A Circumpolar Landscape:

Art and Environment in Scandinavia and North America, 1896-1933

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Abstract

This thesis explores the historiographical and ecological synergies that exist around the Circumpolar North, focusing on Scandinavian and North American landscape painting, between 1896 and 1933. These dates are derived from the first collective exhibition of Swedish art staged in the U.S. in 1896, and the date at which Canada's foremost group of landscape painters, the Group of Seven, disbanded. Working around northerly latitudinal lines, my argument considers how a similar ecology – that of forests, 'wilderness', lakes, mountains, and ice - was depicted and is shared across these northern landscapes. While resistance has previously been shown to environmental determinism - in line with contemporaneous thinking on racial determinism - an ecocritical art history encourages a reading of style, technique and composition, alongside geography, topography, climate and ecology. This is in line with developing methodologies regarding the Anthropocene, which have sought to identify the possibilities of cross-disciplinary work within the humanities and sciences.

This thesis further challenges the idea of mysticism, symbolism and national identity that have, to date, been prevalent in the study of Scandinavian and Canadian landscape painting. This looks, in turn, to move these individual art histories beyond a preoccupation with Eurocentrism. Although a Circumpolar art history seeks to resist the rhetoric of local, regional or national exceptionalism it is simultaneously aware of the impact regional environments have had on artists and artworks. With this in mind, I propose an alternative to a world art studies, pushing against the northern frontier and recognising the interrelated local and regional identities that exist around the northern Circumpolar region. As such, this thesis offers a powerful and timely corrective to the national study of art histories, placing Scandinavian and North American landscape painting transnationally within the broader methodological and ecological framework of the Circumpolar North.

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Declaration

This thesis has not previously been accepted for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree other than Doctor of Philosophy of the University of York. This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. All other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

All translations have been carried out by the author unless otherwise stated. When relevant, the original language citations can be found in the respective footnote.

Chapter 1

"That Mystic North Round Which We All Revolve": An Introduction

This thesis moves beyond nation and across disciplines. It recognises the shared ecology, topography and climate in the landscape painting of the Circumpolar North; a push beyond a Francocentric and Atlantic art history and towards interrelated regional modernisms that exist around the same latitudinal lines. Atlases, maps and globes have all helped shape how we perceive our world - we view it longitudinally and latitudinally. We view it as a flat map or a globe, often with Europe at the centre. And yet, what happens if we look at our globe 'from above'. Countries that once seemed far away from one another, are now unfathomably close. All that separates Scandinavia and Russia from the far northern reaches of Canada is a sea of frozen ice, that is rapidly melting; and Russia and Alaska are only separated by the 55-mile-long Bering Strait. As a consequence, global climatic and ecological change are bringing countries even closer together.

While previous scholarship has considered the art histories of Canada and Scandinavia as purveyors of a national idiom, my research demonstrates that the scope of their landscape painting goes beyond national identity and a preoccupation with Eurocentrism. This thesis explores the historiographical, ecological and iconographical synergies that exist across the Circumpolar North, focused on Scandinavian - Danish, Norwegian and Swedish - and Canadian landscape painting, between 1896 and 1933. These dates range from the first touring exhibition of Swedish painting in the U.S. in 1896, to the disbanding of the Group of Seven in 1933, Canada's most significant group of landscape painters. The Scandinavian artists

represented within the following chapters were among those whose work was exhibited in the U.S. and mentioned specifically by members of the Group of Seven. Working around northern hemispheric latitudinal lines, my argument considers how a similar ecology - that of forests, 'wilderness', lakes, mountains and ice - was depicted and is shared across these northern landscapes. While resistance has previously been shown to an environmentally determinist study of landscape painting - an outdated geographical and often racist ideology that claimed the natural environment was responsible for all human development - an ecocritical perspective and a 'natureculture' argument allows for a move beyond stylistic influence and a nationalised idiom.

Looking at Scandinavian and Canadian art within a scale bigger than itself, this thesis does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of all the art histories that compose the Circumpolar North, hence the exclusion of Russia, Finland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Åland Islands. Future work will, however, encompass Russia and the wider Nordic nations, as well as incorporating the art and culture of the indigenous Sami and Inuit communities residing throughout the Circumpolar North. It is intended that further and subsequent work on the subject will come to encompass the art of all peoples and nations residing around the Arctic Circle, bridging an anthropological and art historical divide. Although a Circumpolar art history endeavours to resist the rhetoric of local, regional or national exceptionalism, it is simultaneously aware of the impact regional environments have had on artistic production. As a result, this thesis offers a powerful and timely corrective to the national study of art history, placing Scandinavian and North American art histories transnationally within the broader methodological and ecological framework of the Circumpolar North.

1.1 Scandinavian and Canadian Landscape Art Histories, 1880-1930

To understand why a Circumpolar methodology represents an important and timely intervention in the study of Scandinavian and Canadian art history, I begin by providing an overview of what these respective art histories look like today; although the primary scholarship was carried out during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Despite recent efforts to break away from the nationalising idiom that has dominated the art of Canada, Scandinavia and the

wider Nordic nations, in relation to Japonisme and French impressionism, ¹ these scholarly forays are still in their infancy, and yet are indicative of a conscious effort to contribute to art history's 'transnational turn' and resituate these national art histories in their broader context. ² Although comparisons between Scandinavian and Canadian landscape painting are not unprecedented within the following texts - with Roald Nasgaard and Torsten Gunnarsson alluding to a topographical and transnational methodology, as discussed within this section - my argument and thesis represents the first *sustained* synthesis of this material. This thesis further provides the means by which to look at landscape painting produced in the Circumpolar North (and arguably beyond), during the early-20th century, in a manner which is relevant to wider discussions taking place today concerning transnationalism, climate change and the Anthropocene.

The Mystical and National in Canada

Earlier studies on Canadian art history, prior to the Group of Seven and towards the end of the 19th century, emphasise an artistic tradition allied with European settlement and style. The work of Cornelius Krieghoff, for example, a German immigrant in Canada, came to define the relationship between settlers and First Nations communities in the second half of the 19th century, serving to "represent authenticity and continuity for the white settlers who were aware of the Edenic vision that the frontier zones elicited". The exhibition catalogue Embracing Canada: Landscapes from Krieghoff to the Group of Seven (2015) reiterated the importance landscape painting played for Canadian painters over numerous generations; moving from a British colonial influence; to the French Barbizon school; before culminating in a "Canadian art [that] could find sustenance in Canada alone" as Dennis Reid previously surmised in A Concise History of Canadian Painting (1973). As with its Scandinavian

¹For more on the relationship between Nordic and Japanese art see recent exhibitions: *Japanomania in the Nordic Countries 1875-1918*, curated by Gabriel P. Weisberg in 2016; *När Japan kom till Värmland. Japonism hos Rackstadkonstnärerna 1880-1920*, held at Thielska Gallery, Stockholm, 17 February - 3 June 2018; and *Mellan Björk och Bambu: Japansk inspiration i Sundborn - nu och då*, at Carl Larsson Gården in Sundborn, 17 June - 19 August 2018.

²For recent scholarship on the transnational possibilities of a Nordic and North American art history see Øystein Sjåstad and Elizabeth Doe Stone, "Le modernisme nordique: nouvelles orientations d'étude", Perspective 1 (2019): 199-210; Barbara Groseclose and Jochen Wierich, Internationalizing the History of American Art: Views (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2009); and Matthew Rampley, Thierry Lenain, Hubert Locher, eds., Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks (Leiden: BRILL, 2012).

³Ian M. Thom, Embracing Canada: Landscapes from Krieghoff to the Group of Seven (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2015), 18.

⁴Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), 135.

'neighbours', the study of Canadian landscape painting during the first decades of the 20th century has been commonly associated with ideas of nationhood and a northern mysticism; aware of its connections to Scandinavia and yet trying to distance itself from any international, especially European, influences.

Reid's compendium on Canadian art history provided a comprehensive survey of the traditions of portraiture and landscape painting that developed within Canada from the French colonial period (1535-1763) through to 1965. A subsequent chapter was added in the second edition that covered the intervening fifteen years up until 1980. Reid does, however, greatly overlook those women artists whose role within a Canadian art history and artist networks bears greater consideration. While this thesis focuses on Emily Carr within the Canadian context, and Anna Boberg in Norway, future work would naturally endeavour to include further women artists working within Canada during the first half of the 20thcentury. As curator at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, before beginning a 30-year career at the Art Gallery of Ontario, one of the first significant exhibitions co-curated by Reid was "'Our Own Country Canada': Being An Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto, 1860-1890" held at the National Gallery in 1979. Not only did Reid expand Canadian knowledge of its art history prior to the turn-of-the-century, but further accompanied this show with a 450-page volume (more of a monograph, than an exhibition catalogue). Through this publication, however, Reid reaffirms the nationalised idiom in which Canadian art history has continued to be studied.

Research into the Group of Seven first arose in 1970 with two publications: Reid's *The Group of Seven* (1970); and Peter Mellon's *The Group of Seven* (1970).⁵ This represented "a major shift of taste and a real and symbolic break with older conventions of subject and style".⁶ Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Canadian art grew in prominence, perhaps representing a conscious push by then, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (in office from 1968-1984), to promote Canadian culture on both a national and international scale. At this time, David Silcox and Joan Murray were among those working on the Group of Seven as a whole, and more focused studies of individual members, incorporating biography with art analysis.⁷

⁵Dennis Reid, *The Group of Seven* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1970); Peter Mellen, *The Group of Seven* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970).

⁶Douglas Cole, "The History of Art in Canada", Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region 10, no. 1 (Autumn 1980): 173.

⁷See David Silcox, *Tom Thomson: The Silence and The Storm* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); and Joan Murray, *The Art of Tom Thomson* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1971.)

Work on Carr similarly began to appear during the 1970s with Doris Shadbolt's *The Art of Emily Carr* (1979) and Maria Tippett's *Emily Carr: A Biography* (1979). The focus of both Shadbolt and Tippett was on the interpretation of Carr's work and life - identifying that what and how she painted were of equal importance. While steps have been taken over the past thirty years to internationalise the study of Canadian art, and to look to the indigenous voices living and working throughout the Canadian landscape, for example in Leslie Dawn's *National Vision, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s* (2011), the ability to see beyond the Group of Seven as purveyors of national identity has been infrequent and underdeveloped, with Nasgaard providing the most notable exception.

Nasgaard's The Mystic North: Symbolist Landscape Painting in Northern Europe and North America 1890-1940 (1984), began its assessment of the landscapes of North America and Scandinavia with a look at the 1912-13 Exhibition. It recognises this exhibition as the natural starting point and key moment of influence in a discussion of North American and Scandinavian landscape painting. The second chapter of this thesis supports this initial reading, providing a historiographical analysis of the exhibition, and other exhibitions of Swedish and Scandinavian art that would have similarly shaped a North American awareness of Scandinavian art history. While the 1912-13 Exhibition played a definitive role in motivating and inspiring members of the Group of Seven, the reach of these similarities in topography, composition and tonality extended beyond influence and exchange. As Nasgaard recognises:

Occasionally it is possible to account for direct influences, such as those Harris and MacDonald brought back from the Scandinavian exhibition in Buffalo. [...] But more often, as with [Tom] Thomson and [A.Y.] Jackson in the years immediately after 1913, the full implications of the lessons the Scandinavians could have taught were realized without first-hand knowledge of their work. Stylistic analysis shows that, throughout the following decades, the principal works of the Group of Seven and Emily Carr abide by the basic compositional ground rules that were established in Europe during the 1890s [...] The closest affinities are in pictorial structure, not in colour schemes, in which the Group drew perhaps more directly from advanced French sources.⁹

⁸See Doris Shadbolt, *The Art of Emily Carr* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1979); and Maria Tippett, *Emily Carr: A Biography* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979).

⁹Roald Nasgaard, The Mystic North: Symbolist Landscape Painting in Northern Europe and North Amer-

Nasgaard is correct to note the similarities that can be found between the Group of Seven and their Scandinavian colleagues beyond the sphere of influence of the 1912-13 Exhibition, and yet the extent to which he explores this further throughout Mystic North is again made in association with ideas of 'mysticism' and 'symbolism'. As regards an affinity in the compositional structure of the Group's works, I would disagree with the suggested influence of France, unless mediated through the work of other artists. A notable exception here is the work of Paul Gauguin, whose influence has been repeatedly referred to with regards to the Dane J.F. Willumsen and Swedish artist Helmer Osslund, and similar associations might be drawn between the Gauguin and the Group of Seven. With reference to compositional similarities, Chapter 4 of this thesis specifically comments on the compositional similarities in the works of Otto Hesselbom and Franklin Carmichael, where the prospect view over the landscape bears close resemblance to the other. While Nasgaard mentions that the "colour schemes" of the Group's work are distanced from France, he does go so far as to suggest an affinity between artist and environment: "such relationships must be understood, not because of specific influences, but as evidence in the Canadians of a common conception of the 'spirit' of nature, a kind of undercurrent flowing beneath the technical boldness and the torrent of colour". 10 Although aware of the obvious influence of landscape and environment on the Group of Seven, the association of the "spirit" seeks to associate their work more closely with European symbolism, recognising the influence of France and those Scandinavian artists similarly tied to ideas of 'National Romanticism'.

In *The Mystic North*, symbolism and national identity manifest themselves as 'mysticism' used as a means of describing the art of Canada, Scandinavia, and Switzerland. Regarding the mystic landscape, Nasgaard wrote that: "The Symbolist [and Sublime] landscape flourished in Scandinavia, in the Alps, on rugged and desolate coastlines, and in primeval forests because those who sought refuge in the unspoiled wilderness were able to re-establish contact with the primal sources of experience, the search for which was the special quest of Symbolist art". An attachment to descriptive terms such as "desolate", "primeval" and "unspoiled wilderness" have been repeatedly associated with the work of the Group of Seven, in particular, and in the third chapter of my thesis is something I argue against. What constitutes a 'wilderness' remains a contentious term in the analysis of landscape painting of

ica 1890-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 202.

¹⁰Nasgaard, The Mystic North, 188.

¹¹Ibid, 8.

the Circumpolar North, and yet this association with a rugged hinterland, mysticism, and symbolism, is intertwined with identifying a national identity. In fact, the use of the word 'mystic' derives from the writing of J.E.H. Macdonald, who, in writing about Fjæstad, considered the Swedish artists work to be "true souvenirs of that mystic north round which we all revolve". Although this thesis pushes against the reading of mysticism and symbolism in Circumpolar landscape painting, such a reading does work better for some artists than others. The particular use of the word "revolve" also alludes to the geographical positioning of north, with the Circumpolar nations physically situated around the North Pole in degrees of latitude.

The inherent 'Canadian-ness' that is the recurring narrative in studies of Canadian landscape painting in the early-20th century, is not, in fact, as "native and original" as has been made out. Not only do four members of the Group have British connections - Carmichael was born to Scottish parents in Ontario; MacDonald was born in Durham, albeit to Canadian parents, and lived there until the age of fourteen; and Arthur Lismer and Frederick Horsman (F.H.) Varley were born and raised in Sheffield - but their work further indicates a close relationship with the artistic traditions of Scandinavia, both stylistically and through working in a similar topography and climate. As has already been mentioned, both Nasgaard and Gunnarsson alluded to such similarities, but failed to develop this argument. They were not the first to have recognised these shared ecological traits, with the artist C.W. Jeffrey's commenting upon the Swedish display at the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago: "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". 14 It would, however, take the following generation of painters, the Group of Seven, to embrace this commonality in topography, climate and atmosphere, and the resulting palette that comes, at least in part, from these climatic and topographical changes.

Nils Ohlsen remarked that "topographical similarities between Scandinavia and Canada, with their huge areas of unspoiled terrain, formed the basis of this artistic affinity". ¹⁵ Yet,

¹²J.E.H. MacDonald, "Scandinavian Art," Northward Journal 18/19, (1980): 3.

¹³Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting, 137.

¹⁴Robert Stacey, "The Sensations Produced by (Their Own) Landscape", in *Visions of Light and Air. Canadian Impressionism.* 1885-1920, ed. Carol Lowrey, (New York: Americas Society Art Gallery, 1995), 60.

¹⁵Nils Ohlsen, "'This is what we want to do with Canada' – Reflections of Scandinavian Landscape Painting in the Work of Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven," in *Painting Canada: Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven*, eds., Ian A. Dejardin and Amy Concannon, (London: Philip Wilson Publishers: 2011), 51.

following this statement, Ohlsen writes "In related, compelling ways the painters addressed issues of national identity", ¹⁶ which instantly negates the recognition of this shared landscape. My argument represents the first comprehensive attempt to develop this study, and directly consider ecology, beyond the topography of Nasgaard and Gunnarsson, in relation to the works of the Group of Seven and their Scandinavian colleagues. Where the scholarship on Scandinavian and Canadian landscape painting has been preoccupied with symbolism, nationalism and modernist formalism, my research doesn't look to disregard this but rather add the ecological to the discussion. Making this move towards an ecological and Circumpolar methodology today, rather than thirty years ago or even five years ago, indicates the necessity for art history to enter the conversation of the environmental humanities and wider scholarly work on ecology and climate change - which is, in 2019, of urgent global concern.

National Romanticism, Identity and Landscape in Scandinavia

A scholarly account of Nordic art history - including Katharina Alsen and Annika Landmann's Nordic Painting: The Rise of Modernity (2016) - often references Kirk Varnedoe's 1982 exhibition Northern Light: Realism and Symbolism in Scandinavian Painting, 1880-1910, 17 which was preoccupied with national identity and the narratives through which these ideologies were conveyed. So as to situate this thesis beyond the overriding impact of Varnedoe's national study of Nordic painting, it is again important to recognise how Northern Light informed the study of Nordic art history over the course of the last thirty-plus-years.

Northern Light (later published as a book in 1988 under the title Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century), was the first comprehensive exhibition on Scandinavian art to be shown in the U.S. since the 1912-13 Exhibition (discussed in detail in Chapter 2). Northern Light sought to "introduce Scandinavian art to an American audience not previously familiar with it" - this is mostly true, in that seventy years had passed inbetween the two exhibitions, and yet neither the catalogue nor the ensuing book makes mention of Christian Brinton's 1912-13 Exhibition. The curatorial efforts of this earlier generation have been neglected, and yet are crucial in appreciating the transnational influence

¹⁶Ohlsen, "This is what we want to do with Canada", 51.

¹⁷For a detailed study on the canonisation of Varnedoe's *Northern Light* see Michelle Facos, "The Dawning of "Northern Light": An Exhibition and Its Influence", *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (1999): 224-232.

¹⁸Kirk Varnedoe, Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 7.

of Scandinavian painting during the early-20th century. Varnedoe further sought to introduce the term "National Romanticism" with regards to Scandinavian art of the late-19th century. Despite the repeated emphasis on the "symbolism" and "nationalism" of Nordic painters during this period, Varnedoe emphasises that few of the artists in question followed a linear development of style. Instead, the identification of "at least one common pattern" in artistic development across the Nordic nations, in the "two periods of change" - the 1880s and 1890s - led to the term "National Romanticism" being used to categorise the uniting traits between these national art histories.

As with the 1912-13 Exhibition, the primary focus of Northern Light was on the land-scape, with Varnedoe describing the "fatal power of nature", the "inner psychological forces with nature's scheme", and "ground nationalism in the cycle of the seasons" of Nordic landscape painting during the 1890s. The repeated emphasis on the symbolic properties of the landscape, where, seemingly, seasonal change is representative of regional and national identity has been carried on throughout the studies of both Nordic and Canadian art history. Within Varnedoe's study of the Nordic landscape, nature and topography are vessels through which to convey symbolism - "the topography of Scandinavia comes to be revered as Nordic Nature". The symbolist traits in a number of the works discussed within this thesis cannot be overlooked; however, the repeated association between landscape and mysticism is readily disputed. Ecology, for example, was beyond the considerations of Varnedoe's study, and the studies that followed.

By contrast, brief mention is given in Michelle Facos' Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s (1998), to an eco-centric ideology - "a view of nature in which no species occupies a privileged niche", ²¹ and which was embedded within a Swedish identification with nature. Yet despite this brief foray into an ecological awareness of the landscape, Facos remains staunchly tied to the "biomystical link between a landscape and its inhabitants" as presented by Varnedoe, with whom she worked as a doctoral student. While National Romanticism is only referenced on a couple of occasions by Varnedoe, it is used more freely and liberally by Facos. Facos identifies the Swedish artists working during the 1890s as "National Romantics" and argues that the goal of National Romanticism was

¹⁹Varnedoe, Northern Light, 24.

²⁰Ibid, 35.

 $^{^{21}}$ Michelle Facos, Nationalism and Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 3.

²²Ibid, 5.

to "promote a national identity by preserving indigenous culture, tradition, and values" - although apparently not landscape.²³ The fact that no indigenous Sami artwork or culture appears in a study of National Romanticism suggests that Facos meant to reference instead local, regional or national identities. Despite reaffirming the influence of France on Swedish art during the late-19th century, the 'preservation' of Swedish values that Facos references looked instead to place Swedish landscape painting in direct conversation with symbolism and wider ideas of national identity.

More recently, Facos' edited volume A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Art (2018) sought to "rebalance the Paris-focused view of the art world in this period";²⁴ and vet this carefully chosen terminology allows for France to continue to play a part in the narrative of wider European art historical development. The Circumpolar North does not figure in this volume, with the geographical reach of the chapters extending no further north than Denmark and the continental U.S. It is also worth noting that, within this thesis, France is only mentioned in passing. The broad sweep of Facos' volume, despite reiterating a Eurocentric art history, is interspersed with several chapters actively seeking to challenge this art historical preoccupation, including: Julie Codell's "'Orientalism' in Art: The Case of John Frederick Lewis"; Catherine Speck's "Australian Art in the Nineteenth-Century: Forging a National Style"; and a number of essays on the art of Estonia, Latvia, Hungary and Poland that open-up an Eastern European art history and further reflect Facos' own scholarly interest in the art of the Baltic nations.²⁵ Despite Facos' earlier work on Swedish art of the 1890s, only Thor J. Mednick's "Principle and Practice in Nineteenth-Century Danish Landscape Painting"²⁶ specifically addresses the Nordic region. Despite the supposed global reach of this volume, it remains closely tied to representing imperial and European national identities, providing only brief respite from the nationalised study of art history. This volume

²³Facos, Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination, 2.

 $^{^{24} \}mathrm{Michelle}$ Facos, ed., A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Art (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), xxi.

²⁵Recent scholarship and symposia include: "Visual Culture Exchange in the Baltic Sea Region, 1772-1918" (2017), from Michelle Facos, and former student Bart Pushaw, have sought to situate the Baltic region within the wider cultural framework of the Nordic regions, see: Bart Pushaw, "Artistic Alliances and Revolutionary Rivalries in the Baltic Art World, 1890-1914", International Journal for History, Culture, and Modernity 4, no. 1 (2016): 42-72; and Bart Pushaw, "Norway's Mysterious Modernist: Konrad Mägi and the Micro-Ecological", Kunst og Kultur, 101, no. 01-02 (2018): 19-30.

²⁶Although the Danish artist J.F. Willumsen features prominently within this thesis, paintings of the Danish landscape do not feature within the wider study of the Circumpolar North. However, for further scholarship on 19th-century Danish painting see: Patricia Berman's *In Another Light: Danish Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (2007); David Jackson, *Christen Kobke: Danish Master of Light* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010); and Poul Vad, *Vilhelm Hammershøi and Danish Art at the Turn of the Century* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1992).

confirms there is still more work to be done on globalising art history.

Spanning a period of two-hundred years, Neil Kent's The Triumph of Light and Nature: Nordic Art 1740-1940 (1987) regards itself as "the first general survey of Nordic art". As this thesis argues, Kent recognises the prominence of landscape as a direct consequence of "nature's proximity" ²⁸ and that the "atmospheric condition in the Nordic countries and their geographical position in very high latitudes"²⁹ resulted in a unique effect on the use of light in the artist's work and contributed to the stämning (or atmosphere) of Nordic paintings in the 1890s (and the Circumpolar landscape as a whole). This latitudinal thinking briefly proposed by Kent does, however, extend beyond the atmospheric effect of light, and could also be found, as this thesis posits, in the topography, ecology and climate of the Circumpolar North. Yet, with the diversity of this volume comes once again reference to Nordic landscape painting and a concern with mysticism and symbolism: "to allude to metaphysical moods and to the existential predicament of being both a part of the natural world and at the same time alienated from it". The philosophical underpinnings of Kent's "metaphysical" and "existential" reading of the landscape only seeks to further the image of white male academics in crisis, in a post-Holocaust and post-colonial world, when discussing notions of symbolism in painting - noting ideas of abstract thought concerned with the nature of existence.

Yet this doesn't include the Faroe Islands, Åland Islands or Greenland, all of which are classed by the Nordic Council as being part of Norden (or the Nordic region).³¹ A mishmash of what constitutes Scandinavia and Nordic is also at the heart of Kent's later work The Soul of North: A Social, Architectural and Cultural History of the Nordic Countries, 1700-1940 (2001). Here, the terms Scandinavia and Nordic are used interchangeably - with "Scandinavia, here taken to signify the entire Nordic region".³² This thesis attempts to keep the respective terms of Scandinavia (which denotes Sweden, Denmark and Norway) distinct from a wider discussion of the Nordic region as a whole, so as to not confuse the influence

 $^{^{27}}$ Neil Kent, Triumph of Light and Nature: Nordic Art, 1740-1940 (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), 6. 28 Ibid, 9.

²⁹Ibid, 9.

³⁰Ibid, 9.

³¹Reinhard Hennig, Anna-Karin Jonasson, and Peter Degerman, "Inroduction: Nordic Narratives of Nature and the Environment" in *Nordic Narratives of Nature and the Environment: Ecocritical Approaches to Northern European Literatures and Cultures*, ed., Reinhard Hennig, Anna-Karin Jonasson, and Peter Degerman (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 3.

³²Neil Kent, Soul of the North: A Social, Architectural and Cultural History of the Nordic Countries 1700-1940 (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 8.

of the 1912-13 Exhibition.

The most comprehensive study is Torsten Gunnarsson's aptly titled Nordic Landscape Painting in the Nineteenth Century (1998). Here, the discussion on landscape painting within Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland and Finland, concludes with a discussion on "The Evocative Landscape: The 1890s and the Turn of the Century". Many of the artists featured within this thesis, including Prince Eugen, Helmer Osslund, Gustaf Fjæstad, and Harald Sohlberg similarly constitute a large part of this final chapter. And, yet, as the title might suggest, the emphasis again rests on the symbolism of Nordic landscape painting, where during "this period [it] was characterised by a suggestive or evocative style with a certain symbolist quality to it, and expressed in a synthesising idiom with ample, simplified forms", ³³ which further encourages a modernist formalist reading of these same artists. The discussion around style, technique and compositional meaning is what primarily concerns Gunnarsson's reading of the paintings in question. Most importantly for this thesis, however, Gunnarsson begins to probe the ecological and topographical connections that might exist between the Nordic countries, where: "[n]ature, like landscape painting, shows striking similarities as well as significant differences from one Nordic country to the next". 34 The decisive moment, however, only appears as a concluding statement, recognising Canada in a discussion of Fjaestad and Sohlberg:

The inspiration that the Canadian artists found in Scandinavian art can be taken as further confirmation of a kinship that is often noticeable during [and after] the nineteenth century between art in North America and in the northern countries of Europe. In many cases the resemblance is striking, even though no direct contact can be assumed. The explanation lies rather in the similar cultural and geographical conditions.³⁵

Alongside a discussion of national identity, Gunnarsson, like Nasgaard a decade before him, is aware of the influence Scandinavian art had on the Canadian Group of Seven, and the impact similar topographical climes might have had on the respective traditions of landscape painting. This is, however, neither referred back to in the conclusion nor mentioned at any other point throughout the narrative. Instead, Gunnarsson returns to the "special Nordic

³³Torsten Gunnarsson, Nordic Landscape Painting in the Ninteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 206.

³⁴Ibid, 1.

³⁵Ibid, 254.

character"³⁶ of this period of landscape painting. This decisive step towards de-nationalising the study of Nordic landscape painting, and moving beyond a National Romantic preoccupation, appears to have culminated at this point and has not been explored further over the last twenty years. This thesis takes what appears as a loose end and establishes a methodological framework concerned with shared ecology and the Circumpolar North, and around which future studies of Nordic and North American landscape painting can be studied.

1.2 Global Peripheries and Methodologies

"The Iconography of Landscape"

Lawren Harris's Icebergs, Davis Strait (1930, fig. 1) adorns the cover of Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels's edited volume The Iconography of Landscape (1988), a divisive book which polarised opinion on what constitutes a landscape. Daniels and Cosgrove argued that "a landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings", 37 with this focused understanding of landscape as a cultural embodiment of environment inspiring a debate on the different ways of thinking about landscape within the fields of anthropology, archaeology and geography. This provocative claim is less concerned with visual representations of ecology and instead considers the landscape as providing an iconographical and ideological framework. Harris's Icebergs is referred to in Brian Osborne's essay "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art", where both Harris and the Group of Seven are indicative of "an ideology of northern distinctiveness" (the Arctic distinct from Antarctica through the people that inhabit it). The theosophical (or as Osborne sees it, iconographical) dilemma in Harris's polar landscapes is further considered in Chapter 5, while what constitutes a Canadian 'national identity' and ideas of 'northernness' are recurring points of debate in a discussion of the Group of Seven.

My argument within the following chapters develops upon Cosgrove and Daniels' focus on the "iconography" of landscape - which falls under the same umbrella as a preoccupation with the symbolism and mysticism of the landscape as observed by Facos, Gunnarsson and

³⁶Gunnarsson, Nordic Landscape Painting, 273.

³⁷Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1.

³⁸Brian Osborne, "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art" in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 172

Nasgaard. I consider that the boundaries between the human, landscape and environment are blurred; and while the landscapes included within this thesis are inclusive of their respective cultural influences, my emphasis is also on the topography, geology and climate of the landscape as depicted by Scandinavian and North American painters across the shared Circumpolar North. In this instance, the landscape acts as a means of structuring art history around geographical and geological scales and demarcations.

World Art Studies

The field of world art studies seeks to provincialise the study of 'modern' Euro-American and global northern art history and art production, providing a decisive shift that moves beyond Eurocentrism and a Western preoccupation in the history of art. Coined by John Onians at the University of East Anglia, ³⁹ world art studies was intended to be both "global in orientation" and "multidisciplinary in approach". 40 It allows for an interdisciplinary reading of art history, as well as being applicable across other disciplines including anthropology. In addition to the work undertaken by Onians, which further included a compilation of symposium papers in Compression vs. Expression: Containing and Explaining the World's Art (2006), are David Summers' Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism (2003) and James Elkins' edited conversations in Is Art History Global? (2007). Elkins' proposes a series of talking points that challenge the homogeneity of art history as a discipline and the "patent nationalism of individual art histories". 41 Elkins' further challenges the Western narrative of art history and proposes avenues of discussion that will facilitate a 'world art history', including indigenous traditions of art production and visual culture as being a necessary component in art history. However, he is quick to acknowledge the hurdles that exist within the history of art as a discipline that inhibit the development of a global art history: "the patent nationalism of individual art histories is another cogent argument against the notion that art history is global". 42 Responding directly to Summers' Real Spaces, Elkins dissects Summers' approach to the organisation of a post-formalist art history, and noting the different approaches to world art studies: from the localised perspective as seen

³⁹See John Onians, "World Art Studies and the Need for a New Natural History of Art," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (1996): 206-9; John Onians, ed., *Atlas of World Art* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004).

⁴⁰Wilfried van Damme and Kitty Zijlmans, "Art History in a Global Frame: World Art Studies", Art History and Visual Studies in Europe 212, no. 4 (2012): 220.

⁴¹James Elkins, Is Art History Global? (New York/London: Routledge, 2007), 11.

⁴²Ibid, 11.

in Onians work, to trying "to put the world in a book". 43

Summers' comprehensive volume does not rely on the formalist chronology of art history, but rather integrates different nations, cultures and time periods in thematically organised chapters. He outlines that of the two primary objectives of *Real Spaces*, "One was the attempt to formulate a contextual method of description of works of art. The second was an attempt to provide a theoretical basis for a more intercultural art history". He attempting to account for a comprehensive world view on art history, Summers further sought to open up art history to other disciplines, including archaeology, anthropology, psychology and the social sciences. As has repeatedly been shown, a world art history endeavours to be both interdisciplinary and inter-cultural, and yet the question as to whether such a broad scope can be achieved within the discipline, let alone in one publication or event, remains problematic.

Contributing further to the discussion of world art studies is Wilfried van Damme and Kitty Zijlman's World Art Studies: Exploring Concepts and Approaches (2008), which counted Elkins and Onians among its contributors. Within a contentious chapter entitled "Neuroarthistory: Making More Sense of Art", Onians proposes an "ecological habituation of manual and visual processes involved in making art". Referring to the neurological processes that are at play in the mind of the artist and art historian when creating or interpreting an artwork, Onians suggests that the experiences of the individual will have shaped their neural formations. In relation to John Ruskin, for example, Onians argues that his experience of travelling around the British countryside as a child would have informed his "neural networks" and in turn have "increasingly predisposed him to reflect on the relation between art and the environment". This thinking is more closely aligned with environmental determinism, rather than the anthropogenic turn in art history that has, since the publication of this volume, become a factor in the interdisciplinarity of the field. Unlike Onians' neuroaestheticism, the ecocritical reading of the landscape within this thesis is one concerned with the impact of ecology and topography, not on the artist, but on the artwork.

World art studies allows for a comprehensive perspective across both space and period, removing itself from the nationalised and inward-looking narrative that has, for example,

⁴³Elkins, Is Art History Global?, 42.

⁴⁴David Summers, Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism (New York: Phaidon, 2003), 19.

⁴⁵Whitney Davis, "World without Art", Art History 33, no. 4 (2010): 714.

⁴⁶John Onians, Neuroarthistory: From Aristotle and Pliny to Baxandall and Zeki (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 93.

permeated the study of Nordic and Canadian art histories; and yet, as Whitney Davis recognises in his review of van Damme and Zijlman's edited volume, the real challenge of world art studies is to "get a well-entrenched global art history to put art into new worlds of study". The avenues by which this can be achieved are multifaceted and multidisciplinary, and present a diverse and globalising field of scholars. While at its core world art studies has the intent to globalise and decentralise art history, through the association of environmentally determinist and neurological concepts it has arguably failed to take hold as a comprehensive methodological framework. Situated in conversation with world art studies, this thesis offers something cosmopolitan in scale and doesn't claim to be global in its reach; rather my research looks to expand beyond the regional confines within the Circumpolar North.

The Frontier

The mutli-national ambitions of this thesis, to resituate the landscape painting of Scandinavia and North America in dialogue with one another and their own wider ecology, seeks to use the Circumpolar North as productive margin in which to situate these 'peripheral' art histories. The term periphery denotes "places remote from traditional cultural centers and formerly considered a step behind", 48 and has been discussed alongside questions of the frontier. Partha Mitter challenges a Western art history and seeks to de-centre, in this instance, a study of the avant-garde - extending from Mexico to India. Mitter's "Interventions: Decentering Modernism: Art History and the Avant-Garde from the Periphery" (2008) broadens the scope of the avant-garde while also responding to the challenge of transnational and post-colonial art histories, "calling into question the purity of the "modernist" canon and the consequent imputation of the derivative character of the periphery". 49 While Scandinavian and North American landscape art histories might be considered as an obvious extension to a centralised Western art history, "until recently it [the Circumpolar] has been a frontier rather than a region".⁵⁰ By accommodating such an argument as Mitter lays forth, in de-centralising a study of a global art history, the landscape painting of the global north is no longer placed in dialogue with France, for example, but rather pushes against

⁴⁷Davis, "World without Art", 712.

 $^{^{48}}$ Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "The Uses and Abuses of Peripheries in Art History", *Peripheries* 3, no. 1 (2014): 4.

⁴⁹Partha Mitter, "Interventions: Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery", *The Art Bulletin* 90, no. 4 (2008): 544.

⁵⁰Lassi Heininen and Chris Southcott, eds., *Globalization and the Circumpolar North* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2010), 1.

the Eurocentric focus of these respective national art histories.

The question of the frontier has previously gone hand-in-hand with a discussion of the periphery; and with regards to an early-20th-century art history, beyond questions of American national identity, can be used in relation to the Circumpolar and Arctic as a whole. The frontier, as noted in Frederick J. Turner's The Significance of the Frontier in American History (1893), or the "Frontier Thesis", and first presented at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, shaped American democracy which "was born of no theorist's dream; it was not carried in the Susan Constant to Virginia, nor in the Mayflower to Plymouth. It came stark and strong and full of life out of the American forest, and it gained new strength each time it touched a new frontier. ⁵¹ For Turner, the American frontier gave Americans the chance to shape their identity out of a 'wilderness', or "forest", environment which demarcated national boundaries. I discuss the construct of a 'wilderness' argument in greater length in the third chapter of this thesis. Within art history, the frontier is often associated with a romanticisation of the American West, with artists establishing an iconography of the frontier, spanning Native American territory and the border with South America.⁵² As Katherine Manthorn writes, "from 1839 to 1879 major painters began to define the boundaries of the American landscape not only in national but also in hemispheric terms". 53 By working across the frontier-line, artists such as Thomas Cole, Albert Bierstadt and Frederic Edwin Church, helped redefine an American national identity. The movement of style along and across geographical borders helped to mark the topographical environment on either side of what constitutes the southern American frontier. With the movement of artists and styles across the northern frontier, the mysticism of the question of the northerly 'frontier' in Canada and the Arctic, and the further reaches of the U.S. including Alaska, in which similar principles apply, is discussed throughout this thesis in relation to artists including Carr, the Group of Seven, and Rockwell Kent.

I further argue, within this thesis, for an art history of the Circumpolar North that

 $^{^{51}}$ Frederick J Turner, "The West and American Ideals", *The Washington Historical Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1914): 245.

⁵²See William H. Truettner, The West As America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Judith A. Barter and Andrew Walker, Window on the West: Chicago and the Art of the New Frontier, 1890-1940 (Chicago: Hudson Hill Press, 2003); Stephanie Mayer Heydt, Art of the American Frontier: From the Buffalo Bill Center of the West (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2013); and David Peters Corbett, "Painting American Frontiers: "Encounter" and the Borders of American Identity in Nineteenth-Century Art", Perspective 1, (2013): 129-152.

⁵³Katherine Emma Manthorn, Tropical Renaissance: North American Artists Exploring Latin America, 1839-1879 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1989), 3.

situates the artists in question within different spatial scales - local, regional, national and latitudinal. By contrast, Facos and Silcox are concerned primarily with the national, Gunnarsson with the regional, and Nasgaard with the global. Perhaps the most contentious of these scales is the regional which can either exist "at an intermediate scale [...] between local and national or between national and global". 54 In the case of Gunnarsson's Nordic Landscape Painting, he approaches the Nordic region as an intersection between the national and global; while this thesis additionally sees the regional as the point between the local and national. A discussion of the Group of Seven, for example, in Chapter 3 and 4 looks at their regional presence across Ontario. In this instance, my argument is concerned with, as Cosgrove outlines, "a sense of belonging and attachment to an identified region, [as] distinguished from other regions". 55 Rarely are these terms discussed separate from one another, rather I argue for a synthesis of these terms within the artwork or artist in question; where for example, the idea of the "glocal" is reflective and characteristic of both local and global considerations.⁵⁶ These intersecting terms and geographical identities have recognised the landscape as integral to this discussion. I argue for a Circumpolar art history inclusive of these geographical questions of scale, recognising how Scandinavian and North American landscape painters are indicative of a localised and more widely shared topographical and cultural environment.

Transatlantic and Circum-Atlantic

A transatlantic and circum-Atlantic art history, meanwhile, moving beyond mere geographical concern, has been adopted in relation to British, continental European, West African and North and South American painting, growing to encompass questions of race, identity, and gender.⁵⁷ In two edited volumes - which counts Tim Barringer among the authors

 $^{^{54}}$ Michael Jones and Kenneth R. Olwig, eds., Nordic Landscapes: Region and Belonging on the Northern Edge of Europe (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xi. 55 Ibid, xi.

⁵⁶For more on the term "glocal" see Diana Brydon, "Cracking Imaginaries: Studying the Global from Canadian Space", in *Re-Routing the Postcolonial: New Directions for the New Millennium*, eds. Janet Wilson, Cristina Sandru, and Sarah Lawson Welsh (New York/London: Routledge, 2010), 103-117; Ana Maria Fraile-Marcos, ed., *Literature and the Glocal City: Reshaping the English Canadian Imaginary* (New York/London: Routledge, 2014); and Victor Roudometof, "The Glocal and Global Studies", *Globalizations* 12, no. 5 (2015): 774-787.

⁵⁷See for example: Michael Greet, Transatlantic Encounters: Latin American Artists in Paris Between the Wars (London: Yale University Press, 2018); Thomas Gaehtgens and Heinz Ickstadt, eds., American Icons: Transatlantic Perspectives on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century American Art (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 1996); Cheryll May and Marian Wardle, eds., A Seamless Web: Transatlantic Art in the Nineteenth Century (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

and co-editors - Thomas Cole's Journey: Atlantic Crossings (2018) and Picturesque and Sublime: Thomas Cole's Trans-Atlantic Inheritance (2018), re-examines the personal and professional travels of the members of the Hudson River School undertaken between Europe and North America. Barringer and Elizabeth Kornhauser's Thomas Cole's Journey juxtaposes Cole's prominence as one of America's leading landscape painters and the rise of the Industrial Revolution in Britain, while further seeking to consider Cole's paintings of the American 'wilderness' within a discussion of politics, economics, and ecological change. Alongside a network of stylistic and compositional exchange, Cole's work is also situated at the forefront of an anthropogenic art history, in the association with a 'wilderness' theory and in the eco-critical writing of Alan C. Braddock - discussed later in this introduction. A focus on transatlantic artist communities has formed the basis of Barringer's interest in the American Sublime, with much of the work focused on transatlantic landscape painting specifically oriented around the Hudson River School, and mid-19th century American nature and culture.⁵⁸

Further work by Barringer, notably "A White Atlantic? The Idea of American Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain" (2009), recognised the 'whitening' of a transatlantic art history, where the "issue of slavery and the Black Atlantic remains invisible throughout" but focuses the attention on the United States in the 19th century as a "post-colonial construction" within the circum-Atlantic world. Discussion of Church and his Arctic painting The Icebergs within Barringer's research on transatlantic landscapes should have encouraged further conversation surrounding the polar landscape, and yet the inclusion of the poles within a circum-Atlantic methodology is often forgotten. Exception can be given, however, to Jason Edwards' "Ecosmopolitan Encounters in The Circum-Polar Contact Zone, or Turner in the City of Culture" (2017), which concerns itself with both a circum-Atlantic and Circumpolar framework. Yet the discussion of a coastal Atlantic Arctic has yet to be entertained within this oceanic space. As such, a discussion of the Arctic within this thesis tessellates with

⁵⁸See Arne Nest, Arcadian Waters and Wanton Seas: The Iconology of Waterscapes in Nineteenth-Century Transatlantic Culture (New York: Peter Lang, 2009); and Kevin Hutchings and John Miller, eds., Transatlantic Literary Ecologies: Nature and Culture in the Nineteenth-Century Anglophone Atlantic World (Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 2016).

⁶¹Jason Encounters Edwards, "Ecosmopolitan $_{
m in}$ The Circum-Polar Contact Zone. 2019, Turner in the City of Culture", Turner and the Whale, accessed Sep https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleEssay.jsp?id=301

Edwards' coastal Circumpolar environment, in its focus on an inland or landlocked Arctic landscape. With the polar worlds arguably not the fore of a circum-Atlantic art history, the introduction of a Circumpolar methodology instead allows for a reading of the polar regions in tandem with alternative transnational methodologies.

A circum-Atlantic art history has further endeavoured to recognise the 18th-, 19th-, and 20th-century slave trade as an important factor in re-evaluating the way in which styles were exchanged and assimilated around the Atlantic.⁶² Recent work has included Kirsty Breedon's "Herbert Ward: Sculpture in the Circum-Atlantic World" (2010)⁶³ and forms the basis of Esther Chadwick's MA course "Circum-Atlantic Visual Culture, c.1770-1830" at the Courtauld Institute of Art. Beyond the geographical framework of the circum-Atlantic, the Black Atlantic is "an area defined according to cultural rather than natural or territorial criteria".⁶⁴ It is a region concerned with cultural, economic and geopolitical synergies and recognising how these have "evolved during the past six hundred years between coastal Europe, western Africa, the Caribbean and the eastern seaboards of North and South America". 65 In his seminal work The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness (1993), Paul Gilroy wrote that "the black Atlantic can be defined, on one level, through this desire to transcend both the structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity". 66 To integrate the Black Atlantic world within the cultural web of the circum-Atlantic, Gilroy simultaneously positions the global and local, the national and transnational, in conversation with one another. The intersection of these alternate identities exists throughout these globalising and transnational methodologies, where a focus on the local and regional is often neglected in favour of a broader argument.

⁶²For further information on the circum-Atlantic world, see: Tim Barringer, Gillian Forester and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz, eds., *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and his Worlds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); and Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz, eds., *An Economy of Colour: Visual Culture and the Atlantic World*, 1660-1830 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

⁶³Kirsty Breedon, "Herbert Ward: Sculpture in the Circum-Atlantic World", *Visual Culture in Britain* 11, no. 2 (2010): 265-283.

⁶⁴Denis Cosgrove, "Landscape and Landschaft", German Historical Institute Bulletin, no. 35 (Fall 2004): 57. For further information regarding the Black Atlantic and the representation of Afro-American art see Stuart Hall, ed., Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices (London/Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, in association with the Open University, 1997); Robert Farris Thompson and John F. Szwed, eds., Discovering Afro-America (Leiden: Brill Archive, 1975); and Robert Farris Thompson, Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy (New York: Vintage Books, 1984).

⁶⁵Cosgrove, "Landscape and Landschaft", 69.

⁶⁶Paul Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness (London/New York: Verso, 1993), 19.

The Circumpolar North

The Circumpolar North can be defined in a number of ways: as a frozen, barren landscape; as the home and livelihood of Inuit and Sami communities; as a place with a wealth of natural resources to be exploited; and as a place being devastated by the effects of global climate change. All of these visions of the Circumpolar North consider it as periphery, to both the Arctic states it encircles and to the countries that exist below its southern latitudinal marker. While "[t]o some it is known as the Arctic; to others it is a combination of the Arctic and Subarctic and is referred to as the circumpolar north".⁶⁷ These two descriptors have been used interchangeably, and yet the Arctic and Subarctic, or Circumpolar, denote very different parts of the global latitudinal landscape. The Circumpolar region which encircles the North Pole extends as far south as Quebec and British Columbia, Canada, Alaska in the U.S. and Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the U.K., and refers to regions lying between the 55th and 66th degree North parallels.⁶⁸ These coordinates open up future claims to, and examples of, a Circumpolar art history. Future work looks to include Scotland and Northern England within a study of the Circumpolar North. The term Circumpolar can, of course, also be applied more generally to both the global north and south. The perimeters of the Arctic, on the other hand, composed of approximately 11 million square miles of sea and solid land, fluctuate. Often marked at 66°33'N, these coordinates vary from year to year, with only the Geographic North Pole having the most fixed location, of 90°N, although that too wobbles on a monthly basis. My argument is focused around a Northern Circumpolar methodology, while also, in the fifth chapter, stepping across into the Arctic for a reading of the glacial and frozen landscape that is often mistakenly associated with the Circumpolar region as a whole.

The term Circumpolar has been readily used in the fields of archaeology and anthropology, and Arctic and environmental studies, to describe the many facets of life within countries situated around the Arctic Circle. The research interests of the social anthropologist Tim Ingold, for example, are orientated around the Circumpolar North. In *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (2000),⁶⁹ Ingold repeatedly includes his own observations on the indigenous communities and wildlife from the region within a

⁶⁷Heininen and Southcott, Globalization and the Circumpolar North, 1.

⁶⁸John McCannon, A History of the Arctic: Nature, Exploration and Exploitation (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 10.

⁶⁹Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000).

discussion of wider social and cultural anthropology around the globe. In reference to art history, the term Circumpolar has, in its limited use in this field, been focused on Inuit and Sami communities. Although this thesis does not discuss, at great length, the indigenous Circumpolar communities, it is intended that further and subsequent work on the subject will come to encompass the art of all peoples and nations residing around the Arctic Circle. Just as with Russia, this thesis is restricted by the perimeter of a word limit, and with a focus on the role of the landscape painting. Although attention is given to the artist Konstantin Korovin, further exploration of Russia's traditions of landscape painting, along with the wider Nordic region, will have to be saved for future research.

There has been no comprehensive study of Nordic or North American art history that has attempted to frame these art histories within a Circumpolar framework. Although, Gry Hedin and Ann-Sofie N. Gremaud recognise a shared affinity across the 'Anthropocene North', and Nasgaard and Gunnarsson tease at the idea of a shared ecological perception of the landscape, no study has yet made the leap to a comprehensive latitudinal and geographical study. A quick internet search for 'Circumpolar art history', for example, brings up the symposium The Circumpolar World, 1850-1940: From Scandinavia to North America, organised by myself and staged at the University of York in 2018.⁷⁰ Further reference is given to the centre for Worlding Northern Art at the Arctic University of Norway in Tromsø, which has as its goal to "strengthen research in art history and visual culture in Northern Norway and the Circumpolar North". Reference to the Circumpolar North in relation to art history and visual culture has, to date, been primarily concerned with contemporary art, indigenous studies, ⁷² Victorian polar exploration, and the whaling industry. ⁷³ The timeliness of this thesis and a Circumpolar methodology can be further viewed alongside the specialissue journal Arctic Arts (July 2019). Following on from the Arctic Arts Summit in 2017, this publication from the University of Lapland, Finland, focuses on indigenous visual art

 $^{^{70}}$ "The Circumpolar World, 1850-1940: From Scandinavia to North America", Centre for Modern Studies, University of York, Oct 17, 2018, accessed Sep 09, 2019, https://www.york.ac.uk/modernstudies/events/2018-19/autumn/circumpolar-art/

⁷¹"Worlding Northern Art", *The Arctic University of Norway*, accessed Sep 09, 2019 https://en.uit.no/forskning/forskningsgrupper/gruppe

⁷²For past exhibitions on contemporary indigenous art from across the Circumpolar North, see *True North:* Contemporary Art of the Circumpolar North (May 18 - Sep 9, 2014), Anchorage Museum, U.S.; and Arts from the Arctic: An Exhibition of Circumpolar Art by Indigenous Artists from Alaska, Canada, Greenland and Sapmi (1993), The Institute of Alaska Native Arts, Anchorage.

⁷³See Jason Edwards, "The Vegan Viewer in the Circum-Polar World; Or J.H. Wheldon's *The Diana and Chase in the Arctic* (1857)," in *Thinking Veganism in Literature and Culture: Towards a Vegan Theory*, eds. Emelia Quinn and Benjamin Westwood (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 79-106.

and culture, while offering "travel around the circumpolar North and encourages discussion on the role of art in the development of the Arctic". The emphasis of this preface, alongside a number of the ensuing chapters, is on the Arctic. It is not, as this thesis is, a wider study of landscape painting and environment across latitudes within the Circumpolar and Arctic regions. Although Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja's essay "Early Artists in the Euro-Arctic Region: Arctic Culture and Nature as a Motif in Art from 1870s to 1930s" approaches artists from both Sweden and Russia, her concern is mainly with the representations of indigenous Sami communities and their relation to their local environment. It is not concerned with a commonality in landscape and environment across these regions as a whole, and does not directly attempt to associate itself with a Circumpolar methodology. As this journal reaffirms, the focus has often been on the Arctic, and hasn't considered those 'peripheral' landscapes and communities that are geographically Circumpolar.

When discussing the idea of the Circumpolar North as a 'periphery', this becomes more widely associated with the broader considerations concerning 'northernness' and the idea of 'north' in general. Peter Davidson discussed the concept of 'North' and 'northern-ness' as shifting depending on your perception of your own environment - that there are many different 'norths'. While, 'true north' is geographically determined, the idea of north shifts depending upon where and who you are. From the parallel lines of latitude to the "imaginations of north", ⁷⁶ Davidson traces the history, topography and culture of a northern identity, shifting across temporal and geographical landscapes. In The Last of the Light (2015), Davidson further drew upon the influence of northern latitudes on light, when he wrote that the "actual length of 'golden hour' depends on latitude and time of year; very far north, golden hour conditions may extend through much of the day. In the extreme north, golden hour can last all night". The variances in light according to latitude, distinguish artists painting across different geographical locations; the play of light and colour comes to the fore in a discussion on ice in Chapter 5, where the two are informed by one another. Just as the Circumpolar region embodies different global understandings of what it is and what is included, the question of what is 'north' varies within individual local, regional and national communities. Davidson challenges the idea of 'north' as a geographical position and

⁷⁴Timo Jokela, Maria Huhmarniemi and Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja, "Preface", Synnyt Special Issue: Arctic Arts Summit 1 (2019): 6.

⁷⁵Peter Davidson, The Idea of North, (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 22.

⁷⁶Ibid, 74

⁷⁷Peter Davidson, The Last of the Light: About Twilight (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), 148.

pushes towards an almost Circumpolar methodology - through an account of visual culture and literature - where he considers that "all the ways of thinking about Antarctica are taken from ideas of the far north, raising the question that there may be places - mountain ranges as well as the South Pole - that are thought of as honorary norths".⁷⁸ Defining 'north' is broadly considered throughout the ensuing chapters.

1.3 Mapping the Arctic

The approaches taken when researching the art history and visual culture of the Arctic differs among art historians. Jason Edwards and Martha Cattell in the *Turner and the Whale* Exhibition (2017-2018), consider a populated Arctic landscape in the mid-19th century paintings of the Hull whaling school, in contrast with an environment associated with ideas of "whiteness" and depopulation of both wildlife and people. This thesis exists at a later stage to these examples, and yet contributes to the same narrative, one of a depopulated modernism perhaps. While the Arctic has been the main focus of scholarly forays into the Circumpolar North, in relation to indigenous Sami and Inuit communities, a discussion of early-20th century artists working and living within this far northern environ has remained limited in scope, and often lacking from the respective national visual studies.

There is little mention of the Arctic in the context of these national art histories, despite the Arctic having largely been studied within a national or local context in the fields of geography, anthropology and political science. For example, there is no mention of the Arctic in Gunnarsson's Nordic Landscape Painting in the Nineteenth Century, nor in Dreams of a Summer Night, Luminous Modernism, or Northern Light. Only among the broad-sweeping chapters that compose Kent's Soul of the North, is a rare account of the Arctic provided in an historical essay on the Scandinavian overseas colonies, including Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Svalbard. The focus, however, is on narrating the history of these nations and their push towards independence - images merely complement the text and are not the focus of this discussion.

By contrast, Canadian art historical writing⁷⁹ is inherently tied to ideas of nationhood

⁷⁸Davidson, The Idea of North, 22.

⁷⁹Specific discussion around the Arctic within Canadian art history often centres on the artistic traditions of the Inuit, including Emily Elisabeth Auger's comprehensive study *The Way of Inuit Art: Aesthetics and History in and Beyond the Arctic* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2005); Barbara Lipton's 1984 exhibition catalogue *Arctic Vision: Art of the Canadian Inuit: A Travelling Exhibition* (Ottawa: The Producers, 1984); and the comprehensive volume produced by Winnipeg Art Gallery on contemporary Inuit art, from 1949 to the

in relation to the Arctic, looking at the work of Harris, Jackson and Varley in particular who physically visited the Canadian Arctic. In this vein, the Arctic is briefly discussed in Dennis Reid's A Concise History of Canadian Painting; the exhibition catalogue for Painting Canada: Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven; and in the concluding chapter "The Canadian Arctic" in Silcox's The Group of Seven and Tom Thomson. The prevalence of the Arctic within a literary discourse also has recognised the importance of the 'Far North' within Western cultural and social history, and yet this study often overlooks the visual arts beyond Britain and America, with Canada and Scandinavia existing once again as a cultural and geographical periphery. Despite the Arctic being an environment shared by the Circumpolar North, its role in the study of landscape painting remains underdeveloped. This thesis, and especially the fifth chapter, brings Scandinavia, in particular, back into a discussion of the polar worlds, moving away from a strictly Anglo-American discourse and an Arctic preoccupied with the disappearance of Sir John Franklin.

Polar Exploration

The ancient Greeks labelled the country or island they believed to exist in the extreme north as *Thule*; it was a far-removed and incomprehensible landscape, the exact nature of which early civilisations could only hypothesise over. *Thule* denotes the unknown. In medieval literature, this unknown environment was referred to as *ultima Thule* - meaning 'beyond Thule' or beyond the unknown - a name which today denotes an object located beyond Neptune in the Kuiper belt, documented by the New Horizons space probe in 2019. In 1910, Knud Rasmussen named current day Qaanaaq in Greenland as *Thule*, in homage of the previously pseudo-mythical nature of the Arctic. As Davidson notes, "The phrase 'true north' is itself a piece of geographer's precision, the difference between the northernmost point on the globe and the slight declination marked by the magnetic north to which the compass needle tends". This marker of the most northerly and southerly points, although geographically precise, socially and culturally fluctuated over the course of the 19th and early 20th century. To understand the Circumpolar North, it is important to recognise the

present, Creation and Transformation: Defining Moments in Inuit Art (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Publishers, 2013).

⁸⁰Beyond this, John O'Brien and Peter White discuss the Arctic in relation to Canadian art production during the second half of the 20th century, in *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

⁸¹Davidson, The Idea of North, 11.

significance of the Arctic within a discussion of Western social and cultural history.

Historically, mapping the Arctic was primarily concerned with leaving imperial names behind on previously uncharted islands. Today, mapping is as concerned with geography, as with sea-ice and identity. It was the Roman Claudius Ptolemy, and his volume Geographia (c. AD 150), who laid the foundations for modern geography. Here, Ptolemy's maps divided the world into a northern and southern hemisphere and established the use of lines of latitude (measured from the Equator) and longitude (measured from the westernmost landmass known at the time, the Canary Islands).⁸² Deciding the longitudinal zero-point starter was more contentious and was only decided in 1884 at the International Meridian Conference, with the Royal Observatory at Greenwich acting in this capacity - this subsequently established Greenwich Mean Time.⁸³ The first detailed map of the Nordic countries was drawn by the Swedish historian, cartographer and archbishop Olaus Magnus in the 16th century (fig. 2). In Gerardus Mercator's original 1569 projection of the world's surface (fig. 3), the frozen Arctic sea appears to stretch across the top of the map, mirroring the stretch of Antarctic along the bottom edge. However, in modern reproductions of this projection it completely omits the North Pole (fig. 4), leaving the Arctic invisible on a global scale, having disappeared from above the Circumpolar North. The world's ice coverage is suddenly reduced in size. With this said, Mercator's localised map of the North Pole (fig. 5), published in the World Atlas of 1595, was among the earliest instances that the Arctic and Circumpolar North was the focus of a cartographic study.

Polar exploration, and the search for the Northwest Passage, preoccupied explorers and adventurers for over four hundred years. The Vikings were among the first to "discover" modern-day Greenland, for example, having settled there in 981, after successfully navigating the Denmark Strait on their journey over from Iceland. However, due to the harshness of the local environment, the Viking population and their descendants struggled to be self-sufficient and relied on the ocean remaining free of sea ice to maintain the trade route between Greenland and the Nordic nations. With the onset of the Little Ice Age in the 1300s, the ties between Europe and Greenland were lost. It would be 150 years before the next European ship arrived off Greenland's coastline. Over the course of the subsequent centuries the Arctic facilitated a race for discovery that would encompass Greenland, the

⁸²Rachel Quist, "Ptolemy's Geographia", Geography Realm, Nov 30, 2011, accessed Sep 09, 2019, https://www.geolounge.com/ptolemys-geographia/

⁸³Derek Howse, "1884 and Longitude Zero", Vistas in Astronomy 28 (1985): 11-19.

wider Canadian Arctic, and eventually the North Pole.⁸⁴

For most of the 19th century and in the centuries prior, following the first substantive expeditions to locate a Northeast Passage in 1553⁸⁵ and Northwest Passage in 1576⁸⁶ eager men from across the western world dominated polar exploration. British efforts were exemplified in the infamous and ill-fated Franklin expedition of 1845, which in turn prompted countless ventures throughout the remainder of the 19th century, both to locate the missing Franklin expedition, and to further the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Among subsequent feats of polar exploration were those made by the Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen⁸⁷ who, along with his team, made the first successful crossing, on cross-country skis, of the Greenland interior in 1888; and who, in 1892, aboard his purposefully designed vessel the Fram, reached a record northern latitude of 86°14'N, having drifted through the Arctic ice from 1893 until 1896. Of the journey undertaken aboard the Fram, Nansen later recalled that the purpose of their expedition was "not to seek for the exact mathematical point that forms the northern extremity of the earth's axis that we set out, for to reach this point is intrinsically of small moment. Our object [sic] is to investigate the great unknown region that surrounds the Pole".⁸⁸

Further exploratory endeavours were undertaken by the Greenlandic-Danish explorer and anthropologist Knud Rasmussen who was the first of European descent to cross the Northwest Passage by dog sled during his Fifth Thule Expedition from 1921-24. While traversing the passage over a sixteen-month period, Rasmussen sought to document the ethnography, archaeology, culture and biology of the 'Eskimo' people, and to realise "the enormous importance of the part played by Eskimo in Arctic exploration" and that "geographical research is deeply indebted to this remarkable people".⁸⁹ In contrast, the Norwegian Roald Amundsen

⁸⁴For further information on early polar endeavours, tracing the history of Arctic exploration from Pytheas to the discovery of the Northwest passage, see: Matti Lainema and Juha Nurminen, *A History of Polar Exploration: Discovery, Adventure and Endurance At the Top of the World* (London: Anova Books, 2009); and William James Mills, *Exploring Polar Frontiers: A Historical Encyclopedia* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2003).

⁸⁵McCannon, A History of the Arctic, 90.

⁸⁶Ibid, 83.

⁸⁷Nansen further recorded a number of the journey's he undertook, including *Eskimo Life* (1893), *In Northern Mists: Arctic Exploration in Early Times* (1911) and *Through Siberia, the Land of the Future* (1913). For further information on Nansen, see: Per Vogt, ed., *Fridtjof Nansen: Explorer, Scientist, Humanitarian*. (Oslo: Dreyer Forlag, 1961); and Marit Fosse and John Fox, *Nansen: Explorer and Humanitarian* (Lanham/London: Hamilton Books, 2016).

⁸⁸Fridtjof Nansen, Farthest North: Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship "Fram" 1893-96 and of Fifteen Months' Sleigh Journey by Dr. Nansen and Lieut. Johansen, (New York/London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1897), 37.

⁸⁹ Source: Knud Rasmussen, "The Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24. The Danish Ethnographical and

led the first expedition to successfully traverse the Northwest Passage by boat, and in 1911 became the first to reach the South Pole, in the race against the British expeditionary team led by Captain Robert Falcon Scott.

A pervading 19th- and 20th-century competitiveness drove explorers towards the south pole, and was reported by the press as a heated race. Having arrived at the Ross Ice Shelf, landing at the Bay of Whales, on the 14 January 1911 aboard the Fram, Amundsen and his team didn't set off towards the Pole until 18 October of that year. Scott, who had originally landed 60 miles out from the Norwegians at McMurdo Sound, began his trek three weeks after Amundsen. On 14 December 1911 Amundsen raised the Norwegian flag at the South Pole, having reached the Pole thirty three days before the British, and having returned to their base camp on 25 January 1912, only eight days after Scott and his team reached the South Pole. It was, however, the return journey for Scott and his team which proved fatal. In his last diary entry, dated 29 March 1912, Scott wrote:

Every day we have been ready to start for our depot 11 miles away, but outside the door of our tent it remains a scene of whirling drift. I do not think we can hope for any better things now. We shall stick it out to the end, but we are getting weaker, of course, and the end cannot be far. It seems a pity, but I do not think I can write anymore. R. Scott. Last entry - For God's sake look after our people.⁹¹

Scott's poignant final entry comes across as paternal, concerned with the fate of humanity upon his inevitable death. Despite knowing of his fate, and that he was not invincible, his defiance that "we shall stick it out to the end" reaffirms the hypermasculinity that the polar worlds encouraged. Scott is, arguably, the last casualty of the 19th century trend towards the polar landscape as a proving ground for dominant masculinity. Although critical literary

Geographical Expedition from Greenland to the Pacific," *The Geographical Journal* 67, no 2 (Feb 1926): 124. Similar work was further undertaken by the Icelandic-American explorer and ethnologist Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who also wrote a number of ethnographical books on the "Eskimo" and life in the Arctic, namely *My Life with the Eskimo* (1913) and *The Friendly Arctic* (1921). His ethnographic writings have further been encompassed into an edited volume: Gísli Pálsson, ed., *Writing on Ice: The Ethnographic Notebooks of Vilhjalmur Stefansson* (New Hampshire: UPNE, 2001).

