"Writing Selfhood": Emily Carr, Lawren Harris, and *their* "Great Canadian West"

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In her later years, Emily Carr (1871-1945) rose to fame as one of Canada's most culturally significant artists and as an innovator in terms of post-Impressionist painting. Born in 1871 in Victoria, British Columbia, she spent her early years immersed in nature on the West Coast and later, through her formal education, experimenting with modernist art techniques. Her posthumously published autobiography, *Growing Pains* (1946), charts the progress of her artistic career from the lens of a rebellious social outcast. Written as a series of prose-style essays, the stories therein express a strong affinity with Canada's forested landscapes and Indigenous peoples—even as the latter may now be regarded circumspectly (at best), for its controversial and racist overtones. In this autobiography, she also invokes the motif of Western Canadian landscape imagery and juxtaposes it with dull cityscapes to highlight its importance to her perception of Canadian national identity and to personal artistic identity.

Presenting herself as a naïve (and rebellious) outsider struggling to make a living as an artist, she yet also calls upon authority figures—almost consistently male—who have apparently influenced her own aesthetic. In particular, excerpts from archived letters written by artist Lawren Harris (1885-1970)—foremost member of the Group of Seven and the focus of this particular essay—which Carr then chooses to include in *Growing Pains*, demonstrate how he unilaterally supported her identity as a landscape painter; however, original copies of exchanges between the two reveal that Carr had more marked, engaged discussions with him, in which she also refuted Harris' influence and criticisms. What the letters make apparent is Harris' tremendous influence on her aesthetic; nonetheless, what she includes in *Growing Pains* are only those excerpts that highlight and validate the content of her art. Ultimately, Carr selectively highlights passages that further ensconce her as a legitimate artist in Canada and shape her autobiographical narrative, engendering a performative contradiction: she accepts and reiterates these remarks that legitimate her status as an artist, while she also emphasises assertions of artistic independence, expressed in her own terms and apart from his approval.

Born to a wealthy family in Brantford, Ontario, Lawren Harris enjoyed the privilege of higher education at Central Technical School and St. Andrew's College ("The Group of Seven"). His success in art found momentum after forming The Group of Seven with J. E. H. MacDonald in 1920. The Group of Seven were also known as the Algonquin school, a name taken from the Indigenous people who traditionally inhabited Eastern Canada (Russell; Black). What marked this artistic movement was their claim to originality. Art historians John O'Brian and Peter

White, however, describe Canadian art in the early twentieth century as being full of imitators, a function "of political and cultural subordination" (21). The Group of Seven might also be seen in this manner, even as they "claimed to be authentically Canadian and free of European influence" (21). To give credence to this idea, the Group led multiple expeditions around Northern Canada to capture what they viewed as "uncharted" territory, removing Indigenous subjects from their work (18). In particular, for example, Harris' paintings reflected a similar nationalist agenda, depicting Canada as a wild, uninhabited landscape—albeit inaccurately.

Harris's relationship with Carr is best represented in their archived letters found at the Royal BC Museum in Victoria, British Columbia. With dates ranging from 1929 to 1944, these exchanges reveal that the two remained in close contact until the end of Carr's life in 1945. More importantly, the correspondence showcases a strong professional and personal relationship that developed over years of communication. His letters to Carr are brimming with idealistic conceptions about Canadian landscape, which undoubtedly made an impression on her aesthetic. In one undated letter, he divulges his plans for an Arctic expedition with the Group of Seven: "I am in great need of losing my littleness and sharing completely in the life of the universe in waters and skies and land and light" (Harris).[1] Upon returning, however, he describes his experience as having been unfulfilling, alluding to his preference for Western landscapes: "I'm painting some of the Arctic things—not bad—but nothing to usher the soul into eternal bliss." Still, he adds that he is trying to "get up to the summit of my soul and work from there—there, where the universe sings" (Harris).[2] In other letters, he remarks on The Group of Seven's shared appreciation for the West, such as that expressed by landscape painter Arthur Lismer. After one of Lismer's trips, Harris notes that the Western environment had captivated his partner as well: "evidently, the great plains and the mountains inspire a forward-looking life, despite depression. That zest will keep this country alive and creative" (Harris).[3] His recurrent use of Romantic-style imagery to describe the terrain corresponds with the early Canadian landscape movement. He frequently speaks of the "spirit" of artistry, which he connects to sublime notions of self, and shares the need to escape his own "littleness" with Carr, who also expresses discontentment with non-Western landscapes. Ultimately, these ideas about selfhood, artistic representation, and the aesthetic of landscape shape their conversations and eventually find their way into *Growing Pains*, her last published work.

