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Canada: A People's History - An analysis of the visual narrative for a colonial nation.

Glenn Leonard Brook

A Thesis
in
the
Department of Art History

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of the Master of Arts
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ABSTRACT

Canada: A People's History - Analyzing the visual narrative for a colonial nation

Glenn Leonard Brook

In 2000-2001, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation produced a television documentary series, in both English and French, on the history of Canada. The seventeen episodes of the series ranged from North American pre-history to the early 1990s. Working from journals, diaries, and letters, the series ostensibly presented Canadian history from the perspective of the people who experienced it. The visual narrative was comprised of reenacted events, actors portraying historical figures, as well as paintings, sketches and photographs. Visual narration was accompanied by a female voiceover. Broadcast during a period of mounting internal social diversification and the external pressures of globalization, the series seeks to re-affirm a unified national identity while linking a colonial past to a modern present. By examining the visual form and content in the series' historical narrative, this thesis serves as a study of the manner in which visual material - both still imagery and film - functions in the discourse of national identity. This study argues that the visual narrative's mode is colonialist and its discursive formation is romanticist, with the representational form given to First Nations' subject identity serving as the comparative basis for that of the non-Native identity, and landscape and nature contributing to the delineation of subject identity. The main theorists employed in this analysis, are Jacques Lacan and Homi K. Bhabha.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER ONE <i>Sex, Lies, and Videotape: everything about the past, always already seen again</i>	14
Figures.....	45
CHAPTER TWO <i>Eye Did it My Way: colonial narration's circumlocution of its own execution</i>	59
Figures.....	90
CHAPTER THREE <i>Oh, Canada, Thee Stand on Guard of We: a good little Canadian is not bad</i>	120
Figures.....	150
CHAPTER FOUR <i>Love and Marriage, Love and Marriage: go together like a colony and a nation</i>	182
Figures.....	211
CONCLUSION.....	255
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	258

INTRODUCTION

This thesis studies the influence of colonial origins in a visual narrative of national unity. The hypothesis of this investigation is that a modern nation's failure to address the subjugation inherent in its colonialist past determines the narrative form and content of its visual self-definition as a community in the present. This hypothesis turns on the contention that 'the people' - in both colonial and national manifestations - are what define and disturb the formation of a narrative of national identity. The subject of examination is the visual narrative of the first nine episodes of *Canada: A People's History*, a seventeen-part documentary series on the history of Canada, produced in 2000-2001 by CBC television; a parallel series was produced and broadcast by the Société Radio-Canada. A detailed comparison of the English and French versions does not fall within the scope of this thesis, which concentrates solely on the English production. The series was initially broadcast over two seasons: 22 October 2000 - 28 January 2001; 30 September 2001 - 18 November 2001. The first series began with North American pre-history and ended with Confederation in 1867; the second continued from Confederation and concluded with the early 1990s. The first season's nine English-language episodes contain the visual narratives of colonial origin, transition to nationhood, and declaration of nationhood that are the focus of this study.

Canada: A People's History was conceived and produced by Mark Starowicz, the series' executive producer. Gene Allen was the senior producer (research), and Hubert Gendron and Gordon Henderson were senior producers. Corporate support for the series was provided by Sun Life Financial. Episodes were either one or two hours in length.

Each opened with a prologue of the events to be presented, and the ensuing narratives were divided into individually titled segments. The directors, writers, and producers varied from episode to episode. The individuals responsible for the episodes under discussion in this thesis are noted at the beginning of each chapter.

The series constructed a particular history of Canada by concentrating solely on personal recollections. These were drawn from diaries, journals, and personal communiqués. Actors and voiceovers conveyed these experiences to viewers. Historical events were illustrated either by reenactments or by still imagery such as paintings, sketches, and photographs. Canadian actor, director, playwright, and teacher Maggie Huculak supplied the voiceover for the English series. Filming took place entirely in Canada, while historical images were drawn from museums, archives, art galleries, and museums in Canada and worldwide.

Canada: A People's History is commercially available in both VHS and DVD formats, and as a two-volume illustrated, companion text. The series also exists as an extensive website of more than three-hundred and fifty pages.¹ The site provides episode summaries and full production credits, biographical information on historical figures appearing in the series, photographs and video clips from the episodes, background information and supplementary historical data pertaining to events in the series, and interactive elements such as quizzes and viewer discussion groups. *Canada: A People's History* is also available in the form of educational videocassettes and detailed teacher resource guides that are directed towards elementary and high school levels, and in an eight-volume book conceived for children between the ages of 12 and 14.² The inclusion of the period recollections of so many historical figures (both great and small), and the

wide-ranging dissemination of the series itself, point toward an attempt by *Canada: A People's History* to gather a people together, and draw them into a story they may recognize as their own.

The thesis does not intend to mislead the reader into considering *Canada: A People's History* as a complete, homogeneous text. Not only has the series been produced in two languages and broadcast on both the Société Radio-Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, as a text it has been formed through the individual contributions of many people, including executive producers, producers, directors, writers of the episodes, historians, and editors. As mentioned above, the series may be experienced in many forms - as DVD, supporting text, website, or educational videocassettes. Therefore, *Canada: A People's History* presents neither a monological text nor a single point of entrance; rather, it generates many questions and lines of investigation. Taking the English television broadcast as its focus, this thesis takes a specific approach to this series in order to examine particular issues and thus arrive at coherent conclusions.

This thesis contends that the visual narrative in the first nine episodes represents the story of a nation's people, and that this involves the reconciliation of two disparate identities - one colonial and one national - each of which is dependent upon the body of people that comprises it. This line of argument brings several elements into play: the establishment of one identity (Canada) by virtue of another (the people); the transition between two states of being (colonial and national); and, therefore, an historical narrative of growth (Canada's). In simple terms, and in keeping with the series' human touch, the thesis reads the series' presentation of Canada's history as the development of a subject:

someone whose progress and stability is dependent upon those around them. The thesis does not contend that the series was, in fact, written with this in mind. Rather, the predominance of individual histories in the presentation of a national past works to imbue the nation with a personal character. In effect, what the viewer sees is a kind of talking, family photo-album that relates the subject's childhood and entrance into adulthood. Rather than family and friends, the first nine episodes collect and arrange a body politic to visually narrate Canada's historical progress from colonial origins (childhood) to national presence (adulthood).

To successfully present the above arguments, the methodology employed in this thesis incorporates the work of psychoanalytic theorist Jacques Lacan, cultural theoretician Homi K. Bhabha, and historian and theorist Hayden White. Notwithstanding the fact that the actual mentions and discussions of these theorists are relatively short, their work underpins the entire thesis. Lacanian theory provides the psychoanalytic basis, while Bhabha's formulations help transfer these onto the colonial/national stage. White's contentions on the problematic of history's narration support an analysis of the narrative form given to the history the series presents.