 $^{^{90}}$ On 20 April 1911, the New York Times headline read - "Amundsen is Ahead in South Pole Race"; on 25 February 1912 (in bold capitals) - "World Waits for News of Race for the South Pole"; and on 08 March 1912 - "The South Pole Discovered."

 $^{^{91}}Scott's\ Last\ Expedition,$ Thursday March $29^{\rm th},\ 1912.$ Typescript by the Scott Polar Research Institute. https://www.spri.cam.ac.uk/museum/diaries/scottslast expedition/ Original: https://www.bl.uk/collectionitems/captain-scotts--diary

efforts have been made to underlie the male arrogance that has permeated the history of polar exploration, there is no similar study of the visual arts during this period. The work of the Group of Seven, Kent and Boberg are indicative of the polar north, through their depictions of the aurora borealis and the frozen landscapes which denote this environment. Despite the prevalence of male painters within the Circumpolar North, in particular, both within this thesis and more generally, it is important to recognise that these Arctic environments were also inhabited, experienced and painted by women. The polar landscape had been deemed largely unsuitable for women, and which, through naval dominance, facilitated generations of male explorers seeking out an environment that was "understood to be an arid and cold space that stood in masculine opposition to the torrid humidity of the tropics". 92 While the focus of this thesis is not predominantly on colonialism and imperialism, it does raise questions around a post-colonial identity in relation to the Group of Seven and the Canadian Arctic, and Kent in Greenland. Despite women having lived in the Arctic for thousands of years they have been "largely excluded from exploratory and scientific expeditions", 93 and consequently a consideration of art history within a polar context has often failed to identify female painters working within these extreme environments (the inclusion of Boberg and Emily Carr within this thesis represents an important interjection into this discussion).⁹⁴

Gender in the Arctic and Circumpolar North

Since Françoise d'Eaubonne first coined the term *ecofeminism* in 1974,⁹⁵ there has been considerable scholarly material and research carried out across the disciplines of philosophy, anthropology, literary and environmental studies, and art history, that has sought to further define and critique the term and provide further opportunities in which to apply an ecofeminist reading. Described as a "theory and movement which bridges the gap between feminism and ecology, but which transforms both to create a unified praxis to end all forms of dom-

⁹²Jen Hill, White Horizon: The Arctic in the Nineteenth-Century British Imagination (New York: SUNY Press, 2009), 6.

⁹³Victoria Rosner, "Gender and Polar Studies: Mapping the Terrain," Signs 34, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 491.
⁹⁴Nevertheless, there is a wealth of material which has sought to situate women within the frozen landscape
- whether this be the Arctic or Antarctica - and within a literary context. Further writing on the roles of masculinity and femininity in the Arctic can also be found in Lisa Bloom's Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); and Francis Spufford's Victorian Femininity of British Polar Exploration (London: Faber & Faber, 1996).

⁹⁵See Françoise d'Eaubonne, Le Féminisme ou la Mort (Paris: P. Horay, 1974). For further scholarship on ecofeminism see Carolyn Merchant, The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution (San Francisco: Harper Row, 1980); and Marie Mies and Vandana Shiva, Ecofeminism (London: Zed Books, 1993).

ination",⁹⁶ ecofeminism exists so as to recognise the oppression and domination of women and nature in Western culture. Karen J. Warren continued this train of thought in her paper "The Promise and Power of Ecofeminism" (1990);⁹⁷ and again in a co-authored essay with Jim Cheney, "Ecological Feminism and Ecosystem Ecology" (1991), where they recognised that although ecology and feminism were interrelated, there had yet to be a concerted effort to show how "ecological feminism and the science of ecology are engaged in complementary, mutually supportive projects".⁹⁸

The writing of Val Plumwood, however, draws directly on the comparisons between feminism and ecofeminism, and seeks to establish a "critical ecological feminism" that can be based in feminist theory. In *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (1993), Plumwood looks to an ecological feminist philosophy, one which deconstructs the gendered association between women and nature, and addresses the shared problems that exist in the feminist and environment movements. By situating women artists within a predominantly male dominated discussion on the polar worlds, for example, this thesis looks toward the thinking of Warren and Cheney - merging a reading of melting ice and climate change with those women working within the Arctic who have been often overlooked in such a discussion up to this point.

According to Lisa Bloom, the narratives surrounding 19th and early-20th century polar exploration, in both the Arctic and Antarctica, have defined "the social construction of masculinity and legitimized the exclusion of women from any public domains of discourse". ¹⁰⁰ A scholarly discussion on women writers and artists has been side-lined, as Bloom notes, in preference for a canonisation of male explorers, authors and enthusiasts. But while the poles have been considered, at least by cultural historians, to be a place unsuitable for women, within the Arctic, women both lived and worked, throughout the centuries, either within indigenous communities, or as themselves explorers with a fascination for the far-flung and 'unexplored' landscape. The association between men and mapping removes both women and indigenous communities from this inhabited polar environment and canonises a 19th-century

⁹⁶Kate Sandilands, "Ecofeminist and Its Discontents: Notes Toward a Politic of Diversity", *The Trumpeter* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 90.

 $^{^{97}\}mathrm{Karen}$ J. Warren, "The Promise and Power of Ecofeminism," *Environmental Ethics* 12, no. 2 (1990): 125-146.

 $^{^{98} \}mathrm{Karen}$ J. Warren and Jim Cheney, "Ecological Feminism and Ecosystem Ecology," $Hypatia~6,~\mathrm{no.}~1$ (Spring, 1991): 179.

⁹⁹Val Plumwood, Feminism and the Mastery of Nature (London: Routledge, 1993), 1.

¹⁰⁰Bloom, Gender on Ice, 6.

Arctic as a male-dominated space. As polar exploration became a source of cultural and political competition Jen Hill writes that the "Arctic itself was gendered male: unforgiving but constant, a geography that corresponded to an ideal and thus would bring out the best in the men who mapped it". This gendering of the Arctic, is directly related to Hill's assessment of a 'whitening' of the Arctic - by white men and white western ideals.

The 19th century journalist and academic Henry Morley surmised that the "history of Arctic enterprise is stainless as the Arctic snows, clean to the core as an ice mountain". ¹⁰² Morley's rhetoric of the Arctic - of snow and ice - emphasises the purity and 'whiteness' of the landscape, making clear that it is a "clean" landscape peopled only by white Englishmen. Hill notes that Morley's idea of the Arctic is as a space concerned with the "white man and white landscape". ¹⁰³ Morley's account of the Arctic does not, for example, recognise the presence of indigenous communities residing within the landscape, nor does it account for the involvement of Lady Jane Franklin in sponsoring and organising expeditions to locate her lost husband. This idea of "whiteness" in the Arctic landscape encompasses a discussion of people and communities, colour and tonality.

Descriptions of the Arctic as "white" also seek to remove any human, animal or natural presence from within this environment - blood stained snow and water would have followed whaling expeditions and Inuit hunting; icebergs that calved off the ice-shelves would have appeared in varying shades of lapis, aquamarine, and crystalline blue; ship wreckages and archaeology would have remained and reappeared; and dust and dirt would have frequently marked the surface of the ice and snow. The narrative surrounding the Arctic during the 19th century often disregards the indigenous and non-human communities residing within the landscape, although exception can be found in the Hull School and the *Turner and the Whale* Exhibition. The latter, in particular, contradicts the narrative of the Arctic as a topographical environment void of anything other than a white, barren stretch of inhospitable and inhabitable land and sea. As Bloom continues to draw attention to, "the genre of Arctic exploration narratives is noteworthy in its crucial absence of white women explorers as authors", ¹⁰⁴ or in this case artists. As mentioned, Boberg's Arctic paintings challenge, in some ways, this image of a "white" landscape by offering up a counter-example to the

Hill, White Horizon, 14.

 $^{^{102}}$ Ibid, 8.

¹⁰³Ibid, 13.

¹⁰⁴Bloom, Gender on Ice, 39.

dominant male figure living and exploring the Arctic landscape and positioning her as one of the few white women who ventured into the polar North at this time. ¹⁰⁵

By contrast, the work of Carr in British Columbia, who forms a focal point in the discussion of forests in Chapter 3, has come to be situated within a wider discussion of women artists in Canada, and beyond the Group of Seven. In contrast to Shadbolt and Tippett's biographical work on Carr, Stephanie Kirkwood Walker's *This Woman in Particular: Contexts for the Biographical Image of Emily Carr* (1996) looks, in part, to situate Carr within a wider feminist discourse, drawing upon earlier wider feminist methodologies. Navigating the conflicting roles of men and women artists, Gerta Moray further examines ideas of gender in both Carr's writing and paintings in her article "T'Other Emily:' Emily Carr, the Modern Woman Artist and Dilemmas of Gender" (1999). Moray shows how Carr "claimed stylistic territory and types of content that were at the time coded as masculine, while she found ways within them to assert a female identity"; ¹⁰⁶ and how she, like Boberg, as we shall see, did not conform to the social stereotypes of how women artists should work and what types of subjects they should concern themselves with.

Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson's edited volume, Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada (2012), further looks at the expectations of women artists in Canada, drawing attention to the interconnected discussion surrounding professionalism, femininity, and domestic life in relation to Canada's women artists during the early-19th century. This conversation highlights how the study of women artists in Canadian art history has "tended to focus on women's omission from art-historical discourse and their oppositional challenges to the gendered norms of their day, rather than on their participation in larger national networks". Although this exact quotation is used in reference to the artist Anne Savage, the sentiment applies to a number of Canadian women artists, including Carr, who is often regarded as an isolated artist working alone in British Columbia - she is seen as a friend to the Group of Seven, not a member. As such, a discussion of women artists within the Circumpolar North, and beyond, cannot be disentangled from a feminist

¹⁰⁵Bloom, Gender on Ice, 39.

¹⁰⁶Gerta Moray, "'T'Other Emily:' Emily Carr, the Modern Woman Artist and Dilemmas of Gender," RACAR: revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review 26, no. 1/2 (1999): 7.

¹⁰⁷Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson, eds., Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada, 1850-1970 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2012.)

¹⁰⁸Alena Buis, "'A Story of Struggle and Splendid Courage:' Anne Savage's CBC Broadcasts of *The Development of Art in Canada*," in *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada*, eds. Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2012), 124.

art history, which in turn is closely associated with post-colonial studies and has grown in tandem with an ecocritical art history, with the two often integrated in a discussion with one another.

1.4 Ecocriticism and the Anthropocene

The prominence of the environmental humanities and the Anthropocene has grown exponentially in the last five years; closely tied with the growing awareness of the climate crisis in global research, media and society. Not only does the literature included here show the rise in scholarly work on questions of Anthropocene, climate change and environment, but the establishment of research centres have shown the urgency of paying close attention to our geological epoch and current climate. A relevant example in the case of my work, is the University of York receiving, in 2019, a significant ten-year, £10-million grant to establish the Leverhulme Centre for Anthropocene Biodiversity. It is vital for this discussion to take place and for it to be interdisciplinary and international in scope.

As a trans-discipline, the origination of the environmental humanities can be widely recognised in the 1970s and 1980s where simultaneous departmental developments were beginning to take into account of what a cluster of Australian researchers termed in the late 1990s the "ecological humanities". Robert S. Emmett and David E. Nye The Environmental Humanities: A Critical Introduction (2017) provides a concise overview of this multidisciplinary field, as well as identifying current and future avenues of research. It places itself within the long-line of scholars, including Alexander von Humboldt, Vladimir Vernadsky, and Rachel Carson, over a century-long period, who contributed to the environmental humanities. Cross-disciplinary projects between the sciences, social sciences and humanities, have encouraged the field to expand across nations and departments, and indicates future change of motivating "creative cooperation between the humanities and the sciences and can assist in the interpretation of scientific results". And vice versa. This thesis endeavours to show

¹⁰⁹Catherine Rigby, "Weaving the Environmental Humanities: Australian Strands, Configurations, and Provocations", *Green Letters: Studies in Ecocriticism* 23, no. 1 (2019): 6.

¹¹⁰For other key texts on the environmental humanities see: Ursula K. Heise, Jon Christensen, Michelle Niemann, eds., *The Routledge Companion to the Environmental Humanities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017); and Christopher Schaberg, *Searching for the Anthropocene: A Journey into the Environmental Humanities* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2019); for a discussion of the environmental humanities within the museum see Jennifer Newell, Libby Robin, and Kirsten Wehner, eds., *Curating the Future: Museums, communities and climate change* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

¹¹¹Robert S. Emmett and David E. Nye, *The Environmental Humanities: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge/London: MIT Press, 2017), 7.

that the humanities can not only support scientific fact, but that science can play a part in furthering an understanding of landscape painting by recognising a historic ecology and topography. The environmental humanities - and as such ecocriticism, eco-historicism and the Anthropocene - facilitates a necessary way of operating within academic research today, pushing against: strictly nationalised idioms; insular single-discipline approaches to global issues; and a Westernised focus. Instead the environmental humanities provide a dynamic antidote to the lingering fascination with national identity, and hierarchies of discipline, gender and culture.

Ecocriticism and Eco-Historicism

The term ecocriticism was originally intended for literary studies. In fact, the origination of the term is derived from Joseph Meeker's "literary ecology" in *The Comedy of Survival: Studies in Literary Ecology* (1972), which was only in 1996 converted into an "ism" by William Rueckert in "Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism". That this term has come to be defined not only within literature, but also visual culture, science, ethics, philosophy and politics, among others, recognises the significance of an ecocritical reading within an interdisciplinary scholarship. Since the late 1990s, countless books and articles have been written addressing the multifaceted nature of ecocriticism. Among these is Greg Garrard's *Ecocriticism* (2012) which explores a range of issues relating to ecocriticism, and which are, in some instances, directly relevant to discussions had within the chapters of this thesis - notably animal studies, and how we define 'wilderness' and 'nature'. While ecocriticism first sought to de-historicise 'nature' and celebrate a turn to 'wilderness', those scholars actively advocating an ecocritical reading today encourage instead a post-colonial and feminist framework, while recognising the urgency of such a practice in a world imperilled by climate change.

In recent scholarship, studies of rural and urban environments in art history have sought to enrich and contribute to a global environmentalism. Alan C. Braddock and Christoph Irmscher's collection of edited essays in A Keener Perception: Ecocritical Studies in American Art (2009), endeavoured to read American art history of the $18^{\rm th}$ and $19^{\rm th}$ centuries within an environmental framework, emphasising "issues of environmental interconnectedness, sustain-

 $^{^{112}}$ William Rueckert, "Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism", *Iowa Review* 9, no. 1 (1978): 71-86.

ability, and justice in cultural interpretation". The title itself, "a keener perception", 114 draws upon the words of Cole, the protagonist of Braddock and Irmscher's introductory chapter. Although there is an emphasis on traditional landscape painting, Braddock himself, in a chapter entitled "Bodies of Water: Thomas Eakins, Racial Ecology, and the Limits of Civic Realism" further proposes how an ecocritical reading of the environment can be applied to the urban and suburban landscape, specifically referencing the work of Eakins, the Schuylkill River and environmental history of Philadelphia. 115

Almost a decade since this initial publication, the exhibition Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment (2018-2019), co-curated by Braddock, John Wilmerding, and Karl Kusserow, sought to reiterate the opportunities offered in interpreting American art history - over the last three hundred years - within the field of the environmental humanities and ecocriticism. The book and exhibition sought to re-evaluate the history of American art within the context of ecology and environmental history, and as such finding a way in which these works can be situated within a modern ecological framework. Both the exhibition catalogue and the earlier iteration of an ecocritical American art history in A Keener Perception, are both insightful companion texts as to how we might endeavour to interpret paintings within an environmental framework, looking at an ecocritical art history applied to specific artworks. This thesis proposes a further avenue of exploration, one that Braddock and Irmscher don't yet embrace, which is a direct comparative discussion of art and science, and how these two disciplines, working in tandem, might inform one another. 117

Andrew Patrizio's timely publication *The Ecological Eye: Assembling an Ecocritical Art History* (2018) seeks to theorise on an ecocritical art history, moving away from specific

¹¹³Alan C. Braddock and Christoph Irmscher, eds., A Keener Perception: Ecocritical Studies in American Art History (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 3.

¹¹⁴Alan C. Braddock and Christoph Irmscher, "Introduction", in *A Keener Perception: Ecocritical Studies in American Art History*, eds. Alan C. Braddock and Christoph Irmscher (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 5.

 $^{^{115}}$ An environmental history of the American urban-scape, with a specific focus on the effects of industrialisation can also be found in: Øystein Sjåstad, "Pollution Pittoresque: Representations of Smoke in Frits Thaulow's Landscapes," (conference paper, SASS 2019: Nordic Art//Global Contexts stream, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S., May 2-4, 2019).

¹¹⁶See, Karl Kusserow and Alan C. Braddock, *Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

¹¹⁷For further information pertaining to art and ecology see Allen Carlson, Aesthetics and the Environment: The Appreciation of Nature, Art and Architecture (London: Psychology Press, 2002); Stephen Eisenman, From Corot to Money: The Ecology of Impressionism (Milan: Skira, 2010); De-nin D. Lee, Eco-Art History in East and Southeast Asia (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019); Greg M. Thomas, Art and Ecology in Nineteenth-century France: The Landscapes of Théodore Rousseau (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

artists and paintings. It is comprehensive in its attempts to outline what an ecocritical art history might look like, making the case for a "gregarious, ethical and sophisticated reframing of art history that contributes to the pressing ecological imperatives of today". 118 Patrizio's The Ecological Eye presents itself as "non-hierarchical" case studies, looking at gender, queer theory, anarchism, politics and animal studies, among others; and relies on previous scholarship and Patrizio's own arguments to shape an ecocritical art history around these broader themes. He draws upon the breadth and depth of existing scholarship, including, but not limited to, James J. Gibson's The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception (1979), Val Plumwood's Environmental Culture (2003), and T.J. Demos' Art and Ecology in the Americas (2015), all of which have sought to propose different corners of a far-reaching ecocritical art history. Patrizio provides a thorough synthesis of previous scholarship that supports an ecocritical art history, positioning it as "an engaged discipline within the future of the Anthropocene". 119

This theoretical framework, however, actively pushes against the use of specific artworks where, "maybe for now, individual artworks are only a small part of that emerging picture". 120 Patrizio claims that the use of specific artists and paintings would only be a detriment to the "non-hierarchical" art history this volume seeks to encourage - it does not, however, disregard the use of canonical paintings in future work. To further his non-pictorial claim, there are no images in his book. While the ecocritical readings set out by Patrizio could have wider implications when viewed in tandem with paintings, the narrowly focused literary and scholarly framework around which Patrizio constructs his methodology actively restricts the possibilities of an ecocritical art history. This thesis, by contrast, encourages an ecocritical reading of landscape painting focused on visual analysis, and specific artists and artworks - accounting for both canonical and non-canonical works within the national art histories of the Circumpolar North.

In tandem with an eco-critical art history is an eco-historicist approach as put forward by Gillen D'Arcy Wood in a paper simply entitled "Eco-historicism". This looks towards a broader interdisciplinary approach that an environmental focus allows. In trying to establish an "eco-historical" method, with ecology and environment being regarded in tandem with

¹¹⁸Andrew Patrizio, *The Ecological Eye: Assembling an Ecocritical Art History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 2.

¹¹⁹Ibid, 20.

¹²⁰Ibid, 13.

one another, D'Arcy Wood wrote,

Eco-historicism is, by its nature, interdisciplinary. In the very grammar of its construction, eco-historicism challenges the cultural historian to make a crossing - a kind of blind, backward leap - into the ecological sciences and toward a working technical literacy in one or more of the disciplines of climatology, geology, geography, and environmental science. The potential rewards for this interdisciplinary crossing are great. ¹²¹

Although D'Arcy Wood's argument for an eco-historical approach to literary and visual history looks to establish an interdisciplinary approach, where the contribution is reciprocal between the arts and sciences, it is flawed in its recommendation of only reading works within an historic ecology and climatology. As Timothy Clark briefly mentions in *Ecocriticism on the Edge: The Anthropocene as a Threshold Concept* (2015), "'eco-historicist' readings [...] approach texts [or images] from the past in relation to their specific climatic conditions". 122 The application of an 'eco-historicist' reading to art history encourages art historians to explore the ecological sciences, and allows for a discussion of topography and climate in landscape painting to be integrated with a study of ecology. I endeavour within this thesis to bridge the art-science interdisciplinarity encouraged by D'Arcy Wood, taking into account contemporary and historic climate data in an understanding of the paintings I examine, while also situating these works within a wider geographical and temporal framework.

The Anthropocene

In an era marked by discussion surrounding the "Anthropocene," the "Capitalocene," the "Chthulucene," and the "Plantationocene," which have all sought to situate humans and their involvement with planet Earth, a discussion of environment and climate change in relation to the visual arts has developed in tandem with these broader Earth System Science concepts. In 2000, Paul Crutzen and Eugene Stoermer proposed renaming our era of geologic time as the Anthropocene, having previously been included within the "Holocene" which began in 8000B.C. and following the "Pleistocene" or Ice Ages. Through "radically altering the

¹²¹Gillen D'Arcy Wood, "Introduction: Eco-historicism," Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies 8, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2008): 4.

¹²²Timothy Clark, Ecocriticism on the Edge: The Anthropocene as a Threshold Concept (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 52.

¹²³Paul J. Crutzen, and Eugene F. Stoermer, "The 'Anthropocene'," *Global Change Newsletter*, 41 (May 2000): 17-18.

earth's ecosystems and climate, humans have ended the Holocene and thus the epoch during which agriculture and all human civilizations have developed". Crutzen and Stoermer placed the beginning of this era in the 1700s, as the Industrial Revolution came to the fore, with coal taking over from other fuels. It recognised the human "potential to transform Earth rapidly and irreversibly into a state unknown in human experience". Although the idea of the Anthropocene has been readily contested - in terms of both when it began and whether it even exists 126 - by mobilising the term it allows us to frame an interdisciplinary environmental modernity and ecocriticism.

In Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism (2016), Jason W. Moore contributes to the previously tentative, but growing, use of the term Capitalocene, which signifies a move beyond the natureculture dualism of the Anthropocene, and instead "signifies capitalism as a way of organizing nature - as a multispecies, situated, capitalist world-ecology". This natureculture dualism that Moore refutes, is derived from Bruno Latour's We Have Never Been Modern (1991), which recognised the need to identify multiple nature-cultures in relation to both our societal and environmental past and present. This hybridity of terms, further formed the basis of Nicholas Malone and Kathryn Oveden's 2016 article "Natureculture", referring to "a synthesis of nature and culture that recognizes their inseparability in ecological relationships that are both biophysically and socially formed". Malone and Oveden emphasised that there are few places on earth that humans have no impact, and as such can be seen in conjunction with ideas surrounding the anthropogenic landscape. Moving further beyond the confines of anthropocentrism, in

¹²⁴Reinhard Hennig, Anna-Karin Jonasson, and Peter Degerman, eds., Nordic Narratives of Nature and the Environment: Ecocritical Approaches to Northern European Literatures and Cultures (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 11.

¹²⁵Anthony D. Barnosky, et al., "Approaching a state shift in Earth's biosphere," *Nature* 486 (2012): 52.

¹²⁶For scholarship challenging Crutzen and Stoermer's narrative around the Anthropocene see Andreas Malm and Alf Hornborg, "The geology of mankind? A critique of the Anthropocene narrative", The Anthropocene Review 1, no. 1 (2014): 62-69; Jan Zalasiewicz, et al., "When did the Anthropocene begin? A mid-twentieth century boundary level is stratigraphically optimal", *Quarternary International* 383, no. 5 (Oct. 2015): 204-207; Colin N. Waters, et al., "Can nuclear weapons fallout mark the beginning of the Anthropocene Epoch?", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 7, no. 3 (2015): 46-57; and Julia Fahrenkamp-Uppenbrink, "Should we define the start of the Anthropocene?", *Science* 348, no. 6230 (Apr. 2015): 87-88.

¹²⁷Jason W. Moore, "Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism" in Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism, ed. Jason W. Moore (Oakland: PM Press, 2016), 6.

¹²⁸Bruno Latour, We Have Never Been Modern (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993)

 $^{^{129}}$ Nicholas Malone and Kathryn Oveden, "Nature culture", in *The International Encyclopedia of Primatology*, ed. Agustin Fuentes et al. (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017), no page number, doi:10.1002/9781119179313.wbprim0135

her 2016 volume entitled Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene, Donna Haraway encourages a more long-term way of thinking, where it is our job "to make the Anthropocene as short/thin as possible". Haraway's Chthulucene defines the epoch whereby human and non-human survivors of environmental disaster will come together and live in "multispecies assemblages"; where "tentacular" thinking will form connections and harmony between humans, other species, and ecosystems. 131

Scholarship concerned with questions of the Anthropocene, environment and ecocriticism in the Circumpolar North and Arctic as a whole, has begun to emerge over the last couple of years. Gry Hedin and Ann-Sofie N. Gremaud's edited volume Artistic Visions of the Anthropocene North: Climate Change and Nature in Art (2018), for example, orients itself around the "Anthropocene thesis", and has identified how "art, whether historical or contemporary, functions as a laboratory in which the relationship between human beings and nature and other key issues in the Anthropocene are studied". This "thesis", as Hedin and Gremaud see it, is "that the climate and biosphere will change radically in only a few centuries as a consequence of human actions". 133 Although Hedin and Gremaud are optimistic in the "centuries" it will take for human action to impact the planet, they recognise the intertwined narrative of environment and cultural production and their subsequent role in the Anthropocene. Essays within this volume, for example Mark Cheetham's "Northern Landscapes and the Anthropocene: A Long View" melds these many arguments into a discussion of colonisation and climate, placing the Group of Seven in parallel with contemporary Inuit art production. This builds upon Cheetham's research interests which most recently culminated in the book Landscape into Eco Art: Articulations of Nature since the '60s (2018) and in the exhibition Ecologies of Landscape (2019) staged at the BEC Project Space in Toronto.

By contrast, Nordic Narratives of Nature and Environment: Ecocritical Approaches to Northern European Literatures and Cultures (2018) was created to fit within the wider discipline of Scandinavian Studies, and to present an alternative to the Anglophone focus that has prevailed in the field of ecocriticism. The editors Reinhard Hennig, Anna-Karin Jonasson, and Peter Degerman encourage an ecocriticism concerned with the images and narratives

¹³⁰Donna Haraway, "Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene: Making Kin", Environmental Humanities 6 (2015): 160). For more on the Cthulucene see Donna Haraway, Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Cthulucene (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

 ¹³²Gry Hedin and Ann-Sofie N. Gremaud, eds., Artistic Visions of the Anthropocene North: Climate Change and Nature in Art (London/New York: Routledge, 2018), 1.
 ¹³³Ibid. 7.

built up around representations of nature and environment in alternate "cultural, social, and historical contexts". 134 Nordic Narratives looks to both the past and present of the Nordic region, including the Arctic, to situate a wide-lens view of literature, film and other forms of cultural expression, over the last two-hundred years, within an ongoing discussion surrounding environment and the Anthropocene. By contrast, Arctic Environmental Modernities: From the Age of Polar Exploration to the Era of the Anthropocene (2017) approaches the intersections between environment and modernities in the Circumpolar North, with the book's chapters engaging, to varying degrees of agreement, with the notion of the Anthropocene. The chapters address the breadth of Arctic culture, history, environment, politics and industry, with an emphasis on climate change and environment superseding a focused discussion of the Anthropocene. A discussion around art and visual culture remains limited, although Lisa Bloom's "Invisible Landscapes: Extreme Oil and the Arctic in Experimental Film and Activist Art Practices" recognises the challenges contemporary artists are facing while working within an Arctic landscape that is rapidly being shaped by anthropogenic influences. An ecocritical perspective on visual culture and art history is rapidly coming to the fore within the environmental humanities and discussion of the Anthropocene, and as such this thesis is well-timed to contribute 19th- and early-20th-century landscape painting in the Circumpolar North.

1.5 Chapter Summaries

The following four chapters integrate the two fundamental tenets of my argument - the historiographical analysis of exhibitions, and the impact of ecology and landscape in the paintings of the Circumpolar North. Considering the history of the Scandinavian art exhibitions within America, Chapter 2 identifies how these sought to introduce Scandinavian painting to a North American audience - and, in so doing, influenced the Canadian Group of Seven. Focused on four primary exhibitions - the Swedish Art Exhibition in 1896; the Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art from 1912-13; the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, and the ensuing Swedish Art Exhibition in 1916 - this chapter goes beyond the brief mention often given to the 1912-13 Exhibition, recognising that through the proliferation of Scandinavian national trends, notably within the genre of landscape painting, there is a

¹³⁴Hennig, et al., Nordic Narratives, 3.

discernible influence exerted by these paintings on their North American colleagues. This chapter also recognises the controversial racial determinism of Christian Brinton's curatorial practice, in line with contemporaneous ideas of environmental determinism. Beyond this, the curation of such touring exhibitions allowed for contemporary Scandinavian painting to be dispersed not only among the Scandinavian-American community which resided within the targeted regions, but a broader, American and Canadian audience.

The third chapter is the first of three thematic chapters, which are multi-national and cross-disciplinary in the direct juxtaposition of artists from across the Circumpolar North. In Chapter 3, I break down my study into two main parts; challenging the 'wilderness' argument often used in a discussion of Canadian and Scandinavia landscape painting; and how this manifests itself in paintings of forests by artists including Tom Thomson, Carr, Fjæstad and Oscar Lycke. Within such a discussion is an attempt to distinguish between decoration and the natural features of the landscape - with regards to climate and seasonal change - pushing against the rhetoric of Japonisme, symbolism and mysticism. My argument here, also further introduces the importance of the local and regional within a wider discussion of the national and Circumpolar - recognising the environmental prominence of forests from British Columbia, Canada to Värmland, Sweden.

The fourth chapter looks at the abundance of lakes and mountains found in the respective topographies of Canada and Scandinavia, and the subsequent prospect-view compositional approach adopted by artists. The paintings included within this chapter, undertaken by artists including Otto Hesselbom, Carmichael, Osslund and Varley are primarily concerned with the lakes of their regional environments, while Willumsen actively melds geographical boundaries in both his travels and the subsequent paintings. This study highlights a high level of interactivity between artists and the environment, but simultaneously shows a lack of awareness and refusal of the respective ecosystems in which their works were produced - discussing, for example, declining animal populations often as a result of hunting and the fur trade. A postcolonial reading of the Group of Seven on the North Shore of Lake Superior is further considered in relation to this having previously been a prominent Hudson Bay Company territory. This chapter furthers the efforts of Chapter 3, in pushing actively towards an eco-critical reading of the landscape, one which sees the physical Circumpolar environment as fundamental to an understanding of the history of landscape painting.

The fifth, and final, chapter moves beyond the Circumpolar proper and into the Arctic

region, focusing on the shared experience of the northern lights, glaciers and icebergs across Alaska, Canada, Greenland and Norway. This chapter looks at a subset of a Circumpolar methodology - with the Arctic existing within the Circumpolar North - and beyond Scandinavia and Canada, to nations such as Greenland. While acknowledging symbolism and the sublime, this chapter places depictions of the polar landscape in dialogue with modern day climate change and an ecocritical discourse. I propose how art and science can work in conversation with one another, aiding in a historical understanding of the landscape that contributes to the topical framework of the Anthropocene - directly realising the impact humans have had, and continue to have, on the frozen landscape.

Taken as a whole, this thesis recognises that the synergies between the landscape painting of the Circumpolar North extend beyond the 1912-13 Exhibition, traversing national and geographical boundaries. In so doing, it establishes an important methodological framework that can subsequently be applied to the many facets of art, life and culture within this global region. The conclusion reaffirms a Circumpolar methodology and proposes future avenues of discussion. This is, moreover, an experimental thesis which analyses a history of Scandinavian and Canadian landscape painting in a number of ways, with each chapter representing an alternative, but complimentary, approach to a Circumpolar methodology. In reassessing the landscape painting of these nations, it takes Nordic and North American art histories in the direction of the environmental humanities, building upon ongoing multi-disciplinary work on the Anthropocene and further interdisciplinary collaboration between the arts and sciences.

Chapter 2

Exhibitions of Scandinavian Art in the United States, 1896-1916

When in 1912, Scandinavian art was collectively introduced to an American audience for the first time, its organiser Christian Brinton, saw it is a chance to reveal "to Americans Scandinavian art as it actually exists". For Brinton, American art had yet to reach the standards of its Scandinavian counterpart, where "by current European standards. we [America] are distinctly behind the times when it comes to the matter of esthetic [sic] development".² With the Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art in 1912-13, Brinton hoped to incite in the audience a new way of thinking about their own art and landscape, "for it has always been, and will always be, the artist's mission to lead, and the public's privilege to follow". Here, a number of the foremost landscape painters of Scandinavia showcased, through the work on display, the richness and diversity of their local and national environment. Building upon earlier exhibitions, the 1912-13 Exhibition grouped together the 'national' art histories of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, to show what was current on the Scandinavian art scene. This exhibition was, as with those that came before and after, concerned with identifying a national identity and vitalist modernism in landscape painting that could be emulated by American artists, but while a Scandinavian modernism offered an alternative to developing continental trends, it was swiftly eclipsed by the avant-garde display of the 1913 inaugural Armory Show.

¹Christian Brinton, ed., *Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art* (New York: The American Art Galleries, 1912), 26.

²Ibid, 26.

³Ibid, 26.

This chapter examines the history of the Scandinavian art exhibited in America during the early-20thcentury, focusing on four primary exhibitions - the Swedish Art Exhibition in 1896; the Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art from 1912-13; the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, and the ensuing Swedish Art Exhibition in 1916. I go beyond the brief mention of the 1912-13 Exhibition, in Nasgaard's Mystic North, Gunnarsson's Nordic Landscape Painting, and Reid's Canadian Art, among others. Instead this chapter recognises that through the proliferation of Scandinavian landscape painting and national idioms within the exhibition space, a historiographical chain of influence was established. The staging and curation of these touring exhibitions catered to the vast number of Scandinavian immigrants living in the Midwest - with Swedes marginally outnumbering their Scandinavian neighbours - and further introduced a broader American and Canadian audience, including artists, to landscape painting traditions from across the wider Circumpolar North.

2.1 "A Natural Affinity": The First Touring Exhibition of Swedish Painting in 1896

The first collective representation of "contemporary" Swedish art in America in 1896 was a continuation of those paintings shown in the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. This section positions the Representative Works of Contemporary Swedish Artists Exhibition of 1896 at the forefront of subsequent shows, each of which sought to promote national idioms, often through the genre of landscape painting. I further recognise the importance of this show in the burgeoning Scandinavian-American immigrant culture in the Midwest, and the effect this had on local artists. With regards to the 1893 World's Fair, however, which inspired the subsequent exhibition, it was the first time the work of Anders Zorn (who played an instrumental role in the later show) had been displayed in the U.S. - with the artist not having previously visited the North American continent. It was also the first time a Canadian artist recorded seeing examples of Scandinavian artwork - although this arguably had no direct influence on their own painting. The English-born painter Jeffreys (1869-1951) recorded his thoughts of the show:

The first potent stimulus that we younger men experienced came in 1893. At the Columbian Exposition in Chicago we were shown for the first time on this continent pictures by contemporary Scandinavian painters [...] when we saw some

of the Scandinavian painters at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, we perceived their painters were grappling with a landscape and climate similar to our own, and felt a natural affinity to them, rather than to the London, Paris, Munich and Dusseldorf Schools. We became northern-minded.⁴

Jeffreys' thoughts anticipate those of the Group of Seven twenty years later, and yet his work shows none of the similar compositional and stylistic characteristics that were later apparent in the Group's work. Instead, as with the Group, Jeffreys' recognises a northern affinity between the Scandinavian and Canadian environment, focusing on ideas of north, landscape and climate. The specific mention of "climate" acknowledges a contemporary reference to the ecological parallels in tonality noted in the following chapters between Scandinavian, Canadian and Greenland. The subsequent touring Exhibition of 1896 represented the first display of Scandinavian art outside of the prescribed World's Fair, and was described in the catalogue as being "wholly new to Americans and was full of a freshness and vitality uncommon to recent art". The critical reception of the Swedish exhibition considered Scandinavian painting as an alternative to the traditional tendencies of continental European impressionist and realist painting. The familiarity the American public would have had with Scandinavian painting at this point rested on the works of Zorn, Larsson and Milles, each of whom had left their own mark on their host nation. The subsequent renaming of the 1896 exhibition in Chicago - An Exhibition of 97 Works of Contemporaneous Swedish Artists Collected by Anders Zorn and Including Several of His Works - testifies to the already prominent role Zorn held within the American art scene.

The Exhibition of 1896 was also the first touring exhibition of Swedish Art in the United States, opening to an audience at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia. This east coast city had once formed part of New Sweden, a Swedish colony which existed between 1638-1655; it extended up along the Delaware River, through present-day Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. As a result, these Mid-Atlantic states maintained a strong affinity to Sweden which persisted throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. During the later decades of the 1800s, Swedes began to migrate en masse to America, with many residing in suburban Philadelphia - it is estimated that between 1870-1890, the time at which migration

⁴Robert Stacey, "A Contact in Context: the Influence of Scandinavian Landscape Painting on Canadian Artists Before and After 1913," *Northward Journal* 18/19, (1980): 40.

⁵Representative Works of Contemporary Swedish Artists in 1896 (The Art Institute of Chicago: Ryerson Library, 1895-96), 3.

peaked, there were over 800,000 Swedish citizens residing within the U.S., this figure would later rise to 1.3 million. To provide further context, this final figure established at the start of the 20th century amounted to over a fifth of the population of Sweden as recorded in 1900.⁷ The mass migration of Swedes to America is often associated with the burgeoning Swedish population, which itself grew by nearly two million from 1850-1900, and the subsequent need to find work. In the case of Norway, between 1825 and 1925, around one third of the then Norwegian population relocated to America, settling predominantly in Minnesota.⁸ With Denmark, emigration to America was undertaken not only for economic reasons, with an estimated 50,000 people emigrating to America during the decades following the nationally catastrophic defeat at the Battle of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864. Despite the number of Scandinavian migrants who moved over to America settling within the state of Pennsylvania, the main hearth around which the Nordic immigrant communities orientated themselves was Chicago, and the wider Midwest; where by 1910, around 54% of the population resided within the states of Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, Wisconsin, and Nebraska. 10 The locations of many of the early exhibitions, as outlined by Mary Towley Swanson in A Tangled Web, 11 reaffirms the importance of immigrant artist networks on the orientation and organisation of Scandinavian art exhibitions at the turn-of-the-century. This exhibition also encouraged the development of the Scandinavian-American artist community, which would come to include teachers at some of the foremost schools of art in the U.S. among its members. 12

 $^{^6}$ Dag Blanck, "Swedish Immigration to North America", Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center, 2009, accessed Sep 05, 2017, https://augustana.net/general-information/swenson-center/academic-activities/swedish-american-immigration-history

⁷Gustav Sundbärg, "Det Svenska Folket" in *Sveriges land och folk*, ed. Gustav Sundbärg (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söner, 1901), 90, accessed Sep 05, 2017, http://runeberg.org/sverig01/0106.html

⁸In the case of Norway, prompted by an increase in industrial jobs available in America, it is estimated that between 1880-1890 a total of 256,068 Norwegians relocated to the U.S. Source: "Norwegian Immigration to America," accessed Sep 05, 2017, http://www.emmigration.info/norwegian-immigration-to-america.htm. For further information see: Einar Haugen, "Norwegian Migration to America," *The Norwegian-American Historical Association*, accessed Sep 05, 2017, http://www.naha.stolaf.edu/pubs/nas/volume18/vol18_1.htm

⁹In official figures provided by the Danish government (through the website for Visit Denmark), between 1881-1890 over 80,000 Danes entered the USA, and where between 1880-1910 around 10% of the then Danish population immigrated. Source: "Danish Immigration to the United States," *Visit Denmark*, accessed Sep 05, 2017, http://www.visitdenmark.com/denmark/history/danish-immigration-united-states. For further information see: John Mark Nielsen and Peter L. Petersen, "Danish Americans," *Countries and their Cultures*, accessed Sep 07, 2017, http://www.everyculture.com/multi/Bu-Dr/Danish-Americans.html.

¹⁰Blanck, "Swedish Immigration to North America."

¹¹Mary Towley Swanson, A Tangled Web: Swedish Immigrant Artist Patronage Systems, 1880-1940 (Minnesota: University of St Thomas Research Online, 2004), accessed Apr 28, 2017, http://ir.stthomas.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1008&context=arthistory_pub

¹²Among the Scandinavian-American artists living within the Midwest, were Chicago painters Olof Grafström, who "used the Mississippi River as a motif in many of his paintings," and Gotthilf Ahlman who "clearly had a life-long love affair with the Indiana Dunes," and also painters John F. Carlson of Woodstock, New York, who was drawn towards the familiar, but clichéd, snow scenes of home, and Birger Sandzén of

The focus of Zorn's curatorial endeavours, following a preliminary visit to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, was on the landscape and seascape. Although portraiture, figurative and genre paintings played a part in the display, the predominant orientation was on the national landscape; a trend remaining the focus of exhibitions on Nordic art into the present day. Close to a hundred works were chosen, by the foremost twenty artists of Sweden, of which the work of Zorn was the most prolific; with his international reputation preceding him and the display of his works described as a coup unto itself. Further to Zorn, the catalogue was made up of paintings by a number of his colleagues, many of whom were members of the Varberg School (a colony of artists based in Varberg on the West Coast of Sweden)¹³ including Eugene Jansson, Bruno Liljefors, Carl Larsson, Karl Nordström and Nils Kreuger, were similarly put at the fore of Zorn's curatorial effort. Of Nordström, the essayist of the catalogue wrote that, "at first sight, he may not seem sympathetic, but he will leave a strong impression and you will end by loving his art". 14 The daringness of Nordström's paintings, as seen in his The Old Fort at Varberg (1893, fig. 6) which was included in the exhibition, reveals a dramatic sky mirrored in the unnaturally orange sand that seeps into the tempting water of the Kattegat strait. Nordström is indicative of the confluence of national identity and a northern mysticism that dominated in Nordic landscape painting during the 1890s. This example foreshadows Varnedoe's comments in 1988, focusing on the "fatal power of nature", where climate and meteorology consume the landscape and reaffirm the "nationalism in the cycle of the seasons". 15

Only two of this cohort of distinguished artists were female, namely Hanna Hirsch-Pauli and Eva Bonnier. With regards to Bonnier, two of the three works exhibited were portraits, with her large-scale work *Dressmakers* (1887, fig. 7) evoking the impressionist penchant for the domestic interior scene - the looser brushwork of the figures a blur against the beautifully rendered crisp folds of the silk organza fabric. In contrast, Pauli's two contributions to the display, labelled within the catalogue as *Evening* and *Blondine*, suggest an even divide in the representation of portraiture and landscape. When, sixteen years later, in 1912, the

Lindsborg, Kansas who found in the Smoky Hill River Valley of Kansas much of his inspiration.

¹³For more on the Varberg school and the artists involved see, Lars Wängdahl, "En natur för män att grubbla i": Individualitet och officialitet i varbergskolonins landskapsmåleri (Gothenburg: Parajett AB, 2000); Hans Henrik Brummer, ed., Nils Kreuger (1858-1930) (Stockholm: Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde, 2002); Hans Henrik Brummer, ed., Richard Bergh: Ett Konstnärskall (Stockholm: Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde, 2002); and Anna Meister and Karin Sidén, eds., Karl Nordström: konstnärernas konstnär (Stockholm: Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde, 2014).

¹⁴Representative Works of Contemporary Swedish Artists in 1896, 4.

¹⁵Varnedoe, Northern Light, 24.

Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art opened its doors, neither of these artists were represented, despite the overwhelming presence of their male colleagues both from Sweden and the neighbouring Scandinavian countries. Rather it was the sole presence of Boberg and her dramatic Lofoten landscapes which were left to fend for themselves - and succeeded, as is later explored.

The success of the 1896 Exhibition in relation to the Chicago leg of the tour, in particular, was seen as reinforcing "Chicago audiences' high opinion of Swedish art, gained from the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition" 16 For a city with a high Scandinavian-American population, the Exhibition of 1896 represented the opportunity for the immigrant population to see what artistic endeavours were currently taking place at home, while also, in Towley Swanson's words, fostering "interest within the Swedish-American community to initiate artists' organisations and set the stage for wealthy ethnic businessmen to support the formation and execution of Swedish-American exhibitions at their inception in 1905". 17 These annual shows continued for over sixty years, making Chicago "the unrivaled centre of Swedish-American art", ¹⁸ with over 497 artists exhibiting in the period from 1905-1970. Only half of these were Swedes from Chicago, meaning that its reach extended to the wider Swedish community throughout the Midwest. The underlying influence of the 1896 Exhibition, and the beginning of the Swedish-American Artist Exhibitions, consequently gave the Scandinavian-American artist community a foothold within the American art scene. This Exhibition, moreover, paved the way for subsequent shows which drew closer attention to Scandinavian landscape painting in conversation with ideas of national identity, modernism and symbolism.

2.2 The Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art, 1912-1913

Christian Brinton: Modernism, Race and Nation

When the Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art began its five-city tour in New York (December 10-25th 1912), just months before the defining 1913 Armory Show arrived in the

 $^{^{16} {\}hbox{Towley Swanson}}, \, A \, \, {\hbox{\it Tangled Web}}, \, 12.$

¹⁷Ibid, 12.

 $^{^{18}\}mathrm{Rolf}$ H. Erickson, "Swedish American Artists' Exhibitions in Chicago Described in Checklists and Catalogs," Swedish-American Historical Society Quarterly 42, no. 2 (April 1991): 90.

city, it prepared the American audience for the arrival of European Modernism and went onto influence a generation of Canadian and Scandinavian-American landscape painters. It conformed to Brinton's belief that it was important for America to view the efforts of European art at home rather than in the exhibitions abroad, and by doing so move beyond the so-called "national purification of [America's] Art" as the German colleague of Brinton's, Paul Clemens, saw it in 1910. The contradictory nature of Brinton's curatorial endeavours to represent individual nations with the intent of making American art more 'international' is arguably one of the greatest successes of the exhibition. Brinton's curatorial practice, moreover, recognises a racially determinist narrative around which he situated Scandinavian art, often in line with contemporaneous thinking on environmental determinism. This thesis, however, recognises science as having moved beyond such ideology and instead sees Brinton in opposition to current thinking. This section, and thesis, does not endeavour to examine, in full, the 165-works exhibited in 1912-13, by 45 artists; rather this analysis identifies a number of key works within a historiographical chain of influence that can be traced in subsequent North American landscape painting, situated alongside the curatorial practice of Brinton.

The tradition of the North had already been examined by Brinton in earlier, smaller contributions to exhibitions such as that on "modern" German painting in 1909 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Invited to work on this project by the wealthy New York socialite Hugo Reisinger, a naturalised American citizen of German descent, this exhibition was conceived by its patron so as to cultivate "a better understanding between the nation of his birth and the country to which he had emigrated: Germany and America". Scandinavian painting was thus part of a bigger picture, looking at ways of visualising national identity in art throughout Europe. Brinton's organisation of these exhibitions gave credence to each of these nations, or groups of nations, reaffirming their national identity on an international stage.

For Brinton, the 1912-13 Exhibition was a way of collectively visualising individual national identities. It was Brinton's first foray into true curatorial control. Yet, despite being at the helm of the exhibition, he sought the assistance of three individuals from Norway,

¹⁹Paul Clemens, *Exhibition of Contemporary German Art*, (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1909) 5. Clemens was the chief curator of the exhibition on German art, for which Brinton had his first taste of curatorial input. Having arrived in the United States in 1910, Clemens' remarks highlights the America-centric nature of their art, and that the art of Europe could help re-shape the national identity of the country.

²⁰A. J. Walker, "Critic, Curator, Collector: Christian Brinton and the Exhibition of National Modernism in America, 1910-1945," (doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 33.

Denmark, and Sweden - Jens Thiis, director of the Nasjonalgalleriet in Oslo; Karl Madsen, director of the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen; and Carl Laurin, the director of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm - to aid in the selection of works deemed representative of each nation's voice. As a result, the display represented multiple individual outlooks on what was seen as current and representative of their own national idiom. For Brinton the Exhibition of 1912-13 could be used to differentiate between what was "modern" and what was seen as 'radical modernism'. As a result, he turned to nation and identity as a means of contradicting the developments being made in contemporary art. Whereas the art of Sweden at the time of the exhibition was also beginning to consider the art of the post-impressionist painters, namely Matisse - and indeed founded their own school of Matisse followers - for Brinton Swedish art of this period had also "discovered her innate, indigenous possibilities" and was developing in a "convincing, healthy fashion". The attempt to differentiate the art of Scandinavia from the rapid advancements being made in the art of central Europe was eclipsed when the Armory Show soon revealed the paintings of the 1912-13 Exhibition to be "traditional" by comparison. Often associated with current and emerging trends, Brinton believed that individuality had a greater impact on determining what was modern. Through his extensive writing on Brinton in his doctoral dissertation, the now director of the Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Texas, Dr Andrew Walker identified that Brinton,

recognised the value of personal emotions as a valid means of artistic expression, as well as an antidote to a slavish fixation on realism. He also did not believe that a vital national American art need be divorced from European realism. What he did not espouse, however, was that modernism at root had to be revolutionary.²²

This analysis of Brinton's understanding suggests that he instead believed in a type of soft-Modernism, one which wasn't too critical or risqué - this is reflected in those paintings chosen for the Scandinavian exhibition. Whereas from 1910-13 Swedish painters, in particular, were studying under artists including Matisse, the artists represented on the American stage, belonged to the earlier tradition of painting which focused on landscape, national identity

²¹Christian Brinton, *The Swedish Exhibition* (New York: Redfield-Kendrick-Odell Co., 1916), 8.

²²Walker, "Critic, Curator, Collector", 23. This assessment by Walker comes from a reading of Peter Bürger's "The Theory of the Avant-Garde" which in itself identified the analysis the critic Peninah Petruck had undertaken of Christian Brinton. Petruck identified Brinton as a moderate rather than radical modernist. It was only Brinton's idea that Modernism had to be revolutionary which blurs the boundaries between what is considered moderate and radical. For further reading please see: Peter Bürger, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984); and Peninah R. Y. Petruck, *American Art Criticism*. 1910-1939 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1981).

and symbolism. With the responsibility of collating works from across three nations, the task was divided, by Brinton, between himself and the heads of the national galleries of each country. The outcome was a mix of personal preferences in the selection of those artists and paintings seen to best represent their nations. It has, however, not been possible to ascertain what was excluded from the exhibition line-up.

According to a handful of critics, including the prominent Danish critic J.N. Laurvik, Brinton was seen to have made a decisive mistake in relinquishing control to Thiis. The latter was seen as a great supporter of contemporary Norwegian art, and unlike his Nordic colleagues, who were less enamoured with contemporary artistic practices, chose works which represented the latest experiments in post-impressionist painting. In his essay for the exhibition catalogue, Thiis chronicled the development of Norwegian art history during the 19th century, from Dahl who "in an artistic sense [...] was the discoverer of Norwegian landscape"²³ to the "men of the eighties" (Gerhard Munthe, Erik Werenskiold, Harriet Backer and Kitty Kielland) through whom "the ties that bound Norwegian painters to Germany were loosened"²⁴, culminating in work of Edvard Munch, "unquestionably the most gifted of all Norwegian painters". 25 Laurvik described the Norwegian section as "a group of men whose work, for the most part, aroused nothing but opposition and popular disapproval". 26 Although Thiis makes direct mention of two prominent Norwegian women artists, Backer and Kielland, among these "men", neither featured within the exhibition. While critics saw the Norwegian section as being too daring and radical, the Swedish section was seen to be too traditional and conservative, with many of the works on display dating from the 1880s and early 1890s. Brinton, however, welcomed the "aesthetic eclecticism" of the display.²⁷

Since its inauguration in 1910, Brinton had also become involved in the American-Scandinavian Foundation in New York - its purpose then, as it is today, to promote cultural exchange between Scandinavia and the United States. When it came, therefore, to the organisation of the Scandinavian Exhibition, the Foundation played an instrumental role. Not only did they act as host for the opening venue, but their other activities included a bi-monthly magazine seen as a resource for the wider Scandinavian-American community

²³Jens Thiis, "The Art of Norway," in *Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art*, ed., Christian Brinton (New York: The American Art Galleries, 1912), 40.

 $^{^{24}}$ Ibid, 43.

 $^{^{25}}$ Ibid, 49.

²⁶J. Nilsen Laurvik, "Intolerance in Art." American-Scandinavian Review 1, (March 1913), 11.

²⁷Walker, "Critic, Curator, Collector," 72.

and providing educational and cultural opportunities between the two nations. It was also within their agenda to "give emphasis to the racial compatibility of Scandinavian peoples to the perceived Anglo-Saxon heritage of America, and thus to the democratic values of the United States". It can here be discerned how Brinton and the Foundation were compatible in their approach to furthering Scandinavian and American ties. For Brinton an exhibition on Scandinavian art would give its American audience the chance to benefit from studying and ultimately assimilating the characteristics of Scandinavian visual culture.

This selection process might not only have had to do with Brinton's own understanding of what was modern, but also that he believed "to promote national modernism, artistic production had to be categorised by race". Brinton's thinking bridges a masculine modern heroism with racial environmental determinism, where the landscape played an instrumental role in shaping what was 'modern' and 'national'. He developed these ideas further in public lecturers, often delivered before exhibition openings. Before the opening of the 1912-13 Exhibition at the Albright Gallery, Buffalo, Brinton reinforced the message of the Exhibition that "You will remark above all in the production of each of these nations, and to a kindred degree in each instance, the salutary stamp of race and of country". This is reflected in Brinton's choice to represent each nation individually in those works displayed within the exhibition. The selection process as determined by individual, Norwegian, Danish and Swedish curators, contributes to Brinton's idea of distinct nationalities; that "the determinative factor in any artistic production must always be the racial factor, conditioned as it may be by the dominant ideas and influences of its given period". The preoccupation with ethnicity, race and

²⁸Walker, "Critic, Curator, Collector," 59. The use of the term Anglo-Saxon, in this regard, suggests that Britain was the main ancestor for the Anglo-American population. For more information see: C.R. Thompson, "The Study of Anglo-Saxon America", *English Studies* 18, 1-6 (1936): 241-253; and Frederick G. Detweiler, "The Anglo-Saxon Myth in the United States", *American Sociological Review* 3, no. 2 (Apr 1938): 183-189.

 $^{^{29}}$ Ibid, 31.

³⁰Ibid, 77. This lecture was delivered to over 500 people at the reception of the exhibition opening at the Albright Gallery in Buffalo (now the Albright-Knox). Further mention is given to "race" in Carl Laurin's catalogue essay, where he described Sweden as a "peasant country [...] proud to possess a race of peasants" in relation to the artwork of Albert Engström whose scenes of peasant life interpreted a "national pith and vigour". (See Carl G. Laurin, "The Art of Sweden" in *Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art*, ed., Christian Brinton (New York: American Art Galleries, 1912), 32.) A similar sentiment to the one given by Brinton here, was provided by the Norwegian painter Henrik Lund, who accompanied the exhibition. Lund's remarks consider the importance of the artist being rooted in a landscape, and that although the art must not necessarily represent a specific environment, it must draw upon the artist's relationship to the land. Quoted in an article for the *New York Evening Mail*, Lund, when asked about his own painterly technique commented that: "While it is true art knows no geography, it must have a soil to grow in. An art that was not in intimate relations with the intellectual and emotional life of the people that produced it would be sapless." Source: "The Scandinavian Exhibition," *The Evening Mail (New York)*, December 7, 1912.

³¹Christian Brinton, "Art and Ideas," Putnam's Monthly 2, (April 1907), 124.

nationality become contentious terms when studying Brinton and the 1912-13 Exhibition. Brinton's thinking and subsequent actions are inconsistent, where an attempt to differentiate between the physical boundaries of a country by establishing distinct categories of race and nationality, consequently results in an all-encompassing exhibition. This in turn contributed to a wider picture of what constitutes 'Scandinavia'.

Brinton's assessment of Scandinavia focused on the concepts of race and nation as two separate entities. Although the terminology used by Brinton is vaguely considered problematic, at the time of writing these were the thoughts that structured his curatorial practice and art criticism. The conflicting and contradictory nature of much of what he says emerges in his comments on Scandinavian art, as well as that of Germany and a number of other nations.³² The racial situation in the U.S. in 1912, for example, included a case in the Forsyth County in the state of Georgia involving the alleged attack of two white women, resulted in an outbreak of brutal attacks against the local black community. The overwhelming result of this was a mass exodus of the black population of Forsyth and the neighbouring counties.³³ With racial tensions high at the time of Brinton's writing, and with nationwide press coverage of what has been described as the largest racial expulsion in the history of the United States, the terminology used by the art critic is not at odds with contemporary thinking and writing. The use of Brinton's written material within this thesis does not condone the terminology, rather recognises how such phrasings and words are indicative of the period prior to the 1912-13 Exhibition.

In an article for Scribner's Magazine, commenting on those contemporary Scandinavian artists whose works could be seen in the upcoming exhibition, Brinton wrote that "there is beyond question a marked affinity both ethnic and aesthetic between the three nations, yet the art of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway is nonetheless in each case distinctive, as much so as the language or physical characteristics of the countries themselves". In curating the 1912-13 Exhibition, the works selected were chosen with the specific intent of providing an

³²For more examples of Brinton's writing, see: Christian Brinton, "The Art of Ignacio Zuloaga," *Fine Arts Journal* 35, no. 6 (June 1917): 385-400; Christian Brinton, "The Exhibition of Swiss Paintings," *The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (Apr 1921): 1-8; and Christian Brinton, "Contemporary Russian Graphic Art," *The Philadelphia Museum Bulletin* 37, no. 191 (Nov 1941): 1-8.

³³For more information see: John Dittmer, *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era*, 1900-1920 (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1980); Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck, "Racial Violence and Black Migration in the American South, 1910 to 1930," *American Sociological Review* 57, no. 1 (Feb 1992): 103-116; and Donald Lee Grant, *The Way it was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2001).

³⁴Christian Brinton, "Scandinavian Painters of To-day," Scribner's Magazine 52, (December 1912): 648.

image of nation and identity - and yet, Brinton cannot help but remark on the noticeable similarities between the culture (or "ethnicity" as he terms it here) and the aesthetic properties of their art. While this comment reaffirms that nationalism and race were intrinsic to Brinton's curatorial approach, it also acknowledges the topographical, as well as compositional, similarities that existed across the region - and which through this exhibition, situated individual nations across the Circumpolar North in conversation with one another.

Critical Reception

When the Armory Show took place, only three months after the opening of the 1912-13 Exhibition, European avant-garde arrived on the American stage, soon eclipsing the previously "radical" paintings of the Scandinavian show. Organised by Arthur B. Davies and Walter Kuhn, two American art critics and historians, the Armory Show was intended to "put the paintings, sculptures, and so on, on exhibition so that the intelligent may judge for themselves by themselves". It sought to remove any claims to national determinism and identity. In all but a few weeks, this idea of "nation and race", the focus of Brinton's curatorial approach, was softened and the idea of "internationalism" and a sense of shared artistic identity came to the fore. Even those artists who had steeped the Scandinavian exhibition in controversy, such as Munch, were excluded from the Armory Show. There was no overlap at all - in the artists on show - between the two. Despite the lasting legacy of the 1912-13 Exhibition being short-lived in comparison, both exhibits were described in a review by the critic and art historian Guy Pène du Bois as "radical" and "the events of the season."36 Within this section I provide an overview of a number of those artists who featured in the exhibition, the type of work exhibited, and the reception these works, and the exhibition as a whole received.

For the critic James B. Townsend, when "taken as a whole" the Armory Show was "a clean, a strong, and a varied one and of vast artistic, educational interest and importance". Yet, in a review of the 1912-13 Exhibition written for *American Art News* two months earlier, Townsend was forthright and unwavering is his opinions. In one of the more scathing reviews he commented on the "failure" of the exhibition, initially ascribed to its Christmas opening

³⁵Arthur B. Davies, "The Statement", in *Documents of the 1913 Armory Show: The Electrifying Moment of Modern Art's American Debut*, ed., Kenyon Cox (Tucson: Hol Art Books, 2009), 1.

³⁶Guy Pène du Bois, "In the Galleries," *International Studio* 48, (November 1912): xxiii.

³⁷ James B. Townsend, "A Bomb from the Blue," *ARTnews*, Feb 22, 1913, accessed Aug 28, 2017, http://www.artnews.com/2013/02/26/artnews-february201-retrospective/.

which meant that the display had "not been an entire success either in the way of receipts or attendance". This was not the main concern of Townsend's, however, who wrote that "the failure of the display, 'to take the town by storm,' as its organisers [...] naturally expected, was chiefly due to the fact that Scandinavian art does not appeal to American art lovers". For this critic, the American audience couldn't relate to the Nordic landscape. The American audience found the 'doom and gloom' of the life of the Scandinavian artist and the landscape they inhabited to be "morbid". To understand best, the true disdain Townsend felt for the 1912-13 Exhibition, you must only read the following passage from his article:

The Scandinavian countries are cold countries - their natural scenery is one made up of rockbound coasts, frowning cliffs, deep dark fjords, lofty darksome mountains, with stretches, now and then, of fields, meadows and chains of lakes and archipelagos - for the most part of the year, during a short hot Summer, - ice-bound and snow-covered, overspread by a leaden sky. Small wonder, therefore, that the majority of Scandinavian painters fail to understand, or are unable to get the sparkle, light, color and joyous atmosphere, known and loved by Americans - and those of other climes "where Southern suns more warmly shine." 41

Throughout the tour of the 1912-13 Exhibition, this was among a limited number of negative reviews; where the reviewer was typically unable to understand why the American audience would be interested in the art of these 'Norsemen' whose way of living could not compare to their own. For Townsend, the allure appears to have been impressionism and its associations with Southern Europe, which he saw as more akin to the American landscape. In concluding his review, he wrote that "It would be interesting to note how the art publics of Buffalo, Toledo, Chicago and Boston receive this exhibition to which New York has regrettably given the cold shoulder". 42

The audience in Chicago were able to view both the 1912-13 Exhibition (February 27th - March 16th, 1913) and the Armory Show (March 24th - April 16th, 1913) back-to-back. The overwhelming modernism and radicalism of European painting would have had quite an

³⁸ James B. Townsend, "The Scandinavian Pictures," *American Art News*, Dec, 28, 1912, 2. Accessed Aug 28, 2017, https://archive.org/details/jstor-25590957/page/n1

³⁹Ibid.

 $^{^{40}}$ Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

impact on the surrounding Scandinavian-American community. Scandinavian art was too avant garde, and did not conform to the impressionism that the audience was expecting to see. Whether this was positive or not was raised by William M. French, the then director of the Art Institute of Chicago, who wrote of the disappointment felt by the audience, that, "if they feel any regret it is that many Scandinavians, having in mind the pictures popular in their youth, were disappointed by the new development, as an immigrant returning to his home is disappointed by the absence of the old landmarks".⁴³

Although the attendance of the exhibition was relatively high, French considered the audience as less enamoured with the current trends in Scandinavian painting. Instead, it was the works of Zorn, Liljefors, Carl Larsson, Lauritz Andersen (L.A.) Ring and Christian Krohg, which received the warmest welcome. One critic, in an article for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, was particularly taken by the individual outlook the artist had on their landscape, writing that "the new movements in art are not only bent by the sturdy Northerners, who remain attached to their own soil tenaciously, to the frank, fearless expression of their feelings, but are also adapted to the national outlook on the world, be it subjectively or objectively". The author continues to describe in great detail the image provided by "these artists, when translating a landscape of towering mountain, or foaming river, or vast gloomy forest, or crystalline snow fields, find in them beautifully decorative patterns, that seem to lend themselves to the artist's brush". While an assumed decorativeness in Scandinavian landscape painting has often drawn comparison with Japonisme, as we have seen, especially lately, the author's phrasing - "find in them" - it also identifies the natural decorativeness of the landscape and not only a forced stylisation.

Those artists who most caught the attention of American critics in 1912-13 were Munch and the Danish painter Vilhelm Hammershøi. This was not only the first collective Scandinavian art exhibition, but was also the first time Munch had been shown in the United States. This inclusion was seen as Brinton's gift to the artist, having himself received two prints from the painter during his preliminary visit to Norway. Among six works by Munch exhibited, were his *Starry Night* (1893, fig. 8), which instantly recalls Van Gogh's work of the same title, and *Girl Under Apple Tree* (1904, fig. 9), which at the time provided something much bolder and daring in composition and style than had previously been seen. It also

 45 Ibid, 8.

⁴³Towley Swanson, A Tanaled Web, 15.