His expertise, moreover, might be seen to have catalyzed her understanding of herself as a woman landscape painter and the very forms her landscape paintings assumed. Even so, the very absence of the Indigenous in his work is a point of departure—but also an influence on Carr who would, upon his urgings, remove any Indigenous presence from her work. Art historian Allison MacDuffee regards Harris's depictions of Northern Canada as "exhilarating, yet strangely empty," pointing to the seemingly intentional absence of Indigenous people in his work (583). Andrew Baldwin views Harris's artwork as stemming from "nationalist ambitions along with his efforts to capture in aesthetic form what he perceived to be the essence of Canadian experience—an idealized wilderness synonymous with the Canadian North" (533). He argues that "landscapes were not mere interpretations: they were the result of Harris's earnest desire 'to paint the Canadian scene in its own terms'" (533). It is clear Harris found these landscapes inspiring. Harris's letter to her, dated only as "June," posits that "we should saturate ourselves in our own place, the trees, skies, earth and rock, and let our art grow out of these" (Harris).[4] He then declares that he "cannot yet feel that abstract painting has greater possibilities of depth and meaning than art based on nature and natural forms… I have seen almost no abstract things that

have that deep resonance that stirs and answers and satisfys [sic] the soul" (Harris).[5] As an artist who gained early recognition for abstract depictions of urban cityscapes, his preoccupation with natural landscapes anticipates Carr's eventual progress toward depicting Western terrain exclusively.

Carr responds effusively to his praise and support. In one instance, she addresses one of her paintings, "The Indian Church," which evokes a white clapboard church in Yuquot, British Columbia, which almost shrinks before the pulsing forest by which it is surrounded (Carr 305). She remembers Harris hanging the painting above his dinner table and his subsequent preoccupation with this particular work (306). In an archived letter dated "June," he notes that he "saw considerable art in Europe," adding that he "would rather have 'The Indian Church' than anything I saw."[6] While she appreciates his adulation of her work, it becomes clear that his preoccupation is related to a similar sentiment about national identity he expresses later in the same letter: "But I have an idea—confirmed by what I felt in Europe—that we here, in our own place, or new land, where a new race is forming will find for the present and perhaps for sometime to come, that the fullest life in art for us comes by way of nature."[7] Notwithstanding his optimism, the Indian Church also represents an intersection of Canadian and Indigenous identities that was exploited by landscape painters for their own agenda—one that his letter confirms and with which Carr concurs. In another letter, he encourages Carr and elevates her Western approach to landscape, valuing her work and situating it—however problematically—alongside Indigenous artistry: "Your things breathe, the rest do not quite—your things live with the best of the Indian Totemic art, and the Indian art at its best is positively great. The works of all the others who have visited the coast have in no case quite got it" (Harris).[8] He claims to recognize a unique quality in her work: an appreciation for the unique landscapes of the Canadian West Coast, which he sees as comparable to the originality and superlative quality of Indigenous art forms.