The theories of Jacques Lacan inform the thesis' reading of the first nine episodes of *Canada: A People's History* as a presentation of Canada's historical development considered analogous to an individual's personal growth. Lacan conceived much of his theory on the development of cognition in a child.³ Among the many important concepts that emerged from his work, three in particular are integrated into the thesis: the Imaginary and Symbolic Orders, and the mirror stage of child development.⁴ These concepts are explained in the ensuing chapters. However, a brief preliminary description

is also in order. The Imaginary is not a site of 'human imagination', but a condition in which the subject does not distinguish between itself and the images it sees. The absence of differentiation between the child and the repeated image of the mother represents the mother/child unity, or the subject's primordial state of wholeness. The Symbolic Order represents language and culture. With the child's entrance into these pre-existing, external systems of meaning at around eighteen months, a distinction is made between the self and the image. What is seen is now named, and is thereafter referred to in language. A critical aspect of this event is the loss of unity the subject previously believed to exist: the mother now becomes Other to the child.⁵

The mirror stage marks the departure from a world of images and the entrance into language and culture, and thus links the Imaginary and Symbolic Orders. The most common definition of the mirror stage involves a child before a mirror, wherein the child recognizes itself as a corporeal unity (for the first time) in the reflected image. However, as Ellie Ragland-Sullivan points out, "Mirror-stage identifications entail the *discovery* of difference, and the concomitant experience of awareness or delimiting alienation."⁶ The child sees itself in an image that is not them, but Other to them: it is both like and unlike. This establishes a self that is dependent upon the Other, for the child has come to know itself as a distinct identity through the Other. This development is tied into the acquisition of language. Lacan contends that the subject is, in fact, alienated in language, as self-definition is now tied to a system of meaning that is external to the subject.⁷ To summarize the preceding stages: a child first knows an untroubled state of wholeness (the mother/child unity); it is then alienated from this condition through recognition of its self as *not* the mother (a primordial loss); and with the naming of images in the acquisition of

language in the Symbolic Order the child defines itself *through* language. Lacan asserted that the "unconscious is structured like a language,"⁸ and he believed speech events such as misunderstandings, forgetfulness, misinterpretations, and misuses of terminology revealed another presence at work, that of the unconscious. How something is said, is as important as what is being said.

By way of the Lacanian theory detailed above, the present study reads *Canada: A People's History* as presenting the story of growth from a prenatal self (here, it is pre-national) to a mature identity (Confederation). The series itself, in other words, represents Canada metaphorically as a subject in the making. The mother/child unity, and its loss, mark the mythic point of origin for the visual narrative's subject (Canada), while the concepts of Imaginary and Symbolic Orders are indicative of the progression from colonial to national social orders. The dialectic of the self/Other functions as the representational mechanism by which the visual narrative establishes the subject identities found within its margins. The analysis of the visual narrative expects to locate a speaking presence *behind* the images. That is to say, much as Lacan argues that speech events can reveal the unconscious, the present study hypothesizes an underlying colonial speech pattern. The images may express something besides what is actually being shown.

The imbrication of a psychoanalytic reading with the narrative of transition between colonial and national states calls for the inclusion of Homi K. Bhabha's theorizations.⁹ Bhabha has written extensively on the sociocultural dynamics between colonizers and colonized. In his critical examination of the relationship between different racial and ethnic groups, Bhabha can be seen to transcribe many of the ideas generated by

Lacan into the realm of cultural theory. This linkage makes his work especially effective in the present study's psychoanalytically-based reading of *Canada: A People's History*.

Bhabha applies the interdependence of the self/Other model to the relation between colonized and colonizer. The indigenous population is the like/unlike Other to the colonizer's defining self. The value of this application emerges when the operation of colonialism is looked into more closely. Whereas in human relations the self/Other association is in constant motion (we are always seeking out the Other, and continually trying to conform to its desires), the colonialist version must maintain the relationship in a *fixed* state. This is because colonialism claims a people and a land. Colonialism, in fact, represents a policy through which one people maintains control over another. The operative terms are 'maintain' and 'control', operations that underpin the representational stereotype of colonialist discourse. In order to justify colonial presence, the subjugated population is construed as both childlike and dangerous. Thus colonial stereotype emerges in binary form: desired and feared (the like/unlike of Lacanian theory). This dualism validates the application of colonial power, for the savage must be 'put down' while his noble character is protected. In this manner, the colonized population is seen as both the cause and the effect of colonialism. Colonialist discourse must continually present and re-present its stereotyped image of the Other in order to maintain colonial self-definition and justify its presence.¹⁰

The thesis argues that the visual narrative in the first nine episodes of *Canada: A People's History* presents such a condition, and that Canada's national emergence remains tied to the colonial Other by which it first justified its presence. The thesis will delineate the colonialist fixation of Native subject identity within the visual narrative, and establish

this as an obsession that repeatedly disrupts the narration of Canada's historical development.

The visual content and narrative form of the series' presentation of Canada's history is argued by the thesis to be romanticist. The issue is not simply what is told, but how it is told. The formulations of Hayden White support this thesis' determination of the narrative form seen in *Canada: A People's History*. White concerns himself with history's recollection and presentation in narrative form. A narrative of history involves an historian's selection from the historical record; thus, certain choices are made as to what must be told and what is not so important. The question already stands on uncertain ground, for the historical record itself is not only full of gaps, it is a written document and thus reflects its author (who may not have bothered to write something down, as it was considered unimportant by him or her). White believes these instances of interpretation are accompanied by the historian's selection of a suitable narrative form for the history being related.

These matters reflect back on the operation of the Symbolic Order. As Lacan would argue, we cannot escape the formative structures of language. Therefore, when history is written the apparent facts of history are *processed* by language. The form of the narrative is as important a consideration as its content. The question of form/content mirrors Lacan's belief that how something is expressed (misstatements and slips of the tongue) can reveal an underlying meaning. In examining the role of interpretation in historiography, White concluded that the historian "has to interpret his materials in order to construct the moving pattern of images in which the form of the historical process is to be mirrored."¹¹ In Lacanian terms the unconscious is revealed in the speech pattern. The

narration of history discloses the presence of the historian as interpreter: "facts" White posits, become "constituted as a story of a particular kind."¹² White's analysis of historical narratives produced a schema for interpretation in historiography being divided into three modes: emplotment, explanation, and ideological implication.¹³ Of particular interest is emplotment. This reflects the choice of plot structure made by the historian "to endow sequences of events with different meanings as types of stories."¹⁴ The selection of plot structure allows the telling of a specific kind of story. White identifies four types of emplotment: Romance, Comedy, Tragedy, and Satire.¹⁵ The contention of this thesis is that *Canada: A People's History* displays a romantic emplotment. This narrative form supports the series' attempted re-affirmation of national community by framing it as a tale of love and union. The multiple points of view that speak to the many perspectives in a nation are gathered together into a romantic vision of something greater than themselves. This is also supported by the conclusions Roy Porter has drawn from his research into the connection between Romanticism and nationalism. He has concluded that early nineteenth-century "romantics aimed to uncover a national character and even 'racial' continuities through which the past, embodied in living memory, could speak to, guide, and nurture the present."¹⁶ The series' resurrection of historical personages works in the same vein. The viewer is presented with embodiments of Canada's past, which are expected to guide and nurture appreciation of Canada's present.

Chapter One of this thesis is devoted entirely to the first episode of *Canada: A People's History*. The objective of this chapter is to reveal the narrative mode, discursive formation, and constructed nature of the visual narrative, to detail the manner in which

the subject identities for the Natives, British, and French are delineated, and to ascertain the representational form given to the landscape within which the subject identities are set. The visual construction of the Native's subject identity exists as a colonial stereotype against which the two non-Native subject identities are established. The abovementioned elements are argued to be the underlying structure for the remaining eight episodes. In effect, the series has not yet begun, for the first episode only sets the stage for the upcoming romantic tale.