⁴⁴Helen A. Read, "Scandinavian Art Exhibition Opens", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Dec 10, 1912, 8.

remains housed in the collection of the Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburgh. This piece, an example of early expressionism in Munch's oeuvre, would have been a crucial example in revealing the developments European art had taken in the years since impressionism and realism.

In a country already familiar with the work of Zorn and Milles, Munch provided a stark contrast. Girl Under the Apple Tree, in particular, can be used to highlight how, over a century, Munch continued to startle audiences. Although his works "will seem lacking in fine esthetic [sic] consideration by the artist [...,] there is undeniably acute emotion and rugged strength in the examples, feverish as they are in the application of the paint, color clashing with color". 46 The passion for colour, where colours meet but do not merge, is one of the factors which would have startled audiences most. As regards Starry Night, Thiis remarked, "Munch is first and foremost the portrayer of the Northern summer night. No one has rendered as he the mystic suggestion of those light nights". 47 While Thiis made reference to a "mysticism" in Munch's work, subsequent discussion of Munch within this thesis disentangles his forest scenes from a symbolist reading. The night-time was also captured in his painting Summer Night which "contains real charm, because he conveys night atmosphere with its mystery". 48 The curator Patricia Berman of Luminous Modernism, the centennial homage to the original exhibition, remarked that Munch's works displayed at this time, in Scandinavia House, New York (the home of the American-Scandinavian Foundation), were the last thing many Americans in 2012 expected to see. Familiarity with paintings such as The Scream, meant that the diversity of the artist's work had, for the general public, remained relatively unknown.49

Although Munch contributed to the wider understanding of a Norwegian national identity, his greatest contribution was in the evaluation of a drastically different style and distinctiveness of colour and form, in a composition which was also seen as psychological in nature. Alongside Munch, it was the works of landscape painter Harald Sohlberg which caught the attention of North American artists. Those paintings displayed by Sohlberg reveal a diverse interest in the effect of the seasons and northern light on the landscape. Among these was his

⁴⁶Read, "Scandinavian Art Exhibition Opens," 8.

⁴⁷Thiis, "The Art of Norway", 50.

⁴⁸Read, "Scandinavian Art Exhibition Opens," 8.

⁴⁹Patricia Berman, "Luminous Modernism: Scandinavian Art Comes to America, 1912," YouTube video, 10:59, posted by "Scandinavia House", Apr 11, 2012, accessed Feb 21, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NmgsBt8BAy4

painting Winter Night in the Mountains (1901, fig. 10) which indicates a renewed interest in mountains as a subject matter. Mountain-scapes had fallen from artistic favour in the decades following on from the late Romantic works of Johan Christian (J.C.) Dahl and Peder Balke, and it was only with artists such as Sohlberg and his Danish colleague Willumsen that a renewed interest came about. These artists are discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

In contrast to the "wild men of the north" as the Norwegians were perceived, the art of Denmark was seen as "austere and humble".⁵⁰ The foremost example can be found in the work of Hammershøi, whose stripped-back interiors, often with a lone figure contained within the space, instilled a sense of loneliness and silence. As described in a review of a solo exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 2008, they are "gloriously full of [...their] own emptiness".⁵¹ Hammershøi was seen as an artist who could fill an empty room with "the poetry and companionship of sunlight",⁵² moving beyond the necessity of a figurative composition to tell a story. His work was, alongside Munch, one of the most startling and distinctive of the 1912-13 Exhibition. The monochromatic use of colour was juxtaposingly unfamiliar, with the stillness and quietness that the composition imparted on the viewer relying much more on emotion rather than visual analysis. Very few of the works by Hammershøi on display were landscapes; rather the focus was on his architectural studies and interior scenes. As a result, his work is not featured within this thesis, nor is it mentioned in detail by MacDonald, with the emphasis placed upon landscape painting in particular.

While the work of Munch and Hammershøi received positive reviews, the art of Willumsen left the reviewer Elizabeth Cary, writing for *Art & Progress* in February of 1913, unimpressed. Cary wrote that whereas Hammershøi was "one of the strong thinkers of the exhibition [...,] Willumsen, on the other hand, is ruled by his palette", ⁵³ rebutting the "austere and humble" understanding of his fellow countrymen. Not stopping there, Cary proceeded to criticise the bad distribution of colour, resulting in a failure "to see in him a painter". ⁵⁴ I would attribute

⁵⁰Read, "Scandinavian Art Exhibition Opens," 8.

 $^{^{51}}$ Michael Glover, "Great Works: Sunbeams or Sunshine. Dust Motes Dancing in the Sunbeams 1900 (70 x 59 cm), Vilhelm Hammershoi," $Independent\ Online,\ Jan\ 7,\ 2011,\ accessed\ May\ 10,\ 2016,\ http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/great-works/great-works-sunbeams-or-sunshine-dust-motes-dancing-in-the-sunbeams-1900-70-x-59-cm-vilhelm-2177717.html.$

 $^{^{52}}$ Ibid

 $^{^{53}{\}rm Elizabeth}$ Luther Cary, "Scandinavian Art", Art and Progress 4, (1913): 853.

 $^{^{54}}$ Ibid, 853.

Cary's dispassion for the vibrant and at times garish use of colour in Willumsen's paintings as mere unfamiliarity - the shock of the new - yet this same reaction wasn't held by all. In a review from the show at Buffalo, an anonymous critic wrote that "one needs to be a little color mad to get in touch with the seeming color madness of many of the paintings and, perhaps, a little more madness would put one in a mental attitude capable of understanding this prolific, almost boisterous art". The pattern created by Willumsen with the extensive use of vibrant colour that shocked many a viewer and critic in paintings such as A Mountain Climber (1912, fig. 11), nevertheless represented a formative influence on Harris and Kent, as I discuss further in Chapter 4.

On the matter of the Swedish section, Cary commented on the familiarity of the works, deemed to be both good and bad. Eugen and Hesselbom were seen as "landscape painters of sincerity and feeling, but showing no individuality in point of view". Yet, Hesselbom's Our Country (1902, fig. 12) might be seen as emblematic of Sweden as a whole. A peculiar landscape, it brings together the lakes and forests of western Sweden under a slowly fading summer light. Meanwhile Gustaf Fjæstad, whose significance is discussed at length in Chapter 3, was "remarkable in his interpretation of snow", as in Hoarfrost on Ice (1901, fig. 13), using "canvases of vast size" but filling "them with the sentiment of his subject". In a piece written during the tour, Laurvik remarked that the general public loved "the photographic verisimilitude of Fjæstad's winter landscapes" - so much for leaving realism behind!

A similar exploration of the cold, yet beautiful, winter environment with which the Nordic nations are often associated, could have been further found in the work of the sole female artist of the 1912-13 Exhibition, Boberg. The wife of the Swedish architect Ferdinand Boberg (responsible for designing both Prince Eugen's home Waldemarsudde and the home of the Thiel family), her works hold their own in a highly male dominated environment and form a key part of Chapter 5. Boberg spent much of her time painting from the fishing islands of Lofoten, situated off the far north-west coast of Norway, and it was here that the frozen fjords and the nearby glaciers caught her attention, as well as the daily life and routine of the local fishermen, as in A Quiet Evening. Study from North Norway (n.d., fig. 14), ⁵⁹ becoming

⁵⁵Read, "Scandinavian Art Exhibition Opens," 8.

⁵⁶Cary, "Scandinavian Art", 857.

⁵⁷Ibid, 857.

⁵⁸Laurvik, "Intolerance in Art," 13.

⁵⁹This painting was exhibited in the 1912-13 Exhibition under the title *After the Day's Work*, as illustrated in Hanna Astrup Larsen's article "Anna Boberg: The Sea Painter of the North"

a recurring motif in her work. Such a tradition of Arctic landscapes can also be found in the painting of Harris and Kent - both of whom shall later be examined alongside Boberg. The paintings by Boberg, in the context of the 1912-13 Exhibition, offered an alternative perspective to the extremes of the Scandinavian climate, where she was the only artist to have committed herself to the Nordic polar landscape.

In his 1931 lecture, given at Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto and later published in the Northward Journal, MacDonald addressed the impact of the 1912-13 Exhibition, where he said that "This is what we want to do with Canada".⁶⁰ He noted an affinity of inspiration with these Nordic painters, writing, "We were so fond of these things ourselves that we couldn't but like the pictures, and we were well assured that no Swedish brook or river would speak a language unknown to us and that we would know our own snows and rivers better".⁶¹ In writing this, he referenced the work of Fjæstad, whose influence can be found in the early winter scenes of both MacDonald and Harris, and whose decorative style was admired by many members of the Group of Seven. For the Group of Seven, the Scandinavian artists whose work was on show, "when translating a landscape of towering mountain, or foaming river, or vast gloomy forest, or crystalline snow fields, [found] in them beautifully decorative patterns, that seem to lend themselves to the artist's brush".⁶² Although the 1912-13 Exhibition had a notable impact on the Group of Seven, this chain of influence was not reciprocal.

For MacDonald, the influence and importance of the 1912-13 Exhibition seems to have predominantly rested on subject matter, and the similarities in what had previously been identified as Nordic or Canadian, and yet which also embodied a shared identity. MacDonald perceived in Scandinavian landscape painting that "its notes have been Night, Winter, Spring, Wild Life, The Home, Our Own People, and in general it has run to the elemental rhythms of sky, waves, land and trees". He saw in the Nordic landscape something which was familiar to their own. However, when Harris and MacDonald first saw Scandinavian art in the flesh, they were not, as Berman wrote in the Luminous Modernism catalogue, "confronted with the same difficult choice that had faced Scandinavian artists in the 1880s; pursuing the safe path of conformity to norms prevailing in Paris, or pursuing the risky path

⁶⁰Charles C. Hill, The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation (Michigan: McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1996), 48.

⁶¹MacDonald, "Scandinavian Art", 18.

⁶²Read, "Scandinavian Art Exhibition Opens", 8.

⁶³MacDonald, "Scandinavian Art", 34.

of innovation".⁶⁴ This statement implies an active intent to be daring or risqué, and that following in the tradition of impressionism and realism which had prevailed in France was a decision to be made. When Arthur Lismer wrote in 1950, during a post-war period, that "We were never consciously rebellious, we attacked nothing but the landscape",⁶⁵ ideas of nature and landscape were at the forefront of their compositional interest. In a similar vein to Jeffreys, who twenty-years earlier in 1893 had commented on the "natural affinity" he had with Scandinavian landscape painting, MacDonald repeatedly emphasises the topographical and climatic properties of the Scandinavian environment and its artwork.

2.3 The Panama-Pacific Exposition, 1915 & The Swedish Exhibition of 1916

Despite an attempt to move away from the World's Fair stage, these large-scale events still played a pivotal role in the way in which artists and audiences engaged with, and viewed, the art of different nations. Over a nine-month period in 1915, San Francisco hosted the *Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, officially seen as a celebration of the completed construction of the Panama Canal. For the people of San Francisco, however, it was seen to be as much a commemoration of the devastating earthquake of 1906 from which the city had rebuilt itself after a considerable loss of life. The impact of earthquakes even after the Exposition, has meant that only one of the original buildings remains on the show ground this being the Palace of Fine Arts, although it has been rebuilt almost four times over the last century.

Among the displays at the Exposition were representative examples of the extraordinary feats being made in engineering and technology, shown alongside individual palaces show-casing the different industries. With regards to the art displays, fourteen countries were represented, displaying over eleven thousand works of art between them. The logistical difficulties imposed by the First World War meant that certain countries, including Denmark,

⁶⁴Patricia Berman, ed., *Luminous Modernism: Scandinavian Art Comes to America*, A Centennial Retrospective 1912-2012 (New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 2013), 23.

⁶⁵Lismer's use of the word 'attack' in this instance implies a more peripheral understanding of the idea of war, which during this period would not have been used lightly. Source: Arthur Lismer, "Canadian Art: An Informal History II," 1950, Courtesy of the McMichael Canadian Art Collection Archives, Kleinburg, Toronto, Canada, 3.

⁶⁶For more on the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, see: Sarah J. Moore, *Empire on Display: San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).

were unable to be officially represented. Yet, its Scandinavian neighbour, Sweden, found particular success with its art collection. In his writing of the exposition, Laurvik wrote that "The Swedish Section is not only one of the best selected, but also one of the best presented sections in the whole exhibition".⁶⁷ This section draws attention to the critical reception of the Swedish Section and the ensuing Swedish Exhibition in 1916, paying specific attention to those artists who have been at the forefront of a discussion on the Scandinavian influence on the Group of Seven, namely Osslund, Fjæstad, and Hesselbom. In addition, I focus on the curatorial practice of Brinton since 1912-13, with little difference to be found in the preoccupation with nation and landscape.

I first, however, focus on two texts that review in detail the galleries of the Pan-Pacific Exposition, one by Brinton, the other by Eugene Neuhaus. For Neuhaus, "none possesses so distinct a national character as the art of Sweden". 68 Indeed, Neuhaus was quite enamoured by the Swedish artwork on display, writing at such length in his volume Galleries of the Exposition (1915), that he had to curtail his discussion or the rest of the exposition would have been neglected. Brinton, meanwhile, noted that "unfatigued and lacking in sophistication, the art of Sweden derives its strength from the silent, persistent community between nature and man".⁶⁹ Here, Brinton conforms to a vitalist modernism, going against the mechanisation of repressive urban-living, that had become a topic of consideration expressed, for example, in the work of Friedrich Nietzsche. During the early-20th century, artists, such as Munch,⁷¹ were among those 'vitalised' by nature - by the sun, wind and water - and by exercise, and sought to immerse themselves in nature. In the case of the Swedish art on display at the Pan-Pacific Exposition, Brinton perceived this natural vitalism as a fundamental constant throughout Swedish modernism. Here, he perhaps more directly reaffirms the race, nature and nation argument that was at the core of his curation of the 1912-13 Exhibition, with both critics recognising the persistent nationalisation of Swedish art on an international stage.

In contrast, Laurvik, wrote that the Swedish section contained works "from the North:

⁶⁷J.N. Laurvik, "Notes on the Foreign Paintings," Art and Progress 6 (1915): 360.

⁶⁸Eugene Neuhaus, The Galleries of the Exposition (San Francisco: Paul Elder & Company, 1915), 39.

⁶⁹Christian Brinton, Impressions of the Art of the Panama-Pacific Exposition (New York: John Lane Company, 1916), 142.

⁷⁰For more on vitalism see: Gertrud Oelsner, *The Spirit of Vitalism: Health, Beauty and Strength in Danish Art, 1890-1940* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2011); Catherine Packham, *Eighteenth-Century Vitalism: Bodies, Culture, Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); and Thomas Osborne, "Vitalism as Pathos," *Biosemiotics* 9 (2016): 185-205.

⁷¹See Oelsner, The Spirit of Vitalism, 187.

strong, clear and somewhat disturbing".⁷² Laurvik generalised Swedish art as an embodiment of a northern character, arguably applicable across the Nordic region and beyond. The "strong" and "clear" reading suggests a clarity in the message and composition, that is indicative of a national character and of a northern peripheral identity - offering an alternative to the other countries involved in the Exposition. Laurvik also makes specific mention of Fjæstad, whose work, despite being met with high acclaim (having been awarded the Medal of Honour for Painting, and Silver Medal for Engraving), he saw as "more pretentious canvases" when compared to "the subtle art of [Anshelm] Schultzberg" whose landscapes "are truer renderings of winter". Schultzberg's work, such as Winter Morning After Snowfall in Dalarna (Vintermorgon efter snöfall i Dalarna, c.1893, fig. 15) harks back to the impressionist roots of Nordic painting, where they are more rustic and looser in their interpretation of the landscape when compared to the decorative finish of Fjæstad. Schultzberg's work is arguably more traditional; with scenes of rural country life during the winter months, and where the red-painted houses emerge from within the recently fallen snow.

The Pan-Pacific Exposition was the first instance that the work of the Swedish painter Osslund had been exhibited on the American stage and he was awarded a Gold medal for painting. Although Osslund was a predominantly self-taught artist, he had studied for a short while in the studio of Gauguin in Paris, where he also worked under the tutelage of Willumsen. In his review of the artist's work, Neuhaus wrote:

Osslund's pictures are somewhat startling at first, owing to a complexity of technical treatment. He does not seem to be working in the right medium, for I believe his Japanesque landscapes could be far more sympathetically presented in watercolour.⁷⁴

The underlying Japanese influence suggested here by Neuhaus, is not a startling revelation in the context of Nordic painting of this period, as seen previously. As Neuhaus further noted regarding Osslund, "it becomes almost foolish to think of the Japanese every time someone develops a capacity for acute observation and drawing". This leaves us very much in the same place as before, that *Japonisme* was most likely, like many other styles, assimilated

⁷²Laurvik, "Notes on the Foreign Paintings," 359.

⁷³Ibid. 360.

⁷⁴Neuhaus, The Galleries of the Exposition, 44.

 $^{^{75}}$ Ibid, 44.

into the artist's own aesthetic, and as such is one of many possible underlying influences in Nordic art history.

Neuhaus, moreover, is one of very few to comment on the technique used by Osslund. The artist became renowned for using sheets of baking paper, pinned to a piece of cardboard for support while painting; a medium and technique that enabled him to paint more easily on location, and find those landscapes he wished to paint without the inconvenience of carrying around heavy loads of equipment. That watercolour would have been a far more "sympathetic" medium for Osslund, can only be refuted as the medium wouldn't have captured the same vibrancy of the landscape as oils. And for Osslund, it was the vivid and dramatic colours which most attracted him to his chosen compositions. Having a penchant for the rich shades of autumn and the dramatic skies which often loomed over the land in his paintings, the prevalence of oil paints and the medium of baking paper enabled him to best capture this time of year. As seen in Chapter 4, there are certain works where Osslund's handling of colour gives the pieces an almost translucent, watercolour-like effect.

Among the artists not included in the Pan-Pacific Exposition, nor the 1916 Exhibition, were two of the forerunners of Swedish painting at the turn-of-the century, namely Zorn and Eugen. Their refusal to send works, seen to be at risk of damage or destruction as they made the journey across the dangerous Atlantic waters (and in earthquake-prone San Francisco), saw both artists have limited representation at the 1916 show. Schultzberg further outlined in a letter to Fox that "I have the pleasure to tell you that I've attempted to draw together a good and representative Swedish art collection [...;] because of the dreadful war the artists have had many difficulties and wished not to send their works this risky way". In the case of Zorn, the infamously cosmopolitan painter and who dominated the 1896 Exhibition, he was represented by only one painting, his Dalecarlian Girl in Winter Costume (1907, fig. 16) - already, at that time, held within an American collection. The praise with which Brinton commends Zorn in the introduction to the 1916 catalogue, is such that you would think it was an exhibition solely representing the Mora-based artist and not the nation as a whole:

The pull of deep-rooted natural forces here draws him toward the very essence of local life and character as they obtain in this still unspoiled community. These canvases in short constitute not alone a precious series of documents relative to

Anshelm Schultzberg, letter to William Fox, Dec 18, 1914, in Walker, "Critic, Curator, Collector," 96.
 It was lent to the exhibition by Arthur H. Hahlo & Co. Called Fetching Water when sold at auction.

the customs and costumes of the sturdy denizens of Dalecarlia; they also chant a joyous hymn to bodily health and beauty. They are frankly pagan and Dionysian in spirit. They hark back to days when the world was younger and freer than it is now.⁷⁸

Again, this vitalist modernism comes to the fore. Brinton described the work of Zorn, and the people of northern Sweden, as representative of "bodily health and beauty", suggesting the vitality of exercise; as a place where energy is shared between man and nature; and where the paganism of Dionysus and Ancient Greece lives on. These subsequent references, reaffirms Brinton's utopic reading of a Scandinavian landscape tradition. This reading of Zorn's work appears also to conform to an environmental determinist reading of landscape painting, where "natural forces" have shaped the people who reside within this provincialised environment. The impact of this one painting was further reiterated by a reviewer who noted that such was the allure and fame of Zorn that it was difficult to not forget everyone else; even going so far as to give the painter the monicker "Zorn the Great". Writing further, an anonymous reviewer for the New York Herald, elaborated that whereas "Swedish art has been called cosmopolitan, [...] its greatest attraction lies in the fact that it isn't. [...] One likes many of these pictures because they are good representations of Swedish life". 80 The use of the term "cosmopolitan" in this context only seeks to distance Swedish art from continental European trends in lieu of restricting a study within a nationalised context. By viewing these works, and those of previous exhibitions, at a cosmopolitan scale, as this thesis endeavours to do, it instead allows for a move beyond an isolated national idiom, broadening the scope of Scandinavian landscape painting and positioning it alongside comparative artist communities across the Circumpolar North.

Following on from the success of the Swedish display at the Pan-Pacific Exposition, and the logistical complications created due to the First World War, the decision was taken to stage *The Swedish Exhibition* in 1916. The difficulties that would have arisen with transporting artwork across the Atlantic at a time of war saw Schultzberg, who had previously acted as the Fine Arts Commissioner for the Swedish selection at the Pan-Pacific Exposition, become the Swedish representative in an exhibition co-curated alongside Brinton and William H. Fox (the then director of the Brooklyn Museum of Art). It was additionally conceived to

⁷⁸Brinton, The Swedish Exhibition, 14.

⁷⁹ "Review of the Swedish Exhibition," Fine Arts Journal 34, no. 8 (Sep 1916): 423.

^{80&}quot;Good Racial Art," New York Herald, Jan 30, 1916, in Walker, "Critic, Curator, Collector", 102.

be a part of a series of exhibitions to be held at the Brooklyn Museum, with Fox at the helm. Writing in his unpublished memoirs, Fox described his hopes for the exhibition programme during his time as director,

The Swedish display was the beginning of a series of art exhibitions from the European countries, which became specialised in the Brooklyn Museum [...] in cooperation with Dr. Christian Brinton, from private sources in common knowledge. England, France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Spain and Russia, each at different times during my administration, contributed characteristic exhibitions of their contemporary artists' work.⁸¹

The Exhibition of 1916 was, moreover, one of the largest of the touring exhibitions on Scandinavian art, with a considerable ten destinations, including, in addition to the Brooklyn Museum: The Copley Society of Boston, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, The Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, the Detroit Museum of Art, The Art Institute of Chicago, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The City Art Museum in St. Louis, The John Herron Art Institute in Indianapolis, and The Toledo Museum of Art. The locations of the touring show accommodated not only a broader American audience, but also sought to reach the widespread Scandinavian-American communities. The involvement once again of the Scandinavian-American population in the organisation of the 1916 Exhibition is also found on the inside cover-page design for the exhibition catalogue (fig. 17). Based on an original design by the Swedish artist Gunnar Wallström it was reinterpreted for the purpose of the catalogue by the Norwegian-American painter Brynjulf Strandenæs. This same design had also been used for the inside cover of the 1912-13 Exhibition, suggesting that what was seen as representative of Scandinavia was also Swedish; that from the perspective of the Swede, the two were interchangeable. The identifiably Scandinavian image of the hull of an imagined Viking vessel, implies that such an image was relatable to an American, and Scandinavian-American audience, making the art of the Nordic nations seem that little bit less unfamiliar and remote.⁸² In Chicago, lectures were arranged by the Swedish-American

⁸¹William Henry Fox, "Unpublished Manuscript - Memoirs", in Walker, "Critic, Curator, Collector", 95.
⁸²For more information on the Vikings and the North Atlantic see: William S. Godfrey, "Vikings in America: Theories and Evidence," American Anthropologist 57, no. 1 (Feb 1955): 35-43; Thomas H. McGovern, "The Archaeology of the Norse North Atlantic," Annual Review Anthropology 19 (1990): 331-351; William W. Fitzhugh, "Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga", AnthroNotes 22, no. 1 (Fall 2000): 1-9; and Robert W. Park, "Contact Between the Norse Vikings and the Dorset Culture in Arctic Canada", Antiquity 82, no. 315 (Mar 2008): 189-198.

Club to provide context to those paintings on display, especially for those works that were seen to be more avant-garde or of a post-impressionist nature, situating them within the context of Swedish and Scandinavian art history.

As many of the works included with the 1916 Exhibition had previously been seen in San Francisco, landscape painting was once again at the fore. A critic remarked that "the shadowy beauty of [the] northern lands was expressed in a manner one had not anticipated, and strong sunlight upon snow did not hold so conspicuous a place as the works of northern men who dwell among us might have led one to expect". 83 Of those artists whose play with light against the surface of snow, or across the panoramic vistas of the landscape, Fjæstad and Hesselbom were seen by critics to "breathe [...] the very spirit of the outdoor, bracing life". 84 Specifically it was Hesselbom's Our Country (or Our Native Country, In My Native Country, or My Country as different reviewers named it, (see fig. 12)⁸⁵, also included in the 1912-13 Exhibition, which intrigued both critic and audience alike, where it "raises a pain of love and praise to the land of his birth. [...] Flat, and purposely crude as to detail, it effectively emphasises the beauty of the sweep of the land generally". 86 Painted in Hesselbom's native Dalsland, in western Sweden, the painting depicts an amalgamation of the local landscape, where lakes and rivers intertwine in a vast panorama viewed from high above. The painting was intended to resonate with the population as a whole, a landscape where all who viewed it could recognise a bit of their own home. Laurvik further describes the "almost severely simple fjord scenes of the late Hesselbom, whose 'My Country' is filled with the brooding melancholic poetry of the far North". 87 Again, another critic who names Hesselbom's painting differently.

For both Brinton and Fox, the Exhibition of 1916 was not only orchestrated for the sake of convenience, but Brinton "hoped that the relationship forged with Fox would make the Brooklyn Museum a major institutional centre for promoting national modernism".⁸⁸ The 1916 Exhibition was intended to encourage a similar nationalised approach towards American painting in museums and on the curatorial stage. Both figures sought to use the art of Scandinavia, which had achieved such public success and high acclaim in past shows, to

 $^{^{83}\}mbox{``Review of the Swedish Exhibition," 421.}$

⁸⁴Ibid, 421.

 $^{^{85}}$ The literal translation of the original Swedish title "Vårt Land" - is "Our Country" - For the purpose of my own analysis of the piece I will refer to it as "Our Country."

⁸⁶"Review of the Swedish Exhibition," 426.

⁸⁷Laurvik, "Notes on the Foreign Paintings," 360.

⁸⁸Walker, "Critic, Curator, Collector", 94.

their own advantage. It was the chance for Brinton to solidify his name as a strong curatorial force, bringing the national art of other European nations to the American stage, and for Fox to be the primary host of these shows. The national nature of the works was what Fox found most appealing, having its origins in the Pan-Pacific Exposition where "none possesses so distinct a national character as the art of Sweden". Yet, this idea that Scandinavian painting was completely void of foreign subject matter is instantly disputed by the fact that many painters worked in countries other than their own and frequently travelled around Europe. That Swedish art remained 'native', indicative solely of its own national identity, was used as a means of escape from the overwhelming avant-garde nature of French and wider European art which had captivated and invigorated American artists and audiences since 1912. Although not "purely" Swedish in style and technique, the subject matter was far removed from what the audience expected, and consequently resonated with artists across North America. The exhibition stage had become the medium through which the motifs of Scandinavia were recognised as familiar to an audience previously unprepared for such comparisons.

This was the last large-scale exhibition of not only Swedish painting, but Scandinavian painting as a whole, until a flurry of Nordic exhibitions came about during the 1980s. Varnedoe's Northern Light (1982), reignited the English-speaking world's fascination with Scandinavia; and exhibitions including Mystic North in Toronto and Cincinnati in 1984 and Dreams of a Summer Night at the Hayward Gallery in London in 1986, sought to establish themselves alongside Northern Light, as being part of the new scholarship on Nordic painting. Yet, despite the seventy-year gap between these exhibitions, the model around which Nordic painting was approached remained focused on the nation-concept, and the so-called "National Romanticism" of the symbolist style adopted by the Scandinavian artists. In the context of American art history, landscape painting had preoccupied American artistic scholarship and practice throughout the 1800s. By the time of the Armory Show, mainstream European modernism had replaced a longing for the quiet and unobtrusive art of the North. The success of the Exhibitions of 1896, 1912-13, and 1916 rests on the introduction of an art form which professed to be nothing more than what it was - slowly moving away from the confines of symbolism that had drawn them towards the landscape in the first place.

The importance of the "exhibition" in the development and reception of Nordic landscape

⁸⁹Neuhaus, The Galleries of the Exposition, 39.

painting has proven essential not only to public perception, but also artistic inspiration and academic analysis over the last century, and yet these exhibitions have never been viewed in conjunction with one another. The series of exhibitions that took place in America between 1896 and 1916 provide a historiographical foundation upon which to move beyond the isolated and nationalised study of Scandinavian art history. In the last twenty years, exhibitions on Nordic art have continued to reiterate previous scholarship, with the most recent exhibition on The Mystical Landscape in Toronto and Paris in 2017, bearing strong resemblance to Nasgaard's Mystic North - not only in the choice of title, but in the orientation around the symbolist landscape and Nasgaard's involvement in curating the show. The ensuing chapters look in detail at specific artists and artworks, many of whom featured within these exhibitions, acknowledging an apparent mystical and symbolist influence, but moving beyond national frameworks, towards an ecological and transnational methodology and away from a modernist vitalism and racial determinism.

Chapter 3

Taming the Wilderness

The blurring of the lines between art and nature is apparent across the Circumpolar landscape, and where "nature copies art". Lismer's comments exist in-line with a 'natureculture' argument, where a "synthesis of nature and culture that recognizes their inseparability in ecological relationships".² While the artist might seem to exaggerate the landscape before them, the tonality is often indicative of the changing climate and seasons, and as such is closer to 'reality' than perhaps originally thought. Nasgaard came close to such a way of thinking, when he wrote "such relationships must be understood, not because of specific influences, but as evidence in the Canadians of a common conception of the 'spirit' of nature, a kind of undercurrent flowing beneath the technical boldness and the torrent of colour". However, Nasgaard's attachment to the spiritual in northern European and American painting fails to consider that there is more to these shared landscapes than a mystical identity. Although 'mysticism' has worked in tandem with ideas of the frontier and far north, the ingrained 'wilderness' with which these environments have been associated, was rapidly disappearing during the early-20th century. Although a symbolist reading works better for some artists than others, this chapter looks to disentangle the landscape painting of Canada and Scandinavia from a 'wilderness' ideology. Instead, I endeavour to situate these works within a transnational ecological methodology, one that is aware of the impact of tourism, industry and infrastructure on regional and national ecologies and topographies.

The following pages are broken down into a study of a 'wilderness' ideology in Scandina-

¹Arthur Lismer, "Canadian Art: An Informal History II", 1950, courtesy of the McMichael Collection of Canadian Art Archives, Kleinburg, Toronto, Canada.

²Malone and Oveden, "Natureculture", p.None.

³Nasgaard, Mystic North, 188

vian and Canadian landscape painting, considering the role of advertisement and tourism in the development and shaping of a 'wilderness' environment. 'Wilderness' narratives, as Garrard outlines in *Ecocriticism*, "share the motif of escape and return with the typical pastoral narrative". In contrast to a pastoral ecology, 'wilderness' has been gendered masculine, in opposition to a "feminine domesticity". Yet, within the work of Carr and Boberg, they provide a counter-argument to the freedom that a 'wilderness' environment actually brings with it. This is subsequently supported in a close reading of forested landscapes, as seen in the changing seasons of autumn and winter, looking closely at the work of Carr, Fjaestad, Lycke and Harris. This analysis encourages further juxtaposition between the stylistic and compositional approach adopted in depicting the boreal and temperate forests across similar latitudinal points - ranging from 45.8372°N (Algonquin Park, Ontario) to 49.6506°N (Vancouver Island, British Columbia) and 62.3908°N (Sundsvall, Sweden). This study is as much aware of the similarities, and differences, that exist across the Circumpolar North as a consequence of differing climates. In turn, my argument and analysis lends itself to a closer consideration of how the art of the Circumpolar promotes further discourse surrounding the confluent ideas of the 'frontier,' 'the North' and 'wilderness.'

3.1 A 'Wilderness' Experience

When writing about the Group of Seven and the Scandinavian painters the term 'wilderness' is often used as an underpinning definition. However, 'wilderness' is a contentious term as it describes "an uncultivated, uninhabited and inhospitable region". By the turn-of-the-century, 'wilderness' was something traversed by trains and roads, reached by canoe, and inhabited by mankind as well as wildlife. With the creation of national parks and the introduction of the train and steamship, the U.S., Canada and Scandinavia relinquished areas of 'wilderness' to the throngs of tourists who sought an escape from the urban landscape, to a vitalist idyll. In this section I argue that the supposed 'wilderness' the Group of Seven and their Scandinavian colleagues encountered and depicted had been tamed by growing industry and infrastructure, and through the creation of national and provincial parks. As such these landscapes are indicative of an environment that had been tamed for the purposes

⁴Garrard, Ecocriticism, 59.

⁵Ibid, 77.

 $^{^6}$ "Wilderness", Online Oxford English Dictionary, accessed Mar 03, 2018, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/wilderness

of hunting, recreation, industrialisation and commercialisation.

'Wilderness' is often regarded as a 'northern' experience. It suggests rugged hinterlands, going off the beaten track, and being removed from civilisation. It is the difference between the polar and equatorial latitudes. In the catalogue for *Mystic North*, Nasgaard wrote about those "journeys by the northern artists into virgin forests, up steep mountain slopes, and generally into wild regions in search of an unspoilt wilderness paradise in which the tired soul could be reborn" and where they found the artistic inspiration they had been looking for. The artist became the wanderer, the spiritualist, the intrepid explorer. They sought to uncover the secrets of their landscape and create something which they believed to be identifiably their own. Yet when Nasgaard further wrote that "to the Americans [...] the Canadian cult of the North might have seemed déjà vu", 8 he was not wrong. By the turn-of-the-century, the idea of the frontier in American geography and culture had dissipated. In painting, the landscape had fallen from favour and tradition - the idea of "frontier art" was no longer deemed relevant. In Canada, however, artists such as those in the Group of Seven had just had their eyes opened to the concept of the 'frontier' and rather than clinging to the American border, they endeavoured to paint the northern reaches of their landscape.

The tradition of landscape painting in the U.S. had been associated with pushing both the physical and artistic boundaries of the country. In the painting of Frederic Edwin Church and Albert Bierstadt, who, alongside Cole, were two of the foremost painters associated with the ground-breaking Hudson River School, their work blurred the lines between the Latin American landscape and that of the U.S. In the case of Bierstadt, he brought back the sentiment of the South American landscape and adopted this in paintings of the Southern and Midwestern states. Crossing national borders to define geographical and artistic boundaries, the work of Bierstadt, among others, worked across latitudinal and hemispheric lines.

A similar consideration can be given to Nordic and North American painting between 1880-1940, considering it in the context of the northern hemisphere, focusing on the polar as opposed to the temperate or tropical. The frontier was fluid, and yet the artist was able to paint at the point at which the two lands merged. David Peters Corbett considered that

Bierstadt's showmanship and capacity to bring the sublime out of South America and into the United States itself, while evoking the westward push through his

⁷Nasgaard, Mystic North, 15.

⁸Ibid, 15.

introduction of the presence of Native Americans and his legible, highly managed depiction of American, western nature as a stage setting, offered an important development beyond Church's Pan-American contact.⁹

Bierstadt's work bridges the physical divide between the United States and the Latin American continent, allowing not only for the transference of style across the border, but enabling the artist to merge different artistic ideas in creating images of his nation. As a result, these works resonated with more than just the individual, but with a nation. The exhibition A New World: American Landscape Painting 1830-1900, staged at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm in 1986, it sought to position the paintings of Church, Cole and Bierstadt among others, alongside representative Scandinavian examples. Writing for the chapter "Scandinavia and America - A Question of Similarity", Barbara Novak noted how these Luminist painters, or painters of the American Sublime, sought to provide America with a national identity and history, something which had previously been lacking. Yet, in a complementary chapter, Gunnarsson further proposes that "Luminism cannot, when viewed from a European perspective, be regarded as a distinctly American style." Luminism was a term coined in the 1950s and often associated with painters of the American Sublime. Although not a movement or school of painting, it has been used in conjunction with artists including Bierstadt, Church, John Frederick Kensett and Fitz Henry Lane. Most notable within their works, was the "pictorial capital of the idea of sky and sea being reciprocal and reflective elements, combining to create an infinitely luminous space into which the eye penetrates without being required to explore". 11 Both Novak and Gunnarsson endeavour to identify the relationship between Scandinavian painters such as Adolph Tidemand, C.W. Eckersberg, and Dahl with their subsequent American counterparts. Parallels are drawn between the role of nature as a facilitator of national identity and a commemoration of history; that the American 'wilderness', like that of Scandinavia, was there for the artist to tame and shape into a national artistic tradition.

In Canada they were considered to have "no known art ancestry", 12 with the growth

⁹David Peters Corbett, "Painting American Frontiers: 'Encounter' and the Borders of American Identity in Nineteenth-Century Art", *Perspective* 1, (2013): 145.

¹⁰Torsten Gunnarsson, "Den nya världen och Den gamla - om förhållandet mellan amerikanskt och europeiskt landskapsmåleri under 1800-talet" in En ny värld: Amerikanskt landskapsmåleri 1830-1900 och ett urval samtida skandinaviskt landskapsmåleri, ed. Görel Cavalli-Björkman (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1986), 37. Original language citation: "Luminismen kan inte, sedd med europeiska ögon, kallas en artegen amerikansk stil".

¹¹Barringer and Wilton, American Sublime, 26.

¹²Peter John Brownlee, Valeria Piccoli, and Georgiana Uhlyarik, eds., *Picturing the Americas: Landscape*

of the Group of Seven marking a "natural growth in the country", ¹³ following artists such as Cornelius Krieghoff whose European-derived paintings of the Canadian landscape and historicised portrayals of the indigenous communities, helped shape the narrative of Canadian society and culture following the Confederation in 1867. ¹⁴ The artists who resided and painted within the Canadian landscape saw themselves as belonging to the land; that painting not only allowed for the visualisation of their home, but also a chance for self-discovery. Both Carr and Harris were keen believers in the spiritual attachment to their physical environment - either through Theosophy or Christianity - and that it was in Canada that one could best attain a true understanding of the landscape. Writing for the *Canadian Theosophist*, Harris wrote that

The top of the continent is a source of spiritual flow that will ever shed clarity into the growing race of America, and we Canadians, being closest to this source seem destined to produce an art somewhat different from our southern fellows, an art more spacious, of a greater living quiet, perhaps of a certain conviction of eternal values.¹⁵

Harris was the most vocal in expressing his thoughts on Canada and the North. He further positioned that this connection, both spiritual and physical, influenced Canadian art. He wrote that "this emphasis of the north in the Canadian character that is born of the spirit of the north and reflects it, has profoundly affected its art, and its art in turn, clarifies and enhances the quality of Canadian consciousness". Harris indicates a shift from a physical (and vitalist) regeneration, to a personal growth revolving around spiritualism and symbolism. The concept of Theosophy is one which has been closely associated with the Group of Seven - most notably Harris and Carr. The study of Theosophy in the context of American art history has, to date, ranged from the origination of the movement in New York by Madame Blavatsky, to exhibitions, such as Enchanted Modernities: Mysticism, Landscape, and the American West (2014) which considered the pervasive influence of theosophical

Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 227.

 $^{^{13}}$ Ibid, 227

¹⁴The unification of the British colonies of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia under the Dominion of Canada. The new Dominion of Canada was then divided into four provinces, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Canada is now composed of ten provinces and three territories. See: Desmond Morton, A Short History of Canada: Seventh Edition (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2017).

¹⁵Lawren S. Harris, "Revelation in Art", Canadian Theosophist 7, no 5 (July 15, 1926): 85-86.

¹⁶Lawren S. Harris, "Creative Art and Canada", in *Yearbook of the Arts in Canada*, 1928-29, ed. Bertram Brooker (Toronto: Macmillan, 1929), 182.

thought on artists attracted to the dramatic landscapes of California, Arizona, Utah and New Mexico over the course of the 20th century.¹⁷ In relation to the careers of the members of the Group of Seven, the influence of Theosophy is often exaggerated, with written accounts of the artists often attempting to underpin their works with a theosophical reading - whereby painting the landscape was the vehicle through which the spiritual could be attained. It is, however, only Harris and friend of the Group Fred B. (F.B.) Housser, who actively affiliated themselves with the Theosophist movement. I do not wish to get caught up in the intricacies of Theosophy in the shaping of and inspiration behind the work of these artists; however, it is important to recognise these earlier discussions on the topic.

The Group depicts a changing understanding of the 'north', where the boundary was being challenged by explorers, imperialists and artists. The concept of 'north' in the Group's work originally signalled the area of Lake Simcoe and Orillia, just beyond Toronto, and then in the years leading up to the First World War shifted to the more distant environs of Algonquin Park and Georgian Bay. Yet, following the war, and the work carried out during this time, their concept of North shifted this time to the Algoma region and to the North Shore of Lake Superior. The most dramatic development of what it meant to be in the 'north' shifted when Harris and Jackson journeyed up into the Arctic in 1930 aboard shipping, not passenger, vessels - this was an alternate concept of 'north', of a far northern 'wilderness' far removed from the preconceived idea of Ontario.

'Wilderness' Preservation

In America, the connotations of 'frontier' often went in tandem with 'wilderness'. The closing of the frontier as previously noted in Frederick J. Turner's writing of 1893, also witnessed the dissolution of 'wilderness' as something beyond human control. With the creation of National Parks in the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the first of which was Yellowstone in 1872, it spurred an onslaught of Euro-American visitors to the 'outdoors'. By the mid-1920s, approximately ten to fifteen million people were auto-camping in this Midwestern landscape.¹⁸ The American 'wilderness' had provided a new source of tourism,

¹⁷"Enchanted Modernities: Theosophy, Modernism and the Arts, c. 1865-1960", *History of Art Research Portal*, University of York, 2013, accessed Mar 06, 2018, https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/enchanted-modernities-index-project.jsp

¹⁸See Mark Woods, *Rethinking Wilderness* (Peterborough: Broadview Press Ltd., 2017).

and by 1900 "demand outstripped supply". In 1919, the USFS (United States Forest Service) hired the landscape architect Arthur Carhart to create a scenic road from Colorado's White River National Forest to nearby Trappers Lake, where a residential estate would be established to house its many frequenting tourists. Carhart instead recommended that the 'wilderness' remain untamed, and road-less - the forest service surprisingly concurred. Subsequent developments were made to encourage ecological preservation, realising the value of the landscape not only for the public, but also for the future. As this developed, John Muir, one of the foremost proponents of a 'wilderness' philosophy and the creation of national parks, wrote in his book Our National Parks (1901), that "going to the mountains is going home; that wildness is a necessity; and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life". 20 For Muir, 'wilderness' didn't necessarily mean being void of human life, but rather that humans should look to the national parks and reservations not only for industry, but also recreation. Again Brinton's vitalist perception of the Swedish landscape is reflected in Muir's sentiment that the mountains and "wildness" were seen as "fountains of life". This section explorers the importance of the national and provincial park in the construction of a northern Circumpolar 'wilderness', and the role of the artist in depicting a landscape that rapidly become gentrified and shaped for the purposes of tourism.

In Canada, Banff National Park, or Banff Hot Springs Reserve as it was first known, was the first Canadian national park in 1885, following a surge in tourism to the Rocky Mountains. Since then, another 39 National Parks and eight National Park Reserves have been added, many of which were created along the Canadian Pacific Railway and Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (namely Yoho, Glacier and Jasper). The growth of National Parks in Canada, as in neighbouring America, arose from the increased demand tourism was exerting on the landscape; and to prevent the expansion of industry and further transportation links.

In Canada, the first transcontinental train departed from Montreal in 1886 for Port Moody on the western coast. The unification of multiple train lines which had been constructed during the previous decade signalled the beginning of a single, easy and accessible route which connected east and west. The journey took six days. Although Port Moody was the original destination, in 1887 the line was extended an extra 14 miles to Granville, now

¹⁹Max Oelschlaeger, The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 3.

 $^{^{20}}$ Ibid, 2.

Vancouver. The picturesque landscapes the railway traversed were marketed by the Canadian Pacific Railway company, responsible for its construction. They used the landscape to their advantage, constructing hotels at certain points along the journey, to attract a wealthy clientele and offset the costs of the railway; the first of these was the Hotel Vancouver which opened in 1887. With this emphasis on tourism, and new opportunities to market different parts of the country, the graphic arts were used to publicise not only the railway, but the wealth of destinations along the way. Among the companies who worked on assignments such as these was the commercial design firm Grip Limited in Toronto, where six of the seven members of the Group of Seven were at one time employed. The railway, moreover, facilitated the movement of the Group around and within the Algoma region from 1918 until 1924. These journeys were often made using a box-car which would be moved around by the Algoma Central Railway - "Our palace is a work car, with stove, cooking utensils to hand and four bunks built therein". 21

In 1906 MacDonald was employed as the firm's head designer, with Thomson and Frank Johnston joining the company as illustrators in 1908. It was here that the members of the Group and Thomson first met one another. In 1911, Carmichael was hired as an office boy, and later that year Arthur Lismer joined the firm having left his studies in Amsterdam to find work. Lismer's colleague and friend Varley followed suit the following year. The plethora of artists and designers working for the company at the start of the 20th century marks it as one of the most important hubs in Canadian art history. Examples of work produced during this time included, A.Y. Jackson's lithographic advert for Northern Lights Cigars Co. (1911, fig. 18), from which a blast of white light emerges amidst the tops of the pine trees, evoking this northern splendour. Further examples of the northern lights are discussed in Chapter 5. Yet despite this, very little of the work created at the design firm relates to their subsequent careers. The ideology behind their graphic works reaffirms the idea that their paintings of the Canadian environment, were indicative of a tamed and gentrified intrusion of the landscape, and not the 'wilderness' with which the Group are often associated.

The graphic adaptation of the landscape was also apparent in Sweden, where this version of the landscape became an avenue through which the painter could explore the land for the purposes of promoting it. An example of such is a poster produced by the Swedish artist Oscar Lycke for the Norrland Fair in his hometown of Sundsvall (1920, fig. 19). In this

²¹Lawren Harris, letter to J.E.H. MacDonald, 1918-19, courtesy of the McMichael Collection of Canadian Art Archives, Kleinburg, Toronto, Canada.

rare graphic work, the overwhelming size of the waterfall occupies the image, itself a rare sight in Lycke's work. Likely to represent either Tännforsen or Ristafallet, two of the largest waterfalls in Sweden and both situated in Jämtland (neighbouring Sundsvall), the image is framed between two decoratively painted trees. It is a composite image of a northern Swedish topography, incorporating vast mountain ranges, glacial lakes and waterfalls, extending up into the Swedish Arctic. Bridging the regional and national, while representative of northern Sweden, it was used to promote tourism and trade throughout the country, encouraging people to venture beyond Stockholm, and to recognise a commonality in the landscape across the northern reaches of Sweden.

Flat expanses of colour further denote this landscape, where the colours remain distinct from one another. As such, the graphic decorativeness of this work could open up avenues of research between it and Japanese art, which has been considerably prevalent in recent years in the field of Nordic art history, as we have seen. As a rather isolated artist, spending very little time in Stockholm, and remaining in the area in which he was born, throughout much of his life, there is no suggestion that Lycke actively sought to integrate elements of Japanese design in his work. The element of design is found not only in this poster, but in much of Lycke's work, and as such seems typical of both a Japanese sentiment, and a Nordic penchant, typical of this period, for the decorative.

In a similar effort, Osslund created the design for the Swedish Tourist Board's Annual Journal in 1920 (fig. 20). Set within a thick green border, this northern landscape has been painted in shades of blue and green, spread across the front and back covers. The meandering river subtly reflects the blue-tinged hills, with an inconspicuous sail boat navigating its way around the many bends of the river. The sky is only offered in glimpses through the orange-brown foliage, with two thick streaks of colour suggesting the rays of the sun as it disappears behind the furthest hill. The leaves have only just changed to their autumnal shade, with the green leaves showing brown flecks as they slowly succumb to the changing of the seasons. The front page indicates a landscape synonymous with the north of Sweden - a landscape promoted by the governing tourism body; whereas on the reverse, the page is occupied by a rune stone shaped advert, encircled by the bending branches of a birch tree. This rune stone is an advert for ASEA (Allmänna Svenska Elektriska Aktiebolaget or General Swedish Electric Company, which operated with the swastika-shaped logo until 1933, when the connotations denoted by this symbol were that of Nazi Germany). This promotional

work by Osslund identifies two aspects for which Sweden was internationally known - its landscape and its Viking history (as also seen in the 1916 Swedish Exhibition catalogue cover) - but also by using the foremost landscape painter of Norrland, his interpretation of these elements becomes an advert for the Swedish landscape as a whole.

As it appears, the preservation and promotion of 'wilderness' environments went hand-in-hand with one another. Initially Algonquin Provincial Park remained a remote 'wilderness', still subject to the ongoing lumbering industry, despite the additional protection that came with being a Provincial Park. Although Queen Victoria Park at Niagara Falls was the first to be established in 1885, it was Algonquin Provincial Park in 1893, which was the first to be created with the intention of protecting a 'natural' environment. The mandate set forth for Algonquin saw it as "a public park and forest reservation, fish and game preserve, health resort and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of the Province". Algonquin was intended as a place where forests and wildlife would be protected, and where humans could retreat to so as to be closer to nature and improve their own health and well-being. The idea for such parks arose out of an admiration of Yellowstone and Banff, and sought to prevent further destruction of the northern forests and wildlife. In the most recent figures provided by the Canadian Government, as of the end of 2018, 11.2% of Canada's terrestrial area (i.e. land and fresh water) is protected federally and provincially. Salar and the provincially of Canada's terrestrial area (i.e. land and fresh water) is protected federally and provincially.

However, by 1900, as technology advanced, Algonquin quickly became a favourable retreat for Torontonians searching for a 'wilderness' adventure. Another of the preferred locations included those areas surrounding nearby Lake Muskoka, Ontario and the wider Muskoka region, which similarly became a popular destination for the Torontonian elite, of which the Group, apart from Harris who was heir to the Massey-Harris fortune, ²⁴ arguably didn't belong. Towards the end of the 19th century, the introduction of the steamship facilitated the construction of summer cottages around the lake, bringing season travellers out

²²Laurel Sefton MacDowell, An Environmental History of Canada (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 102.

 $^{^{23}\}mbox{``Canada's}$ Conserved Areas", Environment and Climate Change Canada (2018) Canadian Protected and Conserved Areas Database, Government of Canada, Dec 31, 2018, accessed Sept 15, 2019, https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/environmental-indicators/conserved-areas.html

²⁴Lawren Harris, unlike his fellow Group members, came from a wealthy and influential background. As a result, his upbringing allowed him to focus on his painting career. The Massey-Harris company was formed in 1891 when Massey Ferguson and A. Harris, Son & Co. Ltd (set up by Lawren Harris's grandfather) formed to make the largest agricultural equipment producer in the British Empire. For more on Lawren Harris see: Joan Murray, Lawren Harris: An Introduction to His Life and Art (Richmond Hill: Firefly Books, 2003).

into the Ontarian environment. To this day, the cottages around Lake Muskoka remain home to countless celebrities from across North America.

Contemporary with Thomson's visits to the region, newspaper articles bore headlines such as, "Camping Out - Algonquin National Park," under which followed an advert for Grand Trunk Railways professing "Can you think of any better medicine for one worn out by excessive study, overwork or too close confinement to their business or profession, than a few weeks roughing it amid the scenery and exhilarating air, where you may fish, canoe and bathe to your heart's content?" Not only was the park a place for recreation and used as a game sanctuary, but it was also "promoted for its restorative air - a special place for tubercular patients and convalescents". Certain authors have hypothesised that it was the latter reason which first brought Thomson out into the Ontarian countryside. This notion of a 'wilderness' retreat, where the landscape was a source of medicinal healing and therapeutic relief conforms to an earlier 19th-century spa culture in Britain and continental Europe. Europe.

The summer population of Algonquin at the time Thomson was there was estimated to be around two thousand²⁹ - however, with his preference being for autumn weather, it is likely this figure was greatly diminished by the time he arrived. No park was complete without the presence of a luxury hotel either, and in the case of Algonquin there were four large hotels which catered for the city "toffs" as Arthur Lismer referred to them (the colloquial British term has become a citable reference in the work of Silcox, from whom this reference is derived).³⁰ And yet, the artists painting the landscape surrounding Algonquin and Muskoka, including the Group of Seven, are seen to hark back to a time before "the gentrified intrusion into 'the northern wilderness".³¹ Silcox wrote that beyond these enclaves of fashionable summer houses,

within a kilometre or two, or after a lake and two portages beyond the rail-

²⁵Andrew Hunter, "Saturday Night no. 44, (14 August 1909)", cited in Tom Thomson, eds. Dennis Reid and Charles F. Hill (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2002), 8.

²⁶David P. Silcox, The Group of Seven and Tom Thomson (Richmond Hill: Firefly Books, 2012), 209.

²⁷See Sherrill Grace, Inventing Tom Thomson: From Biographical Fictions to Fictional Autobiographies and Reproductions (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2004); and Roy MacGregor, Northern Light: The Enduring Mystery of Tom Thomson and the Woman who Loved Him (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2010).

²⁸See Annick Cossic and Patrick Galliou, eds., Spas in Britain and in France in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006.)

²⁹Silcox, The Group of Seven, 209.

 $^{^{30}}$ Ibid, 209.

 $^{^{31}}$ Ibid, 210.

way stations and the hotels, [there was] a terrain that had once been a virgin forest of immense white pines, yellow birches, tamaracks, spruces and maples, but which had been, and still was being, extensively logged by rapacious lumber companies.³²

The land Silcox describes opens onto Oxtongue River which winds its way from Oxtongue Lake to Ragged Falls, itself on the perimeter of Algonquin Park. Silcox focuses on the vegetation of the local environment, drawing upon the varieties of tree species that denote this landscape, and which were both a source of inspiration and logged for the lumber industry. The extent of logging covers the breadth of the Circumpolar North, and features most prominently in Carr's barren, deforested landscapes; and yet, the Algonquin landscape remains associated with a burgeoning tourism industry seeking out its picturesque 'wilderness'. 'Wilderness' is found on the periphery of civilisation, where it perceived as something of a frontier in itself, an uninhabited land which is determined by the rules of nature. And yet, the idea of 'wilderness' in the Circumpolar North during the early-20th century was rapidly changing; where industrial expansion was physically altering the landscape, and making remote landscapes, in some cases, more easily reachable. To understand the landscape painters of the Circumpolar region, it is not sufficient to perceive an idea of 'wilderness' in their works, nor to merely reduce their paintings to an exercise of style, technique and 'ism's'. It also requires a study of the physical geography which acted as the artist's physical and emotional inspiration.

Housser, who was the first to write a concise volume on the Group of Seven in 1926, wrote that the "new type of artist [...] puts on the outfit of the bushwhacker and prospector; closes with his environment; paddles, portages and makes camp; sleeps in the out-of-doors under the stars; climbs mountains with his sketch box on his back". Housser manifests a highly masculine image through the connotations associated with the bushwhacking artist. As the author Scott Watson identified in Housser's statement, his "fundamental text is shot through with notions of virility and masculinity which in turn become the key components in the construction of the authentically Canadian artist". The gender-specific image constructed

³²Silcox, The Group of Seven, 210.

³³F.B. Housser as cited in, Lynda Jessup, "Bushwhackers in the Gallery", in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 133.

³⁴Scott Watson, "Disfigured Nature: The Origins of the Modern Canadian Landscape" in *Eye of Nature*, eds, Caina Augaitis and Helga Pakassar (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1991), 106-7.)

in Housser's writing doesn't allow for the inclusion of female artists such as Carr, or even his wife Yvonne McKague Housser, and yet through her own career and sources of inspiration, including the Group of Seven, she disproves the male-orientated notions of the Canadian landscape that Housser had sought to establish through his assessment.

In contrast to its North American counterparts, the development of environmental preservation in Scandinavia was slower to take hold. In 1909, Sweden became the first country in Europe to adopt the national park system, creating nine parks that year. Among these was Abisko National Park, which includes Scandinavia's largest alpine lake, Lake Torneträsk, to the north - which featured in a number of works by Osslund. In the 20th century Norway followed suit, establishing stringent rules surrounding the creation of their National Parks, which included the strict prohibition of motorised vehicles. Most recently, in 2018, the Norwegian government announced that a new national park has been designated in the Lofoten archipelago - the landscape which inspired Boberg, and plays a prevalent part in my fifth chapter. By comparison, it was only in 2007 that Denmark created its first national park, covering a 12-kilometre wide strip of land near the North Sea. With the preservation of cetain landscapes, comes the increased threat of rising tourism. In recent years, the area around Oslofjord. Norway, has come under heavy scrutiny with regards to right-to-roam laws, that exist across much of Scandinavia, with many landowners wanting to restrict public access due to the heavy growth of tourism to the area.

The work of Sohlberg and Munch surrounding Oslofjord, presents a 'wilderness' environment, only attainable through the 'freedom to roam' laws. Sohlberg views a private landscape from publicly accessible land - with the forest creating a barrier between the public and the private. The luminescent glow of the fisherman's cottage in his Fisherman's Cottage (1907, fig. 21, situated just inland from the Oslofjord (59.2970°N), suggests a human presence that is often lacking in most Nordic landscape painting. Like Munch, it distorts the idea of 'wilderness', derived from a provincial and gentrified environment. The cottage is peculiarly unnerving, although indicative of life; it is perhaps what contributes to the 'mystical' reading of the painting. In a letter written to his collector Byron L. Smith (founder of The Northern Trust Co. in Chicago, Illinois) in 1915, Sohlberg wrote of Fisherman's Cottage:

As you know we have light summer nights here. It was on one of these glorious, calm summer nights that I was wandering aimlessly around, enjoying the delights of witnessing the wonderful, dreamy northern night, when suddenly I found a

great motif in the peacefully slumbering, little fisherman's home, a tiny modest human abode in a setting of natural beauty and mystery.³⁵

The entire canvas basks in a fading evening light; it is typical of a late summer's night where the sun never fully sets; the landscape ever illuminated by a soft, translucent light. While assuming the "natural beauty" of the landscape, Sohlberg is aware of an underlying "mystery" that has often been associated with forest-scapes throughout Scandinavia and Canada. There is a human presence, and yet this is so far removed from the foreground of the composition that there is a feeling of intrusion, of observing a landscape intended to be kept private. Where shades of blue and green work to create a complimentary landscape, the darkly silhouetted trees act as a thinly established veil between the fore- and background. It is, moreover, a sparsely wooded landscape, drastically different to those works which are found at a similar latitude, such as Carr's heavily forested British Columbia landscapes (approximately 53.7267°N).

Sohlberg's work juxtaposes the idea of an unruly and untamed 'wilderness' with which forests are often associated, and provides a counter-example to the subsequent works featured within this chapter which emphasise the depth and crowded orderliness of the forested landscape. Fisherman's Cottage was also among five works exhibition by the artist in the 1912-13 Exhibition. The legacy of this work, now to be found in the Art Institute of Chicago, instantly recalls the intended purpose of the 1912-13 Exhibition, which was to bring Scandinavian art to an American audience - having been carried down the family since its purchase following the Exhibition and gifted to the institution in 2000.

Although not indicative of the entangled forests of many of his Canadian and Swedish contemporaries, Sohlberg's Fisherman's Cottage, indicates a similar compositional configuration as found in Thomson's In the Northland (circa December 1915, fig. 22),³⁶ at around 45.8372°N, which used the forest as a means of dividing the landscape. Here, similar slender birch trees, with the branches and leaves hidden beyond the composition, distinguish the forested foreground from the lake beyond. Similarly, in A.Y. Jackson's A Frozen Lake, Early Spring, Algonquin Park (1914, fig. 23), this familiar composition distances the viewer from the thinly veiled icy-blue of the frozen lake. Charles C. Hill noted that Thomson borrowed this technique of devising a screen to separate the planes of the composition from Jackson,

³⁵Sohlberg to Byron L. Smith, 13 January 1915 as cited in Nasgaard, *Mystic North*, 116.

³⁶Reid and Hill, Tom Thomson, 134.

in which "the trees framed the empty open space",³⁷ who in turn might have conceivably assimilated this technique from Sohlberg. The delicate branches and sinuous trunks of the birches in Jackson's 'forest', emerging from the slowly-receding snow, achieve much the same effect as in Sohlberg's *Fisherman's Cottage*. Although void of the same human presence that Sohlberg's painting suggests, the trees in both works form a prism through which the landscape beyond can be viewed. Yet, despite the compositional similarities, both Jackson and Thomson delve further into the ruggedness of Algonquin Park, alluding to their idea of a Canadian 'wilderness', while, by contrast Sohlberg depicts a landscape intended for recreation.

Despite creating some of the most distinctive representations of the Norwegian landscape, Munch is known to have spent much of his time residing in cities, namely Berlin and Christiania (now Oslo). His Norwegian landscapes were often painted at the artist colonies of Asgårdstrand and Nordstrand, just outside the capital: they are not remote 'wilderness' environments. It was at Nordstrand that Munch at one time held rooms at Hammer's Boarding House, overlooking the Oslofjord, creating works such as View from Nordstrand (Winter 1900-1901, fig. 24).³⁸ In the sale description for this piece, written by Sotheby's auction house in 2007, the author falsely asserts that "the present landscape does not attempt to render a particular scene; rather, it represents a landscape of the mind, onto which the artist projected his own emotional and mental state". 39 Beyond the inner-psychological workings of Munch, it is also possible to read this as a landscape denoting Oslofjord as seen from above in Nordstrand, specifically rendering a particular scene, and that through the lack of a human figure it indicates nothing-more than a setting sun in a winter sky. This is not to say that this scene represents an exact geographical representation of the Nordstrand landscape, but rather it is a personal vision of the landscape before him, using tonality and his distinctive, expressive, and curving brushstrokes to denote the trees, lake and sky. This similar vibrant palette is also found in his Forest (1903, fig. 25). Here, Munch, like Carr, makes use of the same close-cropped composition, where the trees are cut off by the size and scope of the canvas. In Munch's Forest, the three central pine trees stand like sentinels at

³⁷Reid and Hill, Tom Thomson, 130.

³⁸First exhibited at Bergen, Bergens Kunstforening, *Edvard Munch*, 1909. See "Impressionist and Modern, Evening Sale 2007, Edvard Munch, *View from Norstrand*", *Sotheby's*, Feb 05, 2007, accessed June 11, 2018, http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2007/impressionist-and-modern-art-evening-sale-l07002/lot.41.html

³⁹Ibid.

the gate, and their leaves hidden from view. A similar vibrant palette ties in the pine and fir trees of the Norwegian forest with its British Columbia counterpart, and yet unlike Carr, Munch's *Forest* instead represents a tamed 'wilderness', shaped and transformed according to the needs of tourists and residents alike.

3.2 From Within the Forest

Forests arguably denote a return to 'wilderness', where in the case of British Columbia, mankind dare not venture. And yet through deforestation and the lumber industry, the forest has been, and continues to be diminished by human industry and demand. In Garrard's Ecocriticism, the forest is discussed in relation to Canadian nationalism, mentioning the artwork of Thomson and the writing of Margaret Atwood. Here, Atwood, in a short story from Wilderness Tips (1991) responds to the artwork of the Group of Seven: "They are pictures of convoluted tree trunks on an island of pink, wave smoothed stone, with more islands behind; of a lake, with rough, bright, sparsely wooded cliffs", 40 The construction of a wooded 'wilderness' environment within a Canadian visual identity, reaffirms the association between painting and landscape, where artwork has the potential to evoke the characteristics of a national topography. The adaptation of the forest into the paintings of the Canadian and Scandinavian artist reaffirms the prevalence of forests in their immediate environment, and in the topographical construction of their respective nations. The close-up inspection of the forest in the compositions of Carr, Fjaestad, Osslund and Harris contributes to an environmental narrative that supports a northern Circumpolar methodology of forests within the topography and traditions of landscape painting. With this said, a discussion of Carr alongside her Swedish contemporaries identifies the differences that exist across similar latitudinal lines, where climate has altered the types of forests that exist within these geographically comparable regions.

Emily Carr and the British Columbia Rainforest

"What do these forests make you feel?" Such was a question posed by Carr in her diaries dating from the 1930s. In her answer, Carr orientated herself around painterly terms, where

 $^{^{40}\}mathrm{Margaret}$ Atwood, Wilderness Tips (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 110.

⁴¹Emily Carr, Opposite Contraries: The Unknown Journals of Emily Carr and Other Writings (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2009), 28.

"weight" and "crowded orderliness" describe the impact she felt from them. ⁴² She further described herself at one point as "a lone old tree". ⁴³ With paintings such as *Inside a Forest II* (1929-30, fig. 26), which evokes British Columbia's temperate rainforests, such as the Great Bear Rainforest, Carr used the landscape "to navigate personal and spiritual identity in and through the land". ⁴⁴ If we are to assume that the Great Bear Rainforest was the inspiration for Carr's *Inside a Forest II*, as the catalogue for *Picturing the Americas* purports, then this would place it at 53.3896°N, only 6 degrees south of Värmland province which inspired Fjæstad, discussed later in this section. The differences in environment at similar latitudes - between temperate and boreal - is as a consequence of British Columbia's pacific coastline and is arguably recognised in the different seasons that inspired these two artists. Yet, this latitudinal proximity reaffirms the forest cover of these distinct topographical locations.

