationò, which the two Indians continue to play:

> ñYou are only trying to discredit me.ò
> ñNo, I am discrediting only your fancy. Your fancy would have the fish leap from the water into your carrying bag. But the imagination, now that is another matter. Your imagination tells you where to drop your hooks.ò
> (Bowering 16)

Bowering tackles the conceptual terms reality versus imagination in toying with the idea of the myth of a North. The North as a seemingly empty wilderness is ready to play tricks on the mind of the individual, as a place where nothing is what it may seem to be.

The use of these terms, however, belong to S.T. Coleridge, English Romantic poet of the early nineteenth century, and the distinction is ultimately between ñdle

dreaming and real perceptionò (Lobb ñImagining Historyò). As Lobb further explains ñfancy indulges our desire for the strange and exotic but is unattached to anything in the real world; imagination, on the other hand, respects fact, seeks it out, and extends our understanding of itò (ñImagining Historyò). This would entail that scientific research and development depend on the imagination, however, Dr. Menzies, as he is presented in Bowering's novel, lacks imagination. He is without any emotion toward his fellow beings and also toward animals or plants. He simply collects facts, and draws conclusions. With this colonialist attitude behind him he has no remorse in killing the albatross with the intention of dissecting the animal for purely scientific purposes. The killing of the albatross is an obvious reference to Coleridgeôs poetic ballad, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798). But Menzies does not feel that he has sinned against God in killing one of his creatures, nor does he worry about the carcass of the dead animal lying on deck. There is no remorse or superstition involved with him, merely facts. Vancouver, however, follows his own imagination, though even that is rather ambiguous, and lives within a world of his own. Vancouver does not seem to achieve his imaginative vision and has thereby more similarities with Menzies. Bowering even gives the story a twist by having Vancouver realize his homosexuality, and ultimately his love for the Spanish Captain Quadra. After Quadraôs death he seems to retreat into his own nutshell of a limited world, slowly dying from within. The two characters being seemingly contrary, must eventually clash, and this occurs at the end of the novel when Vancouver destroys Menziesô plant specimens, whereupon he shoots Vancouver with the same pistol he shot the albatross. This is a rather ironic and ludicrous ending, but in effect it is Menzies shooting the albatross over again. Vancouverôs last angry remark before he is shot, ñWill you want me round your neck till I fall?ò (258), continues with the analogy of Coleridgeôs *Ancient Mariner*[34], and his death is a symbolic suicide, because he is ñan albatross already dead, a stifled imaginationò (Lobb ñImagining Historyò).

[34] In the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* the sailors hung the body of the albatross round the neck of the mariner as a punishment for killing the animal and for his sins. The marinerôs survival when all the others around him die, is his suffering, and redemption comes only when he is capable of fulfilling his imaginative vision, and eventually blesses Godôs beautiful creatures.

The general layout of the novel follows historical fact, but the ending does not, because the historical figure of Vancouver did not die at sea, but in England a few years after his return while writing his own account of his travels. Bowering cunningly shuffles fact with fantasy throughout the novel concentrating on the inner psychological turmoil of Vancouver, who suffers from within, unable to find an outlet. He carries the punishment allotted to the original Adam and Eve for their sins and ultimately for the sins of white man's civilization. Nevertheless, he cannot be termed a tragic hero or even a hero. Does the novel have a hero at all? Is it perhaps Bowering, the writer? He does succeed in writing his book and overcoming his own limitations, which Vancouver is unable to. Vancouver is merely given a limited task by the English Crown, to chart the coastline and keep a look out for the Northwest Passage. He is unable to create great deeds as battle the French or the Spanish, or even fulfil the romantic image of the great adventurous explorer that the idea of the Northern myth would require. Certainly, Bowering includes the Indians in his fictional landscape, as being a necessary element, but their overall view of the English becomes a mere joke. The novel ñdeconstructsò historical fact and turns the entire notion of the myth upside down, and ultimately succeeds not only because it is amusing and engaging, but also because it simply avoids answers. The idea of the myth becomes secondary focusing rather on the human relationships (between white people, and white and Indian), and the effects of the northern climate. The mystical atmosphere of the North has an underlying effect in releasing the frustration and aggression bottled up within the individual. This eventually leads to confrontation, brutality and murder. Vancouver cannot control his desires, emotions (love, hatred), and behaviour. Menzies, on the other hand, has an uncontrollable urge to collect and dissect anything from plants to animals of various sizes. This is reality in its extreme as opposed to imagination, which leads to disillusionment. Human contact, thereby, becomes more factual and less imaginative.