Chapter Two encompasses key points in the visual narratives of episodes two through four. The purpose of this chapter is to reveal the construction of British-American and British-Canadian subject identities, the narrative presentation of two opposing nascent social spaces, Canadian and American, and French-Canadian subject identity. The discussion will confirm that representational roots for all non-Native subject identities can be seen in the first episode. Episode two also institutes the series narrative's romantic emplotment, presents a vision of Canada's pastoral myth of origin, and founds the non-Native's colonial presence in what is to become Canada. Episode three introduces the British-American subject identity as threat, and delineates French-Canadian subject identity as a desirable Other. Episode four presents British Canadians as benevolent through their protective embrace of French Canadians. Instead of colonial violence and subjugation, these three episodes present the viewer with a visual narrative of love and compassion.

Chapter Three takes episodes five and seven as subject matter; episode six is not discussed in the interests of allowing a more complete investigation of the issues raised in episodes five and seven. The primary argument presented in this chapter deals with the

visual narrative's resolution of the problem presented by 'nations within a nation'. Episode seven contains the visual resolution to the problem of internal diversification, the operation of which is based on the series' established characterizations of subject identity for Native and non-Native.

Chapter four deals with the visual narration of Confederation in episodes eight and nine. The chapter will identify the narrative and representational connection between these two episodes, and episodes one and two. The delineation of Native and non-Native subject identities, and their interdependence, is underscored. Episodes eight and nine's dominant theme of love and marriage will bear out the romantic emplotment established in the second episode with a visual narrative of national birth. By the end of these nine episodes, the viewer will see a people wedded to the land, and not the colonial suppression of an existing population.

ENDNOTES

¹The address for the website is <http://history.cbc.ca/histicons/>

²Enthusiastic viewers may also purchase T-shirts, coasters, playing cards, or the series' soundtrack on Compact Disc. The series received numerous honors in 2001: the Gemini awards for "Best Documentary Series," "Best Sound in an Information/Documentary Series or Program," and "Best Original Score;" the Columbus International Film and Television Festival awards for "Best Series," "Best Episode," and "Best Print Press/Marketing Materials;" and the Baddeck International New Media Festival prizes for "Best Education/Information/Training Website," and for "Best Technical Achievement."

³There is a large number of publications that present Lacanian theory, some more arcane than the man himself. Several very useful texts are listed here for the interested reader. Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen, *Lacan: The Absolute Master* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); Bruce Fink, *The Lacanian Subject: Between Language and Jouissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); and Ellie Ragland-Sullivan, *Jacques Lacan and the Philosophy of Psychoanalysis* (Urbana: Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Particularly important for this thesis are two texts by Lacan himself: *Écrits* (translated by Alan Sheridan) (New York: London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977); and *The Language of the Self: The Function of Language in Psychoanalysis* (translated with notes and commentary by Anthony Wilden) (Baltimore: London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968).

⁴Lacan, in fact, devised three Orders. The order of the Real, although not involved in the discussion, is that which remains un-signified. As the imagistic world of the infant is 'written into' social meaning (the naming of images in the Symbolic Order), there is always something that remains to be 'named'. The Real thus refers to what is lacking in the Symbolic Order and, by extension, the Imaginary Order.

⁵The term 'Other' is capitalized to indicate that it does not denote merely another person; it can also be used to refer to language, desire, and the ideal ego, and as demand. As a term in the Lacanian lexicon, it is perhaps the most multivalent and difficult to pin down.

⁶Ragland-Sullivan, *Jacques Lacan and the Philosophy of Psychoanalysis* 25.

⁷Fink, *The Lacanian Subject* 7-11.

⁸*Ibid.* 8.

⁹Bhabha has contributed to numerous journals as he has worked out his theories. In 1994, twelve of his most important works were gathered together as one collection: *The Location of Culture* (New York: London: Routledge, 1994). The thesis takes advantage

of this publication, not simply for convenience, but because the chronological sequencing of the essays permits a better understanding of his theory through an awareness of its development over time.

¹⁰The issue is discussed in detail in "The other question: Stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism." *The Location of Culture* pp. 66-84.

¹¹Hayden White, "Interpretation in History." *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978): 51.

¹²*Ibid.* 51.

¹³*Ibid.* 63-71.

¹⁴*Ibid.* 53.

¹⁵*Ibid.* 70.

¹⁶Roy Porter, ed., *Romanticism in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 5.

CHAPTER ONE

Sex, Lies, and Videotape: everything about the past, always already seen again

This chapter is a detailed analysis of the first episode in *Canada: A People's History*. The objectives are: to reveal the episode's narrative mode as colonialist and its discursive formation as romanticist; to show that the representation of aboriginal people defines those of both the English and French with the Native as savage Other and the French as civilized Other to the English; to demonstrate that the Native also determines the relative positions of the founding nation groups to the land; and to establish the portrayal of the land and its role within the narrative. The first episode was written and directed by Andrew Gregg, and produced by Gail Gallant.

The episode opens by introducing Shawnadithit, the Beothuk tribe in Newfoundland, and William Cormack. Shawnadithit was a Beothuk Indian who had been found and taken to St. John's in 1823. In 1827 she came under the care of explorer and agriculturalist William Cormack, becoming the primary object of study at the Beothuk Institute he had inaugurated in the same year. The episode then discusses the first peoples of North America, from their entrance into the continent, c.15,000 BC, to an exposition of their creation myths and cultural characteristics. The first hour is brought to a close with a return to Shawnadithit and Cormack that details her death in 1827 and his remorse over the apparent extinction of the Beothuk.

The second hour presents three stories. The first is of Jacques Cartier's two voyages to the St. Lawrence Valley in 1534 and 1535-36, and his interaction with Donnacona, chief of the Stadacona people. It covers Cartier's abduction of Donnacona's

two sons, Domagaya and Taignoagny, their experience in and return from France. Cartier's trip upriver to the Native settlement of Hochelaga, his winter spent alongside Donnacona's village, and his crew's affliction by scurvy. It closes with Cartier's second abduction of Donnacona and his sons, and details Donnacona's time and subsequent death in France. The second story relates Henry Hudson's efforts to locate the Northwest Passage. His ship and crew are trapped in ice after considerable difficulties navigating a passage into Hudson's Bay. Despite an opportunity to return to England, Hudson is adamant; at this, the crew mutiny and cast Hudson adrift. The final story presents John R. Jewitt's captivity amongst the Nootka on the West Coast. He arrives in Nootka Sound on board the ship *Boston* in March of 1803 and as a result of a misunderstanding between the captain and a local chief, Maquinna, is taken into captivity after the ship's crew is massacred. The story then presents Jewitt's exposure to Nootka life, his forced marriage, and finally his rescue by an American ship, the *Lydia*, in July 1805. Jewitt would die in Hartford, Connecticut of unstated causes in January 1821. Maquinna's exact date of death is not known: Hudson's Bay Company traders made the last written notice of him in 1825.

The content and configuration of the episode presents a theme that is central to the series: a vanishing race whose decline makes both land and mythic past available for the non-Native. The conflation of Beothuk extinction with Native origins and cultural characteristics introduces a disabled Native and places the non-Native as inheritor. Natives do not *have* a history but *become* history; they are written into the land and thus into geological time and nature. The first two scenes of the episode introduce this condition (Figures 1 and 2). The passage of opening credits over a glyph-covered rock

face connotes a silent and unreadable geological history that is overwritten in presentation: the Native singing voice accompanying this image contributes to an aura of haunting mystery. In the following scene Native presence is removed completely and Native voice is replaced by text and the sound of surf. Each image signifies an emergent consciousness as text, set over nature as the sign of the unconscious. Native subject identity is already withdrawn into a background upon which the non-Native writes its sign.