A study of forests in landscape painting of the Circumpolar North has the potential to be inherently interdisciplinary, since a discussion of scientific fact provides an alternative framework around which to desituate a preoccupation with 'mysticism' and symbolism. A mere discussion of style and technique is unlikely to contribute much to an understanding of either the landscape or the artist. Although a certain spirituality is often ascribed to Carr's forests, it is important to bear in mind the strong presence of the actual forest in her local ecology. Canada is the "second largest country in the world with forest or other wooded land making up 40% of its 979 million hectares" - this represents 30% of the world's forest and 9% of the world's overall forest cover. With this said, British Columbia itself is the meeting point of four different types of forest: Montane, Columbia, Subalpine and Coastal. In fact, over two thirds of British Columbia are covered in forests - an area which equates to almost 60 million hectares - with much of the non-forested land to be found in the alpine regions, where alpine tundra, rocky peaks, ice and glaciers alone account for one quarter of the province. Of this, 64,000 square kilometres (6.4 million hectares) composes the Great Bear Rainforest, which is the largest coastal temperate rainforest in the world.

⁴²Ibid, 28.

⁴³Emily Carr, Hundreds and Thousands: The Journals of Emily Carr (Canada: Greystone Books, 2007), 156.

⁴⁴Kristina Huneault, "Emily Carr, *Inside a Forest II*, 1929-30" in *Picturing the Americas*, eds. Peter John Brownlee, Valéria Piccoli and Georgiana Uhlyarik (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 250.

⁴⁵"Overview: Canada's Forests", Sustainable Forest Management in Canada, accessed July 12, 2018, https://www.sfmcanada.org/en/canada-s-forests

⁴⁶"British Columbia's Forests: A Geographical Snapshot", *British Columbia Ministry for Forests, Lands, Natural Resource Operations & Rural Development*, 2003, accessed July 12, 2018, https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/pubs/Docs/Mr/Mr112.htm

⁴⁷ "Working Together", Great Bear Rainforest, British Columbia Government, accessed July 12, 2018,

It sits in stark contrast to the Amazon Rainforest, which at 5.5 million square kilometres is the largest tropical rainforest, and is constantly under threat from excessive deforestation and forest fires. From an aerial perspective, British Columbia is an interlocking land of lakes and forests, with the Pacific Ocean on one side and the Rocky Mountains on the other. It is a landscape unlike any other in Canada, but which bears close resemblance to Hesselbom's Dalsland. Seen from the ground, most notably in the works of Carr during the first half of the 20thcentury, it is the contrasting image of the thick coastal forests surrounding Vancouver Island, alongside the devastation of the lumbering industry in this same community, that is embodied in her oeuvre.

In the 1930s the logging industry in, and exports from, British Columbia grew exponentially, ⁴⁸ with the Douglas fir and cedar making it an attractive source for ship masts and other logging products. Consequently, the landscape was constantly being reshaped, with desolate deforested landscapes forming part of the environmental picture of West Coast Canada. Carr both paints the heavily laden Cedar forests of British Columbia, where the trees are rich sources for lumbering, and yet she distorts and bends the solid trunks of the trees, making them useless in the face of environmental destruction. By contrast, her paintings of a lone Douglas fir, perhaps too spindly to be prime lumbering material, occupy an otherwise desolate landscape, where swirling, tumultuous skies juxtapose with the quietness of the land. Carr's preoccupation with the forests of her home, highlight both the abundance of trees - ancient forests where mankind dares not venture - as well as the impact of man leaving behind greatly diminished landscapes. There is no sign of young saplings having been planted in their stead; rather these are forests which have temporarily ceased to exist, and whose future remains undecided.

Whereas Carr often depicted the luscious and abundant forests of British Columbia, there are a number of paintings which highlight the effects of the logging industry including *Scorned* as *Timber*, *Beloved of the Sky* (c.1936, fig. 27). Here, two slender trees, almost naked of leaves, occupy the composition; they are like shadows against the swirls of mountain and sky

https://greatbearrainforest.gov.bc.ca/

⁴⁸Due to a tariff imposed by the U.S. in 1930, known as the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, exports to Britain, for example, consequently rose as a result. To put this growth into perspective, whereas "In 1931 the province shipped less than 100 million feet of lumber to the UK. By 1933 this figure had risen to over 271 million and in 1936 it reached 666 million. The percentage of BC lumber shipped to Britain increased from 7 percent in 1929 to 40 percent in 1933 to 63 percent in 1939, a mirror image of the pattern in shipments to the US". See Gordon Hak, *Capital and Labour in the British Columbia Forest Industry*, 1934-74 (Vancouver/Toronto: UBC Press, 2007), 20.

that converge in the background. It is the aftermath of the forest, when man's desecration of the landscape has changed the meaning of the surrounding environment, making it the artist's job to record what remains. These paintings have become significant markers of man's destruction and taming of the Circumpolar 'wilderness' and a nostalgic gasp of a frontier disappearing into resource extraction.⁴⁹

Carr's underlying fascination with the forests is often traced back to her childhood, where family outings extended to the semi-wild Beacon Hill Park near her home. Specific mention is made by Maria Tippett, in an article entitled "Emily Carr's Forest" (1974), where she references a ten-day voyage around Vancouver Island made by Carr's father Richard Carr in the 1870s. In The Book of Small (1942), a collection of 36 short stories written by Carr, she recounts her father's tale "of the magnificent trees, of their closeness to each other, of the strangling undergrowth, [and of] the great silence."⁵⁰ Although the early impression of these coastal forests is recognised by both Carr and scholars, it would take decades before painting this motif really took hold. Her early and subsequently longstanding inspiration was found in the First Nations villages of Western Canada, following a trip to Sitka, Alaska in 1907. The representation of First Nations communities in Canadian art history has been restricted to a "nostalgic" and peripheral approach taken by artists such as Krieghoff, Paul Kane, and Edwin Holgate. In an article published in 2012, Naohiro Nakamura wrote for the International Journal of Canadian Studies, concerning the limited representation of First Nations art, by First Nations artists in Canadian galleries and institutions. This article reassessed the role of the First Nations in Canadian art history while also considering its place within the modern-day gallery space.

With regards to the Carr's work, the totem poles of the West Coast First Nations villages motivated her early artistic endeavours, ⁵¹ applying the limited skills learned during her time

⁴⁹Deforestation remains a major concern today and is regarded as one of the main causes of climate change. However, in a report presented by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in 2012, it highlighted how although millions of hectares of land continue to be deforested annually, the trend towards the deforestation of tropical forests has been at the fore since the 1920s, with temperate forests having been the focus up until that point. In Canada specifically, "although it underwent a period of deforestation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries [...] [it] has also been able to stabilize its forest area since the early twentieth century". See "State of the World's Forests, 2012", Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, Rome, 2012, accessed June 03, 2018, http://www.fao.org/3/a-i3010e.pdf

 $^{^{50}\}mathrm{Emily}$ Carr, The Book of Small (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2009), 109.

⁵¹For more scholarship on indigenous representation in the museum context see Ruth B. Philipps, *Museum Pieces: Toward the Indigenization of Canadian Museums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); and Leslie Dawn, *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011). For further information pertaining to the First Nations influence on Carr's work Gerta Moray's *Unsettling Encounters: First Nations Imagery in the Art of Emily Carr* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) provides an extensive and thorough analysis into the Carr's engagement with the First Nations

at St. Ives in Cornwall from where she had returned three years earlier.⁵² These totem paintings were among those works exhibited by Carr in the 1927 Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Indian Art, staged for an east-coast audience in Ottawa. Among these works were Totem Walk at Sitka (1909, fig. 28) and Kitwancool (1928, fig. 29), which both reference the traditions of the First Nations community, and contrast with the elongated trunks of British Columbia's forests and trees. In addition to the national recognition Carr garnered from this exhibition, was the introduction it offered to the Group of Seven - whose influence and friendship helped shape Carr's works of the 1930s.

Carr contemplated the forests at great length in her diaries - curious about the varieties of trees and the changing shrubbery as she journeys through Canada - it is the landscape which occupied her mind as she made the first trip across to Toronto to meet the Group of Seven. In *Hundreds and Thousands*, Carr recalled the changing trees and shrubbery along the way:

Now we are in heavier pine-wooded country and it is snowing hard. The trees are heavy with it. There is a cold, mysterious wonder amid the trees. They are not so densely packed but that you can pass in imagination among them, wonder what mysteries lie in their quiet fastness, what creeping living things, what God-filled spaces totally untrod, what voices in an unknown tongue.⁵³

Carr's affinity with the forests closely resembles Nasgaard's 'mysticism', however, these are not the "virgin" northern forests that Nasgaard previously described. Moreover, the personal connection she has with them is not something found in the writings of the Group of Seven, or in a reading of their works. Associated with a 'mystical' reading of Carr's painting, is the impact of Theosophy, something which she had been introduced to by Harris. Although Carr was initially accepting of Theosophy, she soon felt that it was trying to take everything away from her - "no God, no Christ, no prayer". Yet, she similarly acknowledges that "there is something in this teaching for me, something in their attitude towards God, something that

communities, both socially and artistically, in British Columbia.

⁵²Of the five years that Carr spent in Britain (1899-1904), eighteen months of these were spent in a Sanitorium due to a decline in her health, however, prior to this she had been based in London, attending the Westminster School of Art, before travelling to the artist colony at St. Ives and later to Hertfordshire. For more on Carr's time in the U.K. See Maria Tippett, *Emily Carr: A Biography* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979); and Kathryn Bridge, *Emily Carr in England* (Vancouver: Royal BC Museum, 2014).

⁵³Carr, Hundreds and Thousands, 21.

⁵⁴Carr, Hundreds and Thousands, 118.

opens up a way for the artist to find himself [sic] an approach".⁵⁵ Despite Carr's own writings, the discussion of Theosophy is, as it is here, always a factor. In the catalogue for *The True North* (1991), Michael Tooby wrote that, "she found inspiration in the Theosophic vision espoused by Harris which, though relatively short lived, infused a spiritual centre to her extraordinary work from the 1930s".⁵⁶ Discussions surrounding Carr's work are inevitably drawn to the concept of spirituality, and although Carr toyed with the idea of Theosophy upon first meeting Harris, by 1934, she writes that "somehow theosophy makes me shudder now. It was reading H. Blavatsky that did it, her intolerance and particularly her attitude to Christianity".⁵⁷ Carr instead reverted to the Christian faith, that God was in all: "always looking for the face of God, always listening to the voice of God in Nature. Nature is God revealing himself, expressing his wonders and his love".⁵⁸ This supposed attachment and inspiration Carr found in Theosophy is incorrectly encouraged. I would rather argue that it was out of admiration for Harris as a painter that she even entertained the idea of Theosophy - inspired more by his confidence and artistic ingenuity.

Forest scenes were less prevalent among other members of the Group and were often less defined than those of Carr and their Scandinavian counterparts. In Franklin Carmichael's October Gold (1922, fig. 30), however, painted two years after the Group had first exhibited together, the canvas is a cacophony of yellows, oranges and greens. The leaves on the birch tree in the foreground have turned from green to gold as 'fall' descends upon the landscape; the individual leaves setting it off against the softly, undulating tops of the forest in the distance. Barely distinguishable from this myriad of autumnal colour is a murky green stream which winds its way beneath the hill the artist has painted from. Carmichael's approach to the forested landscape before him creates a harmony of colour, where only a hint of the bold, red maple on the left side of the canvas, distinguishes it from the other unidentifiable trees that surround it.

When looking at the representation of the different types of trees to be found throughout Canada, whereas in British Columbia the red cedar was native to the area, in the works of the Group of Seven it is often the maple which dominates the landscape. Certain trees denote both regional and national claims, where most notably in the Group of Seven's work

⁵⁵Ibid, 118.

⁵⁶Michael Tooby, *The True North: Canadian Landscape Painting, 1896-1939* (London: Lund Humphries & Barbican Art Gallery, 1991), 29.

⁵⁷Carr, Hundreds and Thousands, 176.

⁵⁸Ibid, 71.

the maple suggests a self-evident grab for a national idiom. One of the most distinctive works in this regard is Jackson's *The Red Maple* (November 1914, fig. 31), painted in his Toronto studio, but based on a sketch produced along the banks of the Oxtongue River (fig. 32). Unlike the finished work where the colours are richer, the tonality of the sketch has been diluted by the natural light in which Jackson painted. Here, however, it is not a forest of maple trees, but rather the solitary depiction of the young branches of a red maple tree, its leaves contrasting against the churning rapids cascading downstream. Lismer wrote of Jackson that he "identifies things, topographical, natural, geological, but escapes the documentory [sic] evidence and scientific speculation in the scope and sweep of his grasp".⁵⁹ This simplified composition centred around the fluttering red leaves of this lonely maple, one of the most common trees on the North American continent, turns it into an identifiable Ontarian, and consequently Canadian, image. Furthermore, an association with such earthbased terms as "topographical" and "geological" suggests that Jackson's primary interest in the landscape was to extract the identifying and most interesting characteristics of the landscape, without venturing into scientific observation.

Between detailed observation and her final studio paintings, Carr often reverted to the sketch first and foremost, rarely working with a camera - despite the growing prominence of landscape photography in North America⁶⁰ - before delving into working with oils. She wrote of her sketches that they should "convey the essence of the idea though they lack the detail". Sketches, such as *Hilltop Over Glade in Forest* (c.1931, fig. 33) and *Port Renfrew* (1929-31, fig. 34) are marvellous exercises of what graphite, charcoal, and paper can accomplish. Although the ironic use of charcoal (produced from burnt plants and trees) as a material, cannot be overlooked. The same linear focus of the forest is accentuated in the shadowing of the pencil, and the whiteness of the paper. Unlike her paintings, however,

⁵⁹Arthur Lismer, "Lecture on A.Y. Jackson 'Painter of Canada' given at the AGO, 30 January 1942," McMichael Collection of Canadian Art Archives, Kleinburg, Toronto, Canada, 22.

⁶⁰A recent touring exhibition, staged in 2017, looked at East of the Mississippi: Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Photography. Here, the curator Diane Waggoner, from the National Gallery of Art in Washington DC., identified those photographers working during the 19th century who sought to capture picturesque sites, identifying how the landscape was constantly being transformed. These photographs highlight the social and cultural dynamic of the landscape, whilst also highlighting an early interest in environmentalism and protecting the natural wonders of the world. Photography of this period often worked in conjunction with the painters of the Sublime. The 20th century saw the rise of a tradition of American landscape photographers, including the likes of Ansel Adams, whose career spanned from 1927 to the 1970s, and a subsequent growth of environmental photography in the 1970s. For further information see: Dianne Waggoner, Russell Lord, and Jennifer Raab, eds., East of the Mississippi: Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Photography (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

⁶¹Carr, Hundreds and Thousands, 60.

it is more difficult for the eye to guide its way through the composition; instead the surface is overwhelmed with shapes and structures, appearing man-made. In *Hilltop Over Glade in Forest*, the shapes of the trees become abstract, simplified to basic geometric shapes. There is something perhaps more akin to Harris here than is normally be found in Carr's oil paintings - which are much softer in their geometry, blurring the lines and softening the landscape. ⁶² Carr approaches the landscape from a more intimate perspective, her primary concern rested first on composition, and then only once working with oils did she imbue it with her rich palette often composed of greens and blues. For Carr,

Sketching in the big woods is wonderful. You go, find a space wide enough to sit in and clear enough so that the undergrowth is not drowning you [...] The air is alive. The silence is full of sound. The green is full of colour. Light and darkness chase each other. Here is a picture, a complete thought, and there another and there. ⁶³

The manifestation of her love for forests and the inspiration they exerted can be found in one of her earliest iterations of the coastal firs, pines and cedar trees (the Western redcedar is the official tree of British Columbia, and most commonly found in the coastal forests), Wood Interior (1909, fig. 35). In this painting, the trees are static, each distinctly separate from the other, where their skeletal trunks extend up into a canopy of leaves. Whereas in Carr's later works, the trees themselves would provide movement to the composition, here the curved rays of light lend fluidity to this otherwise dark forest. The palette, moreover, reveals none of the vibrancy and love for the forests apparent in her later works. In a diary entry written while in the canvas tent of her campervan on a rainy day, Carr recalls the primacy of colour that influenced her works: "colours are changing their places as in Musical Chairs to the tune of the rain".⁶⁴ These intimate observations of nature are indicative of Carr's personal relationship with nature, one borne out of a love for God and his creation of Earth. It also reaffirms Carr's strong connection with the outdoors; despite being separated from the elements by canvas Carr remains outside. This early example of the prevalent wood

⁶²The use of geometry and abstract shapes are identifiably characteristics of theosophical art, most notably in Harris's work, who later in his career turned to purely abstract images after moving in 1938 to Santa Fe, New Mexico and helping found the Transcendental Painting Group. For further information see: Roald Nasgaard and Gwendolyn Owens, eds., *Higher States: Lawren Harris and His American Contemporaries* (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Editions, 2017).

⁶³Carr, Hundreds and Thousands, 264.

⁶⁴Carr, Hundreds and Thousands, 265.

interior motif provides an interesting comparison when viewed in conjunction with the later work of the same title, painted in 1932-35.

Ian Thom, the senior curator of the 2017 exhibition *Emily Carr: Into the Forest* staged at Vancouver Art Gallery, further wrote that "Carr's paintings, which were made at a time when most people regarded forests as dark, forbidding places, reflect her profound belief in both the beauty and spiritual vitality of the forest". Unlike her fellow British Columbians who saw the forests as an "untamed wilderness or plentiful source of lumber", Carr "saw the vitality of the natural world and seized the opportunity to express her vision of it". Carr's wooded paintings are often not dense forests from which there is no escape, but rather focus on each tree individually, each growth adding substance to the composition, often concealing the horizon as if the viewer is cocooned in and blanketed by trees. Her paintings are not dark, forbidding places; rather they capture the coastal landscape of British Columbia in contrast to the Group of Seven's Ontario.

Wood Interior (1932-35, fig. 36) is a noteworthy example of Carr's 1930's forest land-scapes, thought to depict the forest of Vancouver Island at 49.6506°N.⁶⁷ In this painting, Carr adapts the different angles of facets of the forest landscape, with the large looming trees providing a close-up study of the forest. The large overarching trees in the foreground direct the gaze inward, a feature which came to the fore in Carr's work of the 1930s. Art historians have often endeavoured to suggest an influence from the totem pole on the sculptural, and carved-like qualities of Carr's monolithic depictions of the cedar, spruce and Douglas fir. The scale of British Columbia's rainforests is exaggerated in the close-cropping of the compositio, which was a trait shared with her Scandinavian contemporaries, and also found in the work of American contemporary Georgia O'Keefe, on the southern U.S. border, with whom numerous comparisons have been drawn.⁶⁸ Painted using oils on canyas, Carr often

⁶⁵"Past Exhibitions: Emily Carr - Into the Forest", *Vancouver Art Gallery*, accessed June 15, 2018, http://www.vanartgallery.bc.ca/exhibitions/emily-carr-into-the-forest

⁶⁷Further mention of Carr's *Wood Interior* (1932-35) can be found in: Ian Thom, *Emily Carr Collected* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2013); and Leah Modigliani, "Emily Carr and the Legacy of Commonwealth Modernism" in *Engendering an Avant-Garde: The Unsettled Landscapes of Vancouver Photo-Conceptualism*, ed. Leah Modigliani (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), Chapter DOI: https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526126733.00007.

⁶⁸Following her trip to New York in 1930, where Carr met Georgia O'Keefe at an exhibition of the latter's, the conceptual and abstract nature of Carr's 1930's forests has been attributed, by scholars such as Lisa Baldissera, to this introduction to North American modernism. Existing scholarship on the artistic synergies between the two female painters, can be found in the exhibition *Carr*, *O'Keefe*, *Kahlo: Places of Their Own*. Beyond this exhibition, little scholarly focus has been given to the geographical parallels between Carr and O'Keefe - with one in British Columbia, the other in Mexico. See Sharyn Rohlfsen Udall, *Carr*, *O'Keefe*, *Kahlo: Places of Their Own* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

worked by thinning down the oils to resemble watercolour, noticeable in the overhanging branches that are almost translucent against the trunks of the trees. In her preparatory sketches, she would work with diluted oil paints upon sheets of cheap manila paper: an easily transportable method. Carr was quoted as saying that this method allowed for "great freedom of thought and action. Woods and skies out west are big. You can't squeeze them down". 69 Wood Interior is all consumed with this idea of the forest, reaffirming the scale and grandeur of these ancient rainforests.

Photographs of the forests of British Columbia taken during the early-20th century (fig. 37 and fig. 38) further highlight the overwhelming scale of the trees, and the thickness of their trunks which play such a prominent role in Carr's work. With Wood Interior, the environment Carr has created, verges on the 'mystical'. The sky has disappeared beneath the swathes of paint evoking the rhythm and movement of the branches and creating a canopy above the forest floor. The effect of this swirling composition is akin to falling down the rabbit hole; the idea of reality is confused by the never ending depth of the canvas, where "the illusionistic space of Carr's paintings captures and presents a green cubic volume of landscape". The cyclical nature of Carr's paintings, where trees and branches and earth merge with one another, results in a feeling of being enveloped by the forest. The underlying 'wilderness' around the trunks of the trees, has been tamed by Carr's handling of paint; mirroring the foliage above in the undulating brushstrokes of the ground vegetation. This isn't an impenetrable forest or a source of lumbering as many of the locals viewed the forests of British Columbia; rather it entices you in, the trees guiding your eye through into the depths of the composition.

A stylistic analysis of Carr's work often throws up a whole range of terms. In *Mystic North*, Nasgaard bookends Carr between synthetism and expressionism, positioning her closer to the latter which consequently distances her from Harris and puts her closer to the likes of Van Gogh and Munch. Synthetism was a style, spearheaded by Gauguin, which placed emphasis on the combination of artistic feeling with an aestheticism of style, technique, and colour. Nasgaard used style and 'isms' as a way of situating Carr alongside contemporaneous European modernism, distancing her from her Canadian counterparts and considering her as a North American extension of modern European landscape painting. In

⁶⁹Shadbolt, The Art of Emily Carr, 114.

⁷⁰Jessica Stockholder, "The Green Cubes of Emily Carr", in *From the Forest to the Sea: Emily Carr in British Columbia*, eds. Sarah Milroy and Ian Dejardin (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Editions, 2015), 76.

1912, Carr told a reporter of the Victoria-based newspaper *The Province*, upon her return to Canada, that "artists in Paris [...] are seeking the bigger things in nature. Their aim is to bring to their canvases, through the medium of pure colour, more light and more vitality". Moray, adds to Nasgaard's synthetism and expressionism, when she proposed that the primitivism of Gauguin would play an especially important role in Carr's future career. I presume Moray associates Carr's First Nations paintings with Gauguin's primitivist paintings of French Polynesia. And yet, these many 'isms' do not directly translate in her work. Although comparisons might be drawn between Carr's technique and contemporaneous European artistic trends, the main comparisons can be found not in which 'ism' Carr's work belongs, but rather how her response to her environment ties in with a Circumpolar methodology. Shadbolt wrote, in 1979, that "Carr is in the strongest sense regional. In one sense those forests, the carvings in their settings, giant trees, sea and beaches did not exist until she painted them". However, I would argue that Carr represents the landscape of Canada not only on a national scale, but also depicts a landscape situated between the regional, national - in relation to the Group of Seven - and transnational.

The Scandinavian Boreal Forest

The forest in Scandinavian painting, as in Canada, is omnipresent. Scandinavian painters were fuelled, like Carr, by a personal connection to the landscape; often where the artist made their home. There is a direct focus on the seasonal representation of the forest within Scandinavian painting, with a focus resting on Sweden and winter, in this instance. What might be considered decoration is often, in the case of winter scenes, a result of the changing temperatures as it shapes the already fallen snow. With over 57% of the total land area of Sweden being covered of forest,⁷⁴ it is not surprising that it played a prominent part in landscape painting. This section moves across the Circumpolar North, from the temperate rainforests of British Columbia to the snow-covered forests in Harris, Fjaestad and Lycke's landscapes. Accounting for the assumed decoration in the work of Fjaestad, in particular, this study also brings to the fore one of the core aims of this thesis - a similar representation of

⁷¹ The Province (Vancouver), 27 March 1912.

⁷²Gerta Moray, "Emily Carr and the Visionary British Columbia" in *Embracing Canada: Landscapes from Krieghoff to the Group of Seven*, ed. Ian M. Thom (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2015), 167-171.

⁷³Shadbolt, The Art of Emily Carr, 195-196.

⁷⁴"Brief Facts 1: What is Swedish Forestry?", *Sveaskog*, accessed June 03, 2018, https://www.sveaskog.se/en/forestry-the-swedish-way/short-facts/brief-facts-1/

Canadian and Scandinavian topography, respectively, without prior knowledge of the others work. It recognises the importance of art historical analysis within a wider survey of similar topographies across northern latitudes.

Over the past two centuries, the forests of Scandinavia have been exploited by the logging and iron industries; in the construction of housing; and to facilitate farm lands and livestock. While in Sweden, "during the 18th and 19th centuries, many forests were heavily over-exploited [and] After decades of political debate about the declining state of Swedish forests, the first Forestry Act was passed in 1903, requiring owners to replant after harvesting", 75 in Norway, forests and lowland wilderness continued to be greatly diminished during the 20th century. Today, of the 12% of 'wilderness' covering the Norwegian land area, most of this is preserved within national parks. However, unlike Canada, Swedish forests, for example, lack the same diversity in tree species, resulting in a much more uniform wooded landscape. As regards deforestation, the forestry industry in Scandinavia not only had an environmental impact, but a cultural and social one as well:

The coniferous forests of Finland, Norway and Sweden were an exception to the pattern of deforestation in Europe as a whole. While deforestation occurred in these countries, especially near cities, it was not as extensive as it was further south, where population pressure was higher. In addition, shorter growing seasons and rocky soils set a natural limit on the clearing of forests for farming, although shifting cultivation was practised in some areas. Eventually, shortages of arable land contributed to emigration, especially to North America in the nineteenth century.⁷⁶

Although deforestation in the Nordic nations was limited in comparison to the rest of Europe, and could be considered a factor in drawing artists away from the cities, seeking out a 'wilderness' landscape that remained 'intact', it also contributed to the large influx of Scandinavian citizens into America. Beyond the reach of human control and excessive logging, the limited diversity of Swedish forests was, according to the Swedish Forestry Department, "partly due to repeated glaciations" where "the number of species found is relatively small compared to similar ecosystems in other parts of the world".⁷⁷ Of the forests in southern

 $^{^{75}}$ "Forests and Forestry in Sweden," $Swedish\ Forest\ Agency,\ 2015,\ accessed\ June\ 03,\ 2018,\ https://www.skogsstyrelsen.se/globalassets/in-english/forests-and-forestry-in-sweden_2015.pdf$

⁷⁶ "State of the World's Forests, 2012".

⁷⁷"Forests and Forestry in Sweden".

Sweden and Norway a large region is covered with mixed forests, where "the predominant trees [...] are pine and spruce interspersed with deciduous trees. In the proximity of cultivated areas, hazel was characteristic of meadows and groves. Birch, elm, linden, and ash were used as fodder and many other purposes". The impact of the Gulf Stream, alongside repeated historic glaciations, has also meant that Sweden's forests "are among the most northerly in the world", where the "warming effect of the Gulf Stream permits forest growth at latitudes that are characterized by treeless tundra in other parts of the world". The limited diversity of the Scandinavian forest finds further representation in the work of Fjæstad, whose forest-scapes often depict the Värmland landscape (directly on a par with Munch and Sohlberg's Oslofjord, at 59.7294°N), situated along the border with Norway, during the snow-covered winter months.

In a volume written about the author Selma Lagerlöf, who was the first female writer to win the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1909, and her life in Värmland, the author Gabriel Bladh goes into detail when describing the geography and environmental conditions of the area. Bladh wrote that the "topography changes from low plains around Lake Vänern in the south to the hilly country toward the north. The land is incised by a number of northsouth-running rift valleys, such as Klarälvsdalen, Fryksdalen, and Glafsfjorden. The bedrock consists of mainly Precambrian rocks (granites and gneisses)". 80 At this point, the "transition belt from mixed forests in middle Sweden to coniferous forests in the north also runs through Värmland". This area of Sweden acts as a meeting point for the many different landscapes which compose the country as a whole. However, what Bladh doesn't mention in this instance is the lakes which, as in much of Sweden, are scattered throughout this topographical environment. The relationship between the lake and the forest is often what typifies the work of Fjæstad, where, throughout his oeuvre, he demarcated where forests began and finished, before opening up onto an otherwise hilly landscape. With regards to the Precambrian rocks that Bladh mentions, these are merely denoted by an otherwise forested environment.

Although not among the works exhibited by Fjæstad as part of the 1912-13 Exhibition,

⁷⁸Jones and Olwig, Nordic Landscapes, 577.

⁷⁹ "Forests and Forestry in Sweden".

⁸⁰Gabriel Bladh, "Selma Lagerlöf's Värmland", in *Nordic Landscapes: Region and Belonging on the North*ern Edge of Europe, eds. Michael Jones and Kenneth R. Olwig (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 224.

⁸¹Ibid, 224.

Winter Moonlight (Vintermånsken, 1895, fig. 39), acquired by the Nationalmuseum in 1905, was included within the display of Fjæstad's work at the Pan-Pacific Exhibition in 1915. In fact, an entire room of the Swedish gallery was given over to the artist's motifs of Swedish winters and running brooks and streams. Winter Moonlight is one of the earliest examples of the winter scene in Fjæstad's oeuvre and highlights those features of his style and technique which first intrigued the Group of Seven. This vast canvas identifies the characteristics of a snow-covered landscape and exaggerates them, creating an illusion of reality. At its simplest, Winter Moonlight depicts a narrow path, in the depths of winter, and hidden within the pine forests of western Sweden. It is a landscape which has, however, been reinvented with the newly fallen snow.

As with many of Fjæstad's landscape, such as From Dovrefjäll (Från Dovrefjäll, 1904, fig. 40), there is a fascination with depicting the shapes of texture of snow. Only the large overhanging tree on the left of the canvas disappears into darkness, with any suggestion of the forest beyond being hidden from view. As the catalogue for *Dreams of a Summer Night* described, 82 Fjæstad's works are concerned with "nature's silent and secretive life". 83 Although an analysis of Fjæstad's paintings, as with Winter Moonlight, is primarily concerned with style and technique, as was the artist's intention, it is also important to consider the role of nature as a facilitator of this design. Although the rhythmic pattern of dots and lines which composes this outer-forest landscape is typical of the decorative nature of the artist's work, it only adds to the already patterned surface of the snow as it settles and hardens. Where thick mounds of snow have begun to take their own form, and the branches seem unnaturally misshapen under the weight of the snow, this landscape, in part, embodies the "photographic verisimilitude"⁸⁴ that Laurvik identified in 1912. As the snow dunes in the foreground begin to recede, they begin to merge with the branches of the trees. The brightly illuminated Polar star which hangs in the sky above an otherwise silent landscape recalls Sohlberg's later work, Winter Night in the Mountains (see fig. 10), where a lone star guides through the composition (and Ursa Minor hangs in the sky at the far top-left of the

⁸²In the catalogue to the 2011 Exhibition on *Painting Canada: Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven* staged at Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, there was included an essay by Nils Ohlsen entitled "Reflections of Scandinavian Landscape Painting in the Work of Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven" which drew upon Fjæstad's *Winter Moonlight* as a comparative example (p.78). Reference to this work can also be found in *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven*, *Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art* (p.250) and *Mystic North* (p. 49).

⁸³ Dreams of a Summer Night: Scandinavian Painting at the Turn of the Century (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1986), 102.

⁸⁴Laurvik, "Intolerance in Art", 13.

composition).

In the catalogue for *Dreams of a Summer Night*, Fjæstad was described as an artist who "with great consistency [...] cultivated landscape painting in the decorative spirit of Art Nouveau, something which can also be explained by [his] work as a craftsman. He united the Art Nouveau idiom with a personal form of pointillism". Nasgaard further referred to Fjæstad's adopting a pointillist technique. The idea of pointillism is something often contemplated when discussing the work of a number of Scandinavian painters. Yet, pointillism implies the technique of applying countless dots of complementary colours, which together build up the image. This same misattribution of pointillism is often connected with the work of Nils Kreuger who applied a surface of individual dots atop the painted surface; and can occasionally be found in the work of Lycke who painted with short-staccato brushstrokes, but not as concerns a specific colour theory. This technique of dots applied upon the image surface, is only connected with pointillism insofar as dots are used, with the dots in the work of both Kreuger and Fjæstad, having a more decorative effect, and adding to the pattern of the surface beneath. It creates a mottled surface texture, disjointing the image and establishing a decorative unity between nature and design.

As in Winter Moonlight, Fjæstad often abstained from the wide perspective, perhaps in response to the growing trend of photography to closely-crop the image as opposed to the prospect view of the American Sublime. Instead Fjæstad painted close-up, magnifying the patterns and details which were found in the landscape, all the while observing this through a colour scheme that was, in strong contrast to Carr, the Group of Seven, and Osslund, "restricted to whites, greys, and earth browns" revealing "Fjæstad's feeling for the nuances of neutral colour tonalities". This particular attachment to the wooded winter landscape came about following Fjæstad's move to Värmland, specifically the area surrounding Lake Racken, with his wife Maja, also an artist (although the inspiration behind Winter Moonlight dates from an earlier skiing visit to the area). The gentler topography of this region, unlike the rugged wilderness against a mountainous backdrop as in the neighbouring provinces of Jämtland and Härjedalen, provided Fjæstad with the inspiration he sought. Furthermore, as a one-time world champion speed-skater, and having through this found a kindred spirit in the landscape and wildlife painter Bruno Liljefors during his studies in Stockholm, it is not surprising that Fjæstad was instinctively drawn towards the frozen landscape. His

⁸⁵Dreams of a Summer Night, 102.

⁸⁶Nasgaard, The Mystic North, 78.

paintings evoke the various types of snow that come about during the winter period, from the skarsnö (or snow crust) of Winter Moonlight where the snow has frozen after a slight thaw; to the rimfrost (or rime ice) of his painting Hoar Frost on Ice (Rimfrost på is, 1901, see fig. 13) where patterns of ice have formed upon the surface. Accompanying the detailed studies of ice crystals and snowflakes, carried out by the Arctic explorer and scientist William Scoresby, were his observations regarding the formation of snowflakes and ice: "In the course of the night, the rigging of the ship was most splendidly decorated with a fringe of delicate crystals. The general form of these, was that of a feather".⁸⁷ The character of snow remains unchanging over the century, and while Fjæstad was among few painters of winter-scenes, his paintings are often concerned not only with the scale of the landscape, but also with the detailed characteristics of the climate.

Concerning Fjæstad, MacDonald wrote in his 1931 lecture, that "those two Canadian innocents abroad of ours, found his work perhaps the most attractive of all". 88 For MacDonald
and Harris, the influence of the Swedish painter's winter scenes can be cited in a number
of works in the years immediately following the exhibition. MacDonald further wrote that
although "he did not strike us as being a great designer, [...] he was a remarkable gatherer
and presenter of nature's design". 89 This implies an understanding that nature itself was
the creator of certain designs adopted by artists into their compositions, for example: the
layers of snow that hangs on the boughs of trees; the crystallized patterns formed on the
frozen surface of snow or the ripples on the water created by the flowing current of a stream.
Although Art Nouveau allows for an exaggeration of nature's forms, the work of Fjæstad,
as recognised by MacDonald, also depicts nature's own decoration. MacDonald elaborated
further when he wrote,

A snow flake became an actual bit of jewellery design in his pictures, not merely a suggestive dab of paint, and these stars and flowers lay in the ski tracks of his paintings, or clung to the decorative foliage of his snowhung boughs with a delicate charm we had never seen in art before. It all had great Canadian inspiration for us.⁹⁰

⁸⁷Based on a journal entry 11 May 1814, as cited in C. Ian Jackson, "William Scoresby the Scientist," *The Journal of the Hakluyt Society* (Jan 2010): 3. Accessed Oct 10, 2019. https://www.hakluyt.com/PDF/Scoresby.pdf

⁸⁸MacDonald, "Scandinavian Art", 17.

⁸⁹Ibid, 18.

⁹⁰ MacDonald "Scandinavian Art", 17.

The dissection of Fjæstad's winter landscapes into individual snow flakes, contrasts with the later work of the Group of Seven, as seen in the work of Harris, where the snow is thickly painted upon the surface of the canvas. And yet, for MacDonald Fjæstad's work is as Canadian as it is Swedish. His paintings are as indicative of a Canadian environment, in the detailed formation with which snow consumes the landscape, clinging to the brunches of the trees like "jewellery". The ski-tracks that MacDonald mentions are often the only indicator of life in Fjæstad's work, as seen in Sun and Shadow on the Mountains (1927, fig. 41). Here, deep cross-country ski tracks form trenches in the snow, leading over the slope and down into the landscape below. While a human presence is alluded to, so is that of wild animals, through the tracks imprinted upon the landscape. Fiæstad is the most notable example, in this regard, where the animal's presence is suggested by track marks left in the snow. Although the lack of deer, elk or moose, hare, wild boar, or badger, all creatures that would be commonly found in the forests of Northern Sweden, is noticeable, these remaining tracks at least allude to their presence within the landscape. Further discussion of native wildlife populations is found in Chapter 4. In the collection of the Toledo Museum of Art, in Silence, Winter (1914, fig. 42) the snow has been disturbed by a deer, perhaps, its freshly formed tracks leading into the depth of the forest. These tracks contribute to the design of Fjæstad's paintings, where both man and animal has interrupted the landscape and has temporarily altered its current and natural state.

Although there are identifiable similarities between the art of Fjæstad at the time of the 1912-13 Exhibition, and the subsequent Pan-Pacific Exhibition in 1915, this tangible approach to the winter landscape is something that could also be found in the work of other Nordic painters of the same period. Fjæstad's works, such as Winter Moonlight, often draws comparisons with the Finnish painters Akseli Gallen-Kallela and Pekka Halonen, including works such as Halonen's Snötäckta Tallplantor (Snow Covered Pine Saplings, 1899, fig. 43). Like Fjæstad, Snow Covered Pine Saplings, is crisp in its execution, the snow is tactile and has been depicted in the moment just before the weight of the branches brings it cascading to the ground. It is also interesting to view these works alongside those of the younger Swedish painter Lycke, whose forested landscapes and scenes of rural northern Swedish life possess the same depth in their depiction of the snow-laden branches as is found in Fjæstad's work. In these paintings, strong similarities are apparent between the work of both Lycke and Harris, neither of whom had ever seen the other's works, and yet whose forested winter

paintings bear uncanny resemblance to one another.

In 1917 Lycke exhibited at a small New York gallery for the first time - it was also the first time his work had been displayed to an American audience. Only a few years earlier, the paintings of Fjæstad had captivated a North American audience. A much lesser known artist in the history of Swedish art, Lycke is arguably, alongside Fjæstad - and Bror Lindh, a fellow Rackstad painter - one of the most prolific painters of the Swedish winter during the early-20th century. Although it is possible to hypothesise that the Group of Seven may have been aware of this display in 1917, there is no evidence to support this claim. That said, according to a brief article in the *New York Times*, the opening of Lycke's exhibition was well received:

At the galleries of Waldemar h Adams &, Co. are paintings by Oscar Lycke, a Swedish painter whose work has not been seen here before, and who is thoroughly imbued with the joyous sentiment of his country, it delights in strong hues, and its preference for marked contrasts - and clear silhouette. As in most paintings of Swedish origin, the Winter scenes are the most impressive, and the artist emphasizes the thickness of the snow and its weight on tree branches and farmhouse roofs. - The clear "color and wide horizons, are those of the Norrland where he was born and still lives." 91

Like Fjæstad, the attention is on his manipulation of the textures of snow within the landscape. The thickness of Lycke's brushstrokes is apparent throughout his work, and in this
case indicates the depth of the snow that covered the northern Swedish landscape. The critic
even alludes to the artists' familiarity with the landscape, where his use of colour is referred
to on multiple occasions as indicative of the landscape in which the artist lived. The latter,
entitled Thawing Ice (n.d., fig. 44) makes use of the same compositional method as Fjæstad;
orientating the image surface around the melting ice at the corner of a lake, surrounded by
the trunks of snow-laden trees. The focus rests on the ground, where shades of pastel blue
and white evoke the coolness of an early winter; the sky has been removed from sight, with
a subtle golden light extending across the snow. The distinctive, short, curved brushstrokes
that are typical of Lycke's works create a pattern upon the surface. There are two paintings
I would like to draw attention to at this point, the first is an early work by Harris entitled

⁹¹"Art at Home and Abroad", New York Times Sunday Magazine, Mar 11, 1917.

Snow, Algonquin Park (1915, fig. 45), at 45.8372° N, and the second, Lycke's Snow and Shadows (n.d., fig. 46), at approximately 62.3908° N (Sundsvall).

Following on from the Exhibition of 1912-13, there appears to have been a trend towards painting the Ontarian winter landscape, adopting an uncannily similar approach to both Fjæstad, and coincidentally Lycke, in the closely cropped image of a winter forest. Despite the slight variance in latitudes between Lycke and Harris, the similarities in topography and ecology are complementary. Between 1913-15, members of the Group of Seven, most notably Jackson, Harris and MacDonald, all produced paintings which resonate with the works by their Scandinavian colleagues. Harris's Snow, Algonquin Park is focused entirely on the lowhanging branches of a sparse forest, where hint of green and white create a focal point deep in the background of the composition. Shades of blue and purple otherwise occupy this winter landscape - much like Lycke's Snow and Shadows, which plays with the various hues of purple in the curved brushstrokes that compose the image. In addition, Lycke uses a soft golden light, as in Thawing Ice, to lead the eye across the canvas and, like Harris, into a clearing in the forest distinguished by a green-yellow light - perhaps signalling the rising or setting of the sun. Tonality is identified as the first notable similarity between these two works and is further identified in Jackson's later work Cacouna (1921, fig. 47). The execution of these works and their depiction of snow is not concerned with an exercise of using shades of white, but rather finding in the changing light conditions, shades of purple which overpower the crispness of a typical winter. These works debunk the idea that winter must be white - a trait which Fjæstad does, in fact, often subscribe to. Winter in the Circumpolar world plays host to a whole range of colours, reflecting the low-light and allowing for the landscape to take on an entirely new shape. Further discussion about the idea of "whiteness" in the Circumpolar North and Arctic is carried out in Chapter Five, in relation to the "blueness" of ice.

The comparison which situates Harris's and Lycke's works in conversation with one another, is notably their lack of intricate decoration. Considering that the assumed decoration in Fjæstad's works was one of the key influences Harris and MacDonald recognised following the 1912-13 Exhibition, as previously mentioned, there is a definite lack of precision to Harris' painting of 1915. Here, the snow hanging off the branches appears to float against the shadows of the forest beyond - with the looser brushstrokes making the snow appear less tactile. It is a rural winter scene, where the forest remains untamed and the snow remains

undisturbed. Whereas Harris's painting presents a highly focused composition of two central trees, with only the suggestion of a forest in the background, Lycke presents a forest interior scene. Here, several different species of tree denote this winter environment. These allow for the composition, although closely cropped, to take in a larger expanse of forest. Each tree carries the weight of the recently fallen snow, the slowly encroaching ice freezing it to the branches and climbing the trunks of the trees.

As in both paintings, a subtle surface pattern is all the decoration these works require. In both works, the differing techniques achieve much the same effect. In Lycke's work there is no consistency in what certain brushstrokes denote. For example, in his Winter Landscape with Horse Drawn Cart (n.d., fig. 48), the blanketed snow on the ground (fig. 49), the pink hued snow on the roof of the barn and the uniformly turquoise sky are all painted using the same curved brushstrokes (fig. 50). There are no flat surfaces of colour or paint in Lycke's work as a result, with the surface of the image made up of a myriad of shapes and recurring patterns. In contrast to Lycke's curvilinear style which creates a rhythmic and softly undulating pattern, Harris's forest floor changes throughout his winter forest scenes. In Snow, Algorian Park it is a patchwork of short brushstrokes alternating between dusty blues and pale purples, whereas in Winter Woods (1915, fig. 51), also within the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, the brushstrokes have become indistinguishable, merging with the snow-blanketed foreground, bending and narrowing as the landscape dictates (fig. 52). The effect of both artists' works is such that technique and composition cannot exist without the other - where the texture of snow, for example, can only be distinguished through the variances in the technical application of paint. Lycke takes this one step further, unifying land and sky through repetitive brushstrokes, where only colour distinguishes the one from the other.

When viewed alongside one another, these two paintings by Harris and Lycke provide an example of how two different landscapes, albeit during the same season, can inspire a similar effect. These paintings also denote the similarities in the Canadian and Scandinavian environments, where forests express a similar character during the snowy season. Their distinctive colour palettes and emphasis on specific characteristics of the forest landscape, are representative of the importance the physical and tangible environment plays in the creation of a painting; that tonality can reflect sincerity and period, not necessarily symbolism. This is a trait not exclusive to winter scenes, but something which is carried throughout the art of the Canadian and Scandinavian painter.

The prevalence of the forest within the topography of the Circumpolar North is important to a study of Canadian and Scandinavian landscape painting, providing distance from a strictly mystical and symbolic reading of regional and national environments. It is, moreover, a landscape submerged in the idea of 'wilderness,' where notions of unruliness, foreboding and come into play. 'Wilderness' marks the difference between the polar and equatorial latitudes; existing on the frontier of civilisation and providing both a physical and ideological escape from urbanisation. In the graphic works of Osslund, Lycke and the Group of Seven they appear to tame the 'wilderness' for the purposes of advertisement and promoting tourism. In conjunction with this, the early-20th century aim in Canadian and Scandinavian painting to visualise these supposedly remote landscapes, merges with the establishment of National and Provincial Parks. This controlling and protection of the 'wilderness,' despite preventing its destruction, allowed for the exploration of the land, albeit within confined boundaries. Although the Group of Seven and their Scandinavian contemporaries sought to depict their respective 'wildernesses,' their works instead record the gradual taming of the landscape, facilitated through newly developed train lines and a growing tourist industry.

With Carr's forests, although representative of an inherently British Columbian landscape, where the coastal environment in which she lived permeated the richness of her palette,
they are representative of a greater image of Canadian art history. Although geographically
distanced from her colleagues in Ontario and even further away from Scandinavia, in viewing
her work from a Circumpolar perspective it becomes less isolated and more in-tune with concurrent artistic approaches. In contrast to Carr's temperate forests, the winter landscapes
of Fjæstad are acknowledged by members of the Group of Seven and further considered by
art historians, as having had a notable influence on their approach to the Ontarian winters,
finding the decorative in their landscape. Lycke, on the other hand, when viewed alongside
Harris, provides an important example of how environment directly impacts the tonality
of the composition. This comparative analysis is also important in establishing the direct
parallels that exist between Canadian and Scandinavian landscapes, outside of an artistic
sphere.

Chapter 4

An 'Elemental' Land

In a discussion on Nordic landscape painting, Gunnarsson made little mention of the actual landscape when discussing the work of painters during the 19th and 20th centuries. With regards to Eugen's *The Forest* (1892, fig. 53), for example, Gunnarsson wrote that: "The geographical location of the subject - Fjällskäfte in Södermanland - is totally irrelevant; the painting represents the archetype and idea of the elemental Swedish pine forest". Yet knowing the exact location allows for a reading of the landscape on a local and national scale, and provides greater understanding of similar latitudinal landscapes. As we have seen, the study of Canadian and Scandinavian landscape painting has hitherto failed to associate the pictorial representation of the land with the physical environment in which the artists were immersed. This chapter further challenges this; focusing on a comparative stylistic analysis and close environmental reading of the lake and the surrounding mountains and hills within the Circumpolar artist's oeuvre.

Although this chapter considers the way in which artists engaged with different sized bodies of water, the predominant comparison lies in the approach to composition and tonality when depicting the vast canvas of lakes and mountains that compose the Scandinavian and North American landscape. This shared identity is also shared across topographical features, as in the case of Lake Superior - a lake that crosses Ontario in Canada, and Minnesota and Wisconsin in the U.S. As a result, what does this mean for artists, notably the Group of Seven, to be painting a landscape that is topographically shared between two nations? Within this search for a national identity, there is derived by certain art historians and artists, notably Nasgaard and Harris, an underlying mysticism in the landscape, one which is often

¹Gunnarsson, Nordic Landscape Painting, 233.

associated with bodies of water as vessels for the spiritual and mystical. Yet, how present is this spirituality? The paintings featured within this chapter recognise a personal interaction with the environment and ecosystem, whilst considering questions of symbolism, composition and tonality in relation to the lake-based topography of Ontario, British Columbia and Norrland.

4.1 The View from Above

Lakes have also played a prominent role in publicising exhibitions on Nordic art, often featuring on the cover of the respective catalogues, see for example Nordic Art: The Modern Breakthrough (2012), Dreams of a Summer Night, and Northern Light. There is undeniably an affinity between what is deemed representative of both the Nordic landscape and its art history; where bodies of water, have been recognised as a recurring feature in Nordic landscape painting, and a shared feature of a northern geographical environment. Of the approximately 117 million lakes on the Earth which accounts for 3.7% of the planet's nonglaciated land area, many of these are geographically distributed within the Circumpolar and wider Northern European region: "The highest concentration, area, and perimeter of water bodies appear at boreal and arctic latitudes (45°-75°N)". To put the lower latitudinal coordinate (45°) into perspective - also seen as the halfway point between the equator and north pole - it equates roughly with the northern Midwestern States, Ontario, Nova Scotia, Russia just south of Krasnodar, and much of Europe above the Veneto in Italy and Côte D'Azur in France. This section highlights the compositional similarities that emerged as a result of these predominantly lake-filled environments, drawing particular attention to the work of Hesselbom and Carmichael and their prospect views of the Dalsland and Killarney landscapes, respectively.

Where Finland has repeatedly been referred to as "the land of a thousand lakes". 4 there

²This survey was carried out using high-resolution satellite imagery, in contrast to earlier surveys carried out using maps and statistical analysis; these results represent "the complete global imagery with the exception of Antarctica and the glaciated areas of Greenland". See Charles Verpoorter, Tiit Kutzer, David A. Seekell and Lars J. Tranvik, "A global inventory of lakes based on high-resolution satellite", *Geophysical Research Letters*, 2014: 6396-6397.

³Ibid, 6398.

⁴In 1989, the New York Times penned an article entitled "A Land of a Thousand Lakes", referring already to a pre-existing description of Finland, and the tourism board for Finland still uses "Land of a Thousand Lakes" in its promotional material. By the last count, Finland has approximately 187,888 lakes, making this more lakes in relation to its size than any other in the world. With a population of 5 million, this count means that there is one lake for every 26 people. See: "A Land of a Thousand Lakes", *New York Times* Apr 16,

are over 97,500 lakes in Sweden,⁵ with these ranging in size from anything over two acres (8,100m²) to the largest lake, Vänern, at 5,650km². The Swedish Arctic explorer and geologist Alfred Gabriel Nathorst,⁶ and in subsequent and repeated academic research,⁷ attributes the creation of these basins to weather erosion and repeated glaciation. With approximately 8% of the total land area of Sweden being covered in lakes of various sizes, their overwhelming presence in Swedish art of the early-20th century is irrefutable. The lakes themselves are shaped by continuing environmental change over an extended period. Although the lakes of Sweden are found throughout the country, "the depression of the great lakes lies to the south of the plateau of Southern Sweden, and contains four large bodies of water: Lakes Vener, Vetter, Hjelmar, and Mälar". The prevalence of these large bodies of water around the 'central' band of Sweden coincides with those most prevalent in the works of a number of Swedish painters, including Fjæstad, Hesselbom and Eugen. It is arguably only Lycke and Osslund for whom the larger lakes extending further north and into the Arctic Circle acted as inspiration - in the case of Osslund, Lake Torneträsk (with *träsk* being the local word for lake) reappears throughout his oeuvre.

As with many of its thousands of fellow lakes, Torneträsk, as the sixth largest lake in Sweden, was formed by the melting of a glacier. Glacial lakes are formed through a continuing rise in global temperatures, and are consequently becoming more common. They are typically formed at the foot of a glacier, where, as the glaciers recede they erode the soil and sediment surrounding them, leaving "depressions" in the land.⁹ As the glaciers melt, these newly created basins are filled with meltwater, creating a lake. However, "glacial lakes can also form where natural depressions [...] catch escaping meltwater".¹⁰ The formation

^{1989,} accessed Oct 10, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/1989/04/16/travel/a-land-of-a-thousand-lakes.html
⁵Håkan Marklund, "Lake Monitoring in Sweden" in *The Water Framework Directive: Ecological and Chemical Status Monitoring*, eds. Philippe Quevauviller, Ulrich Borchers, K. Clive Thompson, Tristan Simonart (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 67.

⁶For more biographical information on Nathorst, see: T.G. Halle, "Alfred Gabriel Nathorst: En Minnesteckning", *Geologiska Föreningen i Stockholm Förhandlingar* 43, no. 3-4 (1921): 241-280; and A.C. Seward, "Briefer Articles: Alfred Gabriel Nathorst", *Botanical Gazette* 71, no. 6 (June 1921): 462-465.

⁷See: John J. Clague, "Climate change and hazardous processes in high mountains", Revista de la Asociación Geológica Argentina 69, no. 3 (2012): 328-338; Denny M. Capps and John J. Clague, "Evolution of glacier-dammed lakes through space and time; Brady Glacier, Alaska, USA", Geomorphology 210 (2014): 59-70; and Andrew S. Cohen, Paleolimnology: The History and Evolution of Lake Systems (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 26-32.

⁸"Characteristics and Distribution of Lakes", National Library of Scotland, accessed Sep 09, 2019, https://maps.nls.uk/dcn6/7443/74432431.6.pdf

⁹"The Ebb and Flow of Glacial Lakes", National Snow & Ice Data Center, accessed Sep 09, 2019, https://nsidc.org/cryosphere/icelights/2013/05/ebb-and-flow-glacial-lakes
¹⁰Ibid.

of glacial lakes most commonly occurs in the Northern Hemisphere, but increasingly in the southern Circumpolar landscape. As in Scandinavia, many of the Great Lakes of Northern America were formed at the end of the last ice age, 18,000 years ago - including, Lake Superior which inspired the Group of Seven following the death of Thomson. The representation of the lake remains a constant presence in the art of the Group and their Swedish colleagues - the fjordal landscape of Norway was less favourable during this period.

The prevalence of Norway's fjords, encircled by their vast mountain ranges, were prevalent during the era of artists working between 1840-1870. Among the artists working at this time were most notably Dahl, Adolph Tidemand and Adelsteen Normann. In the case of the latter, a vast and prominent painting, The Sogneford, Norway (pre-1890, fig. 54), at 61.1554°N, adorns the walls of Leeds Art Gallery - is reminiscent of an era often associated with the gentleman artist-traveller. This is the same land which we associate with Northern Romanticism in the work of Caspar David Friedrich. These are pockets of land welcoming of tourism and yet intended to be marvelled at and not fully comprehended. The scale of these landscapes reflects a similar adoration of the landscape that was found in the art of the American Sublime. As with the Norwegian fjordal landscape and the contemporaneous American frontier landscape, these are environments seen to be made by God - landscapes of divine creation, that promote national pride. They are also enclosed environments, landlocked fjords viewed from ground-level, as opposed to contemporary Swedish examples where "the lakes and rivers are very large, and one perceives only mountains, rocks, valleys and forests". There is no strict division between the representation of lakes, forests, hills, and mountains in much of Scandinavian and Canadian painting, which consequently results in this analytical overlap. The panoramic vistas created by the mismatch pattern of forested hills and lakes as the horizon recedes, is typified by Hesselbom in Sweden, and is a trait shared with Carmichael in Canada, whose views over Lakes Huron and Superior provide an interesting point of comparison between the two artists.

The tourism website for Dalsland, in western Sweden, refers to itself as "A Miniature Sweden". Its landscape is a microcosm of the features which have come to typify the Swedish landscape as a whole. It is interesting, therefore, that Hesselbom's *Our Country*

¹¹I.F. Henry Drevon and William Radcliffe, A Journey Through Sweden: Containing a Detailed Account of Its Population, Agriculture, Commerce and Finances (Dublin: Graisbury and Campbell, 1790), 178.

 $^{^{12}}$ "Dalsland", $\it V\"{a}stsverige$, accessed Oct 01, 2019, https://www.vastsverige.com/dalsland/artiklar/dalsland-topp-10/

(1902, see fig.12), inspired by the Dalsland environment, has, since its conception, been considered as an image of a nation. In 1943, Hesselbom's painting was used on special national telegrams (fig. 55). Later, in the catalogue for a memorial exhibition staged at the Nationalmuseum in 1938 to honour the life and work of Hesselbom, then chief curator Gertrude Serner (1906-1996) wrote of *Our Country* that it could be seen as a symbol of "an entire people's patriotism". Whilst also being an important example in the study of Nordic landscape painting, it is, moreover, a noteworthy influence on the Group of Seven following the 1912-13 Exhibition. Where the local has come to stand for the national in Hesselbom's painting, it has also come to represent the international when viewed in conjunction with his North American contemporaries.

Our Country is a composite image; it combines an observational outlook of the Dalsland landscape, combined with the most identifiable feature of the area, the largest lake in Sweden, Lake Vänern. The foreground of the painting introduces a glimpse of Lake Bergtjänet, as seen from Vignäsbergen in Sörknatten Nature Reserve, at 58.9144°N; before receding into Lake Ånimmen which crosses the canvas, itself merging with Vänern, and reflecting in perfect unison the gradient colours of the clouds above. In the horizon Lake Vänern, which after the Ladoga and Onega lakes in Russia is the third largest lake in Europe, extends the width of the composition; it wouldn't have been visible from Hesselbom's prime position atop the hill, however, its location in the landscape remains accurate. It is a part fictionalised reflection of the Dalsland landscape, enhancing the overwhelming filtration of lakes in-between the slim divides of land. Here, Hesselbom synthesises and stylises the natural landscape before him; the landscape acting as the raw material with which he could work. He continues the trend which began to emerge in Sweden during the 1890s, where artists, such as those in the Varberg school, developed a tendency towards broader shapes and atmospheric horizons.

Met with a low-lying, flatter landscape, more conducive to farming, to the south, the land with which Hesselbom worked was characterised by hilly islands covered in coniferous forests. Lake Vänern, moreover encompasses parts of three Swedish provinces, namely Värmland, Dalsland, and Västergötland, and yet, it is Dalsland which lays the greatest claim to Hesselbom's representation of this particular Swedish environment. The Sörknatten Nature Reserve from where Hesselbom found the inspiration for his panoramic vista, was open to

¹³ Axel Gauffin and Gertrud Serner, Otto Hesselbom, Minnesutställning (Stockholm: Victor Petterssons Bokindustri Aktiebolag, 1938), 8. Original quotation: "Fram till att för ett helt folk symbolisera fosterlands kärleken så som Hesselbom gjort i 'Vårt Land'."

all during the early 20th century, for it was only in 1981 that it was recognised as a nature reserve. This vast stretch of the Dalsland environment possesses a unique geology and is home to a number of rare mosses which have grown along the banks and cliffs of the reserve where trees are distinctly lacking.¹⁴ Such limited vegetation is noticed in the foreground of Hesselbom's *Our Country*, where more dense vegetation occupies the islands beyond. Concerning the Dalsland landscape, Hesselbom himself was quoted in the *Aftonbladet* in 1908, as having stated that,

This tract of land with its vast hills and many wide expanses of water, evoke the wonderful simplicity of clean lines in an almost monumentally stylised landscape. [...] Some of the most individual ways with which I work, such as my technique, originate from the uniqueness of the Dalsland nature. [...] Therefore, when I have painted Dalsland motifs, I have felt as though it was first and foremost not Dalsland's but Sweden's nature, that I in my way have sought to convey. ¹⁵

This is not just a Dalsland landscape, it is both indicative of the local environment and simultaneously synonymous with Sweden as a whole. The association between technique and environment, where "clean lines" denote the vast tract of hills, forests and lakes of this panoramic vista, alludes to a classical decorativeness. Although knowingly depicting a "monumentally stylised landscape", Hesselbom acknowledges the influence of the landscape in evoking the brushstrokes and colour used. Given the extent of Sweden's lake coverage, it is not surprising, therefore, that Hesselbom saw his work as more than a mere representation of Dalsland; that it was something knowingly Swedish. This also poses the question of how this particular image ends up being canonically national when the landscape it represents can be found throughout the country.

Our Country was originally commissioned by land owner Fredrik Canell who resided at Koppoms Manor in Värmland, and who allowed Hesselbom to use a glass veranda on the property as his studio. When it was exhibited in 1910 as part of a solo exhibition, the state proposed to purchase Our Country for a price of 4,000 Swedish krona (approximately

^{14&}quot;Sörknatten", Länsstyrelsen Västra Götalands Län, accessed Sep 09, 2019, https://www.lansstyrelsen.se/vastra-gotaland/besok-och-upptack/naturreservat/sorknatten.html

¹⁵Karl Jäder, *Otto Hesselbom: Ett konstnärsode*, (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1952), 129. Quoted from the Christmas edition of the Aftonbladet (1908). Original quotation: "Denna trakt med sina väldiga bergvågor och sina många vida vatten verkar genom linjernas underbara enkla renhet på sina ställen nästan stiliserat monumental. [...] Något av det mest individuella i mitt sätt att se, liksom i min teknik, har sitt yttre upphov just i dalslandsnaturen säregenhet. [...] därför, när jag har målat dalslands motiv, känt det, som om det varit i främsta rummet icke Dalslands utan Sveriges natur, som jag på mitt sätt sökt återge".

208,000 Swedish krona in 2015), and a replica was made for Canell. This proposal, perhaps unsurprisingly, wasn't unanimously accepted, with several vocal critics opposing the suggested addition to the national collection. Artist, writer and unabashed critic Klas Fåhraeus wrote in objection to the purchase of the painting: "with a poetic understanding of nature that seems specious, his work is of that kind, which has its painterly shortcomings that will sooner or later banish it to a provincial museum". 16 However, amidst the controversy that surrounded the purchasing of this work of art for the national collection, the Sydsvenska Dagbladet wrote in support that, adding Hesselbom's painting to the Nationalmuseum would be "one of the stateliest expressions Swedish nature has had in modern Swedish art". 17 Although Fåhræus' assessment that Hesselbom's Our Country would end up in a local museum, and that it didn't belong in the national collection, was incorrect, it is important to recognise that since the memorial exhibition at the Nationalmuseum in 1938, the only soloexhibitions on Hesselbom have been held in Dalsland, not Stockholm. Furthermore, with the reopening of the Nationalmuseum in 2018 Our Country wasn't included in this initial rehang. Although the painting has been included in both national and international exhibitions, which consider a broader survey of Nordic art, and which continued to have promoted the century-old consideration that Hesselbom's painting represents an image of Sweden, it has yet to be the focus of a standalone exhibition within the last eighty years.

Concerning the style and technique with which Hesselbom worked, the Italian art critic, Vittoria Pica, wrote in *Emporium* in 1911 that Hesselbom's landscapes stood out because the "composition spoke with clarity and originality". The raised perspective of *Our Country* recalls the prospect view of the American Sublime and is found throughout Hesselbom's work - including *Above Forest and Lake* (*Över skog och sjö*, 1908, fig. 56) and *Summer Night Study* (*Sommarnattstämning Studie*, unknown date, fig. 57). It is, furthermore, one of the primary points of influence between Hesselbom and certain members of the Group of Seven, notably Carmichael. The tiered depiction of the forested islands, as they recede into the horizon, disappearing among the never-ending swathes of water assists in guiding the eye towards

¹⁶ Jäder, *Otto Hesselbom*, 114. Original quotation: "Med en poetisk uppfattning av naturen, som verkar bestickande, är hans verk dock av den art, att dess måleriska brister förr eller senare skola förvisa det till ett landsortsmuseum".

 $^{^{17}}$ Ibid, 115. Original quotation: "ett av de ståtligaste uttryck, som den svenska naturen fått i modern svensk konst.