In her autobiography, Carr also clearly attributes her identity as an artist to her direct experiences with the Western Canadian landscape, which inform the entirety of her life. She fondly remembers the "the up-and-downness of the Rockies, their tops dangled in clouds" describing them as "a part of natural me" (*Growing Pains* 112)—a phrasing that suggests to what extent she sees herself as an extension of place. When embarking on her art school travels, she reflects on her connection with Canada with possessive language by describing an aching "homesickness for my West" (124). In England, she remembers missing the "meandering snake fence… the pine trees overtop, the red substantial cow, knee-deep chewing among the lilies" (49). She reiterates her possessiveness of place when she exclaims about "the gladness of my west again!" upon returning to Vancouver Island. Her desire to be something new, much like Canada itself, is aptly reflected in her remark that, despite her English heritage, she is "born and bred Canadian" (43). Nonetheless, even Eastern Canada's scenery pales in comparison to what she reveres in *Growing Pains* as the great West. She scorns the East's "prairie houses" and "barns, drowned in loneliness", emphasizing the "nothingness, nothingness" of the Atlantic (115).[9] She situates her identity in close proximity to the West because it differentiates her as a woman and Canadian artist from other male artists during a period oversaturated with art produced by male, European and American artists.

Carr depicts American and English societies in negative terms, as a contrast to her depiction of the Western Canada. As Susanna Egan observes, "all her writings express her passion not just for Canada (in explicit contrast to England) but specifically for the West Coast"

(2). She plainly refers to Canada and the United States as "new clean countries," which positively distinguish them from England (50) Nevertheless, she perceives Americans in San Francisco in a judgmental light, often highlighting persons who are lower class, such as the "colourless girl who produced studies as anaemic and flavourless as herself" (38, 45). The result is that the work she produces in San Francisco is also "humdrum and unemotional—objects honestly portrayed, nothing more" (103). In England, she scoffs at the "small prettiness" of Devonshire and wonders why her parents praised it so highly growing up (204). She questions if their years in Canada would have made the county "as small and pinched" as it appears to her at first glance (204). Even though she appreciates the "stony fields" and "wind-blown" trees of Cornwall, she remarks that the landscape is "punished into tameness" and is "wild, but not with the volume of Canada's wildness" (204). Her experience in London conveys her frustration with its lack of natural spaces; she notes that the "open country turned to human congestion" and describes the "ache of overcrowded space" (224). The painting aesthetic of both America and England by this point were not informed by the sublime, an aesthetic toward which Carr aspires in her artwork and sees as important to and even characteristic of Canada. Recognizing that Carr saw "more depth in places than in people," Egan understands that her identity, or at least the identity she intended to portray, was rooted almost entirely in wilderness aesthetics and a sense of spirituality (7). She adds that *Growing Pains* was one of her "attempts to control" not just territory, but "self-territory," which is evident in the selective nature of her landscape depictions and confirmed again by the excerpts of letters she chooses to include from Lawren Harris (3).

Carr's progress as a writer is also evident in her letters from Lawren Harris. In fact, Harris is likely behind her decision to write *Growing Pains* itself. In an undated letter, he states: "I have an idea," referencing an inspiration from a book called *Gambler's Wife.*[10] He suggests that she should write her story "fully, with comments on people, things and situations—somewhat as you write your letters."[11] Additionally, he suggests that "the thing should be very frank, direct and natural." It is also likely that Harris's encouragement that she adopt a more casual and expressive voice in *Growing Pains* influenced her—a practice is a departure from other autobiographies of the period. In a letter dated June 24, Harris expands on his idea of an autobiography, suggesting its gendered and embodied implications: "a soul in a woman's body finds it very much more difficult than one in a man's body—perhaps that is far from being strange to you, though" (Harris).[12] He additionally remarks that "a man gets a kick, a release, out of writing his autobiography for any old person to read—it's a positive assertion of himself—but the lady is negative as regards herself, her person" (Harris).[13] He therefore suggests that she write something that would be "tempered by whatever effect the woman's body" has on her mind (Harris).[14] His awareness of gendered identity likely played a role in the disposition of her autobiography—but Carr refuses to acknowledge this facet of his letters in her position as a woman artist in *Growing Pains*. Although she might have wrestled with a lack of confidence in terms of her writing ability and her critical reception, she likely recognized the opportunity that Harris's approval offered her in the writing of *Growing Pains.* That approval was expressed in another undated letter: "If ever there was that anomaly, a modest woman—you're it. It's actually innate" (Harris).[15] Carr's difficulty in expressing pride in her work—rendered more difficult because of her gendered identity—is a recurrent theme in both their letters and in *Growing Pains*. Rather than openly proclaim her own accomplishment—what would have been considered unseemly for women in the period—she allows his letters to serve as a stand-in: the influence of a male artist is clear here, as it validates her artistic enterprises.