This opposition then coalesces into historical form. First seen in European dress dolefully sweeping a room and described as "the key to a great mystery...[having] been found lost and starving." Shawnadithit is the personification of the passing Native. Figure 3 shows her dissolve into leaves floating on water while the voiceover intones, "It was as if Shawnadithit had stumbled out of a land of ghosts": Cormack's dissolve symbolically replaces her with a move into geographical definition (Figure 4). The Beothuk themselves are described as "mysterious" and their presence is illustrated with images showing Natives superimposed onto unconscious nature (Figure 5). William Cormack as custodian of Shawnadithit and the Beothuk, described as "obsessed" and desirous of learning "all he could about their history," embodies the emergent consciousness. The Cormack/map juxtaposition signifies the transforming non-Native, claiming the land and salvaging the Native as *past*. The Native condition is reinforced visually as Shawnadithit's human presence shifts out of an empty landscape and into a watery tomb. These visual transitions link Cormack and the Beothuk in a reflection of his perceived custodial role. Through his apparent sympathy the viewer may also witness and sympathize with the Beothuk.

The forms of Cormack and Shawnadithit are repeated in the final narrative of the episode in the forms of John R. Jewitt and Chief Maquinna in the social landscape of Nootka Sound. Jewitt's first exposure to the Natives is marked by Maquinna's "air of savage magnificence." Figure 6 shows his visual alignment with nature as a New World ambassador. Jewitt will be captivated in more than one sense, as Maquinna will take him prisoner after killing his crewmates. However, the narrative allows the possibility of adopting Jewitt's attitude towards his new condition both verbally and visually. He states: "I had determined from the first of my capture to adopt a conciliating conduct toward them." A desire to save one's skin by getting along may be considered a universal human trait recognizable to the viewer. The screen then fades to a watercolour that provides both a welcome relief from the carnage and a visually recognizable universal - a human group engaged in a domestic setting (Figure 7). While the voiceover confirms that "Jewitt was exposed to an unbelievable wealth of ancient nations," a sequence of photographs by Edward S. Curtis superimposed on landscapes makes that wealth available to the viewer as well (Figures 8 to 10). These images are evocative, not purely descriptive: they are memory's echo and not detailed record. What the viewer sees and may retain mimes Jewitt's partial visual remembrance of his experience. Jewitt will eventually be forced to marry and his re-visualized memory draws the viewer into the eyes of the girl who fills the screen (Figure 11). This is a critical turning point in the narrative, as the voiceover hints: "Jewitt fell further into the world of Nootka Sound, succumbing to its customs and rhythms." It is crucial to maintain some separation from these rhythms for the sake of this romanticist experience. Too complete a fall would overwhelm the defining self:

romanticism calls for an experience of, not a loss to nature or the Other. The other must remain *as Other* to order self-definition.

At this, the deepest point of his fall, he appears on screen and reveals that despite his travails, he can understand the Native condition. He sorrowfully laments that "though they are a thievish race I have no doubt that many of the melancholy disasters have principally arisen from the imprudent conduct of some of the captains and crews of the ships employed in this trade." He will win his freedom and Maquinna will appear standing, hands in manacles behind his back, looking down at the viewer. He will greatly miss Jewitt, who relates how Maquinna grasped his hands "as the tears trickled down his cheeks." The narrative closes with a mist-covered shoreline view, out of which Maquinna fills the screen, wearing a European-style coat. The voiceover explains that Jewitt's time among the Nootka "haunted him until he died at age 37"; the lingering image of a Euro-Maquinna serves to haunt as the sign of a lost nation's wealth.

Thus, while Cormack is obsessed Jewitt is haunted: the living ghosts of Maquinna and Shawnadithit embody the seen and unseen forms that create the placeless space required by colonial self-inscription. Homi K. Bhabha asserts that "colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible."¹ The imbrication of Cormack over Shawnadithit and Jewitt over Maquinna within their respective narratives reflects credit/glyph and text/shoreline: the reading of these stories shows reveals access to meaning is governed by the dominant image. What comes to be salvaged is a particular reading of history for which the Native serves as narrative ground: a people's endlessly replayed living death.

The binary form of Native identity is further extended in the episode's description of Native cultural characteristics. Here Natives become at once "villager and nomad, farmer and hunter, peacemaker and warrior"; these dualisms emerge from stereotyping, a condition made up by colonial perception and embodying both desire and fear. Bhabha declares, "The fetish or stereotype gives access to an 'identity' which is predicated as much on mastery and pleasure as it is on anxiety and defense."² Stereotype is firmly established in the first hour of the episode and comes to ground the narratives of the second hour. It does not reveal Native origins and cultural characteristics; it illustrates a non-Native need for a point of "pure origin." Having already introduced the desired narrative point of origin, the episode then carries the viewer back to where the answers to the "great mystery" may be found. This is a narrative shift from a civilized, living historic time to the suspended pre-historic time of the savage that stresses the long ago and the far away. Origins and cultural traits are introduced by Natives who sit around a campfire and share "stories of how their world came to be," stories that prove to be romanticized and stereotyped accounts written from non-Native desires and preconceptions. They present what Bhabha describes as those "terrifying stereotypes of savagery, cannibalism, lust and anarchy which are the signal points of identification and alienation, scenes of fear and desire, in colonial texts."³ The series reveals its particular colonialist point of view by locating Native representation in depictions such as these: scenes that must be repeatedly told to reinforce stereotype.

These scenes include a boy's progress to warrior status. The boy is first overlaid with aerial views of the Alberta Badlands, then with a snarling animal's yellow eye, and finally with a hissing, striking snake (Figure 12); it becomes difficult to tell where boy

ends and terror begins. The boy's objective is to "get some of the power from nature." in a process supporting stereotypical Native representation: what Daniel Francis calls the "spiritual, mysterious Indians...part of the land, like the animals, in touch with the unseen forces of nature."⁴ This acquisition of power crosses the innocence of childhood with a warrior's savage nature, and war is a preoccupation for the episode: "nothing was more important...and there would always be aggressors."⁵

The key feature of the warrior stereotype has always been the ability to give and receive excruciating pain, and the pivotal event in the episode's warfare parade is a Mohawk warrior's capture and torture.⁶ Introduced by a brief discussion of the role of dance in Native culture, the depiction of torture plays to the imagination of an excitable reader of wilderness adventure stories and becomes a dance of death fraught with ambivalence. A warrior is shown furtively glancing about and then dashing through a forest while the voiceover explains he "struck quickly, then silently escaped...through dangerous, unfamiliar territory." In the colonial imagination, the Native as Other *can* strike quickly through the unfamiliar. His escape, however, is unsuccessful and this allows further ambivalence as his captivity is described as the "worst fate...[he] had spent a lifetime preparing for." It is torture that makes his fate so terrible, and the torturer's tender caresses are emblematic of the pleasure/anxiety paradigm. The warrior runs through colonial imagination's dark woods into a dance of Natives playing out non-Native historical fantasies under a full moon (Figure 13). Dance as pleasure is blended with the anxiety of pain: the ambivalent Other must always display both for the colonial eye.

This shift from dance as a celebration of life to one of death also emerges in an especially vivid presentation of the massacre of Jewitt's crewmates. The switch from noble to bloodthirsty savage turns on Maquinna. During an entertaining dance Maquinna abruptly turns towards the screen while removing his mask and brandishing a weapon. A rapid sequence of attacking Natives follows, showing several splattered with victims' blood. The point of attack is directed at the screen as victim's perspective for both Jewitt and viewer (Figures 14 and 15). The dancing bloodthirsty Native has first been seen from a voyeuristic point of view in the presentation of Native torture: the viewer now occupies the victim's perspective. The voiceover then indicates Jewitt had to identify the victims' heads and as the camera pans down a still image, the viewer mimes his experience. Figure 16 shows the full image and Figure 17 illustrates the final emphasis of the pan.