¹⁸Ibid, 67. Original quotation: "tydlighet och originalitet I uppfattningen". For the full article written by the Italian art critic see: Vittoria Pica, "Artisti Contemporanei: Gustaf Fjaestad - Anshelm Schultzberg - Otto Hesselbom - Anna Boberg", Emporium 33, no. 195 (1911): 170-191.

the pinnacle Lake Vänern stretching the width of the horizon and canvas. The foreground is built of hurried brush-strokes, loosely accentuating the darkened trees at the front, and becoming shorter and more abrupt as the landscape recedes. Where exaggerated reflections play a prominent part in the foreground, with the thickly tree-covered islands dramatically mirrored in the first lake, the lakes beyond are soon consumed by the multi-coloured sky above. It is this merging of lake and sky which is arguably at the forefront of Hesselbom's stylistic endeavours. The swirling and curvilinear forms of the clouds - again reminiscent of the botanical and feminine shapes of Art Nouveau design - are fading into the sunset; where before long little will remain of both sky and water, as the encroaching darkness overwhelms the landscape. Although it is reflective of the natural environment found in Dalsland, the sentiments with which the composition is imbued are commonly found throughout Sweden, and beyond.

Of Hesselbom's Our Country, or My Country as it was incorrectly translated for the 1912-13 Exhibition, MacDonald stated he particularly liked it "not only for its suggestion of Muskoka or Temiskaming [in Ontario] in its water design and wide spaces, but also for the decorative treatment. [...] The picture has been described as a 'patriotic anthem', 'an emblem of Swedish liberty,' but I am sure that all will feel its liberating quality". That this painting of the western Swedish landscape instantly reminded MacDonald of the Canadian landscape with which he was already familiar, supports the need for a topographical and ecological proponent in studying the art of both Canada and Scandinavia. It additionally recognises an active affiliation with Hesselbom and Scandinavian painting, where the Group further endeavoured to distance themselves from America, Britain and France.

Much like Hesselbom's compositional approach to *Our Country*, is Carmichael's large-scale canvas of *Grace Lake* (fig. 58, purchased by the University of Toronto Art Collection in 1931), where the high ground and broad lakes, typical of much of his oeuvre, are exaggerated in a landscape that recedes into the depths of the horizon. The view of Grace Lake has been re-imagined to suggest further lakes visible beyond the hills, and yet provides a more comprehensive perspective than Hesselbom's painting, with a much stronger glacial and geological emphasis on the construction of the surrounding topography. Although situated inland from the archipelago of islands that are scattered along the shore of Lake Huron, Carmichael's painting, like the inclusion of Lake Vänern in Hesselbom's work, suggests the

¹⁹MacDonald, "Scandinavian Art", 14-15.

vast proliferation of lakes in and around the La Cloche mountains. *Grace Lake* itself is a gradient from almost pitch black to a metallic blue, we cannot see where it joins the lakes beyond, and yet that same metallic finish is carried on throughout. It is, however, the patchwork hills, painted in shades of green, brown, orange and yellow which form the focus of Carmichael's composition. It is composed of multiple curvilinear brushstrokes, building upon the surface, where this decorative pattern recalls the curved brush-strokes found in the works of Lycke and Munch. This decorativeness is also shown in the elaborate clouds which although occupying only a slither of the composition are reminiscent of the Art Nouveau penchant for the ornamental that would have been apparent in the 1912-13 Exhibition. As was the case with Hesselbom's work, these clouds are blanketed across the sky, and yet the delineation of their form allows for the eye to be guided beyond the visible horizon. Whereas considerable attention has been paid to the foreground and the stylised sky above, the imagined landscape beyond has been left comparatively plain and unadorned.

The La Cloche area of Killarney Park, at 46.0130°N, was popular with both Carmichael and Jackson, with the former having a cottage in the area. Carmichael had made his first trip with the Group of Seven in 1925, when he, Harris and Jackson had visited the north shore of Lake Superior. He would continue to visit this region of Ontario throughout the rest of his career, giving up his job as a commercial graphic artist in 1932 to become the Head of Graphic Design and Commercial Art Department at the Ontario College of Art. This sketch also notes that Carmichael would mark the drawing with suggested colours - RD, Y + YG, P.B.G - presumably so that this sketch could be worked upon in the studio. These graphic qualities are visible in his paintings, where an emphasis on pattern, delineation of form and design come to the fore. In his visits to Algoma and Killarney Park, unlike Jackson whose work highlighted the ruggedness and isolation of the area, Carmichael sought to reflect the light that bounced off the white quartzite hills and the lakes below. Jackson bluntly described Grace Lake as "surrounded by big rocky hills; [and] there are several rocky islands in it". A sketch undertaken by Carmichael in 1929 of Grace Lake (fig. 59), supports Jackson's assessment, where the composition is orientated around the rocky hills that encircled the lake. Here, the foreground of the drawing is occupied by the multi-faceted rock face, winding its way through the canvas. The lake itself is only hinted at on the righthand side of the composition, where it intertwines with the rocks as they descend into the

²⁰Naomi Jackson Groves, Works by A.Y. Jackson from the 1930s (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990), 22.

water. Sketches made by other members of the group, including Lismer's sketch of *Sombre Isle of Pic, Lake Superior* (1927, fig. 60) and MacDonald's *The Solemn Land* (1921, fig. 61), show that they also took advantage of the same high ground perspective.

The soft golden light of *Our Country*, by contrast, draws further comparison with American landscape paintings of a 'luminist' nature. Hesselbom and Carmichael's paintings approach the landscape from a similar vantage point, as artists such as Bierstadt and Kensett, raised up from the vista before them, surveying the landscape far into the depths of the horizon, accommodating a similar interaction between lake and sky. In one of Kensett's last paintings, *Lake George at Sunset* (1872, fig. 62) there is an imperceptible divide between lake and sky - the setting of the sun beyond the two hills submerges the landscape in an pink and purple light. This interaction between lake and sky is continued in Hesselbom's *Our Country* and Carmichael's *Grace Lake*. Yet, unlike Church, who believed that the "grandeur and beauty of American nature offered a glimpse of the divine", and where the "silent spectacle of the sunset in the wilderness seemed charged with religious significance", ²¹ neither Carmichael or Hesselbom's paintings, consider the lake as a metaphorical vessel. It does not act as a mirror into the soul or the divine, rather it is the lake as a decorative painting, where light alters the surface of the water as the sun's position in the sky changes.

There is no one way to paint the Scandinavian, or in fact Canadian, landscape. Although Jan Gordon wrote that "Canada has managed to evolve a school of landscape painting which has a very definite character, different from those developing in Europe and the United States", 22 the work produced by the Group of Seven offers direct comparative discussion, as we have seen, between it and the work of their Scandinavian colleagues. The shared identity in Canadian and Scandinavian landscape painting of this period "did not emerge as a movement with a sense of its own purpose or an inner coherence but was composed of a series of parallel developments arising in the work of artists working in various artistic and national contexts". Nasgaard's early thoughts on a parallel growth and coherence of artistic approach to the landscape never reached fruition. This chapter further encourages what both Nasgaard, and Gunnarsson, only hinted at - a wider, far-reaching methodology that considers influence and exchange, alongside a coherent understanding of the environment across the Circumpolar North.

²¹Barringer and Wilton, American Sublime, 115.

²²Tooby, True North, 32.

²³Nasgaard, Mystic North, 9.

4.2 An Ecological 'Wilderness'

Nasgaard wrote that the landscapes of the Group of Seven, as with their Northern European counterparts, were "primordial and unpeopled", ²⁴ and that the landscape was a "solitary and timeless place outside human will". ²⁵ Yet, the landscapes presented to us are not desolate 'wildernesses' as Nasgaard subsequently asserted when he wrote "truly remote and wild places were there to find, but even when they were not [...] human presence could be occluded, and hallowed places could be carved out of quotidian worlds and wrapped in silence". ²⁶ Rather they allude to a human presence both in compositional characteristics, but also through the artist's own presence in the landscape. Despite this indirect reference to mankind's involvement with the landscape, there is little-to-no suggestion of a pre-existing wildlife - something which artists would have likely encountered during their excursions into the 'wilderness.' These are perhaps "unpeopled" places, but they should not be void of all life. This section explores the apparent barrenness of the Canadian and Scandinavian environment in both landscape painting and statistical surveys, looking in particular at the North Shore of Lake Superior, and suggesting the connotations between a lack of wildlife and a post-colonial landscape.

In a 2009 study of latitudinal wildlife community patterns and those species most commonly found in the Swedish boreal landscape, encompassing the regions of Värmland and Örebro, it was found, through an examination of pellets, that the "most common species were hare, moose and capercaillie [wood grouse] *Tetrao urogallus*; pellets from brown bear *Ursus artos*, wolf *Canis lupus* and badger *Melesmeles* were rare". ²⁷ Further north, extending into Lapland, research projects continue to track the Lynx and Wolverine populations, both of which are continuously under threat, so as to better understand their roles as predators towards sheep and reindeer. ²⁸ In the case of the latter, this is particularly relevant further north, where reindeer herds are a prominent part of the landscape and lifestyle of the 2,600 Sami involved in reindeer herding. The study of these populations, which estimate

 $^{^{24}}$ Katharine Lochran, Roald Nasgaard, and Bogomila Welsh-Ovcharov, eds., $\it Mystical\ Landscapes: From\ Vincent\ Van\ Gogh\ to\ Emily\ Carr\ (Toronto:\ Prestel,\ 2016),\ 242.$

 $^{^{25}}$ Ibid, 242.

²⁶Ibid, 242.

²⁷Märtha Wallgren, Roger Bergström, Kjell Danell and Christina Skarpe, "Wildlife Community Patterns in Relation to Landscape Structure and Environmental Gradients in a Swedish Boreal Ecosystem", *Wildlife Biology* 15, no. 3 (2009): 313.

²⁸See: "The Swedish Wolverine Project", The Swedish Wolverine Project, accessed Sep 09, 2019, http://www.wolverineproject.se/; and "Scandlynx - det skandinaviske gaupeprojketet", Scandlynx, accessed Sep 09, 2019, https://scandlynx.nina.no/

around 280,000 in Sweden alone during the winter, has also extended into Northern Norway, where the concept of a 'frontier' in wildlife community patterns is topical in understanding different species ecologies.²⁹ In recent years, the migratory patterns of reindeer across the Swedish and Norwegian borders, have given rise to concerns regarding the regulations which govern reindeer husbandry on either side of the 1,630 kilometre long border, with threats issued by Norwegian politicians to cull the encroaching Swedish population.³⁰ Most recently, however, it has been reported that the number of Arctic reindeer (across the whole Circumpolar region) "despite increase of vegetation available for grazing, herd populations of caribou and wild reindeer across the Arctic tundra have declined by nearly 50% over the last two decades", bringing the figure from around 5 million to 2.1 million animals.³¹

In Ontario, which is similarly home to around 100,000 moose, this accounts for about 10% of the total North American moose population.³² Thomson's *Moose at Twilight, Algonquin* (1911-12, fig. 63) and *Moose at Night* (1916, fig. 64) are rare studies of Canada's native wildlife to be found in the work of Thomson and the Group of Seven.³³ In both instances the two moose are silhouetted against the landscape, where in *Moose at Night*, the creatures have been caught crossing the river, the splashing of the current rising up around their legs. The region is, moreover, home to the second largest population of black bears, with an estimated 85,000-105,000 residing within the province - a large survey of the black bear population in and around Algonquin Provincial Park was recently undertaken by Ontarian Wildlife Management. The diversity of species in Ontario also extends to include white-tailed deer, which along with the moose, is one of the four most populous deer species in the region, numbering around 400,000. Additionally, small game are rife throughout, with migratory game birds including ducks, geese, doves and woodcock protected under the "federal *Migratory Birds Convention Act* and managed by Environment Canada's Canadian

²⁹Andrew M. Allen and Navinder J. Singh, "Linking Movement Ecology with Wildlife Management and Conservation", Frontiers in Ecology and Evolution (2016), https://doi.org/10.3389/fevo.2015.00155

 $^{^{30}\}mathrm{See}$ the recent article: Sveinung Sleire and Rafaela Lindeberg, "Sweden and Norway's Long-Running Reindeer Feud Is Getting Worse", *Bloomberg*, June 27, 2018, accessed Sep 09, 2019, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-06-27/reindeer-ignoring-borders-has-norway-locking-antlers-with-sweden

 $^{^{31}}$ "Arctic Report Card: Update for 2018", $Arctic\ Program,$ accessed Sep 09, 2019, https://arctic.noaa.gov/Report-Card/Report-Card-2018

³²"Wildlife Management: How Ontario manages wildlife to support healthy ecosystems", *Ontario*, accessed Sep 09, 2019, https://www.ontario.ca/page/wildlife-management

³³A third painting, *Moose in a River Landscape* (1911-12) is also included within the Tom Thomson Catalogue Raisonné. It is characteristically different work from much of Thomson's subsequent painting, recall the traditions of landscape painting which had permeated Canadian art history during the 19th century.

Wildlife Service".³⁴ Lake Superior, for example, is home to many species of birds, including hawks, loons, owls and woodpeckers, and has a small population of endangered whooping cranes, found on the North Shore, which is one of only two crane species in North America. Moreover, Duluth's Hawk Ridge, similarly on the north shore, plays host to around 10,000 migrating birds of prey each day during the fall migratory season.³⁵ Within the lake itself, there are to be found over 55 breeding species of fish, and around 88 species total if taking into account estuaries and surrounding wetlands. These include, carp, and different types of trout, salmon and perch.³⁶

Given this information, the noticeable lack of wildlife in the paintings of the Group of Seven and their Scandinavian counterparts is ever more palpable, especially given the contemporaneous abundance of different species that inhabit these respective environments. Works held by the Art Gallery of Ontario reveal no signs of wildlife, and within the digitised archives of the National Gallery of Canada, there is only one sketch by Carmichael, titled Sleeping Bear (1912); otherwise it is the domesticated animal which remains most prevalent among the limited non-landscape sketches. This might be attributed to a disinterest, on the artists part, in the ecosystem of the landscape; it might reflect the lasting effects of urbanisation in the landscape, in the form of the railway; or, more poignantly, might consider the impact of hunting and the fur-trade on the decimation of localised wildlife.

Louis Agassiz wrote that, "here we are already in the Fur Countries; the land of voyageurs and trappers; not from any accident but from the character of soil and climate". The mysticism of Canada's colonial 'fur country', as Cabot writes, a "land of voyageurs and trappers", is confounded by reality in statistics provided by Agassiz and the artist James Elliot Cabot, in an account of Lake Superior published in 1850. Their report highlights the vast numbers of species hunted for their furs by the Hudson Bay Company out of their three posts along the North Shore:

The following lists of the furs obtained for the two last years, as given by Mr. Beggs to one of the gentlemen who remained behind here, may be of some value as an indication of the relative abundance of the different species: -1847, -bears,

 $^{^{34}\}mbox{``Wildlife}$ Management: How Ontario manages wildlife to support healthy ecosystems".

³⁵Kim Ann Zimmermann, "Lake Superior: Facts About the Greatest Great Lake," *Live Science*, June 28, 2017, accessed Oct 01, 2019, https://www.livescience.com/31952-lake-superior.html

 $^{^{36}}$ "Lake Superior's Fish Species," $\it Minnesota$ $\it Sea$ $\it Grant,$ accessed Oct 01, 2019, http://www.seagrant.umn.edu/fisheries/superior_fish_species

³⁷Louis Agassiz, Lake Superior: Its Physical Character, Vegetation, and Animals Compared with Those of Other and Similar Regions (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 124.

21, beavers, 125, lynxes, 237, fishers, 83, cross foxes, 6, red do., 18, silver do., 3, martins, 710, minks, 297, musk-rats, 2,450, otters, 137, wolverine, 1, ermines, 32. -1848, - bears, 20, beavers, 126, lynxes, 61, fishers, 66, red foxes, 6, white foxes, 6, martins, 1,167, minks, 402, musk-rats, 1,999, otters, 179, ermines, 118. 38

From these figures, derived primarily from the HBC's post on Pic River, is an interesting account of the diminishing numbers of various species over a two-year period. Further suggestion is made that greater numbers remained in the 'wilderness' due to a lack of hunters: "It is to be observed that the number of hunters is much smaller here than at either of the other [two] posts".³⁹ Whatever the reasoning behind the rapid decline in wildlife within the Algoma region and along the north shore of Lake Superior, the impact was clearly felt by hunters and noticed by visitors. There is no conclusive picture as to the state of the wildlife statistics in the Algoma region at the time the Group of Seven were painting there, however, it is worth considering the previous identity of the region, compared with how it was perceived then and now. Although home to three of the smaller HBC outposts, the North Shore of Lake Superior retained, during the 19th century, an image inherently tied to the fur-trade - a review of Ontario's wildlife situation in 1892 wrote that:

On all sides from every quarter, has been heard the same sickening tale of merciless, ruthless, and remorseless slaughter. Where but a few years ago game was plentiful, it is hardly now to be found, and there is great danger that, as in the case of the buffalo, even those animals which have become so numerous as to be looked upon with contempt will soon become extinct. The many places where game formerly abounded, large cities stand today. The clearing of the land, the cutting down of the forests, the introduction of railways, the ravages of wolves and the indiscriminate hunting of the human assassin and the use of dynamite and nets have all contributed to the general decrease of game and fish of this land.⁴⁰

The work of the Group of Seven does not seek to address Canada in a post-colonial state, and as such does not directly concern itself with the activities of the HBC - in relation to wildlife

³⁸Agassiz, Lake Superior, 71.

³⁹Ibid, 71.

⁴⁰Janet Foster, Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 10.

and indigenous communities that resided within the landscapes they painted. Aside from the obvious occlusion of wildlife within their work, the description provided of the North Shore of Lake Superior, paints it as an environment devastated by human involvement. Over-hunting has resulted in a scarcity of native species, while encroaching industrialisation sought to displace wildlife communities even further. The author doesn't hold back when he describes the "remorseless slaughter" carried out by the "human assassin". A re-evaluation of the Group of Seven's work looks to position it in conversation with ideas of post-colonialism, and what it means to identify a Canadian national identity with a landscape shaped and altered by colonial activities impacting the indigenous population and ecology.

Harris' Pic Island Lake Superior (1926, fig. 65), 48.7075°N, can be analysed in this vein. This painting, which depicts the barren Pic Island - itself one of very few islands within Lake Superior - mirrors the curvilinear form of the island in the swirling clouds in the sky above. The same curves are further reflected in the crescent shape of sun light which is cast upon the surface of the lake, leaving the island in the shadows behind. The lake itself is supplementary to the depiction of the island. Harris is making us think about the shapes of this mound of land, that emerge from the water like some mystical sea-creature. Located just upstream from the HBC outpost on Pic River, Harris' Pic Island still remembers it as a place decimated by forest fires, where,

Voyageurs and Native People had allowed camp fires to get into the dry woods of the rocky slopes [and] As a result of killed foliage and deadened roots, rains swept away the soil, "leaving a clean surface of white calcined rock for Nature to cover again in the course of ages, by the slow succession of lichens, shrubs and trees.⁴¹

This was a landscape that facilitated and bore witness to the region's indigenous and colonial past; which, in the case of the latter, had only come to an end sixty years prior to Harris's painting. The consideration given to the Group's paintings of this region, should not only consider their roles in establishing a 'new' Canadian national identity, but also an active move-away from its past. For example, the suggestion of humans within the landscape, is as ambiguous as that of the wildlife. Although not common, examples such as MacDonald's Mist Fantasy, Northland (1922, fig. 66) where two lonely canoes are moored by the banks of

⁴¹Margaret Beattie Bogue, Around the Shores of Lake Superior: A Guide to Historic Sites (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 13.

the river, and Thomson's *The Pointers* (1916-17, fig. 67) where loggers' pointer boats extend the breadth of the scene, directly reference a human involvement with the environment. This could be regarded as a distancing from the human dominance over the Canadian landscape throughout its earlier history. The occlusion of animals and people within these paintings may also be considered accidental. The landscape epitomised by the Group of Seven was one which focused inherently on the landscape and not on human-environmental interactions such as trade, and political and social struggle. While considering these artists as proponents of a new Canadian national identity, it is worthwhile recognising the previous identity they were looking to disassociate themselves from.

Despite the respective commonality or rarity of certain wild species within the Swedish landscape today, their presence is notably missing from paintings a century earlier. An exception, however, is found in the work of Bruno Liljefors, for whom the depiction of wild animals in the landscape was his primary focus. Among these are Winter Hare (1905, fig. 68) and Eagles and Hare (1905, fig. 69) which depict the interaction between animal and environment within a finished and large-scale compositions, as well as denoting a primitivism that emerged in the Swedish 'wilderness'. By contrast, sketches such as the whimsical Running Elk Calf (n.d., fig. 70) and Animal and Bird Studies (n.d., fig. 71) are more studious in nature, showing a close observation of wild mammals and birds, and can be considered as ecological studies and visual motifs. In the far northern Arctic landscape of Sweden, by contrast, the occasional exception can be found in Osslund's work, such as the pastel on paper drawing Lapland Elk (n.d., fig. 72), which positions the elk in the foreground of the composition surveying the otherwise barren landscape. The blue mountains, like the elk itself, have been abstracted to their most basic shape and form, and where the low-hanging cloud crows and controls the composition. This isn't a completely barren landscape void of all life, rather a rare example of Osslund recognising the life that resides within the 'wilderness'.

There is a notable disinterest in considering the relationship between people and animals, and environment, in the scholarly writing surrounding these artists. Although these paintings purport to depict a 'wilderness', they are landscapes shared between humans and animals, alike; where this land operates not only as a source of 'raw material', recreation and exploration, but also as an important ecosystem. The presence of humankind within these distinct environs is also disregarded - although the artist may be depicting a landscape void of life, it is important to remember that the artist was his, or herself, situated within the

landscape at this time. To assert that the landscapes of both the Group of Seven and their Scandinavian colleagues are "unpeopled" is to ignore that these were 'wildernesses' visited, or "bushwhacked", ⁴² by artists, amongst others. The idea of painting from water is not something often found in Scandinavian painting, aside from in Boberg's work discussed in greater length in Chapter 5. Unlike their Canadian counterparts, the Scandinavian approach to water is one taken at a distance. For the members of the Group of Seven, bodies of water still acted as means of transportation, and manoeuvring oneself around the landscape.

The 'Bushwhacking' Artist

The canoe is a popular symbol of Canada as a nation - "it adorns the twenty-dollar bill, sits in the Canadian Embassy in Washington, has been an official gift from the state to foreign dignitaries, and is part of a multimillion-dollar nature tourism". 43 The myth of the canoe as Bruce Erickson outlined is that "prior to its inception, Canada existed in the land itself and it was up to European subjects, through the use of the canoe, an indigenous cultural artefact made into a tool of colonization, to extract the nation from the landscape". 44 As such, the canoe provides a specific perspective of the landscape. Robert Stacey wrote of the "canoe-eye view" in relation to the painter Frances Anne Hopkins, a 19th-century British painter whose marriage to Edward Hopkins of the HBC saw her paintings, such as Shooting the Rapids (c.1879, fig. 73) become a visual embodiment of the voyageur⁴⁶ lifestyle and the last decades of the fur trade. Hopkins' paintings are a visual record of both the indigenous and colonial sides involved in the fur trade, and consequently harks directly to Erikson's summation of the colonisation of an indigenous creation. Facilitated by the newfound "whiteness" of the canoe, it not only aided enterprise and exploration, as seen in the journey made by Agassiz and Cabot in Lake Huron and Lake Superior, but also continued to play a role in artistic endeavours well into the early-20th century. In

⁴²Lochran, et al., Mystical Landscapes, 242.

⁴³Bruce Erickson, "fucking close to water': Queering the Production of the Nation", in *Queer Ecologies:* Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire, eds. Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands and Bruce Erickson (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010), 311. Erikson's article addresses not only the tradition and history of the canoe in establishing a Canadian national identity, but further proposes was in which the pleasure of canoeing can be reconceptualised beyond identity.

⁴⁴Ibid, 312.

⁴⁵Janet Clark and Robert Stacey, Frances Anne Hopkins 1838-1919: Canadian Scenery (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1990), 45.

⁴⁶Voyageur's were typically French Canadian's who engaged with and facilitated the transportation of furs by canoe during the time of the Canadian fur trade. For more information see: Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

his publication *Canoe Nation*, Erickson directly considered Hopkins as foreshadowing the "more nationalistic expressions of the Group of Seven",⁴⁷ such as in Thomson's *The Canoe* (1912, fig. 74) and MacDonald's *Mist Fantasy, Northland* (c.1922, see fig. 66); with further recognition given to Jackson who often paddled in Georgian Bay and Muskoka, embarking on frequent solo expeditions, as well as in the company of Dr James MacCallum.

In Working for Wildlife (1998), Janet Foster wrote that, "something was lost in Ontario's transformation from wilderness to garden". 48 In a post-colonial state, the so-called 'wilderness' that the Group of Seven purported to paint, had already been shaped, as we have seen, by growing infrastructure - notably the construction of the railway - and the development of towns and cities, including Sault Ste. Marie, along the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. In addition, there are numerous issues regarding the supposed 'wilderness' of the landscape in the early-20th century, as previously outlined in Chapter 3. Notable is Erikson's summation that the "idea of pure wilderness that is threaded throughout North American environmentalism depends on the belief that the continent was uninhabited prior to European contact". 49 There is both an active disassociation from the wildlife that inhabit the land, and from those indigenous communities that resided within the landscape prior to colonisation. Such bad habits when thinking about the environment arguably linger in the minds of the Group of Seven. At the turn-of-the-century, Algoma was characterised as a site of rapid industrialisation, which "centered on the production of nickel and steel, pulp and paper and fuelled by hydro-electric powered from a number of massive generating stations", ⁵⁰ and not the 'virgin' landscape and rugged 'wilderness' that the works of the Group of Seven purported to represent. Consequently, these works, although representative of the remaining landscape found in Algoma and along the North Shore of Lake Superior, indicate a modified and mediated version of that landscape.

If Ontario is a "garden" then the ruggedness of Lake Superior would have seemed at odds with this otherwise tamed landscape. Agassiz wrote that "The resemblance to the sea-shore often recurred to my mind".⁵¹ The scale of Lake Superior - as the largest of the North American Great Lakes and the world's largest freshwater lake in terms of surface area

⁴⁷Bruce Erickson, Canoe Nation: Nature, Race, and the Making of a Canadian Icon (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 21.

⁴⁸Foster. Working for Wildlife, 9.

⁴⁹Erikson, Canoe Nation, 24.

⁵⁰A. Fletcher, "Industrial Algoma and the Myth of Wilderness: Algoma Landscapes and the Emergence of the Group of Seven, 1918-20", (doctoral thesis, University of British Columbia, 1989), 5.

⁵¹Agassiz, Lake Superior, 49.

- would have distanced it from the smaller bodies of water that were more often found in the Group's work. In the native language of the Ojibwe people, who live around Lake Superior, on both sides of the American/Canadian border, the name for Lake Superior is gitche-gumee or gichi-gami - loosely translated as 'Big Sea' or 'Huge Water'. The lake disappears beyond the horizon, and is best figured "as a vast basin with a high rocky rim, scooped out of the plateau extending from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi valley, a little to the south of the height of land". Multiple geographical and cultural identities converge on Lake Superior: with the states of Wisconsin and Minnesota along both the north and south shore; and on the Canadian north shore which already began to extend into the southerly reaches of the "Northern Regions" of Canada, where "the trees and shrubs are the same as are found on Hudson's Bay; spruces, birches and poplars". Of the vegetation surrounding the lake, Agassiz further wrote,

The entire shore of Lake Superior, as far as we went, is continuously covered with forest. The trees continued the same, except that the white pines and maples had disappeared. The number of species is small; black and white spruce, balsam fir, canoe birch and aspen, with arbor vitae in the moist places, [...] the spruces prevailing on higher land, and the birch and aspen near the water.⁵⁵

This image of Lake Superior that Agassiz conjures up in 1850, would have changed even further by the time the Group of Seven came to paint the landscape seventy years later. Prior to colonisation, the forests lining the North Shore were conifer heavy, and yet the landscape both Agassiz and the Group of Seven were presented with, was one impacted by severe deforestation as part of the logging industry during the late 1800s and early 1900s, which saw most of the white pine and white cedar disappear. Similar effects were felt across the border, along the Minnesota stretch of the lake's north shore. Interspersed among the cliffs and rocky outcrops, where a great abundance of metamorphic rocks can be found along the lake shore, are patches of vegetation as Agassiz described. It is this landscape the Group endeavoured to paint, moving away from the abundant forests that stood further inland away from the shoreline and which typified the wider Algoma landscape. Jackson recalled that

⁵²"Why is the Big Lake Called 'Gitche Gumee"', *Lake Superior Magazine*, Jan 01, 2006, accessed Oct 01, 2019, https://www.lakesuperior.com/the-lake/lake-superior/281almanac/

⁵³Agassiz, Lake Superior, 123.

⁵⁴Ibid, 124.

 $^{^{55}}$ Ibid, 49.

Harris "preferred the austerity of this fire-swept and barren northern land" of the North Shore.

The recurring feature within these paintings is the notable lack of vegetation when compared to examples of the Group's work from Algonquin Park, Georgian Bay and Algoma. There is rarely anything to obstruct the view of Lake Superior. Instead the short life span of the surrounding vegetation juxtaposes with the lake's glacial past. The young and often stunted plants and trees which were found on both the American and Canadian sides of Lake Superior, contrast with the ancient history of the lake, which formed from glacial melt-water following the Wisconsin Glacial Episode over 10,000 years ago (which covered with region with ice nearing two kilometres thick).⁵⁷ The shaping of the landscape by the seasons and by climate remains consistent throughout their work. In this fashion, the works produced of this immense landscape form interesting parallels with Scandinavian examples of similar, far-reaching, and often barren, environments.

In what is arguably one of Harris's most notable works, North Shore, Lake Superior (1926, fig. 75), he confronts a very different image of Lake Superior - noting the physical barrier created by the naked tree, between it and the vastness of the lake beyond. The phallic stump of a dead tree occupies the centre of the composition; with its white bark twisting round a black and hollow centre. The sky occupies more than two-thirds of the composition, and the clouds appear to curve around the rays of light emitted from the sun, leaving the lake to merge with the sky along the horizon. It is only the small protruding silhouette of an island to the bottom right of the composition which truly identifies the surrounding as water. This painting denotes the barrenness of this circum-Lake Superior environment. Other examples executed in a similar vein include two earlier examples, Lake Superior Sketch XIII (c.1923, fig. 76) and Afternoon Sun, North Shore, Lake Superior (1924, fig. 77). This latter painting digresses from the primarily blue and grey palette that dominated in North Shore, Lake Superior. Here, a yellow light enters the composition from the left, casting a golden hue over the scene. The three naked and spindle-like tree trunks frame the central island within the picture plane, guiding the eye across to the silhouetted hills in the distance. We learn more about the scale of Lake Superior in Afternoon Sun, where the split horizon

⁵⁶Katerina Atanassova, "Defining the North: Searching for a Visual Language" in *Painting Canada: Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven*, eds. Ian A. Dejardin and Amy Concannon (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2011), 40.

⁵⁷"Ice Age Geology", Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey, University of Wisconsin-Madison, accessed Oct 01, 2019, https://wgnhs.uwex.edu/wisconsin-geology/ice-age/

of Harris's composition both denotes land as well as offering a view of the imperceptible beyond.

By contrast, Jackson offers a much more intimate perspective of the lake in an oil on wood study simply entitled *Lake Superior* (1922, fig. 78). Here, the froth of the waves meets the rocky coastline and is accentuated by the vivid yellows of the autumn leaves and the burnt orange of the soil. Heading slightly further upstream from Pic Island, Jackson painted the scattering of islands known as Slate Islands in a painting of the same name (c.1921, fig. 79). Unlike Harris's composition for *Pic Island* which looked out towards the lake, Jackson appears to have painted *Slate Islands*, *Lake Superior* from the islands themselves - having presumably reached the archipelago by canoe as he was prone to do. Here, the horizon is not the limitless lake itself but rather the mainland, which is submerged in the slate-grey colour which denotes both sky, lake and land. Through the specificity of the title, this is not a generalised nor sweeping landscape, but rather a close-up study of a specific topographical location.

In contrast to Jackson and Harris' localised specificity, Osslund's sub-Arctic autumn landscapes of the northern region of Norrland have become synonymous with the visual representation of northern Sweden as a whole. They endeavour to represent an 'unspoiled wilderness' that was relatively unexplored by artists prior to the first half of the 20th century. Osslund's oeuvre is concerned with far northern Sweden, from Västernorrland and Jämtland, to Lapland in 1905. Although perceived as a 'wilderness', the iron ore train line was opened in 1888 from Gällivare to Luleå (extending into the Swedish Arctic), before later being extended in 1903 to Kiruna and Narvik (near the Lofoten Islands). Although often associated with French synthetism through his bold use of colour and in his abstract sketches, Osslund's work finds comparison in the composition, tonality, and artistic practice and process of his Canadian contemporaries, most notably Thomson. Moving beyond the symbolism of the 1890s, as identified in the work the previous generation, the work of Osslund denotes a reliance on the characteristics of his surrounding environment, as observed through a concentrated application of colour and technique. Osslund's richly coloured landscapes, in noting the seasonal changes of Norrland and Lapland, reveal the diversity of the Swedish landscape and contribute to a more expansive idea of north.

It was with the Pan-Pacific Exposition of 1915, and subsequent Exhibition of Swedish

⁵⁸See Wayne Larsen, A.Y. Jackson: The Life of a Landscape Painter (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009).

Painting in 1916 that Osslund's work was first introduced to a North American audience. There is, however, nothing to suggest that any members of the subsequent Group of Seven witnessed this exhibition, let alone identified a kindred spirit in the works of Osslund. Nevertheless, Nasgaard noted that these young Canadian painters might have seen a reproduction of Osslund's tapestry of Autumn Day at Torne Träsk (1909, fig. 80), as it was featured within an article on Modern Swedish Textiles in the Studio in March 1913; and that this was "an article purportedly known to Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven". 59 Yet, this image would have given none of the style and tonality of the Swedish painter's work, as it was printed in black and white, and was a tapestry. The work upon which this was based, under the same title, would have had a much greater influence, and yet there is no evidence to suggest that either Thomson or the Group ever saw Osslund's work in the flesh, or that they saw a colour reproduction. Although it is possible that the Canadian artists were aware of Osslund's work, it cannot be concluded that they drew any influence from his technique or the tonality of his Swedish landscape. Instead, existing scholarship has sought to associate Osslund more closely with his French post-impressionism.

Among those artist colleagues Osslund had during his time in Paris were a number of Swe dish and Nordic painters, including Olof Sager-Nelson, Pelle Svedlund and Birger Sandzén, despite Osslund's subsequent remark in late 1894 that "I am seldom with these countrymen myself since I prefer the more sober and serious minded Americans". OSslund was a member of the American Art Association at 131 Boulevard Montparnasse, and was often found socialising with the American painters working and studying in Paris during the late-19th century. Of his Swedish colleagues it was Sandzén, in particular, who became a close friend, and introduced him to the school where Gauguin taught. This period spent at the Académie Vitti, from February to April 1894, appears to have been a formative influence on Osslund's bold palette, where Gauguin "paints lively and colourfully, yet with a free expression of the properties of colour, and appears to be among the few truly original painters currently working in France". Osslund's limited exposure to Gauguin has nevertheless had

⁵⁹Nasgaard, Mystic North, 88

⁶⁰Helmer Osslund, letter to Birger Sandzén, Nov 12, 1894, Paris. English translation by Emory Lindquist. Courtesy of Birger Sandzén Memorial Gallery, Lindsborg, Kansas.

⁶¹For more information on American artists in Paris, see: Sophie Levy, ed., A Transatlantic Avant-garde: American Artists in Paris, 1918-1939 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Kathleen Adler, et al., Americans in Paris 1860-1900 (London: National Gallery, 2006); and Emily Burns, "Puritan Partisans: American Art Students in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris" in A Seamless Web: Transatlantic Art in the Nineteenth Century, ed. Cheryll May, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 123-146.

⁶²Lena Holger and Anna Meister, Helmer Osslund (Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 2008), 36. Original

an overwhelming impact on the way in which his style and technique have been perceived and critiqued in numerous volumes on Nordic landscape painting.

Synthetism, as it has already been identified in relation to Carr, emphasised a combination of artistic feeling with an aestheticism of style, technique, and colour. It emerged in France in 1888 and the first Nordic artists to see this development were Bergh and Eugen in Paris in 1889, where they witnessed an exhibition at Café Volpini staged by Gauguin, Emile Bernard and their Pont-Aven colleagues. In addition, two exhibitions staged in Copenhagen in 1892 and 1893, featuring works by Gauguin and Vincent van Gogh, are likely to have been seen by a larger contingent of Nordic artists. Synthetism sought to distil the natural world into simple shapes and pigments. Gauguin recommended that artists "Don't copy nature too closely. Art is an abstraction; as you dream amid nature, extrapolate art from it and concentrate on what you will create as a result". 63 Such recommendations can be discerned in the work of Willumsen, who had worked closely with Gauguin while in Paris and had also instructed Osslund for a short while in 1894. Through these associations, albeit brief, it is worth recognising the influence Gauguin might have had on Osslund's subsequent approach to the Swedish landscape; however, as he was already painting with a vibrant palette prior to his introduction to Gauguin, it is unlikely the influence of the latter is as overwhelming as critics have sought to make out.

The use of synthetism in conjunction with Osslund's work is remarked upon in the writing of both Nasgaard and Facos. Facos noted that "the lessons of Synthetism emerge here in the streamlined contours and broad areas of colour, which Osslund used to create a static, recognisably Nordic landscape", 64 with Gunnarsson agreeing that, alongside Fjaestad and Kreuger, Osslund "turned to a form of Synthetism". 65 In citing an article from a 1905 edition of the Svensk Konstkröniker, Nasgaard, instead, disputed the extent to which synethtism was an overriding influence on Osslund; arguing that he brought a "fresher more brutal view of nature than the painters of the 1890s, less mood, less synthetism, less symbolism". 66 Although there is arguably a suggestion of the principles of synthetism in Osslund's work, they do not endeavour to epitomise a style, rather they convey the artist's own "brutal"

quotation: "Målar lifligt o. färgrikt, fast med fritt iakttagande af färgvalörerna o. tycks vara en bland de få verkligt ursprungliga målare som Frankrike för närvarande eger."

⁶³Nasgaard, Mystic North, 5.

⁶⁴Facos, Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination, 163.

⁶⁵Gunnarsson, Nordic Landscape Painting, 247.

⁶⁶Nasgaard, Mystic North, 85.

environmental reality. At no point during his career is it recorded that Osslund purposefully sought to associate his work with the synthetism, rather this tangential association is borne out of a desire to consider him as a Scandinavian parallel to mainstream continental and Francocentric trends. There appear to have been no similar attempts to associate the Group of Seven's work with similar artistic trends, perhaps in an effort to maintain the disassociation between Canadian and French painting that the artists themselves had sought to avoid.

Despite the lack of supporting evidence, there is an undeniable similarity in the tonality and texture of Thomson and Osslund's paintings and sketches. Although the vibrancy of these colours may seem strange and exaggerated when viewed outside the context of a northern Circumpolar environment, they indicate the seasonal influence on these northern latitudes. In writing about Thomson following his death, Lismer may well have been speaking about Osslund:

It almost seems that the North Country was waiting for an interpreter. There never was such a land. It had everything - form, movement, design and all the forces of Nature and the changing seasons, storm and weather, colour and dynamic line, all were there waiting for revelation. Human beings move tardily into understanding of the beauty and significance of their own environment.⁶⁷

Lismer's words consider the many facets which underlie not only Thomson's work, but Circumpolar landscape painting as a whole. Painting within sub-Arctic and Arctic conditions, and often working en plein air, considers the form and shape of the land, while also showing how the palette responds to climate and seasonal change often associated with ideas of abstraction rather than realism. There are numerous images that evoke these similarities in terrain and climate in Thomson and Osslund's work, with many depicting Algonquin and Norrland respectively, however, in this instance, I would like to draw attention to two sketches, namely Evening Sky (c.1919, fig. 81) by Osslund and Sunset (1915, fig. 82) by Thomson. The Danish art historian Julius Lange wrote in The Field Study. The Picture. The Art of Memory (1889) that, "the sketch had come to be preferred over the picture finished in the studio because only the sketch could convey the radiance, freshness, and powerful flavour of the immediate experience sought in Impressionism". 68 For both Osslund and

⁶⁸Nasgaard, Mystic North, 10.

⁶⁷Arthur Lismer, "Incomplete manuscript on Tom Thomson", written after 1917, 1. Courtesy of the McMichael Collection of Canadian Art Archives, Kleinburg, Toronto, Canada.

Thomson the sketch, moreover, allowed for a closer representation of nature, painting not from memory but from the land itself.

Whereas Osslund often painted from a high perspective, like Hesselbom and Carmichael, looking down towards the lake, Thomson, by contrast, frequently observed the lakes of Algonquin Provincial Park and Georgian Bay from a closer and more intimate vantage point. Perhaps from the sunken vantage point of the canoe. In Sunset, vivid pink brush strokes emerge from the yellow and green of the sky, and are reflected in the lake below, only separated by a thin stretch of land. The perspective of Thomson's painting looks out towards the other side of the lake, observing the reflections of the landscape from eye-level. For Osslund's Evening Sky, thick swathes of paint have been applied atop one another, building up a patchwork sky - where coral pinks, dusty blues, oranges, yellows and purples merge together. The same pattern of brush strokes denotes the hills in the distance and the lake, which has turned silver under a setting sun. A sailing boat is barely perceptible just above the tops of trees that denote the foreground. Osslund has abruptly cropped the trees which stand before him and the landscape beyond, it creates an awkward perspective with which to view this twilight environment. Brinton described the "clear colour, sharply silhouetted forms, and [the] mighty rhythm of seemingly illimitable stretches of mountain and sky" in Osslund's work.⁶⁹ Many of his paintings synthesised the characteristics of autumn, capturing, often in sketch form, the blustery winds and vivid colours of the changing leaves and tempestuous waters, frequently painted in the landscape surrounding his birth town of Sundsvall.

Among the most refined of Osslund's landscapes, *Autumn* (*Hösten*, c.1907, fig. 83) - which was one of four paintings depicting the seasons created for the home of leather industry owner Emil A. Matton in Gävle - pays close attention to the tonal changes of the foliage, as it changes from green to brown, and to the slowly encroaching snow which draws in over the mountains. Of Osslund's autumnal paintings, Helge Dahlstedt wrote:

Osslund has painted the nature of Norrland throughout all the seasons. He loved autumn the most, with its glowing colours, which in Norrland and in the fells of Lapland burn clearer and more intensely than in the south; where the frost bites the leaves of the trees and the bushes, on the twigs and grass on the ground and quickly colours in the surrounding foliage, before it has managed to wither and

⁶⁹Brinton, Impressions of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, 142.

This painting suggests a decorative quality akin to that found in Fjæstad's painting, moving away from the unruly handling of colour and paint as found in his sketches. Osslund paid close attention to the reflection of the mountains upon the surface of the lake; where the burnt orange of the ground encompasses the composition. Thomson like Osslund, preferred the vivid palette that the landscape naturally exuded during the autumn months. Lismer recorded his friend and colleague's feelings towards the changing of the seasons: "Spring is a riot of breaking ice, and quick unfoldment of nature into a new garb of green. Autumn is a glory of birch and maple against a cerulean sky and winter, sombre with violet shadows on scintillating snow, with the dark masses of cedar and pine for contrast. [...] It is an elemental land". The Works such as Autumn Foliage (1916, fig. 84) show a similar exuberance for the vitality of "fall" colours, where the vivid blue of the lake acts to bolster the reds and oranges of the surrounding foliage and vegetation. The rich oranges in the foreground compare with Osslund's Höstdag vid Torne Träsk (Autumn Day at Torne Träsk, n.d., fig. 85), at 68.3964°N, within the Swedish Arctic and near the Norwegian border, where the same orange has turned the vegetation into a living coral upon an Arctic landscape. The recurring synergies in palette between Thomson and Osslund's work, alongside the unchanging surface of the lakes, contributes to a wider perspective on the northern Circumpolar landscape, beyond the 1912-13 Exhibition.

Forming part of the initial rehang of the Nationalmuseum in late 2018, Osslund's Autumn has not been represented as one of the earliest depictions of the Lapland landscape, but has rather been situated within the context of a Japanese style. The noted decorative quality in Osslund's work has been tied to Japanese, and yet there is no scholarship to suggest that he was directly influenced by Japanese painting. Rather it is more likely that he might have experienced the art of Japan through a proliferation of Japanese prints within Swedish art circles. Although the Danish painter Karl Madsen had published his influential volume Japansk Malerkunst (Japanese Painting) in 1885, stylistic assumptions cannot be drawn between Madsen's writing and Osslund's work. Recent exhibitions, such as Japanomania

 $^{^{70}}$ Helge Dahlstedt, "Helmer Osslund, utdrag ur minnesanteckningar 1956", in $Helmer\ Osslund$ – Norrlands målare, ed. Patrik Reuterswärd, (Stockholm: AB Egnellska Boktryckeriet, 1971), 12). Original quotation: "Osslund har målat natur i Norrland under alla årstider. Mest älskade han hösten med dess glödande färger, som i Norrland och fjällen brinner klarare och intensivare än söderut, när frosten med ens biter i löven på träd och buskar, i riset och gräset på marken och hastigt färgar om grönskan, innan den hunnit vissna och mögla".

⁷¹Lismer, "Incomplete manuscript on Tom Thomson," 2.

in the Nordic Countries 1875-1918 (2016), however, have sought to highlight the Nordic-Japanese artistic synergies that arguably existed during the late-19th and early-20th century. This trend continues to permeate Swedish art history, in particular. For Osslund, however, this assumed Japanese decoration derives instead from his belief that a work of art "must first of all be based on the study of nature and not be a pure creation of the imagination".⁷² Such similar considerations have not been given to the Canadian Group of Seven, despite the recognised inspiration of Buddhist colour theory on Varley's work.

Beyond a concern for the decorative and a stylisation of natural forms, these are not populated landscapes, nor are they concerned with a colonial past nor the indigenous peoples who reside within these environments (although they perhaps should be), rather these are landscapes inherently tied to ideas of climate, seasonal change, and topography. Through their association with Scandinavian painting, the Group of Seven attempt to disentangle themselves from their colonial past. Although it is important to situate these works within a narrative that pays heed to a colonial past, they do not actively attempt to "establish a closer tie and solidarity with the imperial centre", 73 but rather their geographical position within the Circumpolar North. This creates are avenues for broader transnational considerations. Similar attention can also be paid to the overwhelming associations and comparisons made between Scandinavia and France. Even when there is no firm evidence to support the derivation of ideas from French symbolism, impressionism and synthetism - all 'isms' that have been identified in Nordic landscape painting - tangential connections have nevertheless been made. By disassociating Scandinavian landscape painting from its French counterparts, and Canadian painting from its British predecessors, it allows for an alternate art history to take shape; one less concerned with a chain of influence, and which instead looks at composite national identities as forming a broader Circumpolar idea of environment.

4.3 Mountain Lakes & Mountain-Scapes

This thesis has so far endeavoured to show through style, technique and composition, that the humanities can play a part in scientific fact, and vice versa, expanding an understanding of a historic ecology and topography through landscape painting. In an assessment of Varley, Christopher Varley considered his grandfathers work as reaffirming this argument.

⁷²Nasgaard, Mystic North, 88.

⁷³Dawn, National Visions, National Blindness, 9.

With regards to works such as *Three Clouds and a Tree* (c.1935, fig. 86), where small evergreens sprout out of the composition reaching towards the sky, Christopher wrote that, "There is something feminine, even dainty, about many of these B.C. landscapes. Yet these qualities are very much in keeping with the actual character of Varley's surroundings. The longer he remained on the Coast, the more organic and supple his paintings became". The British Columbian landscape revived Varley's interest in landscape painting and provided him with the inspiration that had been lacking in Ontario; and where "his feelings for nature were quickly reawakened by these majestic surroundings". The examples of Varley's work identified in this section promote a Canadian environment often side-lined in a study of the Group of Seven in favour of the Ontarian and Arctic landscapes, and yet play a fundamental role in understanding the Canadian and Circumpolar environment as a whole.

After relocating to British Columbia in 1926, Varley took up the position of Head of the Department of Drawing and Painting at the School of Decorative and Applied Arts in Vancouver, where he remained until 1934 before leaving Vancouver due to illness and debt. Yet, his initial feelings towards the region were that: "British Columbia is heaven". In a letter to Eric Brown of the National Gallery of Canada dated January 6th 1927, Varley wrote about his new home: "I have a large verandah [sic] off the main large room, built over the water [...;] the view is magnificent across the Straits to the mountains running North." During his time in British Columbia, Varley also established that there were topographical similarities between the region and the 'Orient', despite having never been to Asia. This move also "coincided with an increasing inquiry into colour theories, whether scientific or esoteric".

Not once does Varley's grandson Christopher consider the theosophical basis of Varley's works, for example, but rather identifies his early interest in Buddhism (although not entirely distinct from Theosophy), which persisted throughout his life and career. I subscribe to Christopher's understanding and analysis of his grandfather's approach to painting where in addition to this Buddhist orientated colour psychology "he also felt that there was a scientific

⁷⁴Christopher Varley, F.H. Varley: A Centennial Exhibition (Vancouver: The Edmonton Art Gallery, 1981), 106.

⁷⁵Ibid, 80

⁷⁶Maria Tippett, Stormy Weather: F.H. Varley, A Biography (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2000), 203.

 $^{^{77}}$ Varley, F.H. Varley, 110.

⁷⁸Ibid, 80.

⁷⁹Katarina Atanassova, F.H. Varley: Portraits into the Light/Mise en lumiére des portraits (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007), 84.

basis for his findings, and would have rejected overtly mystical or spiritual interpretations of his work". Such influences manifested themselves in both his portraits and landscape paintings, which showed an increasing sensitivity to the meaning of colour, with certain shades - notably sea-green - growing in prominence throughout his oeuvre. With regards to his portraits Varley "believed every person is surrounded by a unique aura that could be expressed through a specific colour". As a colour which was seen to denote both good or bad karma, it derived its meaning from the five basic qualities of Tantric energy. Christopher also writes at length on the influence of contemporaneous colour theories as prescribed by Wilhelm Ostwald and the Munsell Colour System. The latter divided the colour sphere into three primary colours - red, yellow and blue - whereas Ostwald discovered that these principal colours extended to four - red, yellow, blue and sea-green. As with Carr's green forests, and the Arctic landscapes in Chapter 5, blue and sea-green appear as the dominant colours within a Circumpolar environment. Ostwald's realisation became known to an English speaking audience, following the publication of his *Colour Science*, by Windsor and Newton paint company in 1931. On the colour green, Varley further wrote:

Green is a very spiritual colour. That is why I use it so much. When you look at the other painting for a long time, other colours seem to weave their way into it, so the flesh and the dress, and the setting gradually acquire more normal colouring. Perhaps the effect is purely imaginary - but then painting is an exercise of the imagination.⁸³

In two examples of the view over Jericho Beach, from Varley's studio - Open Window (1933, fig. 87) and an earlier iteration View from the Artist's Bedroom Window, Jericho Beach (1929, fig. 88) - both make use of a sea-green to varying degrees. Within the collection of the University of Toronto is Open Window, where the viewer is confronted by an awkwardly opened window; the shapes the window frame and open panes create are disorientating and protrude into a softly undulating landscape. Beyond this, there is a delineated mountain-scape along the horizon, with a vast stretch of emptiness separating it from this unidentifiable window. The snowy-mountain caps peak out of the darkness, traversing the line of the

⁸⁰Varley, F.H. Varley, 96.

 $^{^{81}{\}rm Atanassova},\ F.H.\ Varley:\ Portraits\ into\ the\ Light,\ 86.$

⁸²For more on Ostwald's colour theory and Varley's artwork, please see: Ann Davis, *The Logic of Ecstasy: Canadian Mystical Painting*, 1920-40, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

⁸³Silcox, The Group of Seven, 350.

horizon. Once we consider that Varley lived in a house with a studio overlooking Jericho Beach in Vancouver, at 49.2722°N, the view from this window takes shape. The emptiness that we see is the expanse of sand and sea that would have stretched before the artist; and the mountains in the distance are the North Shore Mountains, which continue to provide a momentous backdrop to this beach. Silcox described the windows in Varley's work, as "windows into the soul";⁸⁴ I would further suggest that the window was used as a means of framing the view before him, something which is supported by the notion that "Varley liked the 'frame within a frame' as a compositional device and a metaphor for his own newly awakened vision".⁸⁵ Varley's landscape paintings reach their maturity in Vancouver, the mountainous reaches of this drastically different environment to what he was familiar, imbued his paintings with a new sense of purpose.

Unlike in *Open Window* where the lake has disappeared beneath swathes of green paint, in View from My Studio Window, the tide is lapping against the beach, with white froth delineating the undulating waves as they repeatedly crash onto the shore. The beach itself is formed of swirling patterns of sand, green seawater and pools of water left behind by the outgoing tide that have turned blue as they are separated from the sea. The mountains along the horizon are not snow-capped as in Open Window - perhaps in this instance the window has opened up onto a summer landscape, encapsulating a more diverse and lightorientated palette. These paintings also reflect the two moods of the artist, where in writing about his grandfather, Christopher noted that he "also felt that there was a scientific basis for his findings and would have rejected overtly mystical or spiritual interpretations of his work. His palette lightened or darkened according to his feelings". 86 That Varley would have rejected many of the subsequent readings of his work - including those made by Silcox, Nasgaard, and Katarina Atanassova - suggests that despite his own spiritual leanings, these were not always the focus of his artwork. Open Window, for example, can be interpreted as providing "a window into the soul" as both Silcox and Nasgaard remark, but also functions as a compositional device, associated not only with northern symbolist painting, but also the actual frame of his studio window, through which Varley viewed Jericho Beach and the mountains beyond.

Towards the end of Varley's time in British Columbia, around the same time that Carr

⁸⁴Silcox, The Group of Seven, 350.

⁸⁵Varley, F.H. Varley, 104.

⁸⁶Ibid, 96.

had become familiar and friends with members of the Group of Seven, she described Varley's sketches as "most delightful, appealingly Canadian, a new delineation of a great country." Pespite Varley's disinterest in contributing to a national image of Canada through his works - he did not "join in the Group's search for an intrinsically Canadian style" - Varley's paintings contribute to a new visual understanding of Western Canada, to which Carr had also contributed, and which had otherwise remained comparably unexplored by the Group of Seven. His depictions of the glacial lakes of British Columbia often toy with the perspective of the landscape: playing with ideas of background and foreground; diminishing the horizon yet reaching far into the sky; and noting the relationship between land, water and sky through a tonally diverse palette.

Joan Murray noted that Varley's "way of painting land as a belt between water and sky is exciting. Since there is no foreground, the viewer feels he [sic] is looking out of one of Varley's famous windows into the mountain world". 89 Murray's comment again reaffirms the importance of the 'frame' as a compositional device, moving away from the spiritual angle; it is also something which can be applied to a great many of his works. There is often a play between land and the sky above, as well as the lake below. In The Cloud, Red Mountain (1927-28, fig. 89), the undulating shape of the white cloud against the rich gradient blue sky, mirrors the peaks of the red Coast Mountains, British Columbia, below. There is no foreground, background or horizon, rather the perspective is flat - again, as if this was the view right before the window; where the viewer's restricted gaze cannot accommodate for any further details in the landscape. The same can also be applied to Evening After Rain (c.1930, fig. 90), where the clouds have dropped below the mountain peaks and concealed the landscape below. A large spruce occupies the foreground of the composition, where lofty mountains below a sky of pink clouds have blocked the horizon. Similar effects were likewise achieved in Varley's paintings of the Arctic, which confine the picture plane to a view akin with that seen through a cabin window; however, more on these in Chapter 5.

Beyond his paintings of Jericho Beach, were those works undertaken in the company of students and colleagues on field-visits beyond Vancouver Island. Varley made numerous sketching trips to Garibaldi Park, the Squamish Valley, the Cheakamus Valley - situated north of Vancouver - and the Gulf Islands within the Strait of Georgia, in-between Vancouver

 $^{^{87}\}mathrm{Carr},\, Hundreds$ and Thousands, 21.

⁸⁸Varley, F.H. Varley, 54.

⁸⁹ Joan Murray, *The Best of the Group of Seven* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993), 89.

Island and mainland British Columbia. Varley's *Lake Garibaldi* (1928, fig. 91), located at 49.9366°N, is one such painting, where the crystal blue-green glacial lake dominates the composition. The mountainous backdrop protrudes into the water, creating small inlets that have become submerged in the pinkish hues that speckle the surface of the mountains. These speckles and splodges of pink paint grow and change as they move outward from the central peak - to the right they manifest as swirls of colour; to the left the farthest mountain has been completely painted in, with only the peak revealing the original brown of the rocky surface beneath. These shades of pink and purple appear to denote glaciers, slowly melting into the lake below.

MacDonald made his first trip to the Rockies in 1924, following which he visited every summer for the following five years, until his health no longer allowed it. That same year, Harris and Jackson similarly first visited the region, exploring the Colin Range, the Tonquin Valley and the Maligne Valley, while also painting scenes at Maligne Lake, Opal Hills and Coronet Creek. In Harris's Emerald Lake, Rocky Mountains (n.d., fig. 92) and a later work by Carmichael named after Cameron Lake (1939, fig. 93) which inspired it, they identified, over the course of the next decade, a similar affinity for the emerald green glacial lakes of British Columbia. In MacDonald's earlier painting Lake O'Hara, Rockies (1926, fig. 94), at 51.3560°N, like that of Varley, the shapes have been simplified into flat forms; large brushstrokes can be seen throughout, building up the surface of brown rock that extends up into the heights of the canvas. Loose and haphazardly applied brushstrokes create the effect of snow upon the farthest mountain, the white of the glacier having turned a shade of pastel blue in the restricted light - or perhaps the starkness of the white surface reflects the crystal waters below. The tops of the mountains have been capped with a similar aquamarine blue that is reflected in the shadows atop the lake's surface. Despite a small spruce which breaks up the foreground, the focus of MacDonald's composition is on the relationship between mountain and lake. A more refined and later example of this same scene, painted in 1930 (fig. 95), shows a more abstracted depiction of the landscape, where the sketch-like glacier has manifested as swirls of ice and snow that undulate across the rocky surface of the mountain. The lake itself has become a richer green, starkly contrasting the vast and looming mountains that distance it from the slowly receding glaciers in the background.

In Ecology & Wonder in the Canadian Rocky Mountain Parks (2010), the author Robert

Sandford wrote that "landscape art is now a vital part of Canadian mountain culture". ⁹⁰ This reverse association where landscape painting has become a part of Canada's mountainous identity rather than the other way around, acknowledges the limited presence of Canada's mountains both socially and culturally prior to the early-20th century. The Rockies, themselves, grew in national esteem as artists including Jackson and MacDonald became summer instructors at the Banff School of Fine Arts (now the Banff Centre for the Arts). Sandford's comment also suggests a reciprocal relationship between art and nature, as with the regions of Algoma (and Lake Superior) and Killarney Park (and Lake Huron), both of which facilitated the tradition of landscape painting, which in turn facilitated tourism and a growing interest in the Canadian 'wilderness'. In a letter to Lismer, dated circa February 1928, Varley noted that, "In many ways Arthur I made a good move when I came West, for the country is full of variety, Georgian Bay, Lake Superior, then Lake Superior on a bigger scale, island forms as romantic as Wagner music or a Roerick [sic] canvas (I've fallen out of love with him - I think it's too easy)". ⁹¹

Nicholas Roerich was a Russian painter whose own spiritual leanings led him from Theosophy to Buddhism and who similarly approached colour from a harmonic perspective, where "he frequently related music to the use of color and color harmonies, and applied this sense to his designs for opera". Whereas Varley found his inspiration in nature, Roerich found his in music. It is interesting therefore, given the spiritual leanings that the two artists shared, that Varley should fall out of love with the Russian artist's work so soon after his move to British Columbia. Prior to 1928, Roerich's work had included a series of mountain studies of Mount Everest and the Himalayas, including Everest Range (fig. 96), undertaken in 1924, which reflect a similar angularity and play with shades of blue that are apparent in the work of Willumsen, and in the ice-scapes of Harris and Kent. After 1930, however, the use of colour and form had flattened, there was less depth to his compositions, having arguably lost some of the previous vitality to the palette. Roerich's paintings of the Himalayas provide an interesting counterexample to a Circumpolar methodology, noting, despite considerable latitudinal differences (Himalayas at 28.5983°N, as opposed to the 61.6333°N of the Jotun-

⁹⁰ Robert W. Sandford, Ecology & Wonder in the Canadian Rocky Mountain Parks World Heritage Site (Alberta: Athabasca University Press, 2010), 76.

⁹¹F.H. Varley, in a letter to Arthur Lismer, circa Feb 1928. Courtesy of the McMichael Collection of Canadian Art Archives, Kleinburg, Toronto, Canada.

⁹²"Early Years", *Nicholas Roerich Museum*, New York, accessed Oct 02, 2019, http://www.roerich.org/roerich-biography.php

heimen mountains in Norway, which inspired Willumsen's painting of the same name), an affinity in style and tonality when concerning mountainous vistas.

Up in the Mountains

As discussed earlier, the prominence of mountainscapes within the oeuvre of Norwegian landscape painters, flourished during the mid-19th century. An association with Germany, notably Dusseldorf, Dresden and Berlin, established between 1840 and 1870, saw artists such as Dahl and Normann geographically distance themselves from the landscape they were endeavouring to paint. However, for Normann, who based himself in Berlin from 1883 onwards, the allure of the Norwegian fjords remained a constant throughout his career. Despite being responsible for introducing Munch to a Berlin audience - having travelled from "his villa at Balestrand on the Sognefjord to Berlin when he stopped in Kristiania [Oslo] to pay a visit to Munch's exhibition"⁹³ - Normann's work remained staunchly tied to a tradition of painting that was quickly falling out of favour at home, but still found collectors in Germany including Kaiser Wilhelm II, who in 1890 purchased one of Normann's fjord-scapes. Towards the end of the 19th century, however, the mountainscape was revived by Norwegian and international artists alike. In the work of Sohlberg and his Danish contemporary Willumsen the mountainous national parks of inner Norway once again gained momentum, indicative of both a reinvigorated national idiom and the popularisation of alpine tourism.

As Norwegian artists began to move away from the mountains and fjords that adorned their landscape, associating them with a bygone era, the landscape fell back into the 'wilderness', waiting to be rediscovered:

In contrast to the 1890s, artists in the 1880s particularly avoided wilderness subject matter of their Romantic predecessors and such scenery was now scornfully rejected as tourist country. The mountains were not to be rediscovered, as we have seen, until 1892, and then not by a Norwegian but by the Dane J.F. Willumsen when he arrived in Jotunheimen.⁹⁴

The subsequent rise of mountains within paintings by Norwegian artists in the 1890s and early 1900s differed in its disinterest with the unfamiliar and popularised romantic scenery

⁹³Erik Mørstad, "Munch's Impact on Europe," in A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries 1900-1925, ed., Hubert Van Den Berg et al., (Netherlands: Rodopi B.V, 2012), 82.

⁹⁴Nasgaard, Mystic North, 40.

of Norway's fjords and mountains. Instead, in works such as Sohlberg's Winter Night in the Mountains (see fig. 10) the mountains themselves are now the focus, no longer referencing the interaction between humans and the landscape. The landscape has been paired back, reduced to its bare essentials, where only a solitary star hangs in the sky, and no human trace remains. Sohlberg later recounted the stages of the Rondane paintings, which had started to take pictorial form following a ski-trip in 1899, writing: "I understood that the picture that I had already begun was quite wrong-headed, because in no way did it tell it as it now was, [...] not only the painter but also the human being in me, in the deepest and most humble sense, was a participant". 95 The landscape takes on human properties; Sohlberg personifies the Norwegian environment, allowing it to adopt a national identity that moves beyond a sole discussion of landscape and nature. For MacDonald, writing again for his 1931 lecture, "Sohlberg stands up in Scandinavian art like his own mountains". 96 This potently masculine description recognises the strong influence Sohlberg arguably had on the Group of Seven - further discussion on this will be made in Chapter 5 - and emphasises the limited number of painters working on mountain scapes within an early-20th century art history. For MacDonald, Sohlberg,

Certainly emphasizes the range of fullness of 'the native richness of spirit' of these painters of the north, and such pictures remind Canadians of the fact that we have mountain ranges of our own whose dramatic picturesqueness, can, perhaps, be brought into a fitting restraint of art only by some such austerity as that of Sohlberg.⁹⁷

As MacDonald recognised, Scandinavian painters at the turn-of-the-century show a staunch move towards a more isolated and nationalised sphere of influence. However, Sohlberg, like Willumsen, brings into focus a large part of the Norwegian landscape which been neglected since the late Romantic works of Normann and Peder Balke. With regards to the latter, his dramatic landscapes had in themselves moved beyond the romanticisation of Norway's mountain environment and were instead imagined scenes of foreboding. While Sohlberg's work was recognised by the Group of Seven, it has remained closely associated with a Norwegian national image. By comparison, Willumsen's *Jotunheim* (1892-93, fig. 97) traverses

⁹⁵Nasgaard, Mystic North, 110.