The mentorship and support Harris provides through his letters also demonstrate the kind of energy he gave to the final stage of her artistic career—one that was shaped around expressionist paintings of the West Coast's deep forests and expansive skies. She adopted this style later in life and was explicitly encouraged to do so by Harris. One of his letters from December 20, 1931, directly encourages an aging Carr, who feels that her "best work is done before it even got the chance to be good" (Harris). He disputes this assumption, arguing that she has "started a new direction in [her] tree subjects" and should not expect a "complete fullness of expression immediately" (Harris). He also emphasizes her "half a dozen or more canvases" completed "not 15 [years] ago but five, four, and three," and suggests that she is in a "new phase" of art that consists of a "deeper penetration into the life of nature." None of Carr's artistic progression, according to Harris, is the result of "sheer fluke" but instead "perfectly logical development." When, in a fit of despair, Carr tells him that she is "through" with painting, Harris's rejoinder is telling: "You're just beginning a deeper search into the fundamental life in trees and forest and nature in her deepest, more secret moods and meanings and to expect to perfect in terms of paint a complete equivalent for your deeper approach short of years on going hard slugging is to ask too much."

Such support is translated in *Growing Pains* by Carr as essential to the last phase of her career—positioning him as integral to that phase but also linking her success to his. She passionately remarks in her chapter, "Lawren Harris," that "his work and example did more to influence my outlook upon Art than any school or any master," and "they had given me mechanical foundation" (304). She notes that Harris's artwork awakens something in her that she "thought quite killed—the passionate desire to express some attribute of Canada" (286). Even in *Growing Pains,* however, she tries to demonstrate how they are not as closely aligned as might be assumed, in spite of their connection in relation to landscape: that departure is featured in t heir conversations surrounding abstraction, as referenced multiple times in *Growing Pains.* She argues that she "was not ready for abstraction," and that, instead, she "clung to earth and her dear shapes" (313). However, she also recognizes that Harris's progression towards abstraction "seemed right and natural development for his work," noting that after seeing his "beautiful abstractions," she "would be sorry to see him return to representational painting" (313)—a comment that highlights how they are yet different in their artistic endeavours and objectives. This difference is a fact that Harris recognizes in his letters, but which is not featured in the autobiography. In fact, in one of Harris's archived letters, he discourages her from seeking inspiration in his artwork. "Don't be influenced by anything or anybody," he advises her: "Shun everything but your own inner promptings, your own purest reactions—like the plague. You liked my stuff, and perhaps because it was somewhat new to you, it made more of an impression than it otherwise might have. But <u>don't</u> be influenced by it, I mean—stay decidedly with your own way, your own direction."[16] She likely excludes this passage from her autobiography because it implies that Harris recognized her struggle with artistic identity—but also because she likely did not want others to see her as imitative of Harris.

Despite her expressed appreciation for Harris in *Growing Pains,* Carr is also selective when portraying their conversations regarding Indigenous iconography. Upon returning North to sketch new Indigenous-inspired content, she describes a "miserable change… creeping over villages, over people" (*Growing Pains* 288). She describes their new totems being carved by the Indigenous "to please the tourist and to make money for himself, not to express the glory of his tribe" (288). Her departure from Indigenous imagery is, in part, grounded in a perceived aesthetic change within Indigenous communities. She returns to the empty woods, in part