The ambivalence of stereotype supports the state of the Vanishing Indian, a condition of remaining forever on the verge, in what Frantz Fanon describes as "a continued agony rather than a total disappearance of the pre-existing culture. The culture once living and open to the future becomes closed, fixed in the colonial status."⁷ This runs throughout the episode as each self-assertive Native act is followed by an action that returns them to the narrative margin. Natives are enfeebled from the moment they attempt to describe their origin myths. Thus, although the voiceover quickly runs through origin myths for the Iroquoian, the Haida and the Blackfoot, it renders them suspect: "But others believed they came from somewhere else." It is a Salish male who presents this other view but this prominence sets the preceding myths aside only to have the authority of a scientific explanation undercut the Salish myth. He dissolves into a computer-generated map of North America with yellow arrows crossing the continent as the voiceover gives a

reasoned discussion of migration.⁸ The migration leads not into a future but returns deep into the past and death. The end of the journey is illustrated with a funeral procession that took place on the coast of Labrador, "more that 2.000 years before the ...pyramids." The people are reduced to ciphers. "Identities...lost in the mists of time" so that "little is known about who they were" does not stop the episode's compulsion to re-enact this "grim processional." The segment closes with a line of torches carried into darkness, thus affirming a migratory mummification.⁹ The burial deep into the past on a "windswept coast," symbolizes the geographic and temporal boundaries written into Native' representation. Their world will now be marked by the stagnation of a distant life.

The penultimate segment of the second hour, *Into the Unknown*, opens with a shot of a Native hauling a canoe onto the shore as the voiceover notes that Natives "didn't venture out to explore any other continent, but from across the ocean others would come to them." The image of the Native symbolizes their narrative end, presaging the unavoidable recognition of a greater power. The hour's final segment, entitled *A Continent of Nations*, opens with the sound of thunder and a mountain shrouded in storm clouds. The scene then fades to an image of caribou roasting on an open fire - an image seen during the presentation of Native migration. In this repetition of the "long ago and far away" the voiceover announces, "There was a different universe." The non-Native occupies living history and the Native condition is in equilibrium: a campfire that has apparently burned for more than five hundred generations is their inheritance. The Native is then flattened with computer generation that dissolves the campfire into graphics of North America that first show culture areas, and then tribal subdivisions. These are described by the voiceover as being "claimed by hundreds of tribes...each with its own

way of life...its own name." Identity is presented and canceled out: claim and counter-claim recall warfare as "endemic." This "different universe" is complicated to read and difficult to grasp, and is in direct opposition to the clear and readable subtitled shoreline that then appears to repeat the episode's opening. The viewer is returned to a *remembered* text and image. Viewers may now remember the Native past *as* past. The circular narrative structure resonates with its content of removal's continual reappearance. The move from the Beothuks' imminent demise through Native origins and back to the Beothuks' seeming eradication, establishes the primary narrative form for Native representation within the series: their introduction will repeatedly lead to their demise

Moreover, the episode's presentation forms the Native as an ambivalent, savage Other by virtue of traits that are repeatedly told, such as the innocent child/savage warrior, and dance as entertainment reverting to dance as threat. Native character is further delineated by the contrast provided by a civilized and compassionate English non-Native. Viewed from the perspective of Jewitt and Cormack, it becomes possible to have sympathy for the Native and empathy for the English non-Native. These two poles, the vanishing child savage and their custodians, establish the limits by which other identities may be understood.

The French subject identity as presented in the story of Jacques Cartier and Donnacona is one structured by Native and English representations. Cartier's portrayal is made comparable to Native stereotype by being given characteristics that blend the admirable and the offensive. Cartier becomes almost civilized but *not quite*, and therefore an ambivalent Other. This is possible because the Natives' portrayal in the episode so far has established the lowest representational foundation. Cartier's depiction builds upon

this by showing its next evolutionary step: an identity that although now recognizably civilized, still shows its savage roots. Cartier never descends to a fully Native character, nor does he ever rise above it.

The relative subject positions and characteristics of Cartier and Donnacona are introduced at the start of the narrative by two images: the first shows Donnacona's view of Cartier's arrival (Figure 18); the second illustrates Cartier's first land approach as utterly obscured by fog. However large in scale Donnacona appears, looming ominously as part of nature and the land, the ship's small size still commands the focal point. This visual relation is emblematic of the representational correlation between Native and non-Native: described as a "powerful chief," Donnacona is nevertheless diminished. Cartier's foggy view is accompanied by the voiceover's description of him as "frustrated." Cartier then proclaims: "I am inclined to believe that this is the land God gave to Cain." Computer graphics mark his progress as a lengthening yellow line that comes to a stop at Cain's fog-covered land. Unlike previous examples of digital progress, this proceeds no further. What these elements portray is a blind non-Native unable to negotiate the land. Only later, when Natives appear on the shore to trade, can the land be seen from Cartier's perspective. French and Native receive equally ambivalent narrative treatment - a second-rate chief and a blind explorer.

Cartier will plant a cross to claim the land for France, and Donnacona's first frontal appearance is in protest of this act, leading to the voiceover's comment that "Cartier recognized an adversary when he saw one." The episode insists upon this adversarial characterization as strongly as it insisted upon presenting Natives in a cycle of warfare. Territory was the frequent cause for intra-Native hostilities and here Cartier's

territorial claim instigates conflict. Donnacona's act of protest is eviscerated in its visual presentation (Figure 19). He is aligned with the cross as if crucified upon it, a fate underscored when Cartier tricks Donnacona and his sons, Domagaya and Taignoagny, into captivity.

While in France Domagaya and Taignoagny indicate that the term "Canada" means their father's settlement or village; Cartier will appropriate the term "Canada" and add it to his map, reinforcing his portrayal as subjugator (Figure 20). When Cartier is trapped near this village during the winter of his second voyage, it becomes a "stronghold." Victim to an aggressor for whom they are threat and savior, Native presence defines the non-Native. Natives become saviors when Cartier's men are stricken with scurvy that winter. Shown near death and struggling awkwardly in deep snow, only the assistance of Donnacona's people will save them (Figures 21 and 22). These scenes foster the Native narrative treatment of the French - powerful but helpless. Despite Native help, Cartier betrays them again; according to the voiceover, "Cartier had nothing to show his King" but he "had a plan." The outcome of this plan will leave Donnacona and his sons staring out of a cage, abducted a second time. Native and French portrayals are mutually defined through similarity: each only occupies a position of power through dependence upon the other. The ambivalence of a powerful chief who is easily and repeatedly taken captive, is layered with an explorer who must depend upon his victims. Donnacona and Cartier's relationship embodies the aspect of mastery/defense in the paradigm of colonial stereotype.

The voiceover relates that Donnacona's last days in France were spent trying "vainly to get home, spinning tales of a land of riches called the Saguenay." Figure 23

illustrates the episode's rendering of his desire. Donnacona will not return and the story closes with an overhead view that descends to a close-up alongside Donnacona's deathbed: Cartier disappears after recounting the second abduction. Their respective representations and fates revolve around the views of mythic Saguenay as the dream world denied to both French and Native. Cartier sacrifices Donnacona to win passage into these new lands, but in the end neither he nor Donnacona has any narrative presence. Cartier's description of the land as that given to Cain proves quite apposite. Cain, the eldest son of Adam and Eve, was condemned to be a fugitive after murdering his brother Abel out of jealousy; Cartier as man of reason effectively kills Donnacona as child of nature, thus foreshadowing the French loss of this paradisiacal landscape. The end of the narrative gives him no heroic climax: he simply vanishes. This contrasts with the omniscient overhead view that drops down to pay its respects at Donnacona's bedside (Figures 24 and 25).