⁹⁶MacDonald, "Scandinavian Art," 26.

⁹⁷Ibid, 27.

geographical borders while having Norway at its core. This painting is a culmination of various mountain landscapes - from studies undertaken in the Jotunheimen National Park in Norway in 1894 and numerous trips to the Swiss Alps over the course of his lifetime. It is only with the figurative relief on either side, that the abstracted mountain-scape in the centre takes on a mystical form; Gunnarsson described it as one of the "most symbolist interpretations of landscape in Nordic art". ⁹⁸ Jotunheim "exemplifies the fusion of personal, national and international" ⁹⁹ - it traverses Nordic boundaries, as well as manifesting itself as an important example of mountain painting in the late-19th century.

It is important to first recognise that this painting was completed in Paris, from where Willumsen was based for much of his career. It was painted following a trip to Norway, which took place in 1892, and saw him begin his journey in the Lofoten Islands and gradually work his way south. The painting itself is exemplary of Willumsen as a painter, who "more than many of his contemporaries, [...] was international in his orientation in a period when nationhood and the foundation of national art cultures were central preoccupations in the Danish and Nordic art worlds". 100 Unlike many of the painters discussed within this thesis, Willumsen was not concerned with establishing a national identity, but rather crosses geographical and stylistic boundaries which in turn position him as an important example within a Circumpolar art history. His journey into Norway was one fuelled by a rebuttal of the gentler landscape of Denmark, and one which sought to recapture the romantic connotations of Norway's 'wilderness' previously seen in the paintings by the likes of Dahl and Balke. Such excursions into the 'wilderness' might also have been inspired by Gauguin's journey to the South Seas which "came to stand as a powerful Symbolic model for northern artists' own expeditions into mountains and forests, their notion of a wilderness paradise, often both sunless and silent, stands in sharp contrast to Gauguin's expectations of Tahiti". 101 And yet these excursions, as well as drawing further comparisons between Willumsen and Gauguin, are also indicative of a common trait shared across the Circumpolar North, of the 'bushwhacking', and of hyper-masculine connotations in conquering 'wilderness' landscapes.

The enamelled mountain-scape along the top of the frame introduces the composition below. It has been broken down into its most fundamental parts, its background altering

⁹⁸Gunnarsson, Nordic Landscape Painting, 226.

⁹⁹Charlotte Ashby, Modernism in Scandinavia: Art, Architecture and Design (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 64.

¹⁰⁰Ibid, 64.

¹⁰¹Nasgaard, Mystic North, 16.

depending upon the wall behind it. The viewer is left staunchly outside of the picture. By framing the central composition within a figurative narrative, it further recalls Varley's preoccupation with the frame-within-a-frame. It moreover directly compares with a section of Emanuel Mohn's Jotunheim Panorama I. View from Horntind by Skogstad in Valders (c.1884, fig. 98), as identified by Troels Branth Pedersen in the Danish language volume Bjergtaget: J.F. Willumsen i Norge 1892 (Spellbound: J.F. Willumsen in Norway, 1892). In recent research presented as part of the Paul Mellon Lecture Series for 2019, Tim Barringer discussed the phenomenon of panoramic images, identifying not only how panoramas were an art form unto themselves, but how the concept was assimilated into the tradition of landscape painting. In his exploration of the North, South, East and West, Barringer didn't look beyond Northern England, and yet direct examples of such trends continue to permeate Nordic art a century after the first panoramas were shown in London. 102

Below, the crowning mountain peaks mirror the jagged peaks above. This is in turn submerged in cloud, or rather an overwhelming glacier occupies the land between two mountain ranges. Or it might be a combination of the two. Writing as part of an exhibition catalogue, Willumsen wrote of his time in the Jotunheimen mountains, that the "clouds were moving away, and I found myself at the edge of an abyss looking out over a mountainous landscape in the high north, which in itself was seriously and brutally covered with eternal ice and snow". What Willumsen perceived as a "world, inhospitable to humans" inspired the relief frame that surrounds and alters the narrative of the mountainous panorama. Of this indeterminate middle-ground Pedersen suggests that this cloud/ice formation is a play between night and day - and yet the colour of the sky remains unaltered and the murkier colours to the left are perhaps alternatively indicative of depth and a receding landscape.

The composition progresses down-wards into a larger mountain range, where monolithic

¹⁰² For more on the panorama see: Dolf Sternberger and Joachim Neugroschel, "Panorama of the 19th century", October 4 (Autumn 1977): 3-20; William Uricchio, "A 'Proper Point of View': The Panorama and some of its Early Media Iterations", Early Popular Visual Culture 9, no. 3 (2011): 225-238; John Plunkett, "Moving Panoramas c.1800 to 1840: The Spaces of Nineteenth-Century Picture-Going", 19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century 17 (2013): p.None. DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.674; and Carla Hermann, "Landscape and Power: Taunay's and Burford's Panoramas of Rio de Janeiro in Paris and London in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", Artelogie 10 (2017), DOI: 10.4000/artelogie.796.

¹⁰³ J.F. Willumsen, Willumsen Udstillning - Arrangeret af Den Frie Udstillning i anledning af kunstnerens 60-aars fodselsdag (October, 1923), 19. Accessed Oct 02, 2019, http://www.kunstbib.dk/objekter/udstillingskataloger/Udst_0903.pdf Original quotation: "Skyerne dreve bort, og jeg befandt mig ved Randen af en Afgrund og saa ud over et bjergfuldt Landskab i det høje Nord, alvorligt og brutalt dækket med evig Is og Sne".

¹⁰⁴Ibid. Original quotation: "en Verden, ubeboelig for Mennesker [...] Under Indtryk af denne Stemning af Alvor formede sig Sind-Billederne i Relieffet".

structures of rock dominate the centre of the picture plane. The swathes of white paint attempt to conceal the mountains beneath and introduce the stylised shapes reflected below. This pixelated stretch of painting is suggested by Pedersen as depicting the fragmented reflection of a mountain upon the surface of a lake, as seen in a photograph by Anders Beer Wilse, Bygdin - Rusteggen og Langeskavlen (Village Dune - Rustegen and Langeskavlen, 1910, fig. 99). This photograph is particularly effective in showing the patterns created by water in reflecting the snow-covered mountains surrounding it. Willumsen has blurred and distorted the surface of the water, to the point where the viewer does not know what they are looking at. Below, another mountain range takes shape, this time submerged in a swamp-green, indicating perhaps an impending that of ice and snow; and below which a more decipherable reflection endeavours to distinguish between land and sky. Our sense of depth and perspective are distorted from this point onwards. What was previously identified as the horizon has now been flattened out. We are viewing this mountainous landscape from above - as a prospect view - where two and three-dimensionality have been confused and incorporated together. As we view this painting from bottom to top, it as if standing atop a mountain and looking out towards the distance, where the space in-between peaks and ranges disappears as the mountains gradually consume the landscape.

Much as Varley might propose an association with Roerich, Jotunheim similarly recalls the work of Swiss painter Ferdinand Hodler, such as his Eiger, Mönch and Jungfrau above a Sea of Mist (1908, fig. 100), where the snow-covered caps of the mountains traverse the horizon. This in turn, evokes another of Willumsen's works Mountains Under the Southern Sun (1902, fig. 101), which as in his The Mountain Climber exhibited in the 1912-13 Exhibition, depicted the mountains as a pattern of interplaying shades of white and blue, where more shaded areas denote rock and yet the ice and snow have formed crevasses down the mountains surface. To suggest a possible historiographical influence on the Group of Seven in the work of Willumsen, also opens up future avenues of discussion with regards to Hodler and Roerich. The stylistic and tonal depiction of the alpine environment further looks to de-westernise these landscapes, with the Himalayas in particular. Given the fragile nature of Jotunheimen, it has meant that this work is rarely seen in exhibitions outside of the J.F. Willumsen's Museum in Frederikssund - it did not feature in the 1912-13 Exhibition or in Northern Light. It has, however, more recently been seen in the 2006 exhibition From Symbolism to Expressionism, Willumsen (1863-1958), a Danish Artist at the Museé d'Orsay, Paris,

and in the 2013 exhibition *Nordic Art: The Modern Breakthrough*, 1860-1920 in Groningen, Netherlands and Munich. The subsequent influence of Willumsen's abstracted mountainous forms, can be discerned most notably in the icescapes of Harris and Kent, for whom the latter had no connection to the 1912-13 Exhibition, and how they derived or perceived the Arctic landscape in a similar vein to Willumsen's Norwegian and Swiss mountainscapes.

Through the intersection of lakes and mountains within the Scandinavian and Canadian topographical landscape and the way in which these were conveyed through a tonally diverse palette, the study of the paintings identified within this chapter considered the role of environment as fundamental to an understanding of the Circumpolar environment. Despite often omitting the species or people that resided within the respective ecosystems, the paintings of the Group of Seven and their Scandinavian colleagues highlight an interaction with the environment that extends beyond associations with tourism and trade. This selective study of the overwhelming number of lakes and mountains existing within the topography of the Circumpolar North, indicates in the work of Sohlberg and Willumsen, a possible source of influence for those artists painting within the Arctic, as discussed in the following chapter. Here, the permanence of Norway's mountain landscapes acted as an inspiration behind the fleetingness of the icebergs and glaciers in Harris, Varley, Jackson and Kent's paintings of the Canadian Arctic and Alaska. By contrast, the glacial lakes of British Columbia find direct parallels in the lingering, but greatly diminished, glaciers of Canada, Greenland and Norway. In comparison to the abundant landscapes of Ontario and Norrland, the landscapes of the far north are foretelling of the environmental devastation caused by humans and which continues to trigger an ecocritical and interdisciplinary discussion of the Anthropocene.

Chapter 5

A White Horizon?

As we have seen, images of polar explorers and expeditions conflated ideas of "whiteness" 1 and heroism that surrounded the polar landscape during the 19th century, and which have formed the backbone of scholarly research into gender and exploration in the Arctic and Antarctica. The image of the Circumpolar North has, as such, been associated with mystery and heroic exploration, tragedy and conquest. An early-20th-century painterly fascination with the Arctic, however, was preoccupied with colour and tonality - identifying the blues and greens, before moving into the purples, pinks, and deep reds that emerge from the light as it refracts off the ice. Boberg's glacial landscapes, alongside the icebergs of Harris submerge the landscape in shades of blue-green indicating that the Arctic is anything but the "white" landscape recognised in 19th century polar exploration and its accompanying visual culture. Polar research has de-mystified the penguin and the polar bear, with the latter becoming, alongside the iceberg, a symbol of climate change.² And while Antarctica is the world's only collectively governed region and has "no stable or permanent human population", the Arctic has a long history of cultural production and political struggle. Yet, there has been no extended evaluation of art production within the Arctic and northern Circumpolar region. Although individual national art histories have acknowledged the role of the Arctic in the

¹Hill, White Horizon, 1.

²While climate change is known to have a devastating effect on global ecosystems, for the Gentoo species of penguin they are actually continuing to thrive. Able to move southward due to declining ice, adapt their diet, not solely reliant on krill, and alter their lifecycle to give birth earlier should the snow start melting sooner than expected, the Gentoo penguin, unlike the chinstrap and Adélie species which are declining rapidly due to their reliance on ice, has adapted to the effects of climate change on its ecosystem. Further research into penguin species loss and growth can be found in: Gemma V. Clucas, et al., "A reversal of fortunes: climate change 'winners' and 'losers' in Antarctic Peninsula penguins," *Scientific Reports* 4 (2014), DOI: https://doi.org/10.1038/srep05024

³Victoria Rosner, "Gender and Polar Studies: Mapping the Terrain", Signs 34, no. 3 (2009): 489.

work of certain individuals or groups of artists, there has been no comprehensive attempt to examine the Circumpolar and Arctic as an encompassing framework within which to broaden the scope of this national study.

This chapter looks at the Arctic as a scale within the Circumpolar, beginning with scenes of the northern lights, which present a conscious push further north into the polar landscape, and the glacial landscapes and icescapes painted across the Arctic Circle. I focus primarily on three artists - Harris, Boberg, and Kent - all of whom depicted different facets of the life and landscape in the Canadian, Norwegian and Greenland Arctic respectively. I view the works of these painters in tandem with one another and their colleagues, and while flirting with ideas of 19th-century symbolism, consider these alongside a modern-day climate change and environmental discourse. This chapter considers how the representation of ice in these works contributes to both an art historical and scientific record of a vanishing landscape. By viewing these artists in conjunction with one another, I highlight the dramatic changes that have occurred within the Arctic environment, noting tonal and topographical synergies around the Circumpolar landscape.

5.1 Kaleidoscopic Horizons

The first half of this chapter briefly evaluates a number of sub-Arctic, or Circumpolar, landscapes undertaken by Scandinavian and Canadian painters. For artists such as Thomson,
Jackson and Boberg their own far northern endeavours first reached visual fruition in their
depictions of the northern lights, which find direct parallels in paintings undertaken by 19thcentury explorers. These begin to push towards the northern polar boundary. Beyond this,
I also consider the role of the Lofoten Islands in Boberg's oeuvre and the significance of a
woman painter working and residing within a supposedly harsh Arctic environment. The
following pages begin to consider how, during the 19th and early-20th centuries, new ideas
of north were being repeatedly constructed by explorers and artists alike, questioning the
landscape beyond the unknown. By pushing further north towards the Arctic region, the
paintings of the Group of Seven and their Scandinavian colleagues endeavoured to identify
the characteristics of the polar environment, which provided an important parallel to contemporaneous exploratory endeavours. Davidson considered that "everyone carries their own

idea of north within them",⁴ and yet within this is also a shared idea of what constitutes a northern identity, as existing within the cultural and social lives of those in the Circumpolar region. The aurora borealis turned the landscape into a mystical and romanticised motif that wasn't fully comprehended. And yet, each individual, and seemingly isolated, experience of the aurora borealis is shared among cultures, and indigenous communities, and across the paintings of explorers and artists who sought to experience this remarkable, illuminated, polar environment.

The term "aurora borealis," or "northern dawn", was coined by the French natural philosopher Pierre Gassendi in 1621, with the Latin derived from the Greek words "Aurora" meaning "sunrise" and "Boreas" meaning "wind". The vernacular, "northern lights", was coined a century later by the Swedish astronomer and physicist Anders Celsius. Where the northern lights are themselves a "principal northern wonder: the maximum occurrence of auroral displays is at a latitude of 65°, distributed in a narrow, asymmetric band called the auroral oval", scientifically they are "caused by the collision between charged particles from the solar wind and atoms in the earth's atmosphere, resulting in a glowing manifestation that can appear in a variety of forms and colours". At their maximum strength, the aurora borealis would be visible across the far reaches of the Circumpolar North: in Yukon and Nunavut, Canada; Alaska, U.S.; Onega Bay and the Barents Sea, Russia; along the north coast of Scotland and in the uppermost Arctic of Norway, Sweden and Finland. While the aurora both stupefied and enthralled scientists, from the Enlightenment onwards, including Edmund Halley, J. J. Dortous de Mairan and Leonhard Euler, they further came to play a prominent role in literary, exploratory and artistic imaginations.

Beyond a scientific deconstruction of the aurora borealis,⁷ the fascination and awe that the aurora instils has, for numerous northern cultures, formed part of their own mythologies and spiritualism. Oral traditions, recorded by western explorers and anthropologists, derived from within Sami communities in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia,⁸ and the Inuit of

⁴Davidson, *Idea of North*, 9.

⁵Ibid, 67-68.

⁶Shane McCorristine, "'Involuntarily We Listen': Hearing the Aurora Borealis in Nineteenth-Century Arctic Exploration and Science", *Canadian Journal of History* 48, no. 1 (2013): 29.

⁷Following one specific observation of the aurora borealis, in 1716, Edmund Halley wrote a detailed, if not rather exhaustive, description of a particular experience of the aurora borealis: "out of what seemed a dusky Cloud, in the N.E. parts of the Heaven, [...] arose very long, luminous Rays or Streaks perpendicular to the Horizon, some of which seem'd nearly to ascend to the Zenith". See: J. Morton Briggs, "Aurora and Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century Explanations of the Aurora Borealis," *Isis* 58, no. 4 (1967): 492.

⁸Approximately 50-60 percent of the Sami live in Norway, 30-40 percent in Sweden, 10 percent in Finland, and under 4 percent in Russia. While the Sami inhabit almost all of Arctic Scandinavia, they are

Greenland, the Canadian Arctic and Alaska, have all considered the aurora borealis either as something to be revered or feared. Though no 19th or early-20th century visual accounts of the aurora exist from these communities, their stories, folklore and mythologies tell of the role the northern lights played in their daily lives. The contemporary Inuit artist and printmaker Germaine Arnaktauyok, based in the Northwest territories, has, however, sought to incorporate the northern lights and the encompassing folkloric traditions into an image that identifies the Inuit ancestors playing football with a walrus skull (unknown date, fig. 102). They dance upon the lights, which are held within the empty space of the night sky. Arnaktauyok engages with both her ancestral past and meteorological present.

A similar Circumpolar methodology as that applied to landscape painting can also be recognised on another scale: considering the environmental, cultural and artistic similarities between the indigenous, Inuit and Sami, communities of this "glocal" population. Nina Czegledy wrote that "Curiously, the Inuit in Canada, Alaska and Greenland, Samis in Russia and Scandinavia and various Siberian people, share circumpolar traditions", ¹⁰ transcribing their ancestry and legends onto the landscape around them and sky above them. A rootedness of the aurora borealis in folklore and spirits can be evidenced in the "migration paths of the past, the people spreading their stories with them". ¹¹ Although the specifics might vary, there is a common association between the northern lights and spirituality. Perhaps not so "curiously", in both Finnish and Sami folklore, they believed "that the aurora is caused by a fox running across the snowy fells of the north with its tail sweeping the snow and sending up radiances, 'fox fires', into the sky". ¹² Where the "tattered curtains" ¹³ of the aurora borealis illuminate the winter night sky and for many appear as ancestral tales, their painterly form at the beginning of the 20th century shows an awareness of both their mystical nature and the science behind them.

not exclusively an Arctic people, with their ranges extending as far south as approximately 62°N along the Norway-Sweden border. As rough estimates, approximately 900,000 people inhabit Arctic Scandinavia of whom perhaps 50,000-90,000 are Sami. See: Ilan Kelman and Marius Warg Næss, *Climate Change and Displacement for Indigenous Communities in Arctic Scandinavia* (Oslo: Centre for International Climate and Environmental Research), i, accessed May 18, 2019, https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/510a3eee2.pdf. Further discussion surrounding the indigenous Nordic populations is also found in: Jones and Olwig, *Nordic Landscapes*.

⁹Moki Kokoris, "The Aurora and its Fantastic Indigenous Interpretations," *Polar Bears International*, May 5, 2013, accessed June 10, 2019, https://polarbearsinternational.org/news/article-research/the-aurora-and-its-fantastic-indigenous-interpretations/

¹⁰Nina Czegledy, "Auroral Myths vis-à-vis Science," 55th International Astronautical Congress, Vancouver, Canada (2004), accessed May 18, 2019. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2514/6.IAC-04-IAA.6.16.1.02

¹¹Melanie Windridge, Aurora: In Search of the Northern Lights (London: HarperCollins, 2017), 46.

¹²Davidson, *Idea of North*, 69.

¹³Ibid, 69.

Accounts of the aurora during 19th century polar expeditions recognised the celestial, almost heavenly, effect that the aurora borealis had upon the unassuming spectator. In Clements R. Markham's 1853 publication *Franklin's Footsteps*, ¹⁴ he described an experience of the aurora borealis while tracing the route that Franklin's expedition had taken: "a very complete arch, passing through the zenith, divided the celestial concave into two equal parts, of a whitish colour tinged with red; the stars were seen through it with great brilliancy". ¹⁵ Meanwhile, in Nansen's *Farthest North* (1893-96), he wrote an account of the Arctic night, seemingly referencing the aurora borealis that would have cloaked the sky above the *Fram*:

Nothing more wonderfully beautiful can exist than the Arctic night. It is dreamland painted in the imagination's most delicate tints; it is colour etherealised. One shade melts into the other, so that you cannot tell where one shade ends and the other begins, and yet they are all there. No forms - it is all faint, dreamy colour music, a faraway, long-drawn-out melody on muted strings. ¹⁶

The lyrical Arctic landscape that Nansen experienced, one of "dreamy colour music", is reminiscent of a symbolist longing for a northerly mystical presence, and further recognises the modernist preoccupation with vibrant colours, revealing the most "delicate tints". A hand-coloured bookplate of the Aurora (1911, fig. 103), incorporated into the hardback volume of Nansen's The Northern Mists (1911) and derived from an earlier sketch from Farthest North (fig. 104), shows the lone explorer before the swirling trails of the aurora, which appear to dance their way towards the horizon. Bands of red, yellow and green illuminate the midnight blue of the sky, which is only intermittently perforated by stars. Nansen's Arctic is one consumed by colour, directly contradicting the contemporaneous "white" image presented by British explorers and journalists. A focus on the colours of the polar landscape and on the physical journey through the Arctic, in Nansen's writing and illustrations, contrasts with an imperialistic preoccupation with owning land and establishing a means of justifying a 'whitening' of an inhabited and non-white landscape.

¹⁴Clements R. Markham, Franklin's footsteps: a sketch of Greenland along the shores of which his expedition passed, and of the Parry Isles, where the last traces of it were found (London: Chapman and Hall, 1853), accessed May 18, 2019, https://archive.org/details/franklinsfootste00mark/page/n83

¹⁶Fridtjof Nansen, Farthest North: Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship "Fram" 1893-96 and of Fifteen Months' Sleigh Journey by Dr. Nansen and Lieut. Johansen (New York/London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1897), 154, accessed May 18, 2019, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/30197/30197-h/30197-h.htm

The use of the Latin "aurora borealis" was popular among 19th-century travel writers and explorers, "drawing attention perhaps to a nineteenth-century tendency toward the scientific classification and the language of empiricism". Although the aurora could be seen throughout the northern and southern Circumpolar regions, with over one third of Norway situated north of the Arctic Circle, ¹⁸ they have come to be most associated with the Scandinavian nation, attracting both amateur and professional photographers. ¹⁹ British travel writer Maria Dickson, who travelled to Norway with her husband in the late 1860s, visiting the west and central fjords, recalled an experience of the aurora in her book *Norway and the Vöring-Fos* (1870): "We sat alone on deck absorbed in dreamy thoughts, when suddenly the Aurora Borealis shone forth with indescribable splendour, casting its strange magic around". Again, the words "dreamy" and "magic" appear, like Nansen, in a description of the Arctic aurora. The ties between symbolism, spirituality, and the northern lights are inescapable; and the spectacle of the northern lights would, as it is now, have been an often recurring but wondrous feature to those travelling to experience the Norwegian landscape during winter and early spring.

Dancing the Veil Dance

Boberg's work marks a significant interjection into the study of the Arctic in Nordic art history. Her first visit to Lofoten in the summer of 1901 marked the beginning of a thirty-year long love affair with the islands. As well as being the main consideration in her autobiography Envar sitt ödes lekboll (1934), the overwhelming presence of Lofoten in Boberg's oeuvre is incalculable: at the time of the 1912-13 Exhibition Boberg had more than "four hundred small sketches in a fireproof vault in Stockholm, carefully preserved not only for their artistic value, but also for the accuracy of detail which make them historically valuable". A similar affinity of prolonged inspiration is more commonly recognised in the lives and works of the Group of Seven, for whom many found repeated artistic sustenance in a landscape that wasn't

¹⁷Kathryn Walchester, "What Norway Really Is", in *Women, Travel Writing, and Truth*, ed. Clare Broome Saunders (Oxford/New York: Routledge, 2014), 50.

¹⁸Jones and Olwig, *Nordic Landscapes*, 553.

¹⁹Scholarly writing on the northern lights and tourism in Norway can be found in: Giovanna Bertella, "Photography and Northern Lights Tourism in Tromsø, Norway", *The Northern Review*, no. 37 (Fall 2013): 167-186; and Helene Amundsen, "Differing Discourses of Development in the Arctic: The Case of Nature-Based Tourism in Northern Norway", *The Northern Review*, no. 35 (Spring 2012): 125-146.

²⁰Walchester, "What Norway Really Is", 27.

 $^{^{21}{\}rm Hanna}$ Astrup Larsen, "Anna Boberg: The Sea Painter of the North," *The Craftsman* 23, no. 4 (January 1913): 448.

ordinarily their home. Considering Boberg's paintings of the northern lights in tandem with the Group of Seven, I would like to draw attention to a couple of examples that recognise the recurring presence of the aurora borealis as shared across the Circumpolar North. This phenomenon is found in the similar palette, compositional relationship between sky and land, and in the recognition of an active involvement between artists and the polar environment; moving beyond the easily attainable and instead searching for the challenge of the new.

Boberg's paintings of the aurora borealis have remained elusive to the academic researcher. While reference is made to a number of works purporting to depict the northern lights in the online collection of the Nationalmuseum, it has not been possible to ascertain how these appear in comparison to her catalogued works. It is furthermore difficult to date Boberg's work - although it is known they span a period from 1901-1934 - as no mention is made of any date or time in her diaries. Boberg appears to have associated timelessness with the Arctic, removing any specificity between her work and the period during which she resided within this environment. This directly contradicts our contemporary obsession with the polar landscape and the passing of time - dating photographs in time-lapse series' so as to show the diminishing nature of the global frozen environment. Although undated, a small study of the aurora is included in Boberg's autobiography, entitled Northern Lights Veil Dance (Norrskenets slöjdans, n.d., fig. 105), where swathes of paint denote the lights swirling through the sky above a barely perceptible (in this black and white photograph) fjord and mountain-scape. Stars shine through the dancing veils of lights that have descended upon the landscape, speckling the Arctic night sky. Boberg recalled one of her first experiences of the aurora following their move to Svolvær:

the indigenous northern lights were out before us. Having danced the veil dance à la Loïe Fuller for a while, the Northern Lights gave a sigh and started to burst like fireworks until the whole of heaven above was alight. At its crown, like Rome's Pantheon, was a large, round, window-like hole against the edge of which the fire abruptly extinguished itself, and through which we thought we could discern the brooding night sky.²²

 $^{^{22}}$ Anna Boberg, Envarsitt ödes lekboll (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1934), 67. Original quotation: "Men urinvånaren norrskenet var ute före oss. Och det, norrskenet, efter att en stund ha dansat slöjdans à la Loïe Fuller, gav sig till att brassa på med ett sjudundrande praktfyrverkeri tills hela himmelskupan stod i ljusan låga. Mitt uppe i hjässan hade den, likt Roms Pantheon, ett stort runt fönsterliknande hål, mot vars kant branden tvärt slocknade och genom vilket vi tyckte oss skönja den ovan flamkupolen ruvande natten".

The symbolist sentiment within Boberg's description of the northern lights reimagines a 19th-century symbolism and classicism in the allegorical attributes of the fading particle of light. Her reference to a "veil dance" might further reference Oscar Wilde's 1891 translation of his own French play, Salome: where the biblical protagonist Salome danced the dance of the seven veils before King Herod II. Further reference to the turn-of-the-century American dancer and actress Loïe Fuller, pays homage to the latter's iconic and subsequently synonymous "Serpentine Dance" (popular during the late 1890s), which saw her accompany her movement with silk drapery and coloured lights (fig. 106).²³ Boberg's aurora borealis assimilates these fluid, dance-like, movements in Northern Lights, Lofoten (n.d., fig. 107). The viewer looks out across the fjord towards the open sea, which is squeezed in-between mountains that bookend the lower limits of the painting. The composition has been given over to the ribbons of green and pink light that illuminate and fall through the vividly blue sky, reflected in the water below. As the lights fade, the speckles of pastel-hued light evoke Nansen's remark: "Here and there are left a few waving streamers of light, vague as a foreboding - they are the dust from the aurora's shimmering cloak". 24 Yet as they fade, and the dust remains, like a crescendo, the light builds up again.

Printed on the same page as Northern Lights Veil Dance is Boberg's Northern Lights Fireworks (Norrskensfyrverkeri, n.d., fig. 108).²⁵ As the title alludes, the aurora appears to blast forth from the horizon, bearing closer resemblance to a firework display or the signalling of flares. The palette is softer and more muted, where curtains of light fold in on one another, swirling round in a pattern of shimmering pastel pink, yellow and green light against a mid-winter sky. The snow covered mountain is central to the composition, unlike in the previous example, concealing the origin of the aurora borealis as it emerges in a furious blaze. Boberg's focus is on the control of the patterns created by these charged particles and concentrating their thinly veiled movement within the centre of the composition. Despite the explosion of light and colour, there remains a temporality to the aurora in Boberg's paintings; that any moment they will vanish from sight - already fading in and out of the

²³Contemporary imitators of Fuller's serpentine dancing include Jody Sperling, have incorporated the drapery and lights into pieces of choreography, such as "Ice Floe", "Bringing the Arctic Home", "Ice Cycle", and "Piece for a Northern Sky," which consider ice, the Arctic, and climate change.

²⁴Nansen, Farthest North, 154.

²⁵The title for this painting given by the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm is simply *Northern Lights. Study from Northern Norway (Norrsken. Studie från Nordlandet)*, however, in Anna Boberg's autobiography - *Envar sitt ödes lekboll* - the painting is given the title *Northern Lights Fireworks*. This is the title I will be adopting in reference to the painting.

landscape as they ribbon through the sky above the harbour village.

From the Norwegian Arctic, to the familiar landscape of Algonquin in Thomson's Northern Lights (Spring 1917, fig. 109), here, the the rays of green light from the aurora illuminate and distort the hill on the horizon. A smattering of stars appear across the top of the picture plane, or are these particles left behind from the already faded aurora? The effervescence of the aurora has turned the sky electric, pulsing along the curvature of the horizon. Anna Hudson wrote that Thomson's painting "visualises the new world order of the atomic age that began with the discoveries of relativity and quantum. [...] This electrified landscape is a haunting reminder of a reality beyond empirical reach, as mysterious as the death of the artist himself less than three months later". Thomson's painting, however, predates relativity (c.1919) and quantum theories (famously showcased at The Solvay Conference, Copenhagen in 1927). In addition, relativity has little to do with nuclear physics, and the general public are likely to have not engaged with a discussion of the term nuclear until 1944 with the Trinity test case. Furthermore, while identifying a pre-emptive scientific intrigue caused by the aurora borealis, it is perhaps fortuitous to extend the mystical nature they command to Thomson's own mysterious fate.

The pulsing and rhythmic pattern that the aurora forms in Thomson's study of an early Spring snow-covered environment more closely recalls the falling of flares, contemporary with the First World War, and with a lingering Victorian sensibility and fascination with the intricacies of our physical world. Research undertaken by the molecular physicist John Tyndall measured the absorption of heat by gases such as water vapour and carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, subsequently facilitating an understanding of why the sky is blue (Tyndall further proposed a theory on glacial movement, which received heated feedback from Ruskin, as seen later).²⁷ In this vein, in Thomson's Northern Lights (1916, fig. 110), the aurora bursts forth from the sky like an explosion as in Boberg's Northern Lights Fireworks. Here, there is no ethereal or dance-like pattern, rather rays of yellow and white light, the paint thickly applied in harsh lines, radiate from behind low-hanging swathes of blue cloud. Dust particles scatter from the aurora into the sky, appearing as multi-coloured stars against the night sky. Comparisons might further be drawn between Thomson's Northern Lights and paintings

²⁶Anna Hudson, "Landscape Atomysticism: A Revelation of Tom Thomson" in *Painting Canada: Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven*, eds. Ian Dejardin and Amy Concannon (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2012), 29.

²⁷"John Tyndall's Blue Sky Apparatus", *The Royal Institution of Science*, accessed Oct 02, 2019, https://www.rigb.org/our-history/iconic-objects/iconic-objects-list/tyndall-blue-sky

such as James Abbott McNeill Whistler's *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (1874, fig. 111), where a concentrated focus on the particles of light from the exploding rocket merge with the lights of the industrial setting beyond. As in both paintings, our focus is intended for the light that speckles the sky, while the rest of the landscape remains submerged in darkness.

While Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories has in recent years promoted itself as a prime location for viewing the northern lights, for Canada's painters during the first half of the 20th century this meteorological phenomenon was observed as close as Algonquin Provincial Park, and as far as the Labrador Coast. Jackson's Arctic excursions recognised the green luminosity that radiated from the aurora borealis, in studies such as Aurora (1927, fig. 112), where waves of bright turquoise hover above the landscape, reflected in the stillness of the fjord below. In parallel with this, Jackson also adopted a monochromatic palette to focus on the patterns created by the northern lights. It is the harsh contrast between the black ink and white paper in Jackson's Labrador (c.1927, fig. 113) which allows for a marked divide between water, land and sky. The ribbons of the aurora overwhelm the evening sky, with only a few stars perforating the black of night. Jackson's vision of the Arctic sky above the landscape of Labrador signifies a push towards the polar north and away from the familiar Ontarian landscape. Arguably the most intrepid of the Group of Seven, this ink drawing is derived from Jackson's first journey to the Arctic in 1927. He made a subsequent trip to the Arctic in the company of Harris in 1930, with his final Arctic visit taking place in 1965 as part of the McGill University Alpine Club.²⁸ An association between alpine and Arctic, as in the mountainous studies in Chapter 4, suggests an altitudinal thinking in-line with a latitudinal methodology. This image of Labrador further marks only the beginning of Jackson's exploration of the wider Canadian Circumpolar and Arctic landscape.

Seen alongside his *Northern Lights*, is Jackson's *Glacier on Devon Island* (c.1927, fig. 114). Depicting the rotund mass of a glacier billowing over the edge of the mountains, the pressure from the rocks either side appear to force the ice down to the water's surface. While many of the glaciers depicted by Harris and Jackson remain anonymous, the dome-like structure of the Devon ice-cap, located in the south-east Queen Elizabeth Island, Nunavut,

²⁸Further visits to the Canadian Far North were furthermore undertaken in 1938, 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1959 to Great Bear Lake in the Northwest Territories, to Great Slave Lake and the Barren Lands in 1957 and 1959, and to the Yukon in 1964. See: A. Ladon, "Art and Arctic Sovereignty: A.Y. Jackson, Lawren S. Harris and Canada's Eastern Arctic Patrols", (master's dissertation, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 2012).

Canada, is "one of the largest ice masses in the Canadian Arctic, the region that contains the greatest total area of land ice in the Northern Hemisphere outside the Greenland ice sheet" covering 14.400km². ²⁹ It terminates in a number of large outlet glaciers (a valley glacier that drains an inland ice-sheet and flows through a gap in the surrounding mountains)³⁰ that descend to sea-level, while also being considered a "polar desert, as mean annual precipitation is under 200mm. It is likely that Jackson's drawing was undertaken from Beechey Island just off the coast of Devon Island, as the SS Beothic allowed him to disembark for a short period (this was also where Franklin made camp during the winter of 1845-6). A photograph supports this hypothesis and shows the artist at work, encircled by small ice-floes, and the Beothic in the distance (fig. 115).

Earlier iterations of the northern lights, working in a similar vein to Jackson's later ink drawings, are found in Balke's series of paintings, including Northern Lights over Coastal Landscape (Nordlys over klippekyst, c.1870, fig. 116) and Northern Lights (Nordlys, n.d., fig. 117). Here, the Norwegian painter simplified the aurora as a wash of white paint against a black sky. Abstracted in form, they appear as mountainous mirages against the darkness of the Arctic night. The fleetingness and temporality of their form is emphasised in the empty space they hover within, floating above the landscape with no connection to what is beneath them. Unlike in Boberg, Thomson and Jackson's paintings and drawings which all recognise a connection between land and light, Balke's painting renders these lights as purely ethereal. Although it is unlikely that Balke witnessed the northern lights first hand, as his journey beyond the Arctic Circle took place during the summer months of 1832,³² his monochromatic studies of the northern lights, despite the relative modernity in his "simple vertical and horizontal strokes of paint", 33 reiterate a romanticised longing for a sublime experience in the 'memories' of Northern Norway.

The prevalence of the northern lights within the landscape painting of the Circumpolar world is also found in the work of the Russian painter Konstantin Korovin, who provides an exception to the Scandinavian and North American focus of this thesis. Despite Korovin's

²⁹Sarah Boon, David O. Burgess, Roy M. Koerner and Martin J Sharp, "Forty-seven Years of Research on the Devon Island Ice Cap, Arctic Canada," ARCTIC 63, no. 1 (March 2010): 14.

³⁰ "Cryosphere Glossary - outlet glacier", National Snow and Ice Data Center, accessed June 04, 2019,

 $^{^{32}}$ Knut Ljøgodt, "In Quest of the Sublime: Peder Balke and the Romantic Discovery of the North" in Paintings by Peder Balke, ed. Marit Ingeborg Lange, Knut Ljøgodt, and Christopher Riopelle (London: National Gallery Company, 2014), 52.

³³Ibid, 53.

strong ties to Moscow, his affinity with the North derives from time spent in Swedish Lapland and the Norwegian Arctic.³⁴ His painting Hammerfest. Polar Lights (1894-95, fig. 118),³⁵ drawing upon sketches undertaken while in Norway and painted as soon as arriving back in Moscow, inspired the writer Alexander Amfiteatrov to write: "Do you remember Kostya [sic] Korovin's 'Hammerfest'? How the air quivers in the blue fever of polar lights? And the brighter the blue quivering, the deeper this chill penetrates you, the more clearly you feel that down there, behind that blue flame sparked from ice floes - 600 degrees below zero and mute death". The repeated mentioning of blue is more closely tied to descriptions and depictions of ice discussed later on in this chapter. Yet similarly the colour denotes the cold - "quivering", a "chill" and "death" are all encapsulated by the colour blue. Amfiteatrov defines the northern lights within an Arctic landscape, using colour as the means by which to draw parallels between the sky and the sea. In Korovin's painting the sky is completely illuminated by beams of white, blue and green light appearing beyond the harbour. The aurora takes on an ethereal quality above the city lights, where the "pulsating nacreous, bluish green light suffuses all of the space". The meeting point between the aurora and the water is, as a result, electrified; colour transfusing from one across to the other.

The pseudo-paranormal experience of the aurora borealis is embodied in the paintings of the previously discussed artists. While Korovin provides a noteworthy Russian interjection into a study, in this instance, concerned with the Scandinavian and North American landscape, the indigenous traditions and folklore surrounding the aurora address the often associated mysticism, symbolism and subsequent modernism ascribed to these paintings. Depicting a landscape still associated with familiar ground in the case of the Group of

³⁴The first visit Korovin made to the Arctic was in the company of the Russian painter Valentin Serov, travelling over the Northern Dvina to Arkhangelsk, before boarding the steamship "Lomonosov", taking them to Novaya Zemlya and the Murman coast, before visiting the north of Norway and Sweden. Korovin later repeated this journey in 1895, in the company of the art critic Nikolai Prakhov and the painter Nikolai Dosekin. His journeys to Russian Siberia and the Scandinavian Arctic, further inspired a pavilion for *All-Russia Industrial and Art Exhibition* of 1896 (designed alongside Nizhny Novgorod) and a series of murals for the 1900 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris. Source: Olga Atroshchenko, "The North in the Art of Russian Painters," *Tretyakov Gallery Magazine, Special Issue: Norway-Russia: On the Crossroads of Cultures* (2013): 102-115.

³⁵The town of Hammerfest, located within the county of Finnmark at 70°N - and regarded as the world's most northerly town - was a prominent centre for Arctic trapping and fishing during the late 18th and early-19th century, before being surpassed by Tromsø around 1850. It, moreover, traded in oil sourced from walruses, seals and whales, exporting to Western Europe and Russian traders who came over from the East. Source: "A Brief History of Hammerfest," *Visit Hammerfest*, accessed June 10, 2019, https://www.visithammerfest.net/history

³⁶Atroshchenko, "The North in the Art of Russian Painters," 111.

³⁷Ibid, 111.

Seven, the studies undertaken by Boberg, Jackson and Thomson indicate a conscious effort to push further north into their respective environments. Toying with ideas associated with polar exploration, and ideas of femininity and masculinity within the construct of the Arctic landscape, these painters introduce the idea of the artist-traveller often associated with 19th-century literature and adventure. They, moreover, recognise a compositional and tonal focus in their perception of topography, climate and meteorological phenomena.

5.2 Imagining Ice. Vanishing Ice

"Ice is integral to the human condition".³⁸ Such is the way Klaus Dodds concluded the prologue to his volume *Ice: Nature and Culture* (2018). He is not wrong. Ice plays, and has played, a fundamental part in the way in which we interact, and have interacted, with the polar landscape, both scientifically and visually. In the present day, however, the discussion surrounding ice is frequently concentrated on the global repercussions of climate change. While recent curatorial endeavours have sought to encourage the role of contemporary art, photography and installation in raising public awareness concerning ice-melt and the subsequent domino effect on global ecologies, the art history of the earlier Circumpolar North has often been overlooked within scholarly writings and exhibitions. By providing an indepth analysis of the icescapes of Scandinavia, Greenland and Canada, which have hitherto been virtually unexplored in their respective national art histories, I consider the works of those artists working and residing within an ice-filled landscape as mediating an art-science dualism, and as visual records of a vanishing and anthropogenic landscape.

While there exist countless scientific studies on glacial history, the social and cultural lives of glaciers have only in recent years become a topic of more interdisciplinary scholarly endeavours. Julie Cruikshank's Do Glaciers Listen?: Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters and Social Imagination (2005), Nancy Campbell's The Library of Ice (2018), and M. Jackson's The Secret Lives of Glaciers (2019) have all sought to recognise the roles played by glaciers and ice in indigenous and western cultural histories. Also note that these three examples are all written by women. Women literary and cultural historians such as Lisa Bloom and Elena Glasberg have further sought to reconfigure the role of women within the polar landscape, moving beyond a polar history which has built up "the social construction of

³⁸Klaus Dodds, *Ice: Nature and Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2018), 23.

masculinity and legitimized the exclusion of women from any public domains of discourse".³⁹ By further considering contemporary women artists as part of the "open and living ecology"⁴⁰ of the frozen landscape, Bloom and Glasberg's writing, and the work of the artists, contributes to a "collective reframing of what constitutes evidence of changes in the ice, land, animals or native populations of the polar regions".⁴¹ By recontextualising the world's glaciers it has meant that "for many people who may previously have considered them eternally frozen, safely distant, and largely inert",⁴² these far-flung landscapes have now become icons of global climate change. The second part of this chapter endeavours to contribute to this ongoing culture-science discussion, by situating Circumpolar glacial landscapes and icescapes during the 19th and early-20th century in conversation with one another. A continued discussion of women painters working and residing with the Arctic further proposes to disentangle ice from a solely male-orientated space.

There are over 400,000 glaciers and ice caps situated across the globe, accounting for over 5.8 million square miles of ice. 43 Of these, 50% of the world's glaciers are located within the Arctic region 44 - with Greenland and the Antarctic ice sheets accounting for 99% of the world's total ice cover. 45 These are the only two ice sheets in the world, differing from ice caps which are "miniature ice sheets" measuring below the prescribed 50,000 square kilometres, an example of such is the Vatnajökull ice cap in Iceland. 46 During the peak of the last ice age (which ended 11,700 years ago), glaciers covered around 32% of the total land area, as opposed to the 10% they do today. 47 Although no literary study nor visual analysis can hope to recognise the full extent of our planet's icy surface, the focus has often been on 19th century romanticised depictions of the Arctic and Alpine sublime. Here, "the nineteenth-century picture of an earth whose surface is continually being modified by very slow natural processes is being replaced by the image of a planet that is being altered by rapid processes

³⁹Lisa Bloom, Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 6.

⁴⁰Elena Glasberg, Antarctica as Cultural Critique: The Gendered Politics of Scientific Exploration and Climate Change (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012), xiii.

⁴¹Lisa Bloom and Elena Glasberg, "Disappearing Ice and Missing Data: Climate Change in Visual Culture of the Polar Regions," *Journal of the New Media Caucus* 6, no.1 (Summer 2010): 120.

⁴²Julie Cruikshank, Do Glaciers Listen?: Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 6.

⁴³M. Jackson, The Secret Lives of Glaciers (Vermont: Green Writers Press, 2019), 8.

⁴⁴Dodds, *Ice: Nature and Culture*, 29.

⁴⁵Jackson, The Secret Lives of Glaciers, 31.

 $^{^{46}}$ "Glacier Types: Ice Caps," National Snow & Ice Data Centre, accessed June 11, 2019, https://nsidc.org/%20cryosphere/glaciers/gallery/icecaps.html

⁴⁷ "All About Glaciers," National Snow & Ice Data Center, accessed May 18, 2019, https://nsidc.org/cryosphere/glaciers

caused by humans".⁴⁸ Considering, the early 20th century polar environment alongside earlier iterations, the effects of painting the landscape only furthers the relevance of art history in discussion with environmental change, human encounters and the Anthropocene.

Glaciers are formed when "snow lands on ice sheets and glaciers", it is then "buried, compressed and transformed into glacial ice".⁴⁹ The deeper you go, the older the ice can be, dating in some instances back to the Pleistocene era. Ice acts as a mediator of time, between the Anthropocene and earlier global epochs. Furthermore, "Ice never forgets its origins. It is a substance after all which is perfectly capable of turning back into water".⁵⁰ Where a glacier terminates at the ocean or sea, often referred to as tidewater glaciers, this results in ice naturally calving into the water. This frontal ablation (the main process of surface melt as air temperatures increase)⁵¹ is where icebergs come into play. The Greenland Ice Sheet terminates in multiple tidewater glaciers, annually losing "between one third and one half of the ice" through calving and submarine melting.⁵² Beyond this, lacustrine (or lake) terminating glaciers, including the Jostedalsbreen and Engabreen in Norway, Mendenhall Glacier in Alaska and Breiðamerkurjökull in Iceland, calve directly into lakes or lagoons. The scale of the icebergs which calve off these different types of glaciers varies quite dramatically from small "bergy bits"⁵³ to full-scale icebergs measuring anything over five metres above water level.

Campbell wrote that the "descriptive names glaciers were given are now clues to the climate of the past".⁵⁴ The same can be said for the paintings examined within the following pages. Remaining tied to a discussion of 'wilderness', the way in which the Arctic and Circumpolar North were perceived by artists recognises that this isn't a deserted, barren, or necessarily remote landscape, but rather an environment significant on a global, not merely local or regional scale. Facilitated by a wider study of the polar region, an understanding of the social, cultural, visual and material climate of the region facilitates a more concen-

⁴⁸Ben Orlove, "The Place of Glaciers in Natural and Cultural Landscapes" in *Darkening Peaks: Glacial Retreat, Science and Society*, ed. Brian H. Luckman, Ben Orlove and Ellen Wiegandt Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 8.

⁴⁹Dodds, Ice: Nature and Culture, 32.

 $^{^{50}}$ Ibid, 24.

⁵¹Bethan Davis, "Glacier Accumulation and Ablation," *Antarctic Glaciers.org*, 06 November 2018, accessed May 25, 2019, http://www.antarcticglaciers.org/glacier-processes/glacier-accumulation-and-ablation/

⁵²Douglas I. Benn, Tom Cowton, Joe Todd, and Adrian Luckman, "Glacier Calving in Greenland," Current Climate Change Reports 3, no. 4 (December 2017): 282.

⁵³"Cryosphere Glossary - Bergy Bit", National Snow and Ice Data Center, accessed June 04, 2019, https://nsidc.org/cryosphere/glossary/term/bergy-bit

 $^{^{54} \}rm Nancy$ Campbell, The Library of Ice: Readings from a Cold Climate (London: Simon and Schuster, 2018), 203.

trated analysis of the role this icy landscape played in the painting of Scandinavia, Canada and Greenland during the first half of the 20th century. By incorporating paintings and art historical practice into a discussion of landscape and environment it provides a timely interjection to the study of the anthropogenic landscape, reinvigorating the importance of considering visual culture alongside scientific analysis.

Ice in the 19th-Century Imagination

Markham compared the Arctic landscape to "the varying configurations of a kaleidoscope".⁵⁵ Much like the northern lights, each prism and particle of this environment is shaped differently from the other, with flakes of snow forming patterns upon the earth's surface and freezing into landscapes that have inspired generations. Whilst Maggie Cao has argued that the "icescape, then, has been antithetical to landscape since the nineteenth century", ⁵⁶ I would argue that during the 19th century, in particular, the icescape was included alongside the landscape and seascape, where landlocked glaciers, for example, came to be considered in a similar vein to landscapes of the alpine Sublime. From the alpine glaciers of Switzerland to the icebergs off the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador, artists including, Turner, Ruskin, Dahl, and Church all sought out the icy corners of these environments, recording then, as now, fleeting and fading landscapes.

During a 19th-century rise in Alpine tourism,⁵⁷ the glaciers of the French and Swiss Alps, such as Mer de Glace in Chamonix, inspired many of Europe's artist-naturalist-explorer's, notably Turner and Ruskin.⁵⁸ The work of these two pinnacles of Victorian landscape painting and art-criticism, individually depicted romanticised visions of the overwhelming alpine glaciers, as in Ruskin's *The Mer de Glace from the Montanvers Hotel above Chamonix* (1849, fig. 119). The graphite structure of the glacier, forms jagged peaks of ice, receding into soft ripples upon the surface as the landscape recedes, while brown and blue-grey ink

⁵⁵Markham, Franklin's Footsteps, 60.

 $^{^{56}\}mathrm{Maggie}$ Cao, "Icescapes," $American\ Art\ 31,\ \mathrm{no.}\ 2$ (Summer 2017): 50.

⁵⁷For further discussion on tourism and the alps see: P. Godde, *Tourism and Development in Mountain Regions* (Wallingford: CABI, 2000); Eric Pawson and Hans-Rudolf Egli, "History and (Re)discovery of the European and New Zealand Alps Until 1900," *Mountain Research and Development* 21, no. 4 (2001): 350-58; and Susan Barton, *Healthy Living in the Alps: The Origins of Winter Tourism in Switzerland, 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

⁵⁸Alongside a British fascination for the Swiss alpine glaciers, a number of Swiss artists, including Caspar Wolf (1735-1783), who also took to painting their local and national glacial landscape during the 18th and 19th century. Wolf's painting is crucial to an understanding and appreciation of glaciers such as the Grindelwald Glacier, for he was working at the time of the Little Ice Age, witnessing it grow, rather than recede. For a comprehensive study on Wolf, see: Andreas Beyer and Bodo Brinkmann, Caspar Wolf (1735-1783): Und Die Ästhetische Eroberung Der Natur (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2014).

washes juxtapose the silhouetted mountains against the river of ice that navigates its way through the valley. A number of sketches by both Ruskin and Turner, including the latter's The Mer de Glace, Looking up to the Aiguille de Tacul (1802, fig. 120), were most recently included in the 2019 Ruskin, Turner & the Storm Cloud Exhibition at York Art Gallery, in commemoration of Ruskin's birth in 1819, alongside contemporary responses by British painter Emma Stibbon. Painting, photographing and writing about Mer de Glace did not suffice for Ruskin who also endeavoured, during his time in Chamonix, to act as the agent for the glaciologist James David Forbes. Here, he proposed "lining up laborers to dig a pit in the ice near the end of the glacier", using this as an "observation point from which to see changes in the glacier's profile".⁵⁹ Ruskin's practical foray into glaciology was not long lasting. Detailed letters between him and Forbes show him undertaking painstaking field observations of the glacial changes and motion that he witnessed during his repeated visits to the Alps.⁶⁰ Ruskin had further rebuked and ridiculed the glacial theories put forward by Tyndall who, like Forbes, and indeed Ruskin himself, based his studies on repeated visits to the alpine regions of France and Switzerland. Although perhaps not aware of the extent to which glacial change could, and would, impact the planet, already at this early stage, both artist and scientist were aware of a change occurring that seemed to go beyond geological expectations.

Of the approximately 54,000 glaciers located within Europe alone,⁶¹ it was those of Switzerland and Norway that held particular allure for artists, writers and explorers. After 1815, the glacial region of the Swiss Alps received a boom in British tourism, including Percy Bysshe and Mary Shelley, who were in turn visited by Lord Byron. The latter considered that "a glacier near Grindelwald was 'a frozen hurricane'. Such an apotheosis of Nature, is redolent of what has been called 'a Romantic engagement with ice". ⁶² A similar "romantic" engagement with ice, connected to a booming tourism industry, was noted among female travellers to the Norwegian mountain ranges and glaciers. In Aubrey Le Blond's *Mountaineering in the Land of the Midnight Sun* (1908), the "Norwegian panorama is cleared of

⁵⁹Bruce Hevly, "The Heroic Science of Glacier Motion," Osiris 11, Science in the Field (1996): 75.

 $^{^{60}}$ "John Ruskin and James David Forbes," *Echoes From the Vault*, St Andrews Special Collections, Feb 02, 2019, accessed June 11, 2019, https://standrewsrarebooks.wordpress.com/2019/02/08/john-ruskin-and-james-david-forbes/

⁶¹Dodds, Ice: Nature and Culture, 32.

⁶²Robert Holland, The Warm South: How the Mediterranean Shaped the British Imagination (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), 89.

its people and transposed into a 'playground' for its British visitors".⁶³ Contemporaneous with Boberg's visits to Lofoten, for Le Blond tourism had shaped the mountainous panoramic vistas of Norway for the benefit of foreign tourists, fitting it to a new purpose suited for the leisurely wanderer rather than the intrepid explorer. Visiting Jostedalsbreen for the second time in 1888, having been two years earlier, Edna Lyall and her travelling companion Miss Peck, noted that these tours "were not very extensive or strenuous, rather the kind then deemed suitable for ladies to western Norway's more accessible beauty spots".⁶⁴ Although women took advantage of and benefitted from this landscape, it was predominantly men who sought to paint it.

Dahl's painting View of Nigardsbreen in Jostedalen (1839/1844, fig. 121) romanticises a landscape that during the 19th century had come to serve as a playground for tourists. The evolution of the Nigardsbreen and wider Jostedalsbreen ice cap has been recorded in a number of scientific studies, all of which have sought to use pictorial sources, to varying degrees, as a means of chronicling the glacier's historical fluctuations. My analysis looks instead at how science might benefit an art historical account of landscape painting, facilitating a reading of environment, topography and geology alongside stylistic and compositional analysis. Dahl's painting of Nigardsbreen is used to "prove a slight advance of the glacier until 1839" after glacial retreat was recorded on two separate occasions in 1812 and 1819. Jostedalsbreen is, moreover, Norway's largest glacier covering, for example, "fifty percent more area than all the Swedish glaciers combined". In Dahl's View of Nigardsbreen, the composition approaches the glacier from a distance, and yet it is the ice which focuses the composition. Fissures in this icy mass dominate at the tongue of the glacier, with vast crevasses extending beyond where the eye can see. The thickness of the ice at the terminal point supports Nussbaumer's suggestion that the glacier had advanced. Scandinavia had been subject to a mini-surge

⁶³Kathryn Walchester, Gamle Norge and Nineteenth-Century British Women Travellers in Norway (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2014), 132-133.
⁶⁴Ibid. 156.

⁶⁵See: Wibjörn Karlén and John A. Matthews, "Reconstructing Holocene Glacier Variations from Glacial Lake Sediments: Studies from Nordvestlandet and Jostedalsbreen-Jotunheimen, Southern Norway," Geografiska Annaler: Series A, Physical Geography 74, no. 4 (1992): 327-348.; Heinz J. Zumbühl, D. Steiner, and Samuel .U. Nussbaumer, "19th century glacier representations and fluctuations in the central and western European Alps: An interdisciplinary approach," Global and Planetary Change 60 (2008): 42-57.; Samuel U. Nussbaumer, Atle Nesje, and Heinz J. Zumbühl, "Historical glacier fluctuations of Jostedalsbreen and Folgefonna (southern Norway) reassessed by new pictorial and written evidence," The Holocene 21, no 3 (2011): 455-471.

⁶⁶Nussbaumer, "Historical glacier fluctuations", 462.

⁶⁷Valter Schytt, "Glaciers in Europe - Glaciers of Sweden," U.S. Geological Survey Professional Paper 1386 (1993): 111-125.

following the Little Ice Age during the 19th century, at which point, for many of its glaciers, they reached their maximum extension.⁶⁸ The iridescence of the bright green-blue further informs of the health of the glacier, denoting heavily compacted and slowly melting ice, with a thick and pronounced terminal front.

The choice of Nigardsbreen as the subject matter for Dahl's work - a rural farm situated at the tongue of the glacier - is focused on the relationship between man and ice, where less than a century earlier this glacier had decimated a farm from where it got its name. Over a period of nearly fifty years, from 1700-1748, this branch of the glacier grew by four kilometres, decimating the farmer's crop and consuming the farm itself. Yet, despite the devastating effects of this uncontrollable force, the glacier ceased expanding in 1748. Similar effects could be felt in Chamonix, where the Glacier des Bossons extended right into the village, and which during the 18th century decimated farms and threatened the village. The far-reaching altitudinal descent of the glacier into the village can be seen in relation to both Turner's Mont Blanc and the Glacier des Bossons above Chamonix; Evening (1836, fig. 122) and Ruskin's Glacier des Bossons (c.1849, fig. 123). Sandwiched in-between both Turner and Ruskin's studies of the Swiss alpine glaciers, at the point of Dahl's sketching trip in 1839, the Nigardsbreen is known to have been at the point of receding. Yet with the painting having been completed in his studio in Dresden five years later, one must bear in mind that this, much like Ruskin's later portrayal of the Glacier des Bossons (derived from a visit to the region in 1835), depicts a moment of an indeterminable landscape that had already faded. The significance of the Little Ice Age within these mid-19th century icescapes, only comes to the fore when reconstructing glacial history. Today, the landscape has changed quite dramatically. Nigardsbreen terminates in a glacial lake, Nigardsbrevatnet, (fig. 124), formed over the course of the last century as rapid summer ablation (melting) and limited accumulation (snow-fall) has meant that Dahl's landscape has become but a distant memory.⁶⁹

Although the scientific relevance of Dahl's painting has grown as consequence of global glacial change, when compared to Balke's *The Glacier*, *Jostedalsbreen* (1840s, fig.125), Dahl's

⁶⁸ J. Bogen, B. Wold and G. Østrem, "Historic Glacier Variations in Scandinavia," in *Glacier Fluctuations and Climatic Change: Glaciology and Quarternary Geology*, vol. 6, eds. J. Oerlemans (Dordrecht: Springer, 1989), 109.

⁶⁹For example, "In 2002 approximately 23,000 tons [of ice and debris] were deposited on the delta at the inlet of Nigardsbrevatnet. This is about twice as much as in a normal year". Source: Atle Nesje, Jostein Bakke, Svein Olaf Dahl, Øyvind Lie, John A. Matthews, "Norwegian Mountain Glaciers in the Past, Present and Future," *Global Planetary Change* 60, no. 1-2 (January 2008): 24.

painting is more closely associated with a possible reality. Although Balke has been described as having "developed a distinctively northern iconography", his painting of the Jostedals-breen appears as a highly atmospheric and sinister visualisation of this glacier, which "should not be seen as topographically correct or a naturalistic representation of natural conditions". Balke never had the opportunity to witness Norway's largest glacier first-hand and was rather more likely inspired by Dahl's excursions to the region and drew inspiration from his colleague while based in Dresden. For Balke it is more likely that his inspiration derived from a "Romantic fascination with northern landscapes [which] is closely connected to ideas about sublime nature. [...] Only a few of them had ever been beyond the Arctic Circle". Performing differing roles within an anthropogenic assessment of glaciers past and present, both artists offer an intimate insight into the romantic and Sublime nature of ice.

A discussion surrounding ice in art history often concentrates first on Caspar David Friedrich's Sea of Ice (1823-24, fig. 126) which was inspired by Arctic expeditions to discover the Northwest Passage during the early-19th century; and subsequently Frederic Edwin Church's The Icebergs (1861, fig. 127). With regards to Friedrich's monumental painting, reference is often made to William Edward Parry's expedition of 1819-20, where the two research vessels the Hecla and Griper were forced to wait out the Arctic winter after sea-ice blocked them in. Having previously been owned by Dahl, it is a worthwhile assumption that Balke would have similarly been aware of Friedrich's 'Arctic' painting; inspired by the romanticised vision of ice and the far north, without having ventured there oneself. Yet, Friedrich's painting is only an idea of the north derived from expeditionary drawings and reports. The fragmentation of ice that consumes the canvas is drawn from the artist's own imagination.

In 1859 Church chartered a month-long expedition to the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts, journeying around the Avalon Peninsula, accompanied by his friend and writer Louis Legrand Noble (who subsequently published A Voyage to the Arctic Seas in Search of Icebergs, with Church, the Artist in 1861). Studies of the icebergs and landscape that drifted past were undertaken from the schooner upon which they sailed and carried out aboard a small rowboat which Church ventured out on alone, into the icy waters. Here they caught

⁷⁰Ljøgodt, "In Quest of the Sublime", 53.

⁷¹Marit Ingeborg Lange, "Peder Balke: Vision and Revolution," in *Paintings by Peder Balke*, ed. Marit Ingeborg Lange, Knut Ljøgodt, and Christopher Riopelle (London: National Gallery Company, 2014), 22-24.

⁷²Ljøgodt, "In Quest of the Sublime", 52.

⁷³Ibid, 46.

"a panful of water, fresh from the great Humboldt glacier, most likely". This commitment to close-up observational preparatory sketches reflects, in part, the writings of the Prussian explorer, geographer, and naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, who, along with Ruskin, as previously mentioned, influenced the American artist. Commenting on the notion of the 'landscape painter', in particular, Humboldt revealed his interest in "landscapes as means to acquaint people with parts of the world they would never see, and he encouraged painters to become explorers in search of nature's grandest scenes". Taking heed of Humboldt's advice of the artist as mediator between art and nature, Church's paintings of both the Arctic, and South America - with his painting Heart of the Andes done in homage to Humboldt - brought to his audience a drastically unfamiliar environment.

Church altered the name of his Arctic icescape, originally titled *The North*, upon exhibiting it in the United Kingdom and after it failed to sell following its American exhibition debut. Upon the opening of the London showing, Church's painting (exhibited as *The Icebergs*) found a buyer, with Lady Franklin (the widow of Sir John Franklin) in attendance. Church's painting confronts viewers with the imposing icebergs, the mast of a broken ship in the foreground adding to a narrative concerned with demise; of nature overpowering man. These icebergs surround and overwhelm the canvas, where through the gap between them we are only to be greeted by another iceberg on the horizon. It further contributes to the narrative of the Sublime and American frontier landscape painting. Church's painting surrounds viewers with ice, allowing them to appreciate, safely and at a distance, the intricacies in nature; where icy blue veins in the bergs denote highly-compressed water, and where the icebergs have been turned into more familiar mountain-like forms. In so doing, Church normalises such a landscape for unfamiliar viewers.

Barringer best described Church's The Icebergs when he wrote that they "presented a

⁷⁴Legrand Noble, After Icebergs with a Painter: A Summer Voyage to Labrador and Around Newfoundland (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1861), 166.

⁷⁵For further scholarly discussion on John Ruskin's American influence see: Virginia L. Wagner, "John Ruskin and Artistical Geology in America," *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture* 23, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1988): 151-167.

⁷⁶Franklin Kelly, "A Passion for Landscape: The Paintings of Frederic Edwin Church," in *Frederic Edwin Church*, ed. Franklin Kelly and Ellen Hirzy, (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 47. For further information regarding Church and Humboldt, see a subsequent chapter within this exhibition catalogue: Stephen Jay Gould, "Church, Humboldt, and Darwin: The Tension and Harmony of Art and Science," in *Frederic Edwin Church*, ed. Franklin Kelly and Ellen Hirzy, (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 94-108. Further scholarly material has been published on the broader influence of Humboldt on North American visual culture and geography, most notably in: Kent Mathewson, "Alexander von Humboldt's Image and Influence in North American Geography, 1804-2004," *Geographical Review* 96, no 3 (July 2006): 416-438.

unique phenomenon by being ancient natural structures like rock faces which were, however, impermanent and constantly changing. These cathedrals of ice are melting before our very eyes, crumbling away and dissolving into the sea". Although Barringer's words are intended for Church's mid-19th century painting, they feel hauntingly current. As we argue for change to protect our climate and avoid the repercussions of global warming, the harsh reality is that despite all our protesting it does not turn back time. The ice continues to melt. With regards to the Greenland ice sheet, where the west-coast glaciers calve into the sea and icebergs migrate past Newfoundland and Labrador, the average calving front melt rates are anywhere from 1-10 metres per day. In addition, with the physical monitoring by the US Coastguard's International Ice Patrol of all bergs measuring greater than five metres abovewater within 48°N to 40°W, it has shown "much higher overall iceberg frequencies since the late twentieth century than in earlier periods". 79

The 19th century recognised ice as a part of both the disciplines of art and science, and as such it is easier to consider the art history of this period within the context of the Anthropocene. Borne from a booming tourism industry, these paintings represent a bygone era in glacial and art history. Landscapes concerned primarily with ideas of the Sublime, and romanticising the surrounding environment, hark "from a more innocent time, before icebergs and sea ice had become an indicator of climate change, when convention framed such a view as majestic rather than temporal or even tragic".⁸⁰ Although the artists in question, such as Ruskin, were perhaps aware of the apparent temporality of these frozen idylls, unlike today where, for example "any iceberg in the bay is likely to have been tracked by a data sensor before it is recorded by a painter, and artists and scientists sit at the same table",⁸¹ these paintings are glimpses of geological time, playing a part in understanding both our past and future global landscape.