The other fictional writing that is to be considered here with regard to Northern exploration, the Northern myth and image of the Native within the landscape, is Rudy Wiebeôs *A Discovery of Strangers* (1994). The work retells the last fifteen months of the first Sir John Franklin expedition between 1819 and 1821. The structural layout of the novel is complex as it builds up two parallel narratives: the first recounts the

major events of the exploration based on the authentic journals of John Richardson and Robert Hood, these passages being written in italics; the second is a fictional narrative on the ñdiscoveryò and encounter of cultures, this being the white and the native, and the beautiful ñlove storyò of Greenstockings and Robert Hood. The ñdiscoveryò, as suggested in the title, presents a multiplicity of layers that bear relevance to the exploration conducted by Franklin in the North, therefore, the discovery of the North and its uncharted wilderness is in central focus, while another layer concentrates on ñdiscoveringò the Natives within that particular region. Further layers open up that present images of the spiritual world of the Yellowknife Indians, their spiritual connection with nature, the animals and the universe. The novel moves from the general to the specific as other layers gradually surface representing the human relationships between the members of Greenstockingsô family and the tribe, and their emotional relationships. All these coatings slowly unfold as the novel and its events progress.

One of the important layers features the relationship between the white and the native. This means ñdiscoveringò each otherôs culture and forms of communication. When the two cultures are confronted a clash is inevitable, because they ultimately differ down to their roots. The tribe has no chief, decisions are made together, just as hunting and food sharing. The Natives live in complete harmony with nature, following its rhythms, patterns and cycles. The white explorers have brought their ñcivilizationò, which they want the natives to accept and acknowledge. The clearly colonial attitude of the English is explicitly outlined in a dialog between Franklin and Richardson:

> ñWe will never control any Indians, not in this wild country, until we teach them the absolute, practical necessity of money.ò
> ñThey hardly seem to require it, since they trade for what they need.ò
> ñExactly. I believe this is the fundamental problem in the economic development of primitives. If they understood money, they would work harder to get more of it, in order to buy what they want.ò
> éòThey must want more than they need. That is civilization.ò(Wiebe 59)

Civilization, therefore, contradicts everything the natives understand and believe in. Wiebe clearly stresses this opposition between the two cultures throughout the novel. Though the Franklin expedition's purpose was to chart the unknown regions and to search for the Northwest Passage, the desire of white man to rule and conquer is immediately noticeable. This characteristic also contradicts the native belief system. From the moment of their arrival the Yellowknife Indians are confronted with these attributes, and though they disagree with this overbearing attitude the Natives eventually agree to help the English. Through Wiebe's presentation it is obvious that the English merely use them for their own selfish purposes.

The idea that the North is an empty space waiting for white man to ñdiscoverò runs through the whole novel even though the land is occupied by the natives. This is given further emphasis when the English begin to name the rivers, lakes, mountains, etc. within the region, in other words taking possession of the land. Possessing and making a note of names, places for memoryôs sake are vital elements, but are in opposition when comparing the two cultures. The English give the various geographical sites English names and register the course of their travels in diaries and journals, thereby making a detailed written record to serve as a basis for their memory. The Native, however, have an oral tradition and culture in which memory is recorded through stories and perhaps the most interesting manner in which this is portrayed in the novel is through Birdseyeôs dreams. In her dreams she has prophetic visions of the future, as she sees Robert Hoodôs death, as well, but these are closely connected spiritually with the past and the present, which seemingly form one universal whole.