because the visual appeal of what Harris calls "Indian motifs" no longer serve her agenda (289)—but also because Harris that encourages her to "create forms" for herself and "direct from nature," suggesting that she has become "too dependent" on Indigenous material (289). In this conversational trajectory, one of Harris's archived follow-up letters is certainly more critical than she lets on in her autobiography. In this letter, Harris defends his remarks to a supposedly discouraged Carr, stating that "it was by no means" that he did not like the image she sent to him (Harris).[17] However, he "thought and still think[s] a partial holiday from totems would prove a real help" to her (Harris).[18] He comments on the atmosphere of her paintings as representative of a "tremendous elusive of what lies behind," noting "peculiar atmosphere conditions of the West Coast" (Harris).[19] While she acknowledges that "it was Lawren Harris who first suggested" she make the change from Indigenous material to landscape art, her selective portrayal of their letters understates his criticism of her pattern of Indigenous appropriation (306). In one undated letter, he recognizes that the totem is "already in itself a definitive artistic form" that does not require her interpretation or further artistic mediation. In another letter, he remarks, "the totem pole is a work of art in its own right and it is very difficult to use it in another form of art." Her autobiography presents her shift from Indigenous artwork as a consequence of changing atmospheric conditions, but the entire body of letters renders clear that Harris calls attention to how she is appropriating someone else's art as her own. It is this critique that is entirely side-stepped in the autobiography that would show his influence to be even greater than she allows to be represented.

Carr's self-identity as depicted in *Growing Pains* is also formulated through her use of affective strategies. She portrays the West as a vast and uncontaminated space, attributing most of her joy and passion to experiences with Canadian landscapes. Even in her reading of poetry, she recalls that her marked passages were all about "earth and nature," adding that "poetry did not touch love as deeply as it touched nature and beauty" (112). Her depictions of Canadian wilderness are thus not just an aesthetic decision but an affective strategy that solidifies her sense of national and personal identities. In a similar vein, she employs affective techniques in characterizing her relationship with Lawren Harris. Altering the wording—and affect—of the excerpts of his letters in *Growing Pains* allows her to adopt his praise for self-serving purposes. The letters that Carr includes in *Growing Pains* are almost identical to their original form, yet subtle differences reflect an intentional alteration of their affect. In one instance, she includes an excerpt that is represented in the autobiography thus: "Despair is part and parcel of every creative individual. Some succumb to it and are swamped for this life. It can't be conquered, one rises out of it" (308). The original letter, however, reads as follows: "Despair is periodic, a part and parcel of the life of every creative individual—some even succumb to it and are swamped for this life" (Harris).[20] The *Growing Pains* excerpt continues with the following: "Creative rhythm plunges us into it, then lifts us till we are driven to extricate" (308). Harris's original letter, however, is expressed in this manner: "Creative rhythm plunges us into it and then into the genuine joy of work—the further we go creatively, the more the rhythm plunges then lifts us until we are driven to extricate somewhat" (308).[21] In his original letter, Harris argues, "we can't stop the rhythm but we can detach ourselves from it—we need not have completely immersed—we have got to learn not to be immersed. Well then—how. By not resisting" (Harris).[22] Carr alters the text to read as follows: "We cannot stop the rhythm but we can detach ourselves from it—we need not be completely immersed… we have to learn not to be! How? By not resisting. Resistance is only an aggravation!" (308). Carr thus overstates the tone of his letters. Her writing style in *Growing Pains* heightens the enthusiasm that is reflected in his letters by these

seemingly minute alterations. His June 24th letter regarding her autobiography is also somewhat altered in *Growing Pains*. In her autobiography, Carr includes a short quotation that elevates her relationship with Sophie Frank, an Indigenous basket weaver from Sḵwxwú7mesh, British Columbia: "'It goes to prove,' he replied, 'that race, colour, class and caste mean nothing in reality; quality of soul alone counts. Deep love transcends even quality of soul…. It is unusual, so deep a relationship between folks of different races'" (308). She ends the quotation there, excluding Harris's other remarks that provide content and context, which read as follows: "I don't mean that an immediate contact and understanding of folks of different races is rare but the recognition of a deep, unbreakable bond between two such is unusual" (Harris).[23] He notes that "for some hundreds of years races and castes are supposed to have been balled up and humanity to-day be in a confused mess and not capable of getting themselves sorted out of the welter," and adds that "a few relationships shine out the dark blur and have great and deep meaning, otherwise we would all go 'nutty'" (Harris).[24] By only including the first portion of Harris's letter, Carr highlights her relationship with Sophie as an uncommon occurrence—certainly not what Harris intended.