In the ensuing tale, the characterization of British explorer Henry Hudson contrasts sharply with that of Cartier. Hudson emerges as a hero and this marks a clear break with civilization's savage roots. Here, it is no longer similarity that delineates identity but difference. Many elements comprising Cartier's narrative recur in Hudson's: the land refuses easy access; a Native trades with Hudson's trapped crew; and his efforts are frustrated and end in failure. But the differences are key: he seeks no claim to the land; he treats well with the Natives; and his failing is heroic. Hudson differs from Cartier from the start. According to the voiceover he "braved the forbidding Arctic in search of a route to China. Instead he would unlock one of the great secrets of the North and pay a terrible price." Despite obstacles he "pressed further into this frigid place," the crew's

demand to turn back is rebuffed, and up to the last he "had every intention of finding the northwest passage." Nonetheless, his crew would mutiny and Hudson would be tossed into a small boat along with his son and the sick. The voiceover reveals that the secret unlocked by his sacrifice opened the "gateway into the very heart of the continent." Hudson himself is sacrificed to the new world, but his heroic rendering is reinforced by the camera panning from his son's face, upward to Hudson's more commanding presence (Figure 26).

The episode's four tales of first contacts are thus the narrational definition of subject positions controlling the viewer's knowledge about those involved. Representational limits are established in the Cormack/Shawnadithit and Jewitt/Maquinna pairings: the Natives occupy one extreme as savage Other to the English as civilized non-Native. Cartier's representation is placed within these limits: displaying traits of both, he embodies the civilized Other of the narrative. The basis for these inter-linkages is the Native as a helpless, fading race. Cartier takes advantage of the feeble Native to serve his own ends and finally sacrifices him. Donnacona's final appearance is therefore not surprising and neither is Cartier's absence. Cartier's heroic lack is then underscored by Hudson's heroic portrayal. Hudson does not machinate, but nobly strives for higher ideals to the point where he suffers sacrifice. Jewitt's narrative portrayal also diminishes Cartier. One takes captives as the other remains an empathetic captive: Donnacona and his sons are caged while Maquinna stands in manacles looking down at the viewer. One witnesses decline, the other provokes it. One inherits little as the other comes into inheritance. Although not savage, Cartier approaches the narrative margins by not measuring up to English idealism and bearing too close a resemblance to the Native.

The land of his mythic riches, the Saguenay, is shown empty, while the views of Cormack and Jewitt are filled by the wealth they inherit. Cartier and the Natives are also narrationally encapsulated by the compassion of Cormack and Jewitt as keepers of Maquinna and Shawnadithit - the Adam and Eve of a disintegrating Eden. Altogether they form the mythic ground upon which Canada may narrate its historical traditions.

Romanticism informs this historical narrative on the level of both story and visual support. The Beothuk's demise, arguably *the* story of the Beothuk, is the acme of the vanishing race. This loss of a pristine condition in the face of civilization's onslaught strikes a very romanticist chord. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. believes this is especially true when "portrayed by the last living member of a tribe."¹⁰ Both Cormack and Jewitt function to record the authentic Natives' last days, the narrative's salvage paradigm operating on two levels as both *the* Beothuk story and its re-visualization. The authenticity rescued is the *extinction* of the Beothuk, one that can support the narrative's required origins of Canada. The anachronistic use of photographs produced in 1914 and 1915 by Edward S. Curtis to illustrate Jewitt's tale romanticizes it (Figures 8 to 11). That these are images made over one hundred years after Jewitt's experience matters little, for what they purport to represent remains the same - a vanishing race. Curtis worked feverishly to preserve a visual record of what he, and many of his contemporaries, believed were a rapidly disappearing authentic Indian and Indian way of life. These photographs could function as a visual memory of the authentic Indian in the place of their expected absence. Subsequent Native sociocultural change meant that the Native no longer looked as they had in these photographs, therefore non-Native preconceptions about the Vanishing Indian came to be validated - the Indian *had* disappeared. By using

these photographs to transmit Jewitt's memory of the Natives to the viewer, the representation of Native subject identity is again condemned to the mismatch of non-Native preconception. That Natives no longer *look* like they do in the photographs, may confirm to the viewer that they *have* disappeared: therefore, the episode's depiction of Natives becomes authentic.

The stress on romanticized visual material knits together a narrative structure for the Native that presents an ambivalent Noble Savage in continuous extinction. This becomes a myth produced as the basis for our history, a myth that can be enshrined in an iconic form such as that seen in Figure 27. This canoe-paddling Native dissolves out of another image showing the shipping case for Shownadithit's skull: the sequence moves the Native from death into the care of the English non-Native, and then into the national imagination. The effect produced through silhouette is a perpetual coming and going: it is not easy to tell whether the Native is paddling towards the viewer and "into" the story, or moving away and "out" of the story.

These are all visual constructions that draw upon source material problematized by questions of authorship, intent, and fact versus creative fiction. The material is then selectively constructed in order to satisfy the episode's narrative intent: the alignment of Native, French, and English subject identities. The Cartier/Donnacona narrative, for example, is based on Cartier's *Relations*. Ramsey Cook asserts that this relationship was based on a "dialogue of incomprehension, a dialogue in which Donnacona's actions were made to speak in European words."¹¹ Cartier's account is filtered through his own cultural perception, one that understands the Native in its terms and not those of the Native. The narrative's source is problematized further still, insofar as it does not seem possible to

ascribe clear authorship. Marcel Lebel concludes, "Les trois relations de voyage de Jacques Cartier sont l'oeuvre de plusieurs rédacteurs, probablement de quatre ou cinq."¹² Subsequent authorship brings with it additional filtration: what each of these authors brought to the text in terms of their understanding and end purpose moves the finished text farther from its source and closer to its intended application.

Henry Hudson's tale is not without questionable ground either. It is told from the point of view of Abacuck Pricket, one of the mutineers and thus a survivor of Hudson's doomed voyage, who would have been driven by the need to portray his actions in an innocent light. Hudson's leadership is also a sticky issue, undermined by Pricket's record. The spring thaw has the episode showing Hudson with "every intention of finding the Northwest Passage," yet Pricket reveals the crew busy "complaining of the master not caring to go one way or other."¹³ This would present a scene of abject hopelessness and not the steadfastness depicted in the episode.