The elders of the tribe like Keskarrah also come to realize that the English, but in general white man, have brought ñthingsòon them:

> ñI was foolish, I thought sickness was no more than blisters, bleeding perhaps, and some People lost in their bodies. Or even Eaters eating parts of us. But thatôs not it ï the sickness they bring is a *spirit*, of *things*. It is connected somehow to this endless killing of more and more small animals, and this shining little shit they hang around Peopleôs necks where nothing so bright has ever hung before. é Behind their quick kindness, These English are deadly. Their coming will destroy us.ò(269)

The Nativesô view of life, nature and their impressions of white man are evenly balanced within the work. White man and the native confront each other, each fully representing itself, as harmony and nature versus chaos and aggression; sharing, trust and order versus greed, selfishness and civilization. Ultimately, white man must realize that he cannot survive within this climate and wilderness without the help of the Native. Thereby, the image of the unconquerable North is heavily stressed throughout. The stubborn and selfish attitude of Franklin eventually causes the death of his officers, as they starve to death, after they are left to continue their expedition alone without the guidance of the Natives. The natural order and rhythm of nature provides a central frame for the whole novel, as it begins very appropriately with the ñAnimals in this countryò and also ends with Greenstockings claiming the child for herself and ñshe turns, leaves them both as the arctic light darkens around her in its impenetrable, life-giving coldò (317). The Native as an elemental part of nature and the North blend in and are capable of penetrating the North, while white man is incapable and as a result must suffer the consequences of his áactôagainst nature, the animals and the Native.

The challenges presented here offer a multitude of perspectives on encountering the North and the myths surrounding it. Challenging the myth of the North may still be considered of interest, but one of the concerns for the future is whether the reimagining of the North, by replacing one mythology with another, or by changing the features to reflect other concerns and ideas, will actually undermine or reaffirm the Northôs traditional function as a blank page for the nationôs narrative and national consciousness.

Though the conception of the north is firmly established in Canadian literature and the arts based on the earliest journals, diaries, letters, adventure memoirs, travelogues and even paintings, a different manner of approach and seeing becomes essential. In this sense Smithôs, Al Purdyôs, Henry Beisselôs poetic conceptions, as well as George Boweringôs and Rudy Wiebeôs narrative visions become essential elements in understanding the North and with it the Canadian Being. For Purdy, the Arctic experience was important in forming his art, and his poetic war on the myths of

the North were considered altogether daring. But is the North the place to create art? According to Purdy:

> When you experience that blindingly white place of sunlight, vivid blue water and solitude that presses on you and surrounds you like air itself you wonder at your own hubris and insolence in thinking you can write about it. (Hulan 142-3)

But Purdy does write about it when he spends most of the summer of 1965 on Baffin Island and later recalls that

> The sea surrounding our island was like the concentrated essence of all the blue that ever was; I could feel that blue seep into me, and all my innards changed colour. And the icebergs! They were shimmery lace and white brocade, and they became my standard for the word *beauty.* é But, I say to myself now, think again: I was never really happier than when I was lying in a sleeping bag on an Arctic island, listening to those noisy ducks at the top of the world and writing a poem. (Purdy xvi)

In their works these writers attempt to break through the myths and illusions in order to write about the North without trying to colonize it with the imagination. Their aim is to create a convincing image of this region and its people, because the Natives and the Inuit are part of the image of the natural environment. They present an aesthetic vision of the North that is to be seen in postmodern travel writing, but they also break with this pattern in representation. These writers are in reality ñplaying with the myth of the north as a blank page, but starting to question it at the same timeò(Hulan 143). Does the reimagining of the North establish a new form of national consciousness and being?

These authors reject the Romantic national ideal represented in the works of The Group of Seven. Their experience, imagination and voice does not resemble The Groupôs blank, mystical North that can be closely linked with Canadian nationalism. Purdyôs interest lies in Inuit culture, while Wiebe probes the depths of Native Indian culture, however, both tend to move toward the ethnographic. The ethnographic details projected in the works show the basis on which they effectively build their poetic visions of the North. Ethnography and travel writing influence their poetry and

fictional writing with an emphasis on an authentication and authorizing role of firsthand experience. The role of experience and continuation of the past into the present within these representations of Inuit and Native Indian culture becomes important. Through their works and artistic endeavours cultural survival is assured and Aboriginal identity is given full emphasis.

Modern poets and writers of fictional narratives from the mid twentieth century onwards, like Al Purdy, Henry Beissel, George Bowering and Rudy Wiebe attempt to break through the myths and illusions that surround the North. They manage to create a convincing image of the North and its people, the Inuit and the Native Indian. Through their works Native identity emerges as a harmonious element of nature and the Northern landscape. One should not, however, neglect the fact that the firmly embedded ideals and conceptions of a Canadian national consciousness and being, that focus on the northern frame of mind are still upheld in the minds of the individual. As a result of the changes, that have taken place during the past decades, there is now a wider and more compromising perspective encompassing the Aboriginal Peoples of today and their history.