Ultimately, she includes these excerpts because Harris's position as a male painter legitimizes Carr's artistic work, a contradiction of her own efforts to advance her independence as an artist, even as she simultaneously emphasizes her unique location on the West Coast and aesthetic accomplishment. In *Growing Pains,* she appreciates that "he too had tasted *our* West," a comment that signifies that she finds a sense of artistic unity with Harris rooted in an appreciation for Canadian landscapes and sets herself on equal footing with him (288). Although she pleads him to "criticize my things hard," she follows this request with an excerpt from one of Harris's letters that ultimately endorses that she find her own way: "I really have, nor can have, nothing to say by way of criticism....I feel you have found a way of your own wonderfully suited to the Indian spirit, Indian feeling for life and nature" (287). However, in an undated letter that she excludes from her autobiography, Harris adds that when he sees work that lacks "individuality," he does not criticize it but rather suggests that the individual "strive to see for themselves"—which is then precisely what he does with Carr (Harris).[25] A letter from December discusses the preparation of her work for an art show. He notes that they did not hang one of her paintings "because we felt it was not up to the others" (Harris).[26] He critiques this painting, titled "The Thunderbird," because that "the bird itself is to my mind too large, or the landscape around it would be better had you handled it… in larger masses and planes, so that everything was on a scale proportionate to the bird itself" (Harris).[27] Again, Carr excludes such letters from her autobiography. Although she alludes briefly to Harris's criticisms and disagreements in *Growing Pains,* including content that disparages her interpretation of Western scenery would contradict the aesthetic that she develops over the many chapters of her autobiography. Thus, she presents her relationship with Harris as an authoritative elevation of her work, while his letters do not consistently regard her work in this way nor position Harris himself as an authority figure.

Ultimately, demonstrating what Carr chooses to include and omit in *Growing Pains* in relation to her correspondence with Lawren Harris highlights the kinds of strategies she was adopting and for what purpose. Understanding her artistic legacy thus requires careful attention to the artistic and affective decisions rendered in her autobiography. *Growing Pains* underscores her progress toward consolidating an identity as a Western painter, while Lawren Harris's letters reinforce her attempts to maintain control over that self-identity. As she obscures the motivations behind stylistic decisions and alters the affect of personal letters, her reputation lies as much in

her aesthetic self-branding as it does in the material she borrowed from others. Being a woman artist, she sought to present most ideas as her own, which may be simultaneously her most significant shortcoming *and* contribution to her success.

Notes

[1] Harris, Lawren. Also in June [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[2] Harris, Lawren. Lawren Harris to Carr. Emily Carr papers. 30 November 1930. MS-2181.2.3.12. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[3] Harris, Lawren. Sunday [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[4] Harris, Lawren. Also in June [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[5] Harris, Lawren. Also in June [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[6] Harris, Lawren. Also in June [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Harris, Lawren. Indian Art of Toronto. 8 January 1928. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181.2.2.1. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[9] See Morra, "East is East."
[10] Harris, Lawren. Lawren on 'Suggestion of Biog' [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Harris, Lawren. re Sophie. June 24 [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Harris, Lawren. If ever there was…. June [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[16] I have nothing to day…. [otherwise undated]
[17] Harris, Lawren. It was by no means…. [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Harris, Lawren. Now that's too bad…. [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Dec [otherwise undated]. Emily Carr papers. MS-2181. Emily Carr Fonds, BC Archives PR-1263, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

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