Similarly, the excitement of John R. Jewitt is based on a text referred to as the "Narrative," a text drawn from the journal of Jewitt's experiences but written by Richard Alsop.¹⁴ Jewitt survived the massacre along with another member of the crew, the ship's sail-maker, John Thompson. Jewitt makes frequent reference to Thompson in his journal but Thompson does not appear in the "Narrative" - an omission that only heightened the drama. A critical departure from both the journal and the "Narrative" occurs in the presentation of the massacre from a survivor's point of view. Since it is Jewitt's tale we must assume that it is Jewitt's perspective. This is a questionable assumption for Jewitt does not record his experience of the attack from such a position.¹⁵ Maquinna and Shawnadithit, as comrades in extinction, are similarly gagged. In the episode Maquinna is

never shown to speak, a fact that is not consistent with the historical record.¹⁶ Although it is Jewitt who is shown to come to his own understanding of Native behavior in the attack on the *Boston*, it is Maquinna who in fact explains things to him.¹⁷ The presentation of the Jewitt/Maquinna narrative ends with a tearful parting of the ways and the viewer can only assume that they will never meet again. This, however, was not the case.¹⁸

The nature of the episode's selective narrative construction is exemplified in the depiction of the Beothuk demise. Three main points to be examined within this story are: Shawnadithit's hand-drawn map shown in Figure 28, Cormack's articulation of the Beothuks' passing (their eulogy), and the voiceover's report of Shawnadithit's death. As the shoreline view subtitled "Newfoundland, 1829" fades to a close-up of Shawnadithit, the voiceover discloses that she "had drawn some maps for her guardian, William Cormack, to help him find the lost nation of the Beothuk." This is supported with a sequence of empty landscapes that dissolves to the map, where, the voiceover discloses, Cormack "realized the answers were." Near the end of a visual pan of the map the voiceover concludes, "Disease, starvation, massacres, Shawnadithit had always known the truth. Now William Cormack did too." The map's depiction conforms to the Native destiny of disappearance pre-ordained by the non-Native.

These truths, however, and the episode's reading of the map are all highly problematic. The reason given for the map being drawn does not coincide with the historical record.¹⁹ Cormack's first journey to the interior in search of the Beothuk took place in 1822;²⁰ his second trip began on October 31, 1828, and ended on November 29.²¹ If Shawnadithit had made the map to help locate the Beothuk, this would have occurred prior to his departures. Yet James P. Howley has determined that it was "obtained from

Shawnadithit by Mr. W. E. Cormack, during the winter of 1829."²² This eliminates the map as a finding aid. Cormack is also said by the voiceover to "now know the truth" described in the map. That Cormack had a very good idea of the meaning contained in the map is highly probable.²³ It then remains to trace Cormack's understanding of the map and come to a clearer understanding of the "truth" relayed through Cormack to the viewer.

First, the document is not a map but a sketch; there is nothing to be physically "found" as it represents events. The sketch contains three inscriptions: "Two different scenes and times." "The Taking of Mary March on the North side of the Lake," and "Captain Buchan's visit in 1810 at the South Side of the Lake." The first indicates that the sketch shows the occurrence of two events separated in time. The second inscription refers to merchant John Payton, Jr.'s efforts to extract retribution for the theft of his fishing boat and trade goods. This resulted in the capture of one female Native and the death of her husband. This sequence of events occurred in March of 1819.²⁴ The last inscription refers to an expedition led by Captain David Buchan in search of Beothuk, during which a series of misunderstandings resulted in the killing of four soldiers in his party by Beothuks.²⁵ Shawnadithit witnessed each of these events and the sketch represents her memory of them.²⁶ Cormack reveals knowledge supplied by Shawnadithit regarding the Beothuk condition during Buchan's expedition in writing that "they still had, up to that period, enjoyed unmolested, the possession of their favorite interior parts of the island."²⁷ Cormack would have been aware of the Beothuks' "unmolested possession," and he would have been aware of the cause of Payton, Jr.'s travel to the interior - retaliation for Beothuk theft. In order to maintain its romanticized

representation of the Beothuk, the episode elides Shawnadithit's knowledge, Beothuk possession, and their active resistance.

The historical record leaves little doubt the Beothuk did commit acts of theft: what goes unmentioned in the episode is the reason. Donald H. Holly argues that "they practiced a distinct economic strategy; and, at times, they openly confronted Europeans with violence, thievery and harassment."²⁸ The Beothuk are not so romantically helpless when viewed realistically, a process making them less palatable to colonial narrative. Holly believes "these actions of resistance illustrate that the Beothuk were not fleeing in the face of European expansion [as] passive victims...the Beothuk physically resisted intrusion into their land and the loss of their resources and livelihood."²⁹ The Beothuk do steal but for a *reason* - themselves; this would destabilize the episode's narrative, were it not elided. The map is not for Cormack; it is a sketch of the Beothuk *by* a Beothuk. As a speaking voice it must be muffled.

Romanticization is also at work in the transformation of the tragic and muted Shawnadithit who opened the episode, to a tearful close-up and an obituary. This supports the representation of a helpless, lethargic race nearing the autumn of its life - perfect for the romanticism of the episode's colonial discourse. But once again the episode employs questionable assertions to support this approach. She was not "taken in": she was captured along with her mother and sister in 1823;³⁰ she was not mute and lethargic but, as Howley records, "bright and intelligent, quick to acquire the English language...[and] very pert at times."³¹ Nor is Cormack the compassionate soul presented: Ingeborg Marshall concludes he "seems to have viewed [the Beothuk] as an interesting phenomenon rather than as humans with capabilities very much like his own."³² The

episode seems to view them like this and omits capabilities that are too unlike its determined stereotype. Cormack and the episode overlap, as their projects are to preserve the Native before it is too late - and keep them that way.

Similarly Cormack's lament for the Beothuk has undergone textual and visual narrative adjustment to remodel the non-Native attitude towards the Native.³³ The visual rearrangement shows it spoken in the room of a house, and the effect is therefore of a personal rumination. The teary-eyed close-up of Shawnadithit visually reinforces the expression of private, human concern. The sum effect is very nearly that of a father's concern for his child. The edited speech in the episode - which omits crucial lines and thus allows the collapse of the Beothuk to rest entirely on Beothuk shoulders, with the British not appearing as having ever been in a position to do anything about the Beothuks' condition - is an excerpt from an inaugural address given at the Beothuk Institute in 1827, an institute headed by Cormack and devoted to the study and preservation of knowledge on them. The episode's version omits the term "assembly" and thus facilitates the personal tone of address; the removal of "invaded and ill-treated first occupiers" softens British behaviour and possible land claim; and the omission of British "protecting power" elides British failure to protect. Cormack is not privately mourning their disappearance. Rather, he is publicly announcing it: his responsibility lies not in failure to prevent their demise but in preserving it. The voiceover also sadly announces their passing: "By 1829, in Newfoundland, there was just one Beothuk left, and Shawnadithit had tuberculosis." She is then shown slowly combing her hair as if in preparation for bed. The "one Beothuk left" allows the episode to continue squirming around narrative burrs. After Shawnadithit's death in June 1829, reported sightings of the Beothuk would continue

until at least September of 1834, many witnesses telling of migration inland and of Beothuk intermingling with Inuit and Montagnais groups.³⁴ But out of sight means out of the episode's narrative. What Shawnadithit symbolically prepares for is the Beothuks' deathbed.

The episode has constructed a particular narrative representation of the Native in satisfaction of colonial stereotype: the Noble Savage, whose demise releases both land and mythic past into non-Native possession. However, the Vanishing Indian has not vanished from the Canadian landscape - sociocultural or geographic. This discussion has described Shawnadithit and Maquinna, for example, as living ghosts, and it is to a haunted landscape the discussion now turns. Shawnadithit, Maquinna, and Donnacona have all revealed a Native spectral presence in the land: the continuous repetition of a vanished race can validate non-Native preconceptions, and may justify their occupancy of the land, but the reiteration also underscores the elusiveness of any settled view of the land. The episode reveals this condition from its presentation of the early explorers of the land through to its later depictions of the landscape. It is first met as a place of the dead, considered the place of a fugitive offspring of Paradise, and then repeatedly shown in grand panoramas that contain the Natives' disturbing presence. The representations of Canada's landscape come to match the narrative's colonialist nature. In this way, Native and landscape imbricate - both embody the fear/desire of the Other.