Conclusion

The chapters featured within this volume are variations on a Canadian theme which focus on contemporary issues such as the creation of identities, icons, stereotypical images and the Northern Myth. The individual concepts encompass large areas of research, which formulate different layers of definitions depending on the particular field of study. Therefore, this wide palette had to be narrowed to one specific perspective and area of analysis as the abundance of material would have made it impossible to incorporate everything within a single volume. In limiting my focus I concentrated on the artistic achievements of Emily Carr and The Group of Seven (and Tom Thomson), who offered a very interesting angle for analysis within Canadian arts, specifically painting, which served as a basis for a definition of what Canadian identity came to mean. The great personalities within the cultural history of Canada defined their identity and identities, they were iconized for their outstanding achievements and through the landscapes of the North, painted by The Group and Tom Thomson, firmly established a romanticized concept of the Myth of the North. This, however, needed to be challenged and the clearly formulated norms to be demythologized. The stereotypical images of the Indian that proposed the image of a vanishing race was documented by artists, among them Emily Carr in her many paintings featuring native villages, portraits of Native Indians, but most notably the totem poles of the West Coast. These images played upon the notions of fantasy versus reality, which projected the artificially created reflections of the Indian confronted with the Canadian Native within cultural history.

The influence of European Impressionism on European and Canadian artists from the 1880s brought on a surge of new changes and developments, which encouraged many artists to travel to Paris, London or Berlin to experience and acquaint themselves with the newest trends in painting. The first chapter focused on

illustrating the ñawakening cultural identitiesò that were taking place in Toronto and Montreal. Though I concentrated on Toronto with its English Canadian environment, I tried to list the most notable names of artists within these decades in order to feature the intensity of the developments occurring. The other important notion I laid emphasis on was the interesting feature of the particular names of these artistic groupings throughout Europe, the United States and Canada, and its possible connections with the naming of The Group of Seven. Ross King in his *Defiant Spirits* (2010) noted this relation of the numerous artistic groups, which many other critical works however neglect to do. The peculiarity I wished to highlight was the notion that The Group of Seven was in fact influenced by these European trends and artistic groups, which in effect instigated them to name themselves as a group of seven artists rather than a school of painters. I also wished to stress the extent to which European Impressionism was interlinked with that of the American and Canadian modes of painting techniques and colour schemes.

The artistic development of Emily Carr is the other perspective I wished to portray in my second chapter, and to illustrate how her artistic career featured two sides of her personality, namely her painting and her fictional writing. The identities created in her writings altogether present a mysterious character, who wished to conceal her true self ñwithin a sealed envelopeò. The identities of Small, the landlady and the artist have a sound autobiographical basis, but the images portrayed in the various anecdotes featured different layers of identities that Carr found convenient to hide behind. Through my analysis of Carrôs works I focused on these different layers of identity she wished to present and the artistic quality of her writing rather than trying to confirm the autobiographical factors of her life.

Great achievements of artists may be accepted and rewarded in the course of their lives, but being written about usually occurs after their death, and this entails the process of iconization. In my third chapter I aimed to illustrate and define what or who an icon is and as examples I structurally divided this section into three separate parts in order to examine Emily Carr, Tom Thomson and The Group of Seven as three distinct entities. In each case I chose one or two noteworthy works that were written about Carr, Tom Thomson or The Group, and examined the literary, cultural and social phenomena that characterizes these artists within these works. The process of

iconicity revealed that there was always a factor of mystery involved, which in fact created a special sphere around these personalities and this seems to be the probable explanation for there being so many fictional, dramatic, poetic and critical works written on and about them.