⁷⁷Barringer and Wilton, *The American Sublime*, 226.

 $^{^{78}{\}rm E.M.}$ Enderlin, G.S. Hamilton, F. Straneo, D.A. Sutherland, "Iceberg meltwater fluxes dominate the freshwater budget in Greenland's iceberg-congested glacial fjords," *Geophys Res Lett.* 43, no. 21 (2016): 287-294. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/2016GL070718

⁷⁹G.R. Bigg, H.L. Wei, D.J. Wilton, Y. Zhao, S.A. Billings, E. Hanna, et al., "A century of variation in the dependence of Greenland iceberg calving on ice sheet surface mass balance and regional climate change," *Proceedings of the Royal Society A* 470, no.2166 (2014). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1098/rspa.2013.0662

 $^{^{80} {\}rm Campbell}, \ The \ Library \ of \ Ice, \ 110.$

⁸¹Ibid, 110.

Tangled up in Blue

Ice is a moving surface. It is forever in motion; glaciers are either expanding or receding; icebergs and ice floes are carried downstream by the surface of the water upon which they float; their surface crunches beneath your feet, or under the pressure from the stern of an icebreaker ploughing into its fracturing mass. The Icelandic musician Björk, in her song Aurora, recalled a childhood memory of running atop a glacier - "Threading / The glacier head / Looking hard for / Moments of shine / From twilight / To twilight". The crunching sound of salt upon the stage (resembling encrusted ice) can be heard in the background. Glaciers, and ice, are inherent to memory and cultural identity throughout the Circumpolar North. In Greenland and Iceland, they are ingrained in the daily lives of their inhabitants. Their diminishing presence is felt and noticed by those who have grown up within the respective glacial environments. In The Secret Lives of the Glaciers, as we have seen, Jackson describes how the "words, the names of a place, the names of a glacier, hold the history of a nation" and much more. By accounting for the representation of the glacier within the art history of the Circumpolar North, it allows for a visual record of a vanishing landscape, preserving its scientific, geological and cultural past.

A personal involvement with ice extended even to those who visited the frozen polar landscape during the early-20th century. Jackson, Varley and Harris had already experienced ice, having previously immersed themselves in the Canadian Arctic beyond that of the Northwest Territories, notably the Rockies. The current display (as of May 2019) at the Art Gallery of Ontario, directly juxtaposes Harris's paintings of the Rockies and Arctic above one another, dissolving any geographical boundaries that might have otherwise existed. Such a display proposes a latitudinal thinking, showcasing the landscapes of the Circumpolar North in accordance with their geographical coordinates. Within the shimmering blue-green glacial waters of Jasper and Yoho National Parks, as previously recognised in J.E.H. MacDonald's Lake O'Hara, Rockies and Varley's Lake Garibaldi, were the vast reaches of the glacial ice, often hidden within, or cascading down, the surface of the mountain peaks. For the abstract painter, Jock Macdonald, a member of the Painters Eleven and frequent artistic companion of Varley's, the glacier of Lake Garibaldi in the Rocky Mountain National Park, inspired a written account of their appearance: "I found what I inwardly felt glaciers should be -

⁸²Björk, "Aurora," Vespertine, One Little Indian Records/Elektra Records, 2001, CD.

⁸³Jackson, The Secret Lives of Glaciers, 66.

simply marvellous in tortured forms, block massed ice, irridescent [sic] caves, and constant thundrous [sic] crashes of ice walls some twenty or thirty feet high".⁸⁴ This formalist reading of the glacier does not find its visual counterpart in Macdonald's painting of the glacier in *Garibaldi Park* (c.1944, fig. 128), where although the ice appears to crash down into the lake, it appears instead like fluffy candy floss, rather than "block massed ice". I would instead argue that Macdonald's reading of the glacier, and ice in general, can be more readily found in his later abstract work and in Harris's subsequent icescapes of the 1930s.

The "tortured forms" that Macdonald wrote about do, however, take the twisted shape of the moraine flow in Harris's Isolation Peak, Rocky Mountains (1930, fig. 129). Not to be confused with Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado, U.S., Harris's painting is instead derived from time spent in the Canadian Rockies. His first visit was to Jasper, Alberta with Jackson in 1924. Harris's first remarks of the mountain-landscape of western Canada were not in accordance with the later prevalence they came to play in his oeuvre: "Nowhere did they measure up to the advertising folders, or to the conception they had formed in my mind's eye". 85 The manipulation of the artist's imagination by advertising, to which arguably his colleagues in the Group of Seven had contributed, suggests that these advertisements provided a version of the landscape rooted in idealisation, rather than the "reality" of the Canadian 'wilderness'. This manifests itself in his Isolation Peak, for this landscape didn't exist. It is, however, inspired by an oil sketch Glaciers, Rocky Mountains (n.d., fig. 130), which depicts the pinnacle point of the Mont des Poilus in Yoho National Park (fig. 131). The Des Poilus glacier on the slopes of the mountain retreated 500m between 1950-1980 and has continued to retreat at an increased rate of 20-30m per year, forming a new glacial lake at its terminus. 86 Regardless of the exact nature of Harris's glaciers, the inspiration from which they are derived has ceased to exist in its original form.

Despite failing to acknowledge the fictitious nature of Harris's *Isolation Peak*, it is briefly discussed in the *Vanishing Ice* exhibition catalogue - mentioning the "serpentine glaciers and moraine flow".⁸⁷ Harris's finished painting of the pinnacle point of the imaginary Isolation Peak exaggerates the lines of movement in the glacier, the darkened grooves in the ice showing

⁸⁴Davis, The Logic of Ecstasy, 39.

⁸⁵Larsen, A.Y. Jackson: The Life of a Landscape Painter, 123.

⁸⁶Mauri Pelto, "Des Poilus Glacier Retreat, British Columbia", From a Glaciers Perspective: Glacier Change in a world of Climate Change (blog), September 13, 2012, accessed May 18, 2019, https://glacierchange.wordpress.com/2012/09/13/des-poilus-glacier-retreat-british-columbia/

⁸⁷Barbara C. Matilsky, *Vanishing Ice: Alpine and Polar Landscapes in Art, 1775-2012* (Washington: Whatcom Museum, 2013), 46.

the sediment that has built up. The luminescent aquamarine of the heavily compacted ice navigates its way round the *nunataq* (or *nunatak*) in the foreground - an exposed rock, ridge or mountain that is not covered by ice within a glacier. This reflects a combination of numerous glacial observations and studies made in the Rocky Mountains by Harris, which have abstracted the form and inspiration derived from Des Poilus and the surrounding glacial peaks. Harris's preliminary sketches for Isolation Peak act as further confirmation that observational work was at play in his depiction of glacial and geological formations. Each study has abstracted the landscape to varying degrees, where Sketch of Isolation Peak (1929, fig. 132) reveals a closeness in composition to the geological landscape of an alpine glacier. Nunatags are visible in the bottom right corner of this study, emerging from within the swirls of the glacier, with the mountain itself extending further across the horizon of the picture plane. The colours of the landscape have been annotated on the image, using abbreviations such as 'b', 'y', 'w' and more clearly 'grey'; while the sky also includes the note "all light singing". Isolation Peak reflects Harris's combination of studio work with an observation of nature; integrating studies of alpine glaciers and mountain geologies into an otherwise imaginary environment.

Beyond the Rockies and far-reaches of British Columbia, Harris, Jackson and Varley were able to bring to their cosmopolitan audience a landscape far removed from their own and which was often associated with colonial exploration and again the HBC. With over 40% of Canada's territory situated within the Arctic,⁸⁸ the engagement by the Group of Seven with this landscape represents a conscious effort to push further north. Although the members of the Group of Seven appear to have wanted to disassociate themselves from British imperialism, their artistic efforts within the Arctic do acknowledge a lingering presence of Canada's colonial heritage, with similar trends continuing under a different name and nation. Jackson and Harris's 1930 trip aboard the SS Beothic, following on from Jackson's trip aboard the same cargo steamship in 1928, appears to have been undertaken under the premise of artistic mediation in a highly politicised region. In a letter to Oswald Sterling Finnie, the Director of Canada's Northwest Territories and Yukon Brand of the Department of the Interior, Harry O. McCurry, then Assistant Director of the National Gallery wrote:

It is felt that the work of well-known Canadian artists in making the North better

^{88&}quot;Canada and the circumpolar Arctic", Government of Canada, accessed June 11, 2019, https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/international_relations-relations_internationales/arctic-arctique/index.aspx?lang=eng

known and the work of the Canadian Government more fully understood is an important one, in addition to the more aesthetic aspect of their activities. [...] I found that it was the custom for the ice patrol of the United States Government to take American artists of standing on their expeditions as guests. In my opinion, the Arctic Patrol of your department is a far more important and picturesque undertaking.⁸⁹

Not only does McCurry's description of the Northwest Territories as "picturesque" associate itself with a British colonial and American Sublime aesthetic, but it seeks to further position the Canadian presence in the Arctic in direct parallel with their American neighbours. Silcox wrote that the Northwest Territories presented an opportunity for a kind of missionary idealism, where the "North was strong and true and free, and that Canadians were a northern people".90 This is supported in a letter from Jackson to the lawyer and diplomat Vincent Massey (then Canadian envoy to the U.S.), where following his return from the Arctic he wrote, "I think we can put the Canadian Arctic on the map pretty definitely. We might even hold an exhibition in New York. It would be a very artistic way of letting the Americans know it is ours". The crucial word here is "ours"; that Jackson felt a part of his artistic expedition was to make a Canadian claim for the Arctic, suggests an ongoing animosity towards both their colonial ancestry and encroaching neighbours. Cao further considers that in "place of solid ground - so linked to nation-states and terrestrial occupation - ice presented Americans with a precarious materiality that nevertheless dictated global circuits both economic and ecological". 92 Such sentiments, alongside global politics, instantly recall earlier 19th-century territorial claims. For the Canadians, the Arctic was the linchpin in British and American relationships, which in part continues today as regards claims on the Arctic as sea-ice melts.⁹³

⁸⁹LAC, Northern Affairs Program, RG 85, vol. 69, file 201-1. McCurry to Finnie, 4 June 1930, as cited in A.E. Ladon, "Art and Arctic Sovereignty: A.Y. Jackson, Lawren S. Harris and Canada's Eastern Arctic Patrols," (master's dissertation, Queen's University, Ontario, 2012), 55-56. It is worth assuming that the "American artists of standing" referred to, might include Rockwell Kent whose 1929 journey to Greenland aboard the boat Direction, as part of a privately funded venture, sunk in a storm off the coast of Greenland that year. In the aftermath, Canadian press reports claimed that the SS Beothic, which was at that time on its annual patrol, would provide assistance in bringing Kent and his companions home. For press reports on Kent see: "Shipwrecked Artist Can Count on Help of Canadian Vessel," *Globe* (Toronto), 26 July 1929; "Kent's Boat Salvaged in Greenland Wreck," *New York Times*, 23 July 1929.

⁹⁰Silcox, The Group of Seven, 380.

⁹¹A.Y. Jackson, letter to Vincent Massey, 31 May 1930. University of Toronto Archives, Vincent Massey Papers, B1987-0082, box 6.

⁹²Cao, "Icescapes," 50.

 $^{^{93}}$ The Canadian Eastern Arctic Patrols were established in 1922 to assert government control and show a

The Arctic landscape throughout the Circumpolar region intersects the local, regional, national, and latitudinal. As noted in the introductory chapter of this thesis, the political struggle and claims that continue to predominate in Arctic studies can similarly be recognised in the Group of Seven's Arctic voyages. Beyond political contestation, the regional identity of the far northern reaches of Canada, Alaska, Greenland and Norway exist within a similar visual construct of the landscape. Silcox alludes to such a sentiment when he wrote that the Group of Seven's Arctic paintings "all impose a rhythm that no other part of the globe experiences, save, perhaps, the Scandinavian and Russian north-lands". 94 There is an awareness of a shared environment across the Circumpolar North, and yet as with both Gunnarsson and Nasgaard, Silcox stops short at suggesting anything methodological or environmental in such an assertion. Bridging the localised and trans-national reaches of the Arctic landscape, Jackson and Harris's expedition acknowledges a regionalist, site-specific, identity - providing information into the specific locations from which their compositions might have been derived - further encouraging greater investigation into more intimate artistic geographies. Their journey circumvented Davis Strait, Baffin Bay and Hudson Bay, both the territory of whaling expeditions and the HBC, stopping off at various points along the way either as a result of harsh weather conditions, or as part of the ship's role in supplying various trading outposts. It was itself a circum-trip of the Canadian Arctic, encompassing both the Canadian and Greenland coastlines. The colour of the landscape was commented on by Jackson and Varley in their diaries, with the latter writing:

On dreary days colour becomes precious, ice floes splinter light into colour and the green of all greens, the translucent glacial green of ice beneath the water, the pure violet light edging hollow caves, the sea, the washed surface of mauve with a powdering of pale rose and the palest of yellow-green put the surrounding grey water to shame and tinged it with a dull smoulder of red like an old Chinese

sustained Canadian presence. In early 2019, in a budget policy report, Canada outlined an increase in investment towards its role in the Arctic, not only in strengthening relations with to the indigenous communities, but also reaffirming its commitments to environmental and marine sustainability. In a separate, but simultaneously, show of Arctic strength, the American Secretary of State Mike Pompeo spoke out against Canada's claims on the Northwest Passage - in a meeting of the Arctic Council in Finland - telling delegates that "the US has a long contested feud with Canada over sovereign claims through the Northwest Passage." Source: Leyland Cecco, "Mike Pompeo rejects Canada's claims to Northwest Passage as 'illegitimate," 'The Guardian Online, May 7, 2019, accessed June 06, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/may/07/mike-pompeo-canada-northwest-passage-illegitimate

⁹⁴Silcox, The Group of Seven, 378.

print.95

This description manifests itself in Varley's Iceberg (c.1938, fig. 133), with the reference to the "old Chinese print" acknowledging his fascination with Buddhist colour theory as discussed in Chapter 4. Here, the water is made-up of patterns of pink, blue, yellow and green, working both horizontally and vertically upon the surface of the canvas. The iceberg occupies the width of the horizon, appearing more like a mountain than a moving block of ice. Varley has emphasised the colossal scale of the ice, where peaks and furrows have shaped its surface, and yet the pastel palette with which he has worked does not reflect the possible devastation this iceberg could inflict. A stretch of land is marked by murkier brown paint on either side of the berg. The "glacial green of ice" that Varley refers to is perforated by patterns of pink, orange, blue and lilac, contrasting with Harris's block shades of blue and white. Yet, in a manner much more akin to Varley, Harris's *Iceberg* (n.d., fig. 134), is an explosion of colour and light, achieving a similar effect as Thomson and Boberg's northern lights. Vibrant reds, yellows and purples burst forth from behind the silhouetted form of the iceberg. Only the peak of the iceberg reflects the light emitted from the sky above and beyond. It does not fit the canon of Harris's Arctic paintings, and has often been omitted from a study of his work during this period. It appears exploratory and sketch-like in its execution - indicative of his forest scenes from 1911-14, prior to his turn to abstraction. Meanwhile, Jackson was additionally preoccupied with the shapes and forms of the melting ice:

The big ice packs, on the other hand, are moved about by wind and tide. As we passed through the Melville pack we observed old ice floes and patches of blue ice, and ice lifted off the shore with mud and stones all over it. To make studies when the ship was zigzagging through the ice fields was very difficult. The old floes were fantastic in shape; some resembled big mushrooms and were beautiful in colour, lavender on the outside and green-blue under the water. ⁹⁶

Jackson's description of the SS Beothic meandering its way through the pack ice of Melville Bay - once an important place for whaling fleets - pays close attention to the different types of ice encountered during this treacherous part of their journey. Although the ice is "beautiful"

⁹⁵Silcox, The Group of Seven, 380.

⁹⁶A.Y. Jackson, A Painter's Country: The Autobiography of A.Y. Jackson (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1967), 97.

and "fantastic", Jackson isn't afraid to note the reality of ice that is so often overlooked - that in addition to the beautiful blues and greens that the light refracts, dirt and debris mark the surface of bergs that have recently calved into the water. While the obstacle course created by the ice may have hindered Jackson's ability to draw, his comments indicate ice "thrashed by waves, incised by the sun's heat, and sculpted by the wind". 97 Harris's Grounded Icebergs (1931, fig. 135), emphasises the form and structure of the icebergs recalled by Jackson; the lavender of the sky acting as a backdrop to the white and blue of the ice and water. These are not cathedrals of ice as in Church's painting from seventy years earlier, rather the proximity they have to land diminishes their size above the water's surface. This doesn't, however, reveal anything of the 90% of the iceberg's volume and mass that is underwater. 98 The angularity of the iceberg's structure is softened by the reflections on the water as they near close to land - or perhaps Harris is alluding to the unknown scale of the berg that he cannot see. In *Icebergs, Davis Strait* (1930, see fig. 1), a pool of luminescent blue water surrounds the central iceberg structure, alluding to the continuing ice beneath the surface. The angularity of Harris's mountains and icebergs, further suggests a similar pyramidal form to the mountain peaks in Kent's work, such as Bear Glacier (1919, fig. 136). This pyramidal peak, or glacial horn, also has a basis in geological formations: resulting from the cirque erosion of multiple glaciers on the mountain peaks - or where "mountain valley heads [...] have been shaped into deep hollows by the erosion of small glaciers". 99 Harris owned a reproduction of Kent's painting.

Harris's Grounded Icebergs goes further to recall the shape and structure of Sohlberg's Winter Night in the Mountains (1901, see fig. 10), on show in the 1912-13 Exhibition, with the predominantly blue palette of Harris's icebergs recognised in Sohlberg's arrangement of the Rondane mountains. Oviving Storm Bjerke recognised that there is no clear understanding of why Sohlberg chose such a prominently blue palette, although he does propose

 $^{^{97}\}mathrm{Matilsky},\ Vanishing\ Ice,\ 63.$

 $^{^{98} \}mbox{``How}$ Much of Iceberg Below the Water,' NavigationCenofHomeland2019, U.S.DepartmentSecurity, accessed May 18, https://www.navcen.uscg.gov/?pageName = iipHowMuchOfAnIcebergIsBelowTheWater

⁹⁹"Corrie or Cirque Formation," *Landforms*, accessed June 06, 2019, http://www.landforms.eu/cairngorms/%20corrie%20formation.htm

¹⁰⁰Øivind Storm Bjerke, "Winter Night in the Mountains," in *Harald Sohlberg*, ed. Karin Hindsbo, Jennifer Scott, and Alexander Klar (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2018), 78. He goes into great detail regarding the different perspectives offered by Sohlberg in his many iterations of the *Winter Night in the Mountains* (also referred to as *Winter Night in Rondane*). A map used by Sohlberg and included within the catalogue, and in the exhibition, pinpoints in red the spots that Sohlberg works from, many of them running parallel to the mountain's edge.

the idea of blue being used in association with a 'polar' landscape - Sohlberg's first trip to Rondane in 1899 was "organised as a kind of a polar expedition. To add a touch of realism, the party took along polar tents and sledges". ¹⁰¹ This awareness and engagement with 19th- and 20th-century male-dominance as regards polar expeditions, Sohlberg's Circumpolar landscape - located at 61°N - seeks to position itself in tandem with Arctic exploration and within a tonal preoccupation with the colour blue. This is evidenced further in both Boberg and Kent's glacial paintings, and in national art histories beyond the scope of this thesis.

In the Art Gallery of Ontario's accession report for Grounded Icebergs, it was described as "a symbol of spiritual power as they demonstrate the cycle of birth, development, death and reincarnation". 102 Whether this sentiment derives from the supposed spiritualism Harris drew from the far north or that the cerulean blues are "symbolic colours of faith and original truth", 103 this assessment fails to contribute to an understanding of Harris's perception of and engagement with the Arctic landscape. Although Sara Angel doesn't subscribe to the associated spiritualism of his Arctic landscapes, neither does she provide an alternative argument. Silcox, on the other hand, readily clings to the spiritual and mystical nature associated with Harris and the Arctic: the "farther north Harris went, the closer he seemed to get to the ideal confluence of spirit, idea, and image". 104 Meanwhile, Peter Larisey drew a direct connection between colour and faith when he wrote, "In this and his other blue works, Harris has probably relied on the theosophical doctrine of colours, which considered blue [...] the colour of high spirituality". ¹⁰⁵ I would, however, propose that this derivation of the colour blue from the ice of the Greenland and Canadian landscape is more in tune with science than mystical supposition, where "blue light is the only form of light able to penetrate below its icy surface", and the "compacted crystalline structure of glacial ice means that it absorbs every other colour (such as red and yellow light) in the spectrum apart from blue or turquoise". 106

Julian Freeman, whose English-language survey of Icelandic landscape painting was en-

 $^{^{101}\}mathrm{Bjerke},$ "Winter Night in the Mountains," 77.

¹⁰²Sara Angel, "Mother Earth and the Spirit of Eternity: Lawren S. Harris's Grounded Icebergs and the North American Landscape in Ecstasy," in *Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic*, eds. Peter John Brownlee, Valéria Piccoli and Georgiana Uhlyarik (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2015), 240.

¹⁰³Art Gallery of Ontario, accession file for Grounded Icebergs, unpublished report.

¹⁰⁴Silcox, The Group of Seven, 377.

¹⁰⁵Peter Larisey, Light for a Cold Land: Lawren Harris's Life and Work (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), 110.

¹⁰⁶Dodds, Ice: Nature and Culture, 24.

capsulated in the 1989 exhibition and catalogue Landscapes from a High Latitude: Icelandic Art, 1909-1989, described the apparent uniqueness of Iceland's 'blue' landscape: "when it comes to Icelandic art, outsiders are often struck by our artists' choice of colours [...]. 'Cool' colours predominate, particularly all sorts of blues [...], it is unusual to find such bright, undiluted blues anywhere but in Icelandic art". Despite colour underlying national identity, the colour blue - and green (another colour that is one of the three primary colours of light) - finds itself repeatedly shared across the Circumpolar region. The play with different shades of blue and green was further noted by Muir in his 1915 publication Travels in Alaska: "The green waters of the fiord were filled with sun-spangles; the fleet of icebergs set forth on their voyages with unspringing breeze; and [...] on those of the shattered crystal walls of the glaciers, common white light and rainbow light began to burn". From the Nordic regions to the far-flung corners of the U.S., the colour of ice remains an important part in identifying and describing this remote, frozen environment.

Between 2000 and 2007, Bear Glacier in the Kenai Peninsula, Alaska receded 3.5km, "producing large icebergs now visible in NASA Landsat photographs" (fig. 137). ¹⁰⁹ Taken by the IKONOS satellite in August 2005, the image captured the emptying of ice into the Bear Glacier lagoon, also emphasising the deep crevasses that had formed at the glacier's tongue. At 25 km long, and receding, the glacier calves directly into a glacier-dammed lake, which has the potential to trigger glacial floods known as *Jökulhlaups* (derived in this instance from the Icelandic). The word for glacier is shared across the Nordic region: "jøkul" in Norwegian, "jökel" in Swedish, and "jökull" in Icelandic. While these lakes can be dammed by the glacier itself, in the case of the Bear Glacier lagoon a moraine separates it from Resurrection Bay (fig. 138). ¹¹⁰ Kent "regretted the impossibility of getting closer to the ice". ¹¹¹ However, in his painting *Bear Glacier*, *Alaska*, Kent has positioned himself on one of the rocky coves located on Fox Island - either Sunny Cove or Northwest Harbour - looking across Resurrection Bay towards the glacier, distinguished only by a line separating the 'whiteness' of the ice from the white mountains behind. This same view was depicted in an illustration on the title-page of his published journal *Wilderness* (1920), alongside

¹⁰⁷Jackson, The Secret Lives of Glaciers, 76.

¹⁰⁸Matilsky, Vanishing Ice, 68.

¹⁰⁹Ibid, 36.

 $^{^{110}}$ "Bear Glacier Lagoon, Kenai Fjords," *National Park Service*, accessed May 18, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/kefj/planyourvisit/bear-glacier-lagoon.htm

¹¹¹Matilsky, Vanishing Ice, 35.

countless other cross-hatched illustrations of the landscape and Kent's northern mythology, emphasising the delineated forms of the mountain peaks against the in-navigable darkness of the bay.

Kent's biography and body of work extends the length and breadth of the Americas, encouraging a discussion of both the Circumpolar and Trans-American landscape. Alongside the similarities that can be found between Kent and Harris's work, there also existed an underlying spirituality and mysticism in Kent's work associated with the far north. Yet, the focus here is not, as with Harris, on the theosophical, mystical or spiritual connotations that images of the Arctic might have evoked, but rather, in Kent's case, on the interaction between the people and the environment. His paintings are relevant to a discussion of Inuit and local communities, and, most significantly in this discussion, play a part in the ongoing contemporary discourse surrounding climate and cultural change that Kent, alongside his Canadian and Nordic contemporaries, unknowingly contributed to.

The other side of the waterfall in *Bear Glacier*, shown in a thin gleaming strip of luminescent turquoise light on the far left of the composition, is found in *Frozen Waterfall*, *Alaska* (1919, fig. 139). Here, the ice has crystallised to the rock face down which it falls, allowing the light to perforate it like stained glass - different shades of blue and green are illuminated in the icy mass, the white froth of the water frozen in situ. The falling ice frames the composition, bringing the focus back towards the barely perceptible piedmont lobe of Bear Glacier, which is only distinguished by a slightly murkier white against the stark white of the mountains. In *Ice Curtains* (or *Frozen Falls*, c.1919, fig. 140), 114 a painting of

¹¹² Picturing the America's features essays that consider the landscape from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic, throughout the 19th and 20th century, establishing cross-cultural dialogue between the traditions of landscape painting that extend the breadth of the South and North American continents. While, Katherine Manthorne's edited volume Traveler Artists: Landscapes of Latin America from the Patricia Phelps de Cisneros Collection (2015), focused on the hemispheric dimensions of American landscape painting. Further consideration on the idea of the Trans-American landscape tradition, has been given in: Wilton and Barringer's American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States, 1820-1880; and Barbara Novak's Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting.

¹¹³When first mapped in 1909, the Bear glacier terminated in a piedmont lobe (a rounded terminus). As this thinned and "downwasted" it preconditioned the glacier for rapid retreat. Source: Mauri Pelto, "Bear Glacier, Kenai Alaska recedes, new lake formed," *AGU Blogosphere*, August 28, 2010, accessed May 18, 2019, https://blogs.agu.org/fromaglaciersperspective/2010/08/28/bear-glacier-kenai-alaska-recedes-new-lake-formed/

¹¹⁴Scott R. Ferris, attributes this painting to be the Ice Curtains originally alluded to in the exhibition Alaska Paintings of Rockwell Kent held by M. Knoedler & Company in New York, March 1-12, 1920, Image no. 7. However, a photograph taken by Peter A. Juley & Son (New York), for the Smithsonian Institution, circa 1920, bears the handwritten title, Frozen Falls (Alaska). Source: Scott Ferris, "In Review: Frozen Falls (Alaska)/Ice Curtains," Essays on Rockwell Kent by Scott Ferris, accessed May 18, 2019, http://www.scottrferris.com/Essays/frozenfalls.html

a similar motif, the ice falls either side of the picture plane, as if painted "beneath a frozen waterfall, an emerald of huge size and wonderful form". While Scott Ferris disputes Kent's physical description of the waterfall in his diaries, his paintings, if understood as being carried out at the Northwest Harbour would have allowed for a glimpse of the glacier. As such, the glacier acts as a geographical marker allowing us to navigate the locations that repeatedly inspired him.

Further evidence of Bear Glacier can be found in a much later painting, Resurrection Bay, Alaska (1919/1966, fig. 141). Kent initially asked Brinton to write an introduction to his 1920 exhibition catalogue, but instead Kent ended up writing an imaginary love-letter to Alaska. Kent wrote: "I came to Alaska because I love the North. I crave snow-topped mountains, dreary wastes, and the cruel Northern sea with its hard horizons at the edge of the world where infinite space begins". The hyper-masculinity and masochism of Kent's words places him in a long line of male figures who sought out the Arctic as a means of heroism, with Alaska embodying a femme fatale figure in need of salvation. Kent paints himself as a figure drawn to the Arctic for the challenges it offers him as an artist and as a man. Here, he braves the "cruel" and "dreary" landscapes, seeking inspiration that cannot be readily found. These familiar and longed for mountain peaks dominate the backdrop of the composition, closing in around the green-blue of the lagoon; while tree stumps fragment the snow covered foreground. The deep crevasses of the ice calving off the glacier create a jagged pattern upon the glacier's surface and provide greater clarity regarding Kent's perception of the glacier as a formative influence on his Alaskan paintings. However, as recognised in the exhibition catalogue for Vanishing Ice, "there are no icebergs calving off the formation in this 1939 landscape". The lagoon is uncharacteristically pristine, there is no sense of the danger that prevented Kent from getting closer to the glacier, instead Kent presents a 'wilderness' that has been tamed.

Kent's contemporaneous Greenland paintings offer up the vastness of the seemingly-barren Arctic landscape where, as in Alaska, "infinite space begins", with figures added to the composition at a later stage serving "to measure the vastness of the arctic space". ¹¹⁹ In

¹¹⁵Rockwell Kent, Wilderness: A Journal of Quiet Adventure in Alaska (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 163.

¹¹⁶Ibid, 169.

 $^{^{117}\}mathrm{Kent},\ Wilderness,\ \mathrm{xxxi}.$

¹¹⁸Matilsky, Vanishing Ice, 44.

¹¹⁹Constance Martin, *Distant Shores: The Odyssey of Rockwell Kent* (California and London: Chameleon Books, 2000), 36.

Early November, North Greenland (1933, fig. 142), the scale of the icebergs shrouds the local villagers, their tents and racks drying fish, dotted along the shoreline. The icy-white mass of the ice draws direct comparisons to the size of the mountainous backdrop behind, as if having directly separated from the background. They instantly recall Harris's own icebergs, and mountain-scapes, at a time when both artists were working within the Arctic. However, unlike Harris, Kent's icebergs are always white, and are instead offset against the blue of the sea and sky. A similar effect is achieved in Kent's later iteration of the Greenland landscape, in *Igdlorssuit Panorama* (1935, fig. 143), where he made his home from 1931-32. The figures in the foreground are diminutive in scale when compared to the never-ending vastness of the ice. The mounds of ice jutting out from the otherwise empty landscape, make us question if we are looking out across a frozen sea, towards the mainland ice-sheet occupying the horizon. These panoramic portrayals of the Greenland ice sheet, were not, like those by Harris and Jackson, depictions of an unfamiliar landscape, but rather for Kent were where he made his home. Igdlorssuit, now known as Illorsuit, is a settlement located on Illorsuit island in the Uummannaq Fjord, located off the main Greenland ice sheet. In 2017, this settlement was devastated by a tsunami that resulted in the population of approximately 91 people being relocated and their homes abandoned. As such, through Kent's scenes of Greenland and Alaska they contribute to a future study of the environmental and cultural landscape. 120

The Drowning Glacier

In his assessment of the Pan-Pacific Exposition, Brinton wrote that "you instantly discern in the work of the Swedes - in the bold Lofoten island sketches of Anna Boberg [...] - a frankness of vision and directness of presentation as rare as they are stimulating". ¹²¹ Neuhaus further described the distinctiveness of Boberg's landscapes, an artist who "when one considers the proverbial clones of the Arctic seas, her interpretations seem marvellous in their beauty and richness of colour". ¹²² Yet Boberg's work has failed to be considered within the study of Swedish art history, in favour of her architect husband, and even then the focus is on her

¹²⁰At the University of Greenland, the project Rockwell Kent and Early 1930s Greenland: A Comparative View of Environmental, Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Greenland, endeavours to examine the work produced by Rockwell Kent during his time spent living and working in Greenland during the 1930s, using his paintings and photography as a starting point for a discussion surrounding the changes which have taken place in Greenland up until the present day. Source: "Rockwell Kent and Early 1930s Greenland: A Comparative View of Environmental, Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Greenland", Ilisimatursarfik, University of Greenland, accessed May 18, 2019, https://uk.uni.gl/research/rockwell-kent.aspx

¹²¹Brinton, Impressions of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, 142.

 $^{^{122}\}mathrm{Neuhaus},\ Galleries\ of\ the\ Exposition,\ 41.$

scenes of the Lofoten fishing community and not on the Arctic landscape. As this section identifies, Boberg's glacial studies provide a timely and important alternative to the male-orientated reading of the Arctic, and challenge the notion of "whiteness" in the art history of the northern polar landscape.

The close-up study of the glacier takes new life in Boberg's painting of the Engabreen, Svartisen Glacier, Norway (n.d., fig. 144). Here, the iridescent blue-green of the heavily compacted ice occupies much of the composition; the glacier cascades down to the topographical low, which in this case is a glacial pond (formed of meltwater from the receding ice). To the right of the image, the ice clings onto rock: it is likely this is a nunataq, where the exposed rock perforates the icy mass. A photograph of Boberg (fig. 145) shows her stood beneath the glacier, the ledge of ice above her dividing the rock and the pool of meltwater forming below. This vantage point appears to correspond with Boberg's painting. As such, the perspective of the composition allows for the glacier beyond to tower over both the observer and the landscape. Unlike Jackson and Harris's glacial paintings, which maintained a distance imposed by the vessel from which they painted, Boberg captures the infinite crevasses in the ice which her closer observation allows for. However, it is the colour which is the most captivating part of Boberg's icescape. While providing a distorted perspective of the glacier, the ice remains heavily compacted with the vivid blue-green of the glacial mass continuing throughout; the white of snow only begins to appear higher up as the glacial tongue joins with the main body of the glacier.

This visit to Svartisen (Norway's second-largest glacier at 370 square metres), was identified in photos held within the Royal Library Archives in Stockholm and in the afore mentioned painting. Identifying the glaciers in Boberg's paintings has not previously been made. While the Engabreen outlet glacier of the wider Svartisen in Boberg's photographs shows a small lake forming at the terminus of the glacier (which started to form in the late 18th-century), the view of the glacier looks notably different today (fig. 146). The glacier's advance culminated in 1910; however, by 1931 the glacier had already retreated by 100 metres. This rapid retreat of the glacial terminus continued over the course of the next decade, with the formation of Engabrevatnet - the lake of glacial meltwater - as it appears today. Despite three further advances culminating in 1971, 1984 and 1999, since this last point the glacier has been in constant retreat. As such, Boberg's painting is indicative of this

¹²³"Engabreen", Norwegian water resources and energy directorate (NVE), Feb 02, 2016, accessed Oct 02, 2019, https://www.nve.no/hydrology/glaciers/glacier-monitoring/engabreen/

intermediary period in the glacier's history, between advancement and retreat. A subsequent visit further into the Arctic is mentioned in her autobiography, *Envar sitt ödes lekboll*, where she made specific mention of "Näven" or Nerisen, the tongue of the Øksfjordjøkelen glacier, situated at the far end of Jøkulfjord - or Glacier Fjord.

A black-and-white photograph contained within Boberg's book simply entitled *The Glacier* (n.d., fig. 147) depicts the awkwardness of the Øksfjordjøkelen glacier located in Arctic Norway, painted from below. This is also seen in a photograph of the artist and her portable easel (fig. 148). Describing the Øksfjordjøkelen on their approach, Boberg wrote: "the glacier which lay like a thick quilt over the rock massif, filled up the gaps between the formations, clogged up any cracks and irregularities. And, quite accurately, there in the middle of the rock faces ran the glacier like an ice-waterfall that spread out towards the waterline to a respectable glacial annex". This feminine reading of the landscape, where the glacial ice appears as a "quilt" upon the landscape, is in contrast to masculine Arctic with which Kent contemporaneously associated himself. While it is only Boberg's photograph which presents this view of the glacier, the black-and-white image of her painting appears to depict the angular face of the glacier's tongue as viewed from a water-level angle. Sharp peaks and ridges of ice extend upwards in the foreground of the composition, looking back towards the narrow gap in the rock formation, crushing the ice as it extends down to its topographical low by the water.

There is no visualisation of the calving habits of this glacier which first inspired her husband to choose this as their next summer holiday - "But I would like to take a look at the glacier that goes and drowns itself in the sea south of Hammerfest". Note the proximity to Korovin's studies of the Northern Lights. Instead, it is the viewer who is positioned at the point at which the ice would "drown" itself in the fjord. The Øksfjordjøkelen, and its ancillary glaciers of which Nerisen is a part, rather than calving into a lake as with Jostedalsbreen, instead calves directly into the sea. The tongue of the glacier, Nerisen, is a "regenerated glacier fed by ice avalanches from Isfjordjøkelen, a part of Øksfjordjøkelen. Ice from the glacier was used by fishermen and fish merchants until 1949 when a refrigeration

¹²⁴Boberg, Envar sitt ödes lekboll, 203. Original quotation: "glaciären som låg likt ett tjockt täcke på fondkullisens bergmassiv, fyllde upp svackorna mellan formationerna, täppte till sprickor och ojämnheter. Och, mycket riktigt, där mitt i fonden rann den ned som en isfors för att åter breda ut sig mot vattenlinjen till ett respektabelt glaciärannex".

¹²⁵Ibid, 197. Original quotation: "Men jag skulle vilja ta mig en titt på jökeln som går och dränker sig i havet söder om Hammerfest".

plant was built". ¹²⁶ Lars, the Boberg's guide, shed light on this practice. Writing of the ice breaking off, Boberg described that "the glacier had just fired off a salvo", ¹²⁷ and that the "body of ice had under the course of its slow but never ending displacement extended so far out that the excess loosened, separated from the fall and crashed into the sea". ¹²⁸ Boberg's description shows an active engagement with the wider ecology of the Norwegian Arctic, recognising the topographical characteristics of the landscape and situating herself within a historical evaluation of the glacier.

Boberg's diary sheds further light on the Arctic as a male-orientated space. Here, she described how their guide often spoke directly to her husband, and would dismiss her presence altogether. She wrote, "I was a void in the air for Lars; a large disliked void to boot. Women in his world walked around clothed so you could see what they represented". 129 Boberg prioritised comfort and practicality over a prescribed female aesthetic, favouring hiking gear that included jodhpur style trousers, a tunic coat, and calf-high boots (fig. 149, or wearing "fur trousers coming up to her armpits with a fur jacket and a close-fitting cap that leaves only her eyes and mouth free. For painting she cuts the fingers and palms from her fur gloves" 130 (fig. 150). She was an artist who concerned herself for the practicalities of painting in the Arctic rather than with what fashion might dictate. This seemingly staged photograph of Boberg, with a white sheet concealing the structure behind her, goes further to conjure up the image of the intrepid explorer, akin to that of Robert Falcon Scott and Roald Amundsen in their race to the South Pole in 1911-12. Anders Beer Wilse's photograph of Amundsen (1912, fig. 151), dressed up in his polar furs draws direct parallels between Boberg and contemporanous polar exploration. Perhaps Boberg was consciously attempting to emulate these figures, showing that such an image isn't gendered male? Much like Boberg's work which situates her within the trajectory of an ecological and polar art history, this photograph positions her as an equal to past and contemporaneous male polar explorers.

As Bloom noted, "the genre of Arctic exploration narratives is noteworthy in its crucial

¹²⁶Liss M. Andreassen and Solveig H. Winsvold, eds., *Inventory of Norwegian Glaciers* (Oslo: Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate, 2012), 75.

¹²⁷Boberg, Envar sitt ödes lekboll, 207. Original quotation: "Glaciären hade nyss fyrat av en salva".

¹²⁸Boberg, *Envar sitt ödes lekboll*, 203. Original quotation: "iskroppen had under sin långsamma men evigt pågående förskjutning kommit så långt utanför sin bödd att det överskjutande partiet lossnat, splittrats i fallet och störtat i havet".

¹²⁹Ibid, 204. Original quotation: "Jag var ett hål i luften för Lars, ett starkt ogillat hål till på köpet. Kvinset i hans värld gick klätt så man kunde se vad det föreställde".

¹³⁰Larsen, "Anna Boberg," 445.

absence of white women explorers as authors", ¹³¹ or in this case artists. Boberg's Arctic paintings challenge this image of a "white" landscape by offering up a counter-example to the dominant male figure living and exploring the Arctic landscape and positioning her as one of few women who ventured into the polar North in the early 20th century. Not only did she often undertake such journeys alone, sending her husband back to Stockholm, she readily thrived off living in an environment that although deemed "inhospitable" inspired her - "I was so taken with the Lofoten nature that I simply refused to travel home. I wanted to stay and paint, paint, paint. My husband returned home via Trondheim and sent me all of my art supplies from there". ¹³² Although there remains a distinct lack of women artists being discussed within a polar art history, it is something which this chapter starts to rectify. Much like Carr who appears as a rare presence alongside the Group of Seven and within the Canadian 'wilderness', Boberg challenges the expectations of women painters working within the world of men. Emerging from within this highly male dominated artistic sphere, Boberg is a rare example of a woman painter working within the Scandinavian Arctic during the first half of the 20th century. ¹³³

The discussion surrounding ice-melt in the Arctic and Antarctic Peninsula is global. As the mythical open polar sea becomes a daunting reality, the question of how to preserve these icy landscapes becomes ever more challenging. The men and women artist-explorers identified in this chapter provide an alternative, visual narrative to the traditional reading of the Arctic as a landscape dominated by male heroism and exploration. Similarly, a reading of the artist living and working within the Arctic environment, across the Canadian, Greenland and Nordic far north, allows for the comparative analysis of both composition (as in the northern lights) and tonality (in the icebergs and glaciers). This discussion is important for moving a history of landscape painting beyond a concern for more traditional scenes of the imperial picturesque and the Sublime. In Farthest North, Nansen cited the

¹³¹Bloom, Gender on Ice, 39.

¹³²Louise Nyström, Svenska Bilder: i Anna och Ferdinand Bobergs fotspår efter hundra år (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2011), 12. Original quotation: "var jag så bergtagen i Lofotnatur att jag blankt nekade resa hem. Jag ville stanna och måla, måla. Min man tog hemvägen äver Trondhjem och sände mig därifrån alla nödiga målargrejor".

¹³³Another example is that of Ragnhild Nordensten, whose painting The Glacier Calves (Jökeln Kalvar, 1925) depicts the moment of calving of an unknown glacier; and Emilie Demant Hatt, a Danish painter-cumethnographer whose paintings documented Sami life in Lapland, and their relationship with their environment. For further reading on these two artists see: Cecilia Regen, Ragnhild Nordensten: Industrialismens konstnärinna(Stockholm: Signum, 2013); Barbara Sjoholm and Emilie Demant Hatt, With the Lapps in the High Mountains: A Woman Among the Sami, 1907-1908 (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2013); and Barbara Sjoholm, Black Fox: A Life of Emilie Demant Hatt, Artist and Ethnographer (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2017).

Stoic philosopher Seneca: "A time will come in later years when the Ocean will unloose the bands of things, when the immeasurable earth will lie open, when seafarers will discover new countries, and Thule will no longer be the extreme point among the lands". The impending reality of these two-thousand-year-old comments has a daunting effect on how icescapes and the polar landscape, as a whole, should be studied across the sciences and humanities. While ice performs the role as a mediator between earlier geological epochs and the Anthropocene, the visual culture surrounding the frozen substance allows for a reading that recognises the prevalence of this comparably overlooked geology and topography in a transnational art history.

¹³⁴Nansen, Farthest North, 7.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

At the beginning of this study I noted that the scholarship on Scandinavian and Canadian landscape painting has been preoccupied with a discussion of national identity and mysticism. While this thesis took into account both of these identifying features, it moved towards an analysis of a shared topography and ecology within interrelated regional modernisms around similar latitudinal lines. I focused my study on Norwegian, Swedish and Canadian landscape painting, between 1896 and 1933. These dates marked the first touring exhibition of Swedish painting in the U.S. in 1896, to the disbanding of the Group of Seven in 1933, at which point the Canadian art scene became dispersed across the country. Identifying works created at a similar historical moment and at similar latitudinal coordinates, this thesis emphasised the commonality in ecology and topography, as well as composition and technique, that existed across the northern hemisphere. However, such is the extent of the Circumpolar North encompassing Russia, Finland, Sweden, Norway, the Faroe Islands, Åland Islands, Iceland, Greenland, Canada and Alaska, U.S., and the U.K. - that it is ripe for further analysis beyond the scope of this thesis.

While the introduction sought to establish the theoretical basis for a Circumpolar methodology, building upon previous scholarship on landscape painting in Canada and Scandinavia, the ensuing chapters presented a visual archive that sought to support an ecocritical reading. The term Circumpolar has been readily used in the fields of archaeology and anthropology, and Arctic and environmental studies, to describe the many facets of life within countries situated around the Arctic Circle, and yet remains restricted to indigenous visual culture in the field of art history. Working around latitudinal lines, my project considered how a similar environment – that of Canada, Greenland and the Scandinavian nations – was shared and

depicted across these northern coordinates. Although a Circumpolar art history endeavours to resist the rhetoric of regional or national exceptionalism, it is simultaneously aware of the impact regional environments must have on artistic production. This further encourages discussion on questions of environment and culture, encounter and exchange.

Previous scholarship as indicated throughout this thesis - drawing upon the scholarship of Gunnarsson and Nasgaard - considered these respective art histories as indicative of a national idiom, and failed to broaden the geographical reach beyond a preoccupation with Eurocentrism. As identified in the introduction and in the following visual examples, comparisons between Scandinavian and Canadian landscape painting are not unprecedented and have been a point of discussion since the 1912-13 Exhibition. Although Nasgaard and Gunnarsson alluded to a transnational methodology, however, my thesis represents the first sustained synthesis of historiographical influence and ecological awareness.

I positioned the methodology and comparative case studies within the thesis as alternatives to a global, world art studies, in favour of a meso-scale of interrelated local, regional and national identities. This study pushes against a northerly frontier by situating the landscape painting of Canada, Greenland, Sweden and Norway within a transnational Circumpolar methodology. It interrogates shifting ideas of north throughout the artists' oeuvre, pushing against nationally imposed frontiers such as the Arctic. It does, however, not go as far as a transatlantic or circum-Atlantic art history in that it does not seek to encompass indigenous communities and visual culture. Restricted by the exhibition history of Scandinavian art, this thesis is more closely related to Barringer's "white Atlantic", than with challenging the omission of indigenous artists within national art histories. It did, however, consider the Group of Seven within a post-colonial environment, and situated the work of Carr and Boberg in opposition to a prescribed hyper-masculine imperial narrative around which 'wilderness' and the Far North have been orientated. Questions of post-colonialism and ecofeminism often go hand-in-hand with ecocriticism, and this is particularly apparent in the diminished ecology of the Canadian 'wilderness' discussed in Chapter 4. With this in mind, this thesis does not attempt to present an environmentally determinist study of landscape painting, but rather facilitates an ecocritical perspective that allows for a move beyond stylistic influence and national identities. This is in line with developing methodologies around the Anthropocene, which has sought to identify human impact on the landscape, and the possible interdisciplinarity of the humanities and sciences.

This study set out to interrogate how landscape painting might act as a way to structure art history around geographical, geological, and ecological scales. It encourages a reading of style, technique and composition in tandem with an awareness of the ecological sciences, as well as topography and climate. The concentrated visual analysis that the primary chapters provide also shows how the sciences might inform the visual arts, and vice versa. The examples subjected to this proposed methodology are by no means exhaustive, and are only indicative of a limited number of each artist's own oeuvre. They do, however, emphasise the importance of including paintings within an ecocritical art history, differing greatly from Patrizio's theoretical structure that orientates itself around existing written scholarship, rather than art historical examples. In contrast to Patrizio's ecocritical art history this thesis encourages an ecocriticism that emphasises visual analysis in relation to broader ideas of environment, topography, climate and geology. The four chapters integrated the two fundamental tenets of my argument - the historiographical analysis of exhibitions and influence, and the underlying impact of ecology and environment in the landscape painting of the Circumpolar North from 1896-1933.

With the first chapter, and introduction, introducing past scholarship on the topic of Nordic and Canadian landscape, alongside the individual methodologies of the frontier, periphery, ecofeminism, ecocriticism and the Anthropocene, the discussion presented in Chapter Two turned back to the historiographical proponent of this thesis. It went beyond brief mention of the 1912-13 Exhibition, and recognised further exhibitions staged in the U.S., between 1896-1916, that were similarly focused on landscape painting and the proliferation of national idioms. The curatorial efforts of Brinton showcased the individual contemporaneous art histories of Norway, Denmark and Sweden alongside one another, as racially determined and preoccupied with a vitalist modernism. This was done in an attempt to 'internationalise' the North American art scene. Drawing particular attention to certain works, this chapter identified the role of the exhibition in the reception and impact of Scandinavian landscape painting on public perception and on alternative visual national identities. This study provided an archival and historiographical foundation upon which to move beyond the isolated and nationalised study of Scandinavian, and consequently Canadian, art history.

Following this, Chapter Three broke down the study of a 'wilderness' ideology in Scandinavian and Canadian landscape painting. It broadened the discussion of the forested landscape to consider the role of advertisement and tourism in the development of a supposed 'wilderness' reading of the Circumpolar North. Looking closely at the work of specific artists including Carr, Fjaestad, Lycke and Harris, this analysis encouraged discussion of the stylistic and compositional approach adopted by each artist, with regards to climate (notably seasonal change) and topography. While often looking at the similarities between these landscapes, this chapter also noted the different types of forests - boreal and temperate - that existed at similar latitudinal points. With regards to the temperate forests of Carr's British Columbia, I argued that Carr's work intersects the regional, national and Circumpolar, and furthers a discussion of deforestation in art historical records. Beyond the regional framework of British Columbia, a Circumpolar methodology broadens the study of Carr's work, situating it alongside artists other than the Group of Seven. This study of forests and 'wilderness' landscapes, provided closer consideration of how the art of the Circumpolar region might encourage discussion of the 'frontier', 'northerness' and 'wilderness' within art history.

Chapter Four furthered the efforts of the previous chapter, in pushing for an ecological reading of the landscape in relation to the prevalence of lakes and mountains in the topography of Canada and Scandinavia. With regards to Hesselbom and Carmichael, I looked at their prospect-view compositions, recognising earlier traditions of the American and Imperial Sublime; while in the work of Varley and Willumsen, they actively engaged with regional and transnational topographies, and are conscious of the respective ecologies and geologies. This discussion considered diminishing wildlife populations as a consequence of over-hunting, carried out during the late-19th century with the Hudson Bay Company. The moral challenges of the Group of Seven working in former HBC territory proposes a post-colonial narrative in which their works should also be considered - an imperial dilemma that wasn't faced in Scandinavia, but remains a contentious point today in the wider Nordic region, with regards to Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Åland Islands.

The fifth and final chapter saw the discussion of the Circumpolar North moved into the Arctic Circle. As such, this chapter looked at the Arctic as a scale within the Circumpolar, opening up a future, more intimate, methodological framework. The Polar North is given limited representation with national art histories, and there has been no attempt to view the Arctic as an encompassing framework around which to broaden a national study of landscape painting. This chapter looked to rectify this. By looking at examples of the northern lights, glaciers and icebergs, this chapter situated Harris, Boberg and Kent alongside an Arctic

concerned solely with male heroism and exploration. Challenging the association of the Arctic with ideas of "whiteness" I argued instead for a "blue" landscape - where glacial landscapes and icescapes show a frozen blue environment, indicative of the means by which light refracts through ice. Given the global climate crisis, depictions of ice have consequently come to play a significant part in scientific studies, providing a subjective glacial history before records began. This chapter instead looked to see how scientific data might help in interpreting frozen landscapes, beyond mere style and technique. As ice performs the role of mediator between earlier geological epochs and the Anthropocene, the art history of this frozen substance looks at climate, geology and topography within a transnational art history.

Further research does, however, remain to be done on the full extent of the Circumpolar North. This methodology would benefit from a wider analysis of Russian and Nordic art histories (encompassing Finland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Åland Islands), even venturing so far as to include Scotland and Northern England within this all-encompassing study. Future work would also incorporate the art and culture of the indigenous Sami and Inuit communities residing throughout the Circumpolar North. A closer-study of the Arctic, in particular, looks to further expand upon the visual and cultural history of the region during the late 19th and early 20th century. This would go beyond painting, and look to photography, sculpture, graphic media and film. It would take into account the visual culture of polar exploration in relation to contemporary concerns of gender, ecology and national identity. Through an integration of indigenous visual culture, this future work would address the need for a comprehensive re-evaluation of a strictly Anglo-American and hyper-masculine narrative of art history and exploration in the Polar North.

By no means do the examples used to support a Circumpolar methodology present a comprehensive evaluation of artists and artworks throughout the Circumpolar North. It does, however, go some way to provide a powerful and timely corrective to the national study of art history. In reassessing the landscape painting of Scandinavia and Canada, this thesis takes these respective art histories in the direction of the environmental humanities, recognising the broader transnational and ecological framework of the Circumpolar North. The environmental humanities, moreover, provide a dynamic antidote to the lingering fascination with national identity, and hierarchies of discipline, gender and culture, that this thesis looked to challenge. Taking into account ecocriticism, the environmental humanities and multi-disciplinary topics such as the Anthropocene, all of which are rapidly coming to

the fore, this thesis is well-timed to contribute $19^{\rm th}$ - and early- $20^{\rm th}$ -century northern Circumpolar landscape painting to this far-reaching discussion.

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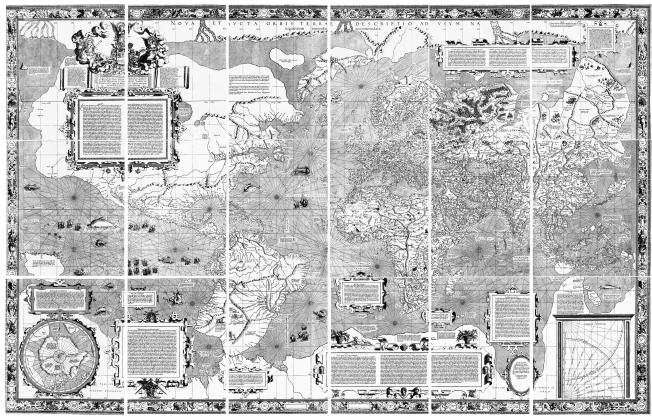


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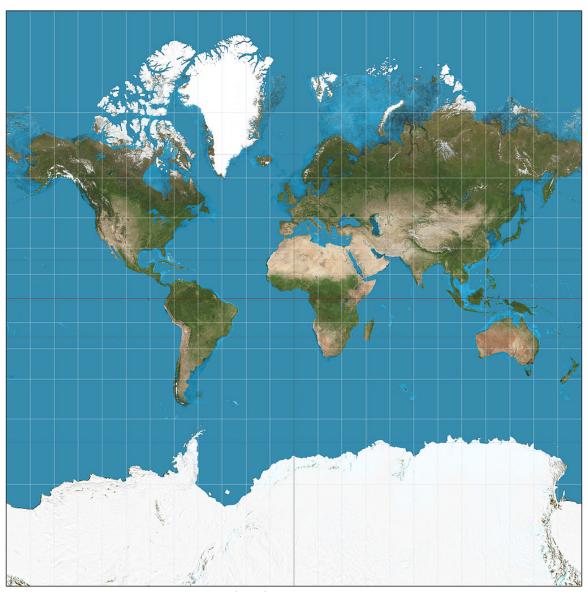


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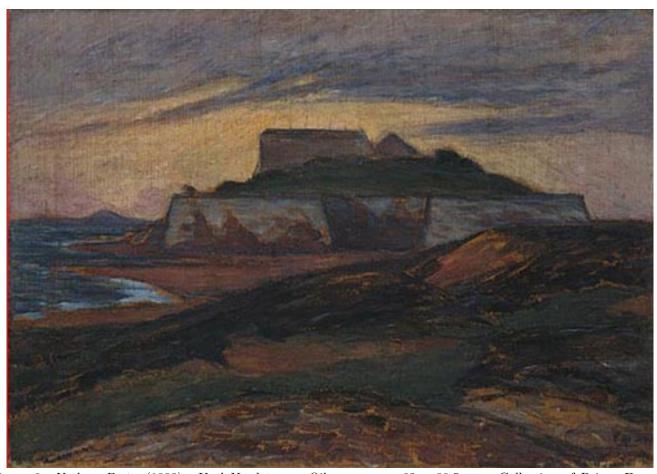


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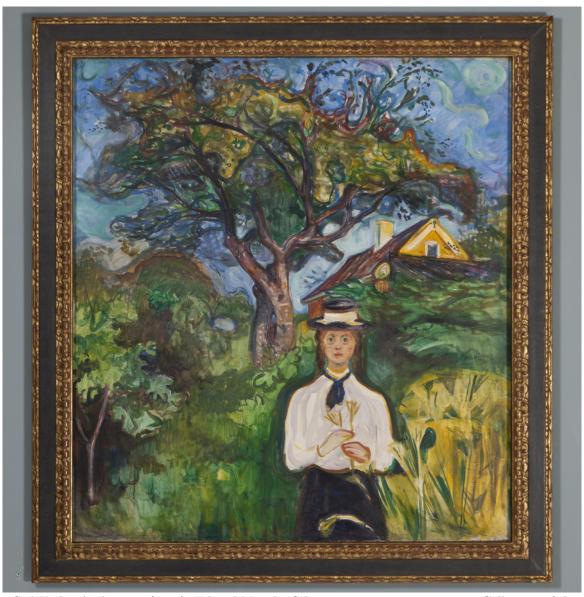


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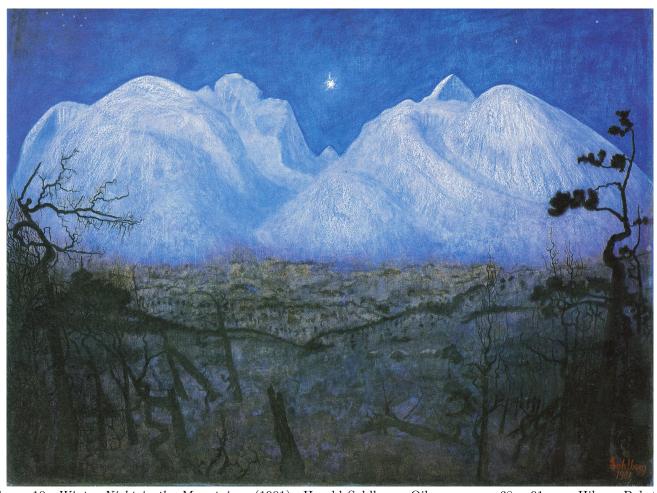


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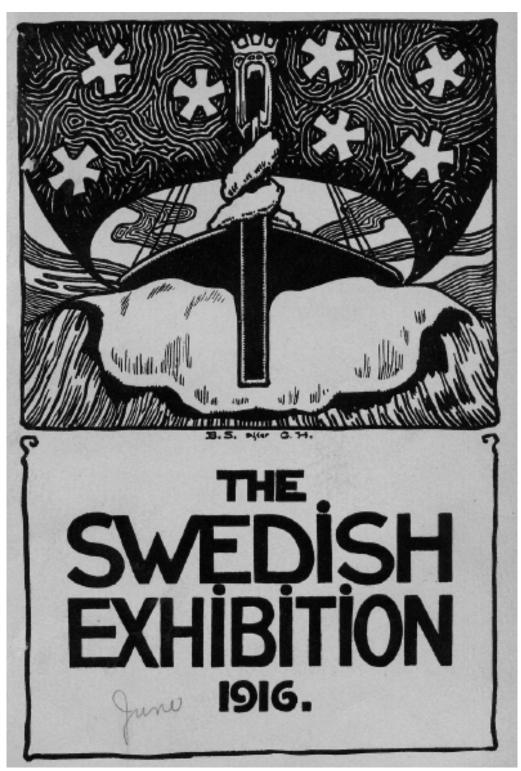


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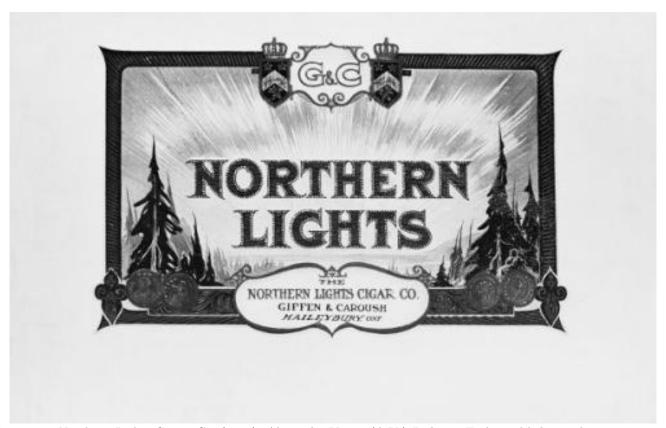


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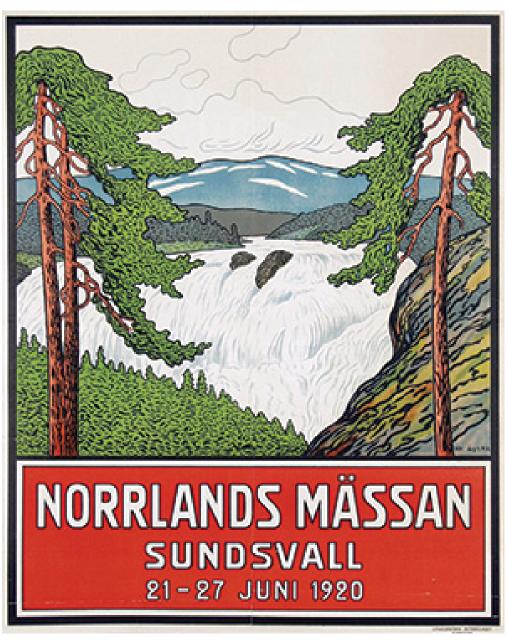


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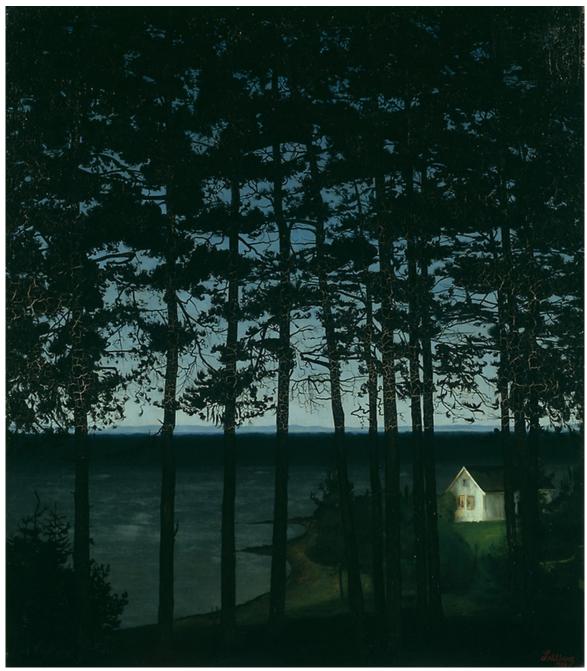


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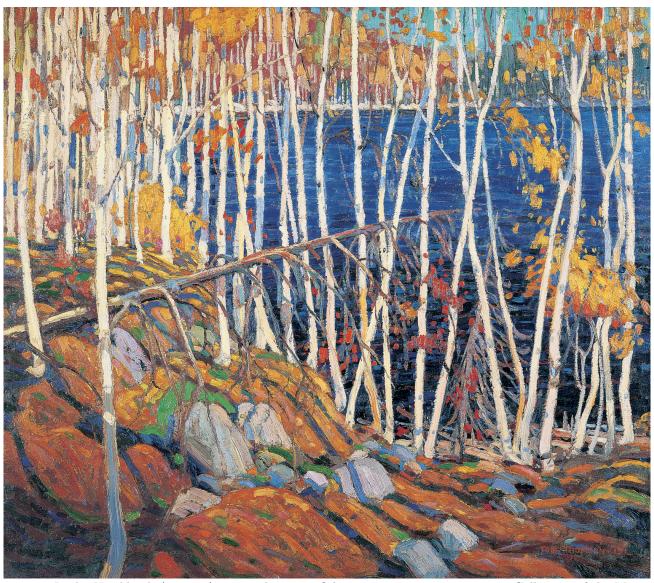