Incorporating the Native theme within the fourth chapter of the volume was relevant, because the cultural historical questions surrounding the Indian versus Native ideology is an interesting theme that still maintains its controversial status. Added to this Emily Carr also painted a whole series that documented the totem poles and native villages of the West Coast. These emphasized the notion of the stereotypical image of the Indian, that portrayed a race that is soon to vanish. Her early paintings within the native theme were in fact considered as documents and painted in a realistic and documentary mode. Therefore, I found Carrôs Indian oeuvre to be a distinguishing factor that labelled these works, just as her later landscapes, as distinctly Canadian. Her work, *Klee Wyck*, further elicits Carrôs perceptions of Native Indian culture and as my analysis illustrated contains some of the artistôs best lyrical passages that are enhanced by her paintings, for example *Dôsonoqua*, which is also the title of one of her anecdotes within the work.

The Native theme is continued in the fifth chapter that elaborated the notion of identity and national consciousness with a specific reference to the Northern Myth. Here, I found it relevant to define the concept of the North and present some of the basic nineteenth century images of the ñNorthern nationò that ultimately defined the North as being a ñblank spaceò without the presence of the Native Indian or the Inuit in the popular fictional writings or even films of the period. The romanticized Northern images painted by The Group run parallel with various poetic endeavours as A.J. Smithôs *The Lonely Land* and Al Purdyôs *Trees at the Arctic Circle*, which may in fact be viewed as the audible expressions of Tom Thomsonôs and Arthur Lismerôs paintings of the Algoma region. Another work I considered important to include within this theme was Henry Beisselôs *Cantos North*, which presents an even greater challenge. The work focuses on the immense spiritual power of nature with all its purity set within the North, but with indistinct boundaries. The notion that Beissel here stressed is the power and force of nature that cannot be conquered by White Man, and ultimately Man must learn to live in harmony and in accordance with the natural

cycles of nature, as the Natives and the Inuit do. The works that challenged the concept of the myth effectively, incorporated the Indigenous Peoples in their fictional settings, as George Bowering's *Burning Water* and Rudy Wiebe's *A Discovery of Strangers*, which as I emphasized, demythologized the preset notions of the Northern Myth.

The major themes that emerged within the scope of this work endeavoured to formulate definitions of the concept of identity, iconization, stereotypical images and the Northern Myth. Forms of identity and national consciousness fuse through all the chapters highlighting distinct approaches and the fluidity of the concept since there is not one general definition, but many. These terms invariably shift and reformulate themselves from one generation to the next and from society to society. The overall aim was to present the connections between identity, national consciousness and the arts, specifically painting and literature. In addition, whatever changes and developments may have occurred since the 1930s these paintings still attract great attention and continue to define the Canadian Being.

List of Abbreviations

Chapter 1

Awakening Cultural Identities in Canadian Arts in the Early Twentieth Century

Carr *GP* -- Carr. Emily. *Growing Pains: An Autobiography.*

Chapter 2

Identities on Being Canadian in Emily Carrös Fictional Writing

Carr *BS* ñ Carr, Emily. *Book of Small.*
Carr *HAS* ñ Carr, Emily. *House of all Sorts.*
Carr *GP* ñ Carr, Emily. *Growing Pains: An Autobiography*

Chapter 3

Creating Cultural icons within Canadian Art
Braid *Rebel* -- Braid, Kate. *Emily Carr, Rebel Artist.*

Chapter 4

The Image-makers of the Stereotypical Indian in Native Canadian Culture

Francis *II* -- Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian.*

Carr *GP* ñ Carr, Emily. *Growing Pains: An Autobiography.*
Carr *HT* ñ Carr, Emily. *Hundreds and Thousands.*
Carr *KW* ñ Carr, Emily. *Klee Wyck.*

Moray *UE* ï Moray, Gerta. *Unsettling Encounters.*
Moray *PW* ñ Moray, Gerta. *The Peaceable Wilderness.*

Chapter 5

Canadian National Consciousness and Identity within a Northern Frame of Mind

Francis *DN* -- Francis, Daniel. *Discovery of the North.*

Francis *II* -- Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian.*

Francis *ND* -- Francis, Daniel. *National Dreams. Myth, Memory and Canadian History.*

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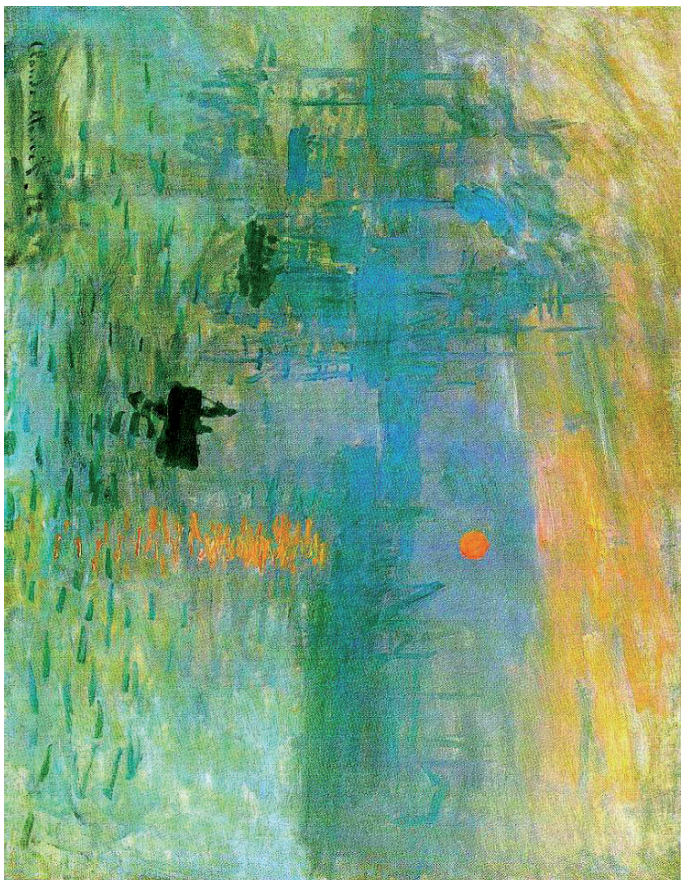

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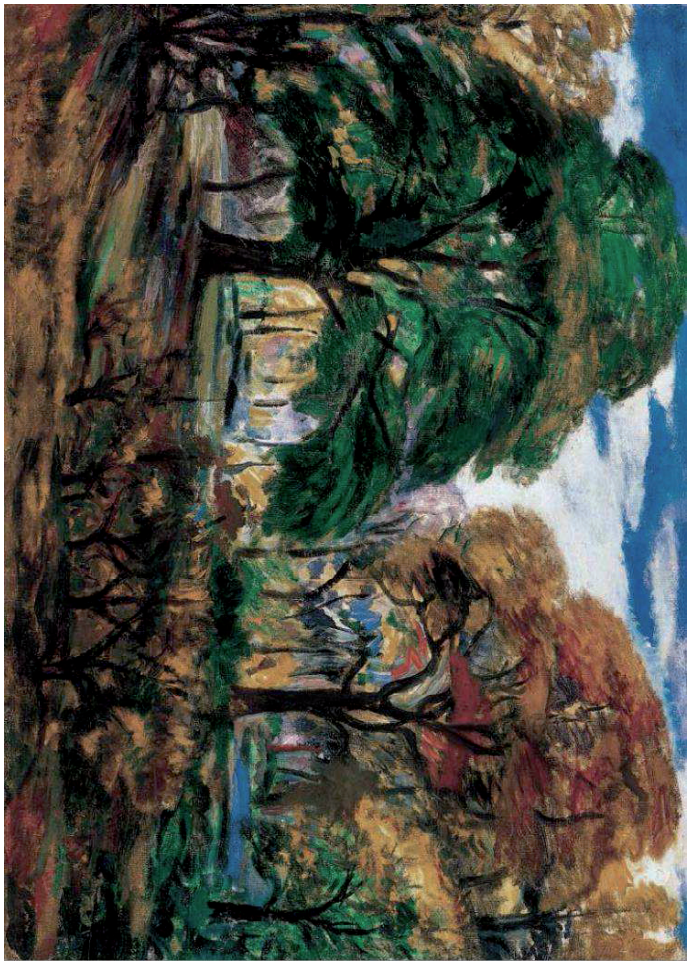