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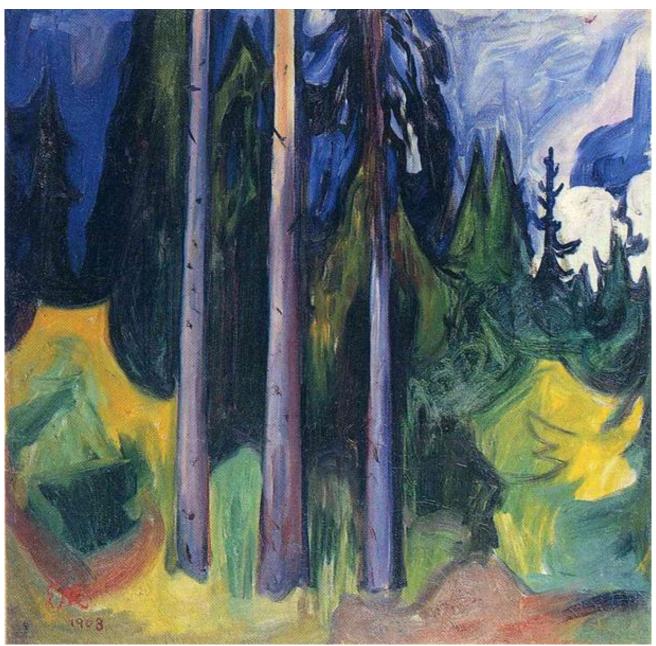


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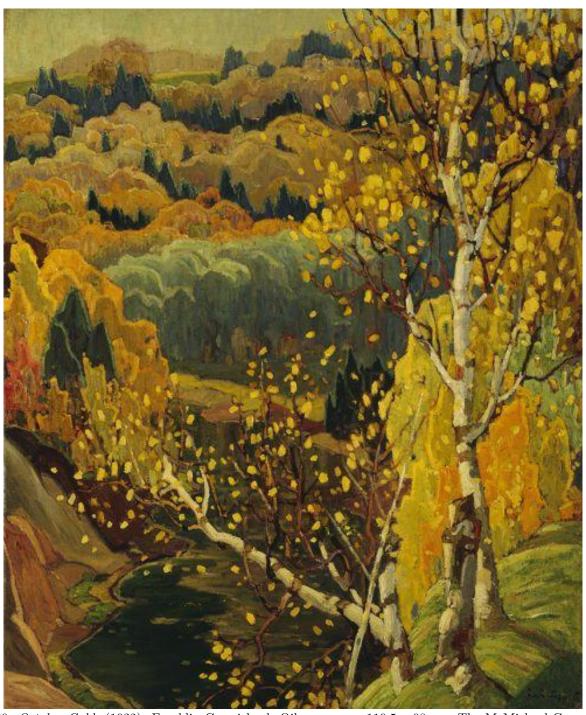


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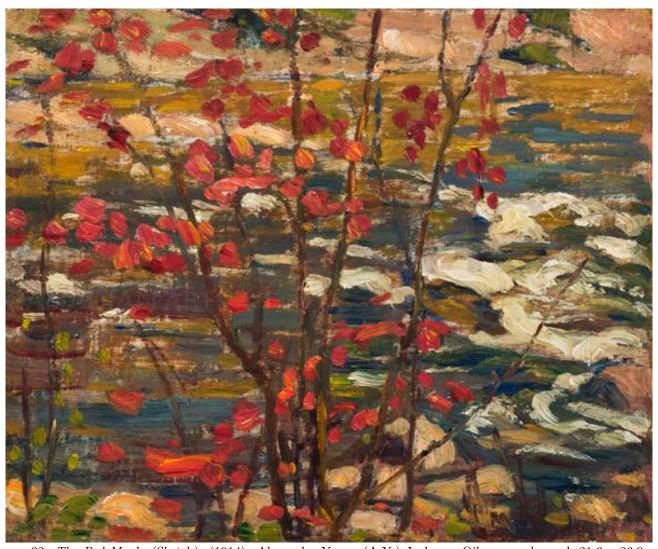


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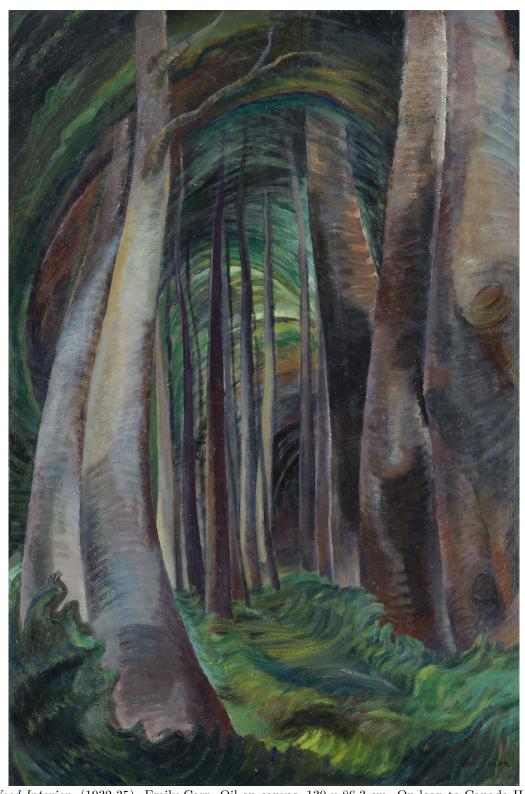


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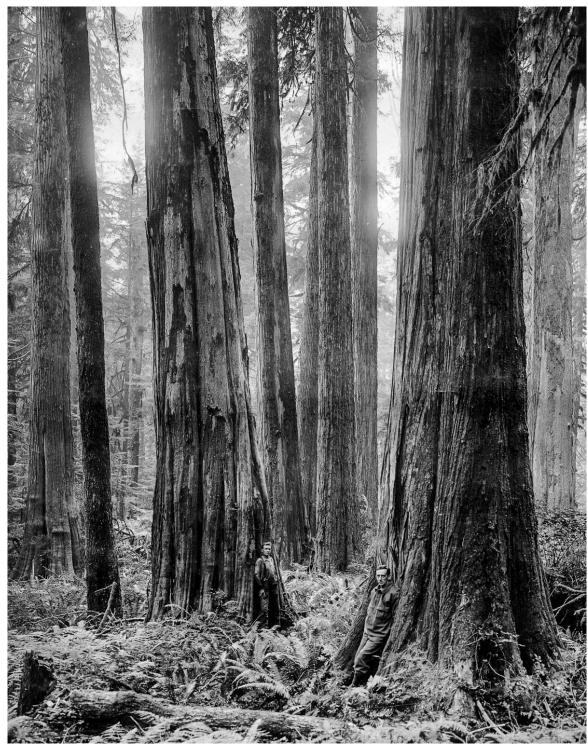


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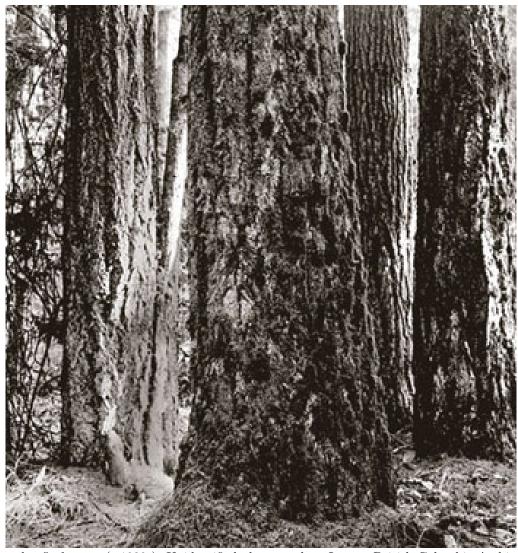


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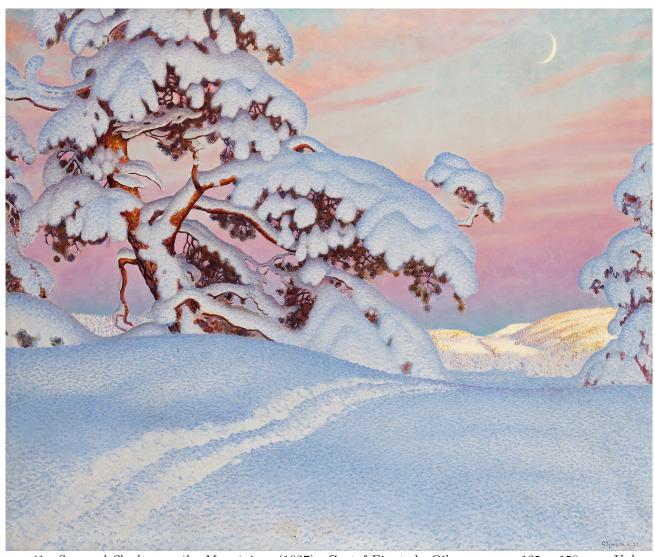


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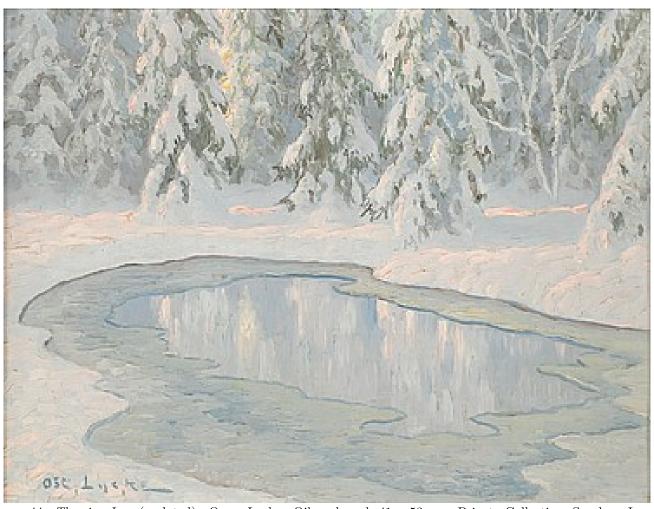


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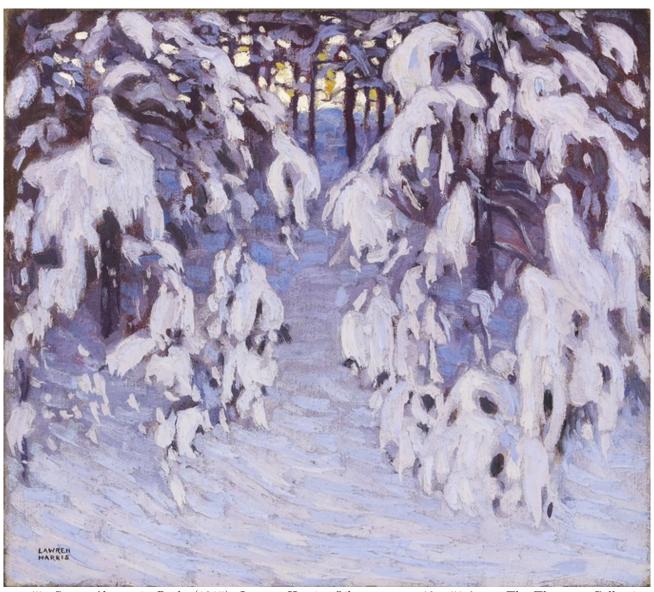


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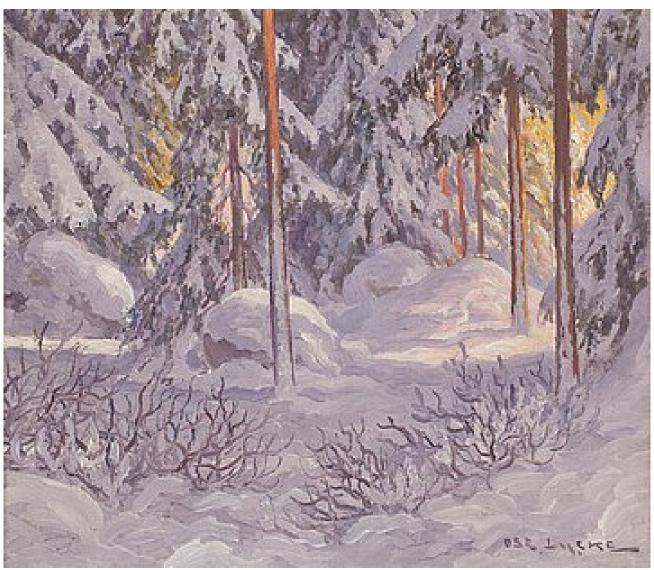


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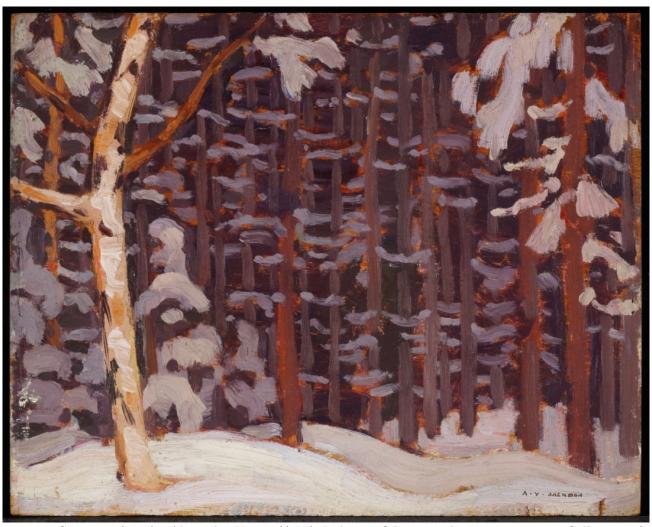


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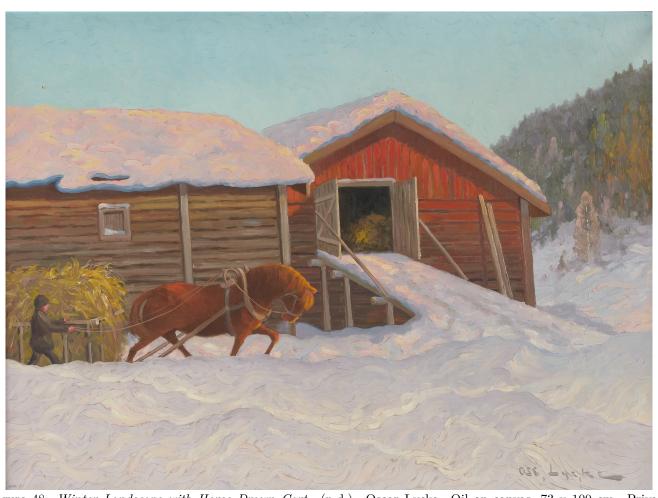


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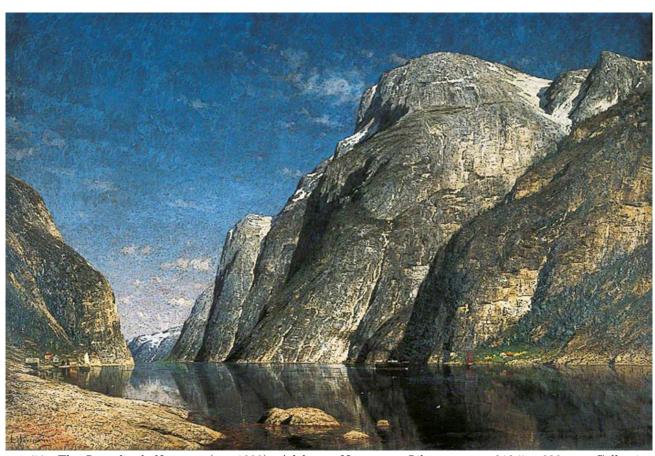


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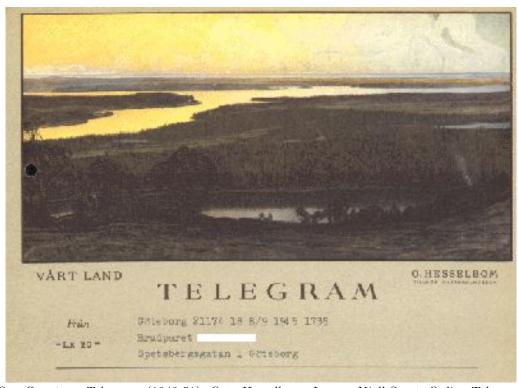


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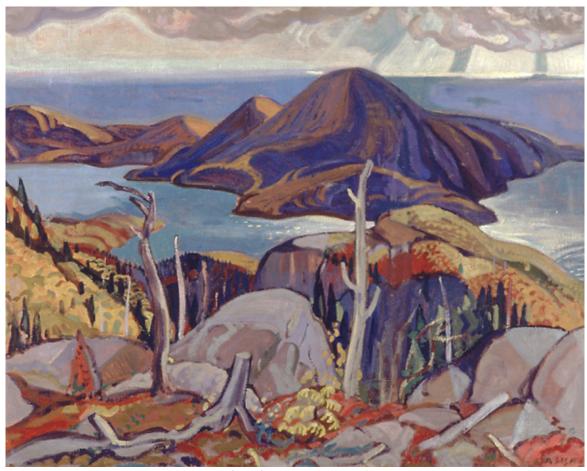


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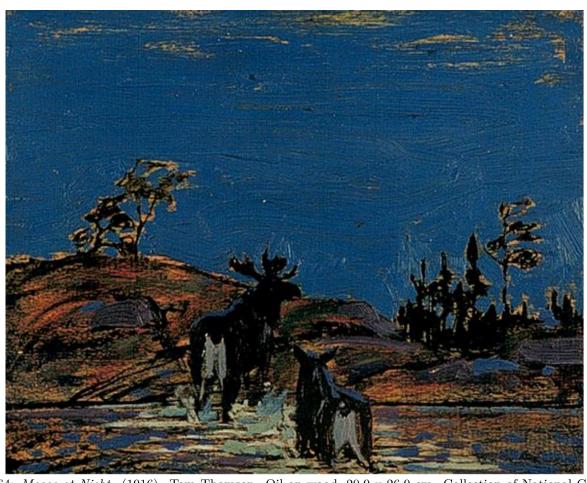


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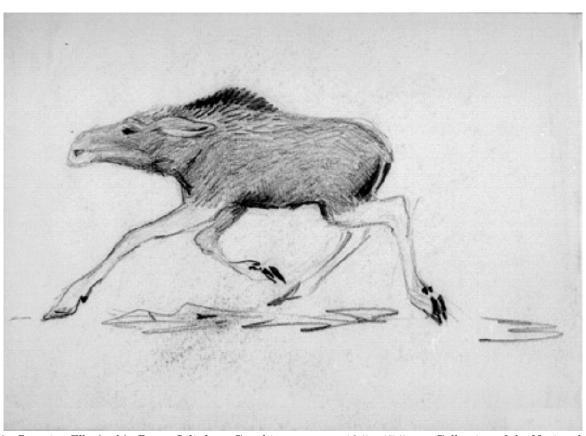


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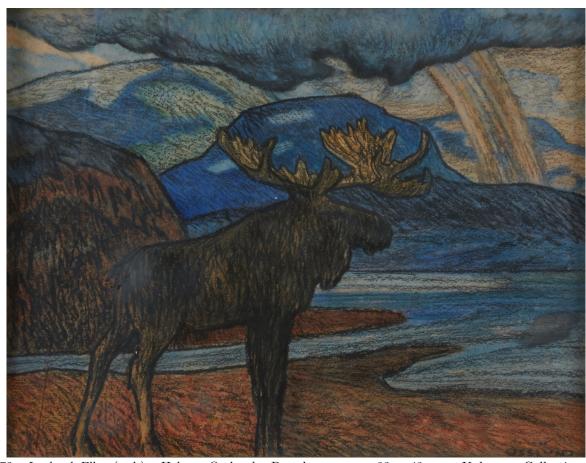


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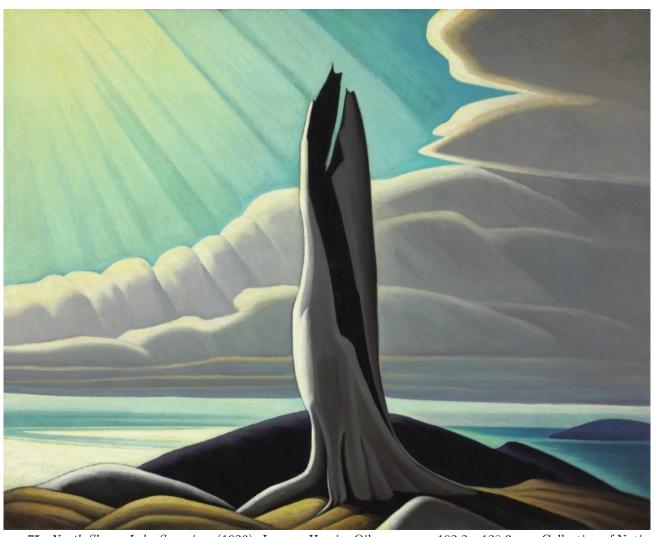


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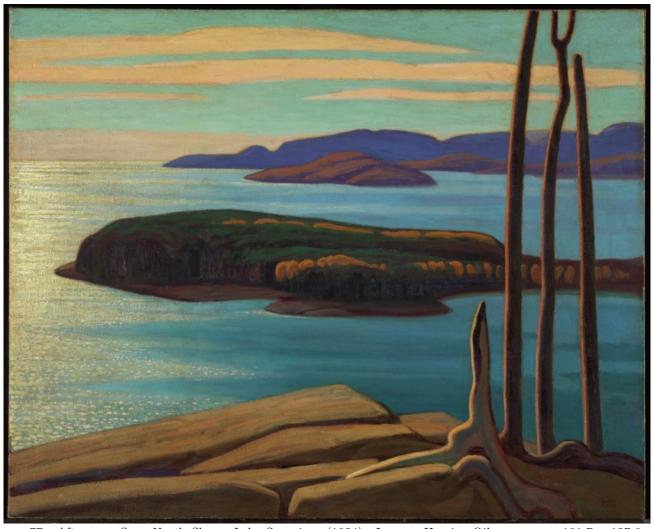


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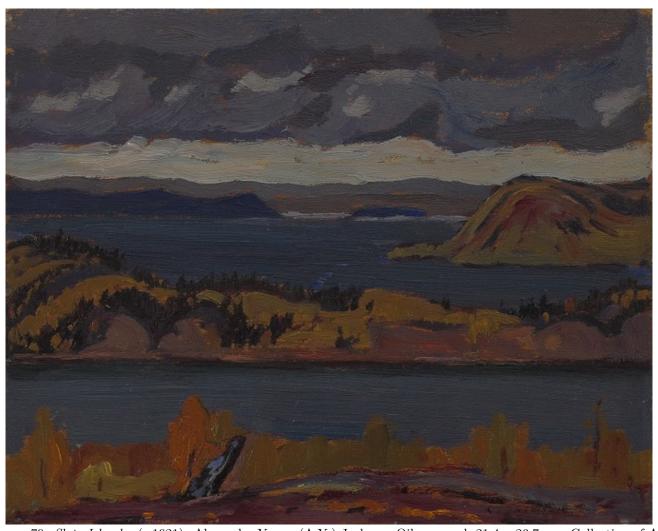


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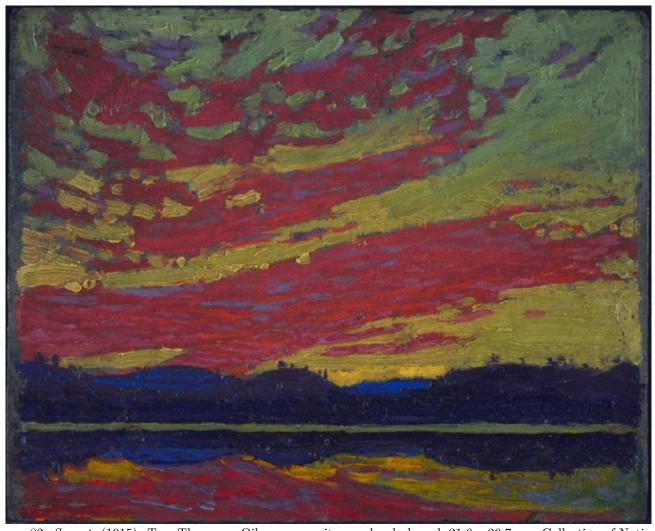


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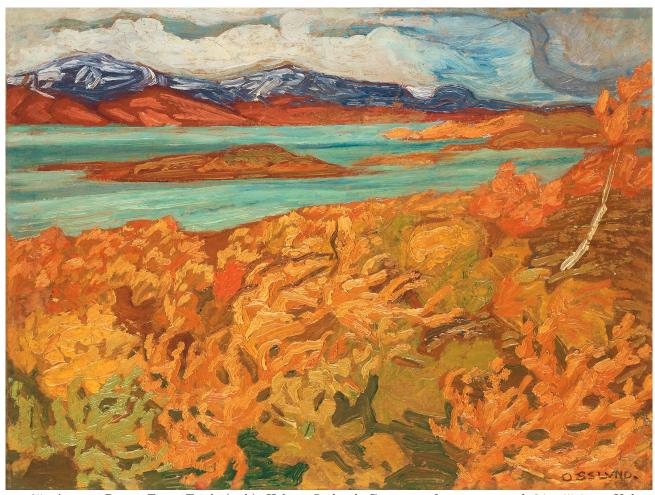


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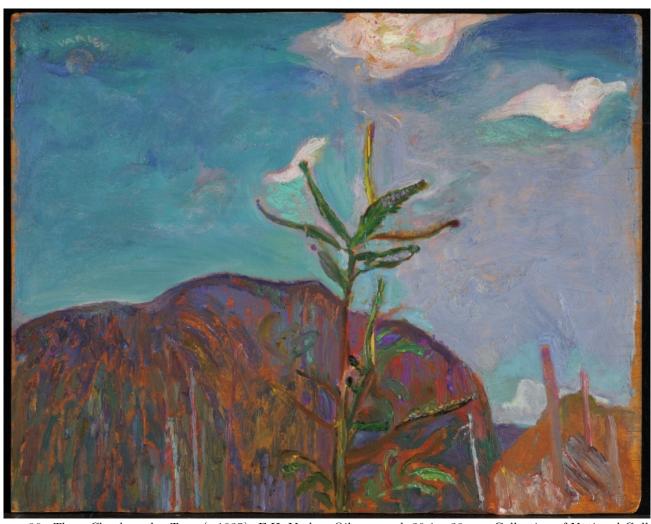


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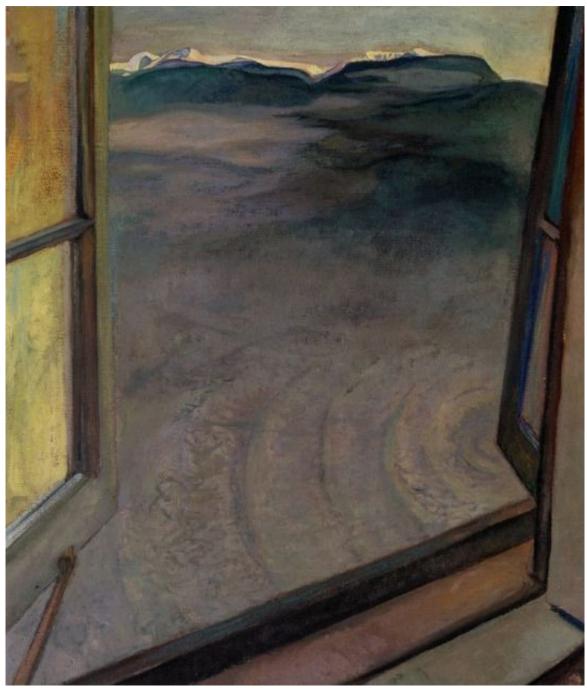


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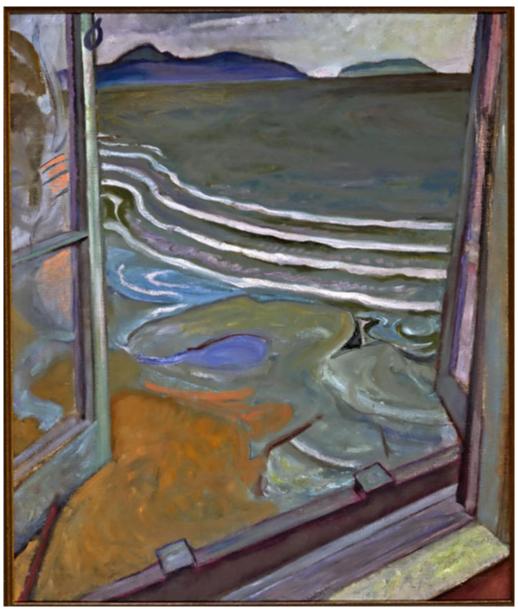


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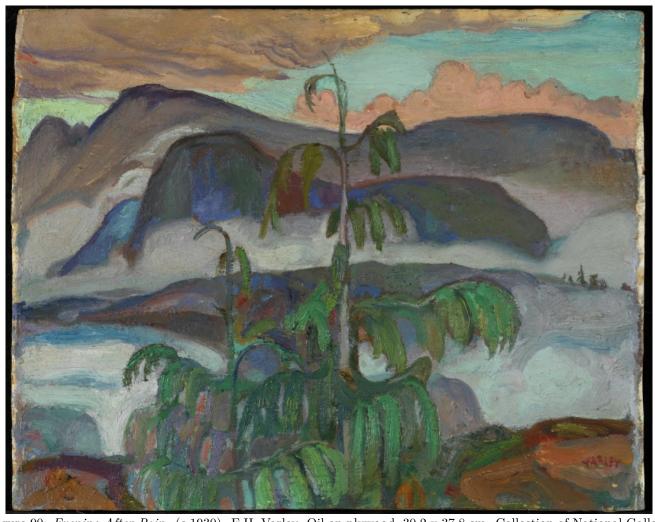


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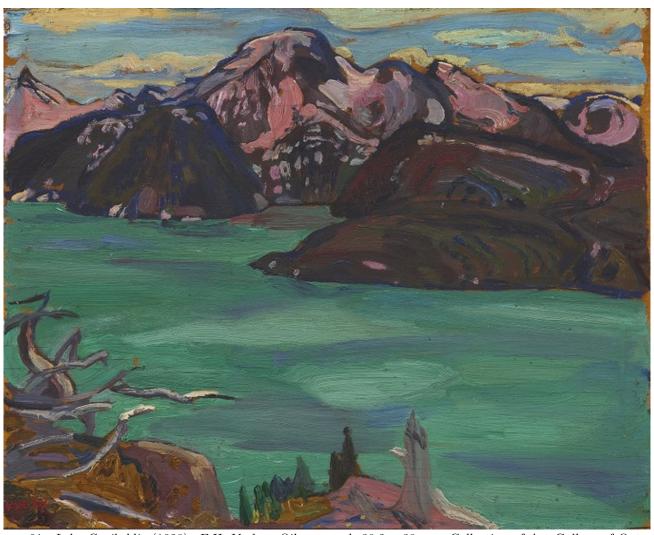


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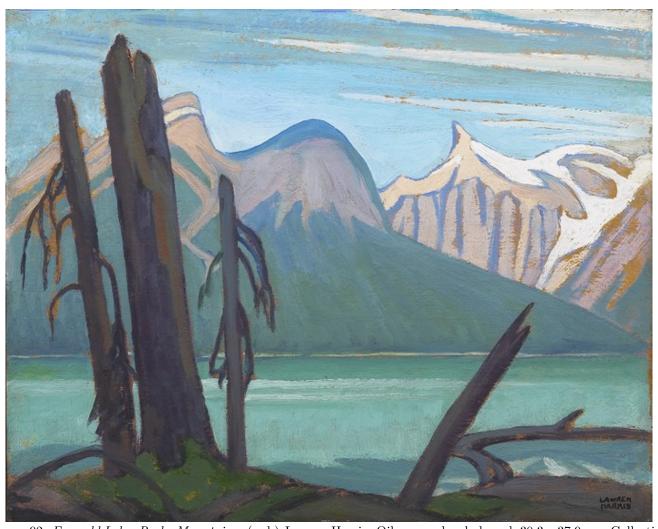


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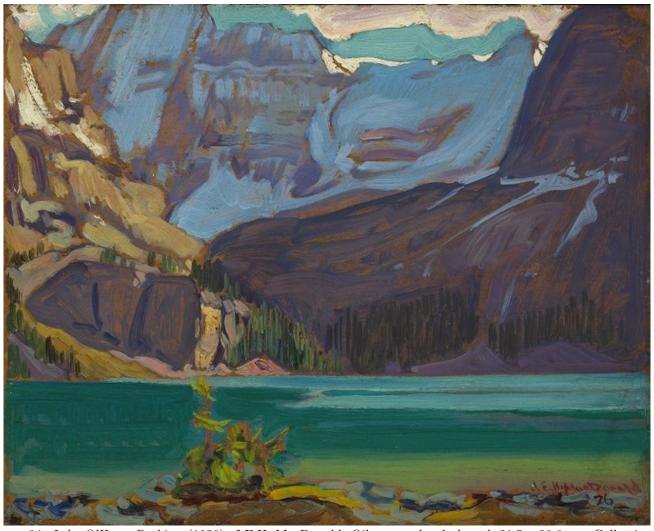


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Figure 98: Jotunheim Panorama I. View from Horntind by Skogstad in Valders. (1884). Emanuel Mohn. Unknown material, unknown measurements. DNTs Yearbook 1885. Image: The Norwegian Tourist Board, Online.



Figure 99: $Village\ Dune$ - $Russtegen\ and\ Langeskavlen$. (1910). Anders Beer Wilse. Negative on glass, 16 x 21 cm. Collection of the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History, Oslo, Norway. Image: Norwegian National Library, Online.

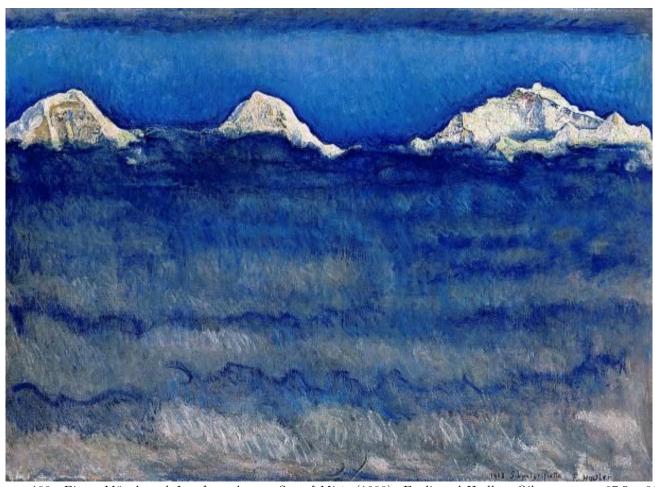


Figure 100: Eiger, Mönch and Jungfrau above a Sea of Mist. (1908). Ferdinand Hodler. Oil on canvas, 67.5×91.5 cm. Collection of Musée Jenisch, Vevey, Switzerland. Image: Musée Jenisch.



Figure 101: Mountains under the Southern Sun. (1902). J.F. Willumsen. Oil on canvas, 209×208 cm. Collection of Thielska Galleriet, Stockholm. Image: Thielska Galleriet.



Figure 102: Northern Lights. (Unknown date). Germaine Arnaktauyok. Etching and aquatint, edition of 75, 63.5 x 80 cm. Inuit Gallery of Vancouver. Image: Inuit Gallery of Vancouver, Online Shop.

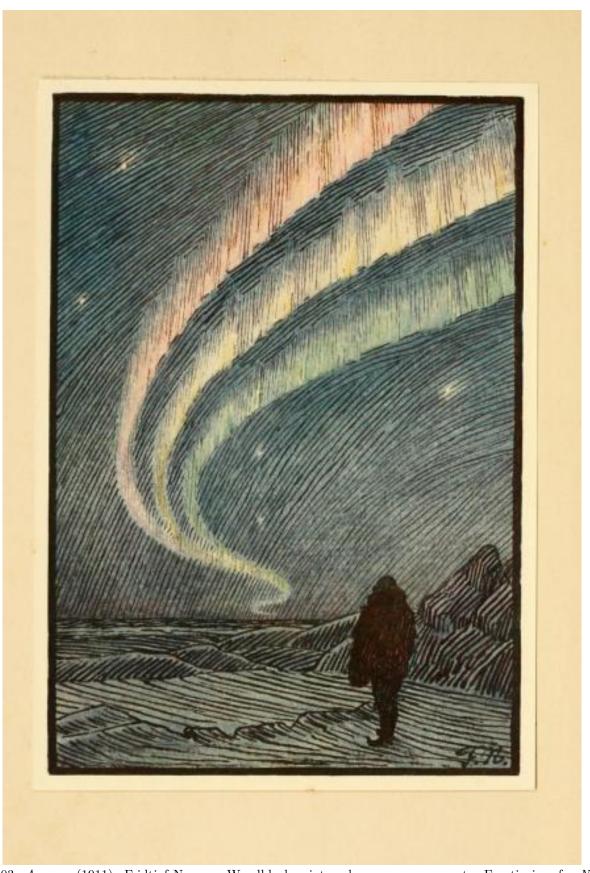


Figure 103: Aurora. (1911). Fridtjof Nansen. Woodblock print, unknown measurements. Frontispiece for Northern Mists: Arctic Exploration in Early Times. Vol. II. Image: Archive.org.

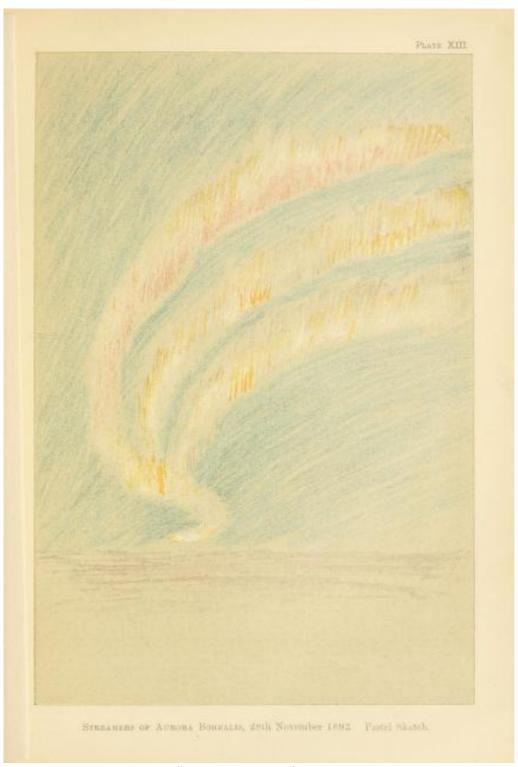


Figure 104: Streamers of Aurora Borealis. (November 28, 1893). Fridtjof Nansen. Coloured pencil, unknown measurements. Illustration in Farthest North: Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship 'Fram' 1893–96 and of a Fifteen Months' Sleigh Journey by Dr. Nansen and Lieut. Johansen. Image: Archive.org.

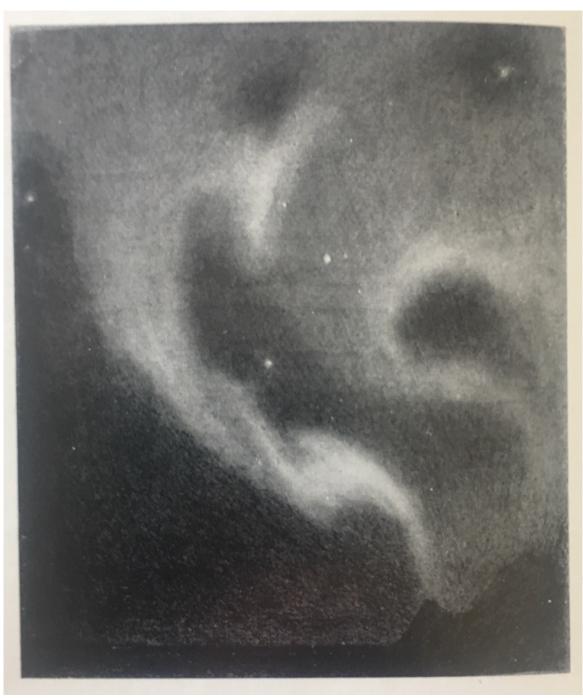


Figure 105: Northern Lights Veil Dance. (n.d.). Anna Boberg. Unknown medium and measurements. Photograph in Envar sitt ödes lekboll. Image: Envar sitt ödes lekboll.



Figure 106: Loie Fuller Dancing. (c.1900). Samuel Joshua Beckett. Gelatin silver print, $10.3 \times 13.3 \text{ cm}$. Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

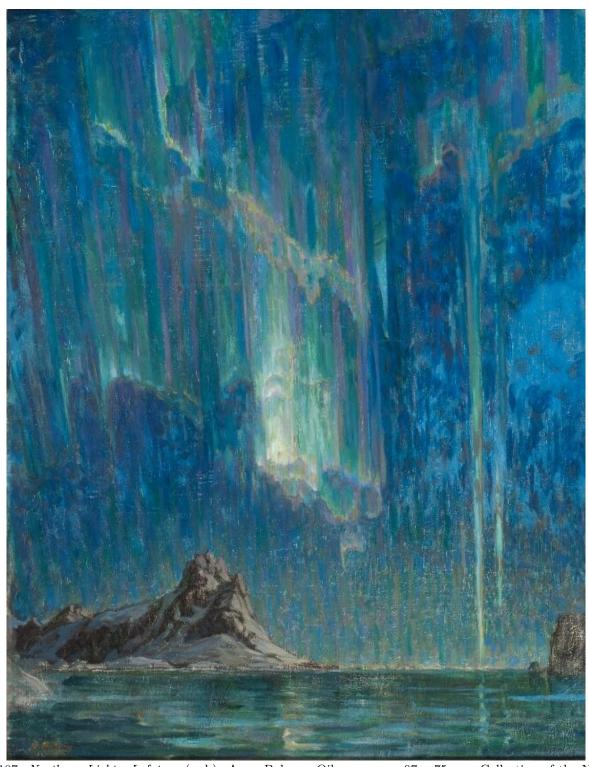


Figure 107: Northern Lights, Lofoten. (n.d.). Anna Boberg. Oil on canvas, 97×75 cm. Collection of the National-museum, Stockholm. Image: Nationalmuseum.



Figure 108: Northern Lights Fireworks. (n.d.). Anna Boberg. Oil on canvas, 46×55 cm. Collection of National museum, Stockholm. Image: National museum.



Figure 109: Northern Lights. (Spring 1917). Tom Thomson. Oil on plywood, 21.4×26.4 cm. Collection of The Thomson Collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Image: Art Gallery of Ontario.



Figure 110: Northern Lights. (Spring 1916). Tom Thomson. Oil on plywood, 21.6×26.7 cm. Collection of Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Image: Tom Thomson Catalogue Raisonné.

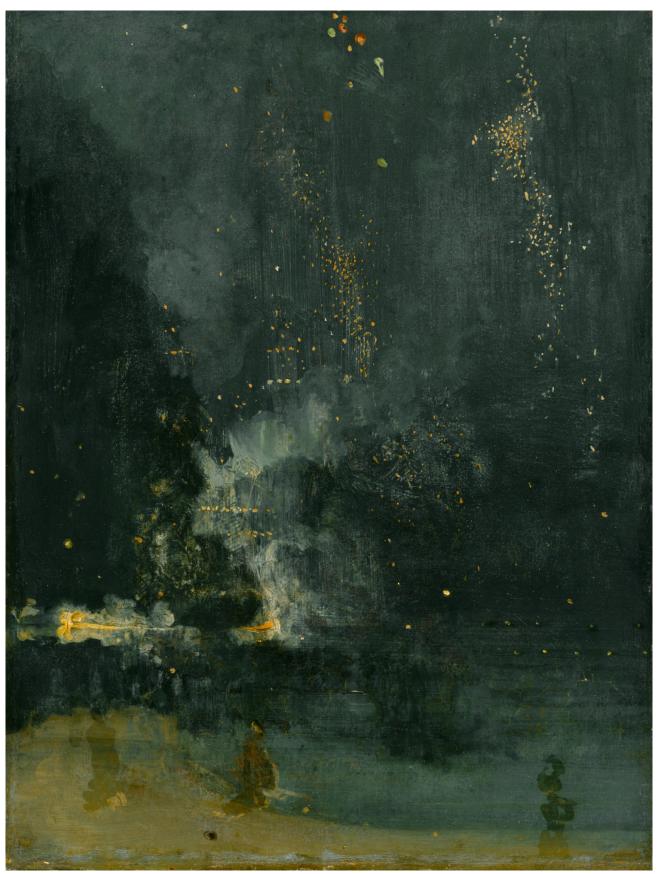


Figure 111: Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket. (1874). James Abbott McNeill Whistler. Oil on panel, 60.2×46.7 cm. Collection of Detroit Institute of Arts Museum. Image: Detroit Institute of Arts Museum Online.



Figure 112: Aurora. (1927). Alexander Young (A.Y.) Jackson. Oil on canvas, 54 x 66.7 cm. Collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Image: Art Gallery of Ontario.

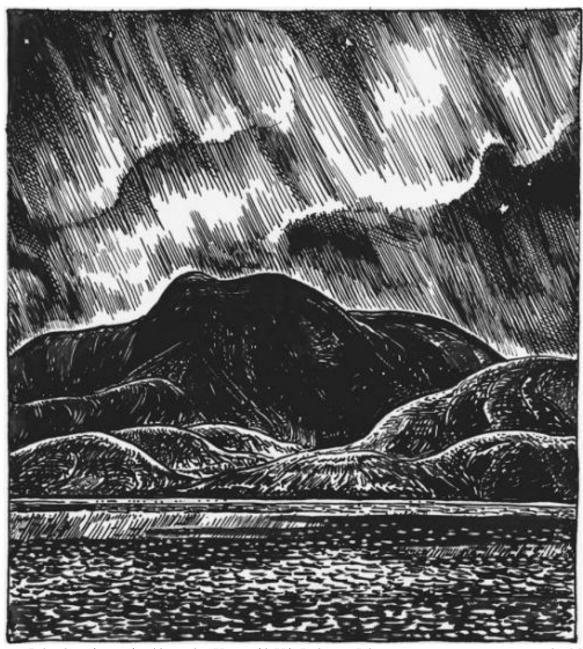


Figure 113: Labrador. (c.1927). Alexander Young (A.Y.) Jackson. Ink on paper, 20.5 x 18.1 cm. The McMichael Canadian Art Collection, Kleinburg, Ontario. Image: McMichael Canadian Art Collection.

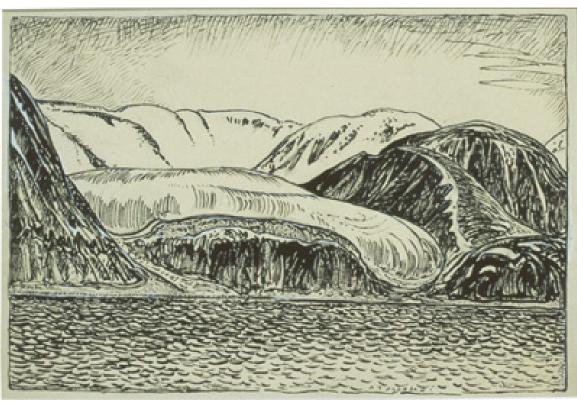


Figure 114: Glacier on Devon Island. (c.1927). Alexander Young (A.Y.) Jackson. Pen and ink, retouched with black and white paint, on paper, 19.4×28.2 cm. Collection of Mackenzie Art Gallery, University of Regina Collection. Image: Mackenzie Art Gallery.



Figure 115: A.Y. Jackson Sketching on the Ice. (1927). Photograph. Image: Maurice Haycock, National Archives of Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs.



Figure 116: Northern Lights over Coastal Landscape. (c.1870). Peder Balke. Oil on paper attached to board, $10.5~\mathrm{x}$ 12 cm. Collection of Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo. Image: Nasjonalmuseet.

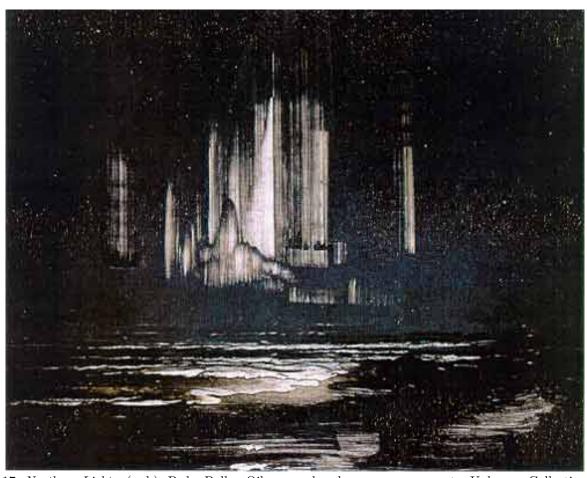


Figure 117: $Northern\ Lights.\ (n.d.)$. Peder Balke. Oil on panel, unknown measurements. Unknown Collection. Image: Northern Lights Route Website, University of Tromsø, Norway.



Figure 118: Hammerfest. $Northern\ Lights$. (1894-95). Konstantin Korovin. Oil on canvas, 176.5 x 106.7 cm. Collection of the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. Image: Tretyakov Gallery.



Figure 119: The Mer de Glace from the Montanvers Hotel above Chamonix. (1849). John Ruskin. Graphite, pen and ink with brown and blue-grey washes, on smooth white wove paper, 32.2×49.3 cm. Collection of Kings College, Cambridge. Image: sublimesites.co.



Figure 120: The Mer de Glace, Looking up to the Aiguille de Tacul. (1802). J.M.W. Turner. Graphite, chalk, watercolour, and gouache on paper, 31.4×46.5 cm. Collection of Tate, UK. Image: sublimesites.co.



Figure 121: $View\ of\ Nigardsbreen\ in\ Jostedalen.\ (1839/1844)$. Johan Christian (J.C.) Dahl. Oil on canvas, 100 x 136 cm. Rasmus Meyer Collection, Bergen Kunstmuseum, Norway. Image: Bergen Kunstmuseum.



Figure 122: Mont Blanc and the Glacier des Bossons. (1836). J.M.W. Turner. Graphite and watercolour on paper, 25.6×28 cm. Tate Collection, U.K. Image: Tate Collection.



Figure 123: $Glacier\ des\ Bossons,\ Chamonix.\ (c.1849)$. John Ruskin. Pen and wash in sepia ink, and bodycolour, over graphite on wove paper, 33.8 x 47.7 cm. John Ruskin Teaching Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, U.K. Image: Ashmolean Museum Collection.



Figure 124: Photo of Nigardsbrevatnet. (2015). Image: Svein-Magne Tunli, Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 125: *The Glacier, Jostedalsbreen.* (1840s). Peder Balke. Oil on canvas, 128×174 cm. Collection of Göteborgs Konstmuseum, Gothenburg. Image: Göteborgs Konstmuseum.



Figure 126: Sea of Ice. (1823-24). Caspar David Friedrich. Oil on canvas, $96.7 \times 126.9 \text{ cm}$. Collection of Hamburger Kunsthalle, Germany. Image: Hamburger Kunsthalle.

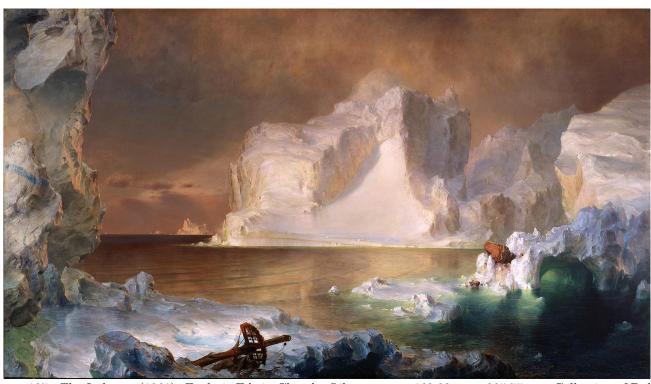


Figure 127: *The Icebergs.* (1861). Frederic Edwin Church. Oil on canvas, $163.83 \text{ cm} \times 285.75 \text{ cm}$. Collection of Dallas Museum of Art, U.S.A. Image: Dallas Museum of Art.



Figure 128: Garibaldi Park. (c.1944). James Williamson Galloway (Jock) Macdonald. Double-sided oil on board, $30.5 \times 37.5 \text{ cm}$. Unknown Collection. Image: Heffel Fine Art Auction House.



Figure 129: Isolation Peak, Rocky Mountains. (1930). Lawren Harris. Oil on canvas, 106.7×127 cm. Hart House Permanent Collection, University of Toronto. Image: Hart House Permanent Collection.



Figure 130: Glacier, Rocky Mountains. (n.d). Lawren Harris. Oil on canvas, 30 x 38.1 cm. Collection of the Museum of London, Ontario. Image: Museum of London, Ontario.



Figure 131: Mont des Poilus, Yoho National Park. (2009). Image: Graham Lewis, Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 132: Sketch of Isolation Peak. (1929). Lawren Harris. Graphite on paper, 19.2×25.1 cm. Collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Image: AGO Art Matters Online.

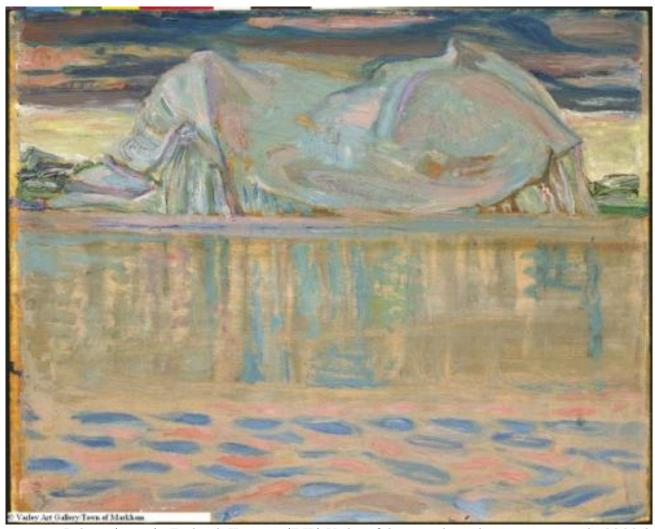


Figure 133: Iceberg. (c.1938). Frederick Horsman (F.H.) Varley. Oil on wood panel, 30.5 x 38 cm. The McMichael Canadian Art Collection, Kleinburg, Ontario. Image: McMichael Canadian Art Collection.

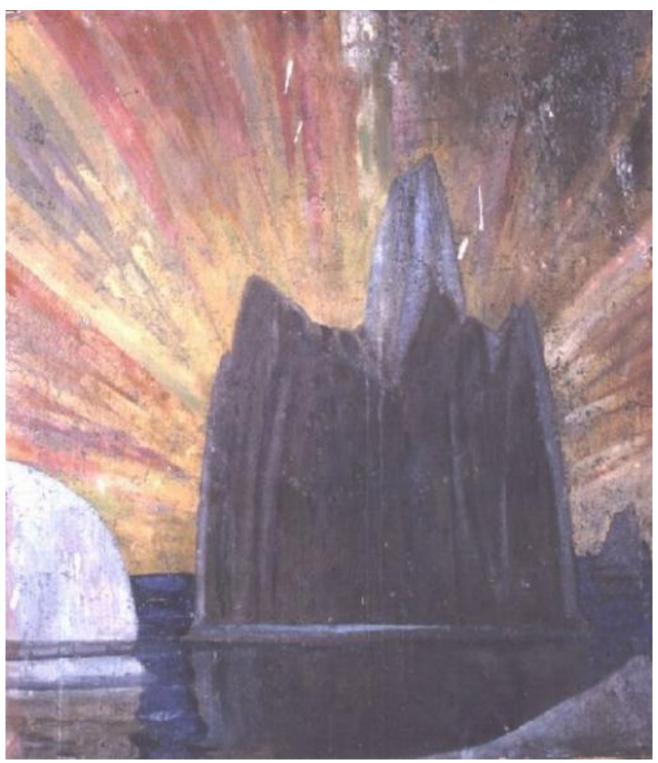


Figure 134: Iceberg. (n.d.). Lawren Harris. Oil on wood panel, 128.5 x 112.7 cm. The McMichael Canadian Art Collection, Kleinburg, Ontario. Image: McMichael Canadian Art Collection.



Figure 135: $Grounded\ Icebergs.$ (1931). Lawren Harris. Oil on canvas, 80 x 101.6 cm. Collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Image: Art Gallery of Ontario.



Figure 136: Bear Glacier. (1919). Rockwell Kent. Oil on canvas, 87.2×112.7 cm. Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas. Image: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

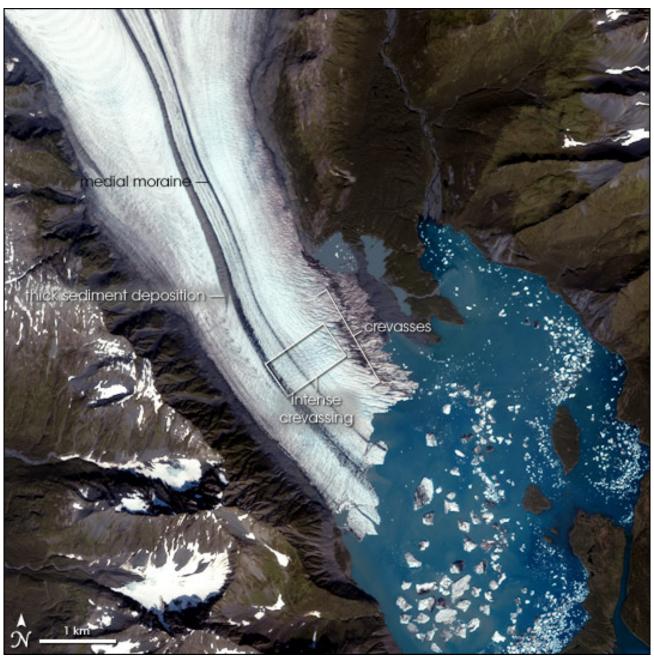


Figure 137: IKONOS Satellite Image of Bear Glacier. (8th August 2005). Image: NASA Earth Observatory Online.



Figure 138: $Aerial\ Photograph\ of\ Bear\ Glacier.$ (13th August 2007). Image: Bruce F. Molina, U.S. Geological Survey Department of the Interior/USGS.

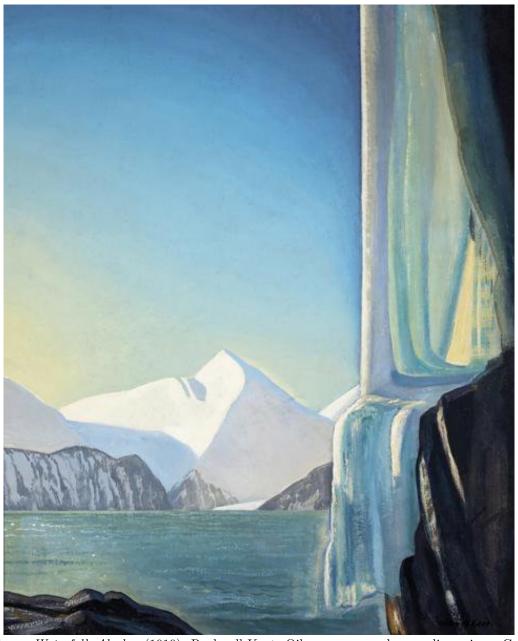


Figure 139: Frozen Waterfall, Alaska. (1919). Rockwell Kent. Oil on canvas, unknown dimensions. Collection of the Art Gallery of Hamilton, Ontario. Image: Art Gallery of Hamilton.



Figure 140: $Ice\ Curtains.$ (1919). Rockwell Kent. Oil on canvas mounted on masonite, 86.4 x 71.1 cm. Peter A. Juley & Son Collection, Smithsonian Institution, U.S.A. Image: scottferris.com.

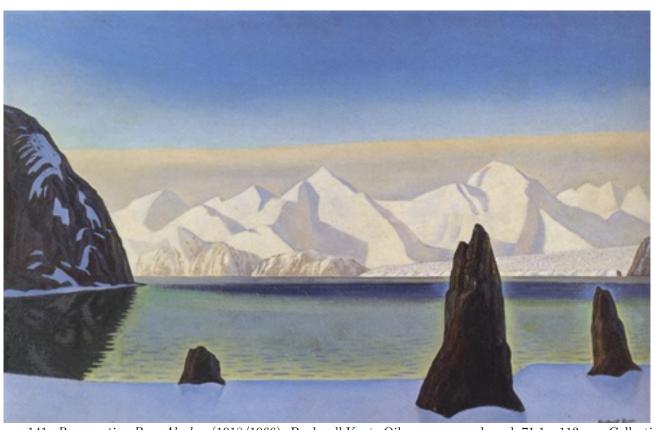


Figure 141: $Resurrection\ Bay,\ Alaska.\ (1918/1966)$. Rockwell Kent. Oil on canvas on board, 71.1 x 113 cm. Collection of the Frye Museum of Art, Seattle, Washington. Image: artnet.com.



Figure 142: $Early\ November,\ North\ Greenland.$ (1933). Rockwell Kent. Oil on canvas pasted on plywood, 86 x 112 cm. Collection of the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia. Image: The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 143: $Igdlorssuit\ Panorama.\ (1935)$. Rockwell Kent. Oil on canvas, 66.7×120 cm. Unknown Collection. Image: James Reinish & Associates, Inc., New York.

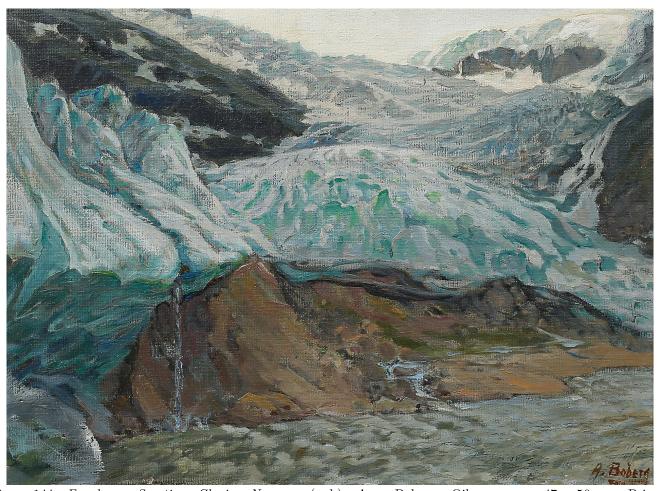


Figure 144: Engabreen, Svartisen Glacier, Norway. (n.d.). Anna Boberg. Oil on canvas, 47 x 56 cm. Private Collection, Sweden. Image: Author's photograph.



Figure 145: Anna Paints Svartisen. (n.d.). Ferdinand Boberg. Black and white photograph, unknown measurements. Ferdinand Boberg Archive, Royal Library, Stockholm. Image: Author's photograph.



Figure 146: Engabrevatnet, Svartisen. Unknown photographer. Image: svartisen.no.

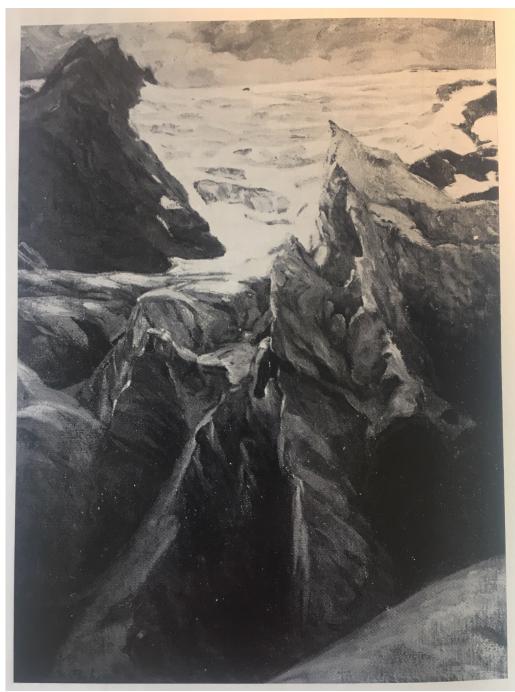


Figure 147: $The\ Glacier.\ (n.d.)$. Anna Boberg. Oil on canvas, unknown measurements. Unknown Collection. Image: $Envar\ sitt\ \ddot{o}des\ lekboll.$



Figure 148: Anna before the Glacier Svartisen. (n.d.). Ferdinand Boberg. Black and white photograph, unknown measurements. Ferdinand Boberg Archive, Royal Library, Stockholm. Image: Author's photograph.



Figure 149: Anna Boberg before Øksfjordjøkelen. (n.d.). Photograph. Image: Ferdinand Boberg, Envar sitt ödes lekboll.



Figure 150: Portrait of the Artist Anna Boberg with a Portable Easel and Palette. (c.1906). Unknown photographer. Black and white photograph, 18×24 cm. Collection of Stockholm Stadsmuseum. Image: Stockholm Stadsmuseum Digital Archive.



Figure 151: $Amundsen\ in\ Polar\ Costume.$ (1912). Anders Beer Wilse. Negative on glass, 18 x 13 cm. Collection of the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History, Oslo, Norway. Image: National Library of Oslo.