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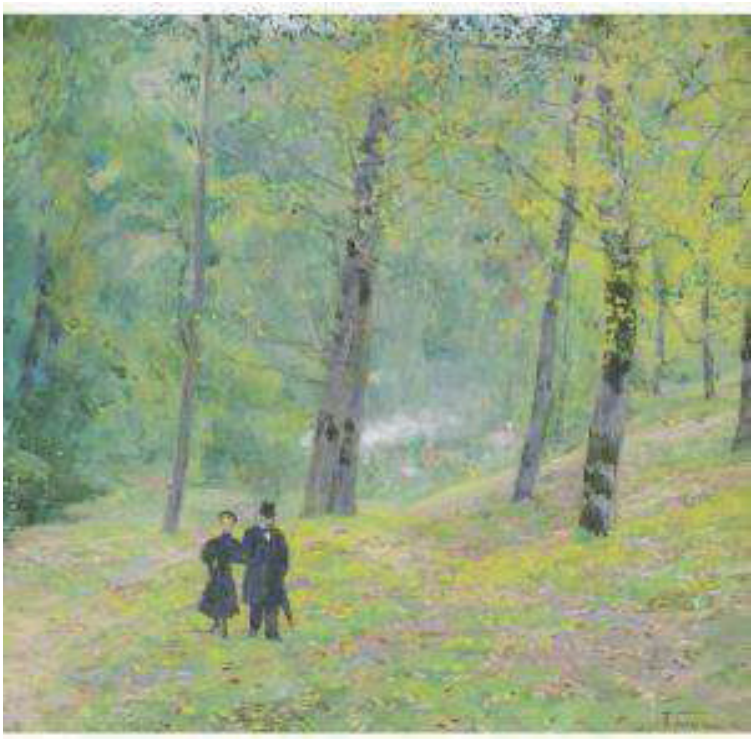

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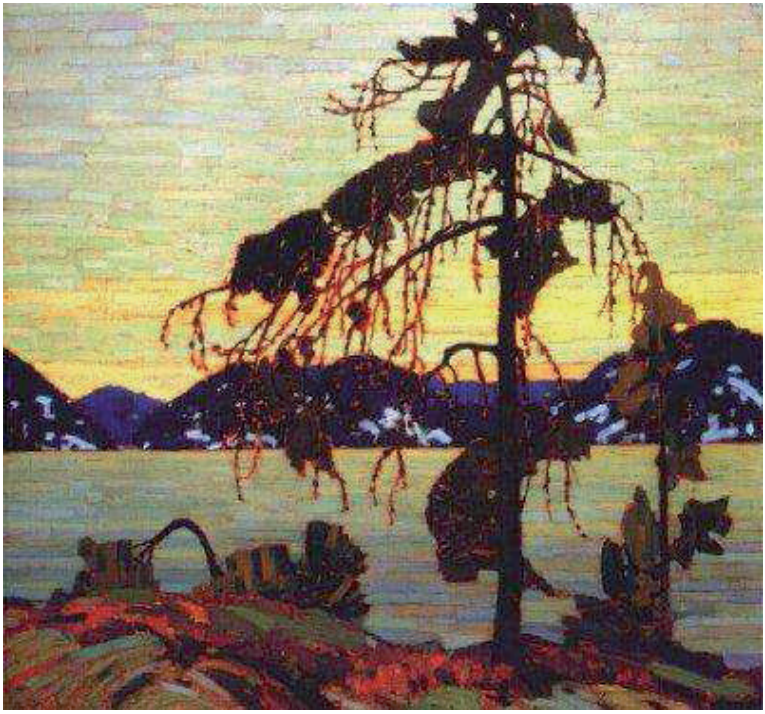

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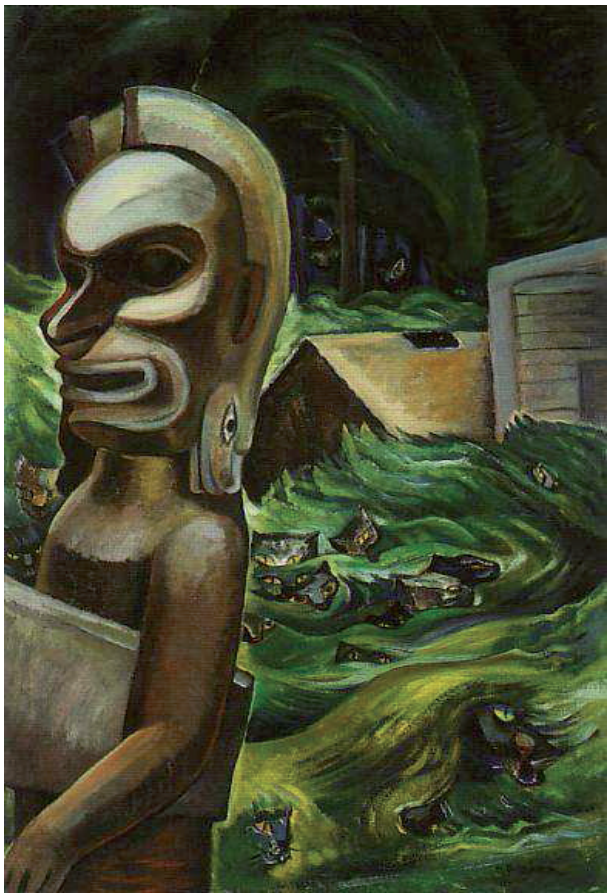

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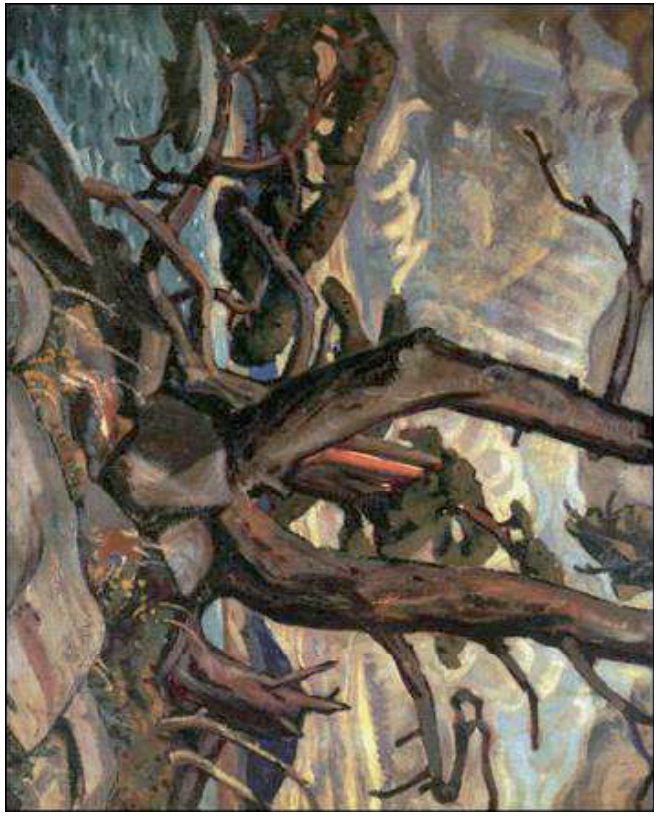

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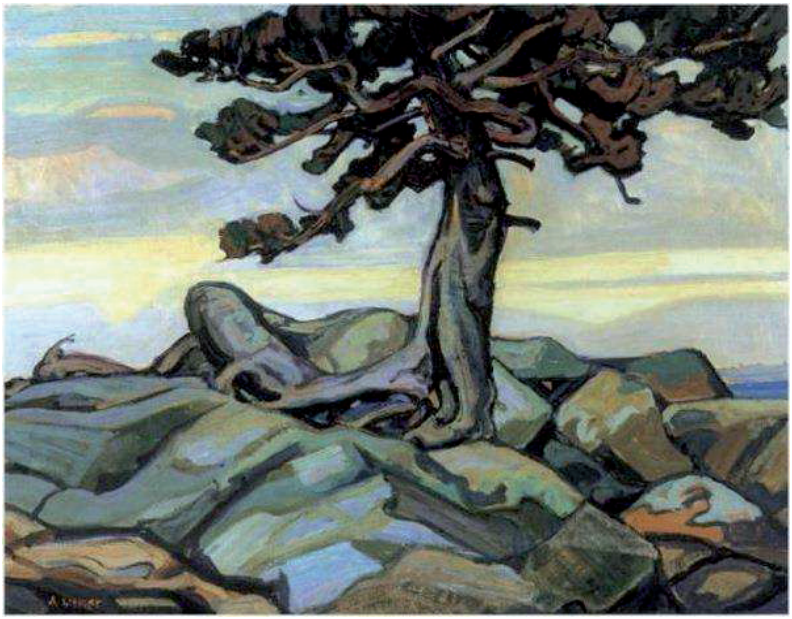

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