The landscape as a place of dread is evident in the episode's description of early European voyages to the New World in which the tale of St. Brendan's journey in 565 AD sets the stage. Figure 29 shows the image used to illustrate his arrival: a sense of foreboding is stressed by its supporting quotation from St. Brendan's written account:

"We are now in the confines of hell, watch therefore and act manfully." Scholars have tentatively identified possible locations for several of the key points in St. Brendan's tale.³⁵ and this citation would seem to have occurred upon his arrival at Iceland. Newfoundland receives an antithetical description: "We saw no plants that had not flowers, nor trees that had not fruit. The stones of the land are precious stones."³⁶ The choice is clear, and lies between a hard and dangerous land and one of milk and honey: with the form of the Native looming on the narrative's horizon, there can be no milk and honey. The alternative land as a place of refuge or that of rejection occurs in the Cartier/Donnacona narrative. Cartier's frustrated declaration of "Cain's Land" is presented as occurring on a shoreline in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Cartier's *Relations* indicate this observation was actually made in the strait between Newfoundland and Labrador. Cartier gives the Gulf region an opposite description: "This region is as fine a land as it is possible to see, being very fertile and covered with magnificent trees."³⁷ The episode's use of the land as Cain's prefigures Cartier's murder of Donnacona and symbolizes the *non-Natives* as displaced people. Cartier is not shown as seeing a fertile place but a fugitive space. The Cartier/Donnacona narrative institutes the spectral Native presence that prevents that of a settled non-Native. The representations of the land from these two tales are in tune with a view relayed by Gaile McGregor: it "repudiate[s] entirely the possibility that nature is benevolent, maternal: a 'garden'."³⁸ The narration of colonialist origin precludes the cultivation of any garden.

The land is shown again and again in threatening aspect. Figures 30 and 31 having such a low perspective that they threaten to drown the viewer with majesty. This is a typically Canadian point of view; McGregor relates that in drawings and paintings of

the Canadian landscape during the 19th century. "[on] the Canadian side of the border...waterfalls are typically seen from below and at relatively short range."³⁹ Also typically Canadian is an immense space that overwhelms human scale and individual perspective, leaving the viewer anxiously trying to look at everything at once (Figures 32 and 33). People risk becoming insignificant in this malevolent space, stumbling about, gasping, and eventually falling to their knees. Cartier's staggering sailors having provided a good illustration of this. The Canadian wilderness is thus visualized as McGregor feels it often has been: "Totally alien - and therefore dangerous."⁴⁰ The land also rises up in barrier as a line of mountains running from edge to edge (Figure 34), echoing her contention that in Canadian art they "form an apparently solid wall extending across the whole width of the picture plane."⁴¹ It was Hudson who was to have faced these mountains and his expression seems to bear this experience out (Figure 26).

While Hudson's sacrifice gains entrance into the heart of the continent, his tale actually lies at the heart of the three narratives in the second hour. And it opens onto a discussion of an element that troubles the Canadian landscape view. Native character pivots at this point from the peaceful appearance of Donnacona to the carnage seen in Nootka Sound. The Far North has been described as a region where survival is posed in its starkest form and it is within this dark heart that the disturbance within Native, non-Native, and land interrelations can be seen. The figure of Hudson in Figure 26 emblemizes Northrop Frye's contention that "in Canada the wilderness, symbolized by the north, creates a kind of doppelganger figure who is oneself and yet the opposite of oneself."⁴² Hudson's blank look is directed into space - an empty and indifferent universe of ice. The television screen as dysfunctional mirror does superimpose Hudson and

viewer but the dissonance is not produced in phosphor dot. There is an interposed figure, both seen and unseen, who disturbs the view - the Native. Hudson is seen to trade with a Native but this Native then departs, never to return. Nature as Native *is* indifferent and contact unresolved. In the episode Native/non-Native encounters have often come to an abrupt end⁴³ and this repeated lack of resolution is a Canadian habit that informs the landscape.

In her analysis of the novel *Wacousta*, McGregor concludes, "The opposition [of civilization/wilderness] is established in terms of center and ground...the resultant structure [is] circular rather than linear, static rather than dynamic."⁴⁴ The episode displays this most clearly in its closed-loop narrative and this effect unsettles the landscape by partly removing a Native presence. McGregor asserts the denial of

both the desirability and the possibility of a true journey into the wilderness...also denies the reader one of the most important of the *dramatis personae* of the wilderness romance, the primitive or 'natural' man who serves as the mediator between the civilized world and the wilderness 'other'.⁴⁵

She goes on to explain that the lack of "such a mediator...denies completely the reconciliation of opposites which is at the heart of the symbolic model embodied in the wilderness romance."⁴⁶ It is not the complete removal of the mediator, but the mediator's partial presence, a *denial* of something that does exist, that interrupts the landscape of Canadian history. Figures 35 through 38 bear this out: again and again the landscape cannot be seen undisturbed - the eye unable to ignore Native presence.

Unfinished business within the history that the series is narrating both forms and informs it - the desire and fear of the Native as *Other*. Influenced by the writings of Northrop Frye, McGregor concludes, "Our national response to the environment *has* been

almost completely negative."⁴⁷ Firmly conflating Natives with nature, then conserving them as part of the land's history, means the romanticized and colonial narrative can only produce a spectral landscape. The images that illustrated Jewitt's experience of ancient nations can function as memory but they also present a gaze returned from the land - one that can threaten the eye/I.

ENDNOTES

¹Homi K. Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994). 70-71.

²*Ibid.* 75.

³*Ibid.* 72-73.

⁴Daniel Francis. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992). 188.

⁵Not satisfied with simply pointing out dependability, the voiceover fleshes out just who hated whom: "The Cree crossed the tree line to raid Inuit camps; the West Coast nations sent war parties to sea in cedar canoes; the Wendate, lived near the most war-like of all the eastern people, the Iroquois. For generations these people had been enemies, locked in a cycle of deadly raids and fierce retaliation." Still not satisfied after an extended sequence on torture, the voiceover insists, "Now there would more raids, more retaliations, more victims, the cycle of warfare and death seemed endless." As if it was necessary, a male Native concurs: "In ancient times, feuding and warfare were endemic." One would think there was little time for mating and being mysterious. The episode's credence in the savage nature of Natives echoes an 1899 history book entitled *The Children's Study of Canada* and written by J. N. Mcllwraith. In it the author states, "To go to war was the most important part of an Indian's life; he cared for nothing else." (In Francis, *Imaginary Indian* 166) Given the stress placed on Native warfare in this episode, it would seem this belief has changed very little.

⁶In his summation of a 1777 American history book, Roy Harvey Pearce concludes it presented the Native "as a warrior - and his social state makes for continual warfare - [he] fights merely for the sake of fighting and glories in hardship, cruelty, and torture. Here he is especially noted for his passive fortitude and his ability to endure pain" Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* Rev. Ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). p.87. The Canadian historian W. H. P. Clement provides a parallel observation from his 1897 opus: "A stoic fortitude when himself tortured was about his only heroic quality." W. H. P. Clement, *The History of the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897). p.13.

⁷Frantz Fanon in Bhabha, *Location of Culture* 78.

⁸According to the voiceover, the Native "didn't know it was a different continent, they simply followed the food along the way they peopled a new world." Both animals and the people unconsciously flow into other lands and, as a coincidence, populate it.

⁹In subsequent segments a problematic potential is always set up. These tales do not celebrate. They are Fanon's "continued agony"; the Natives are only built up to be

demolished, over and over again. In *Women and Men*, a bumbling and lecherous god upends the wonder of procreation. A female Native recounts the deeds of the Blackfoot god Naapi, who she relates, says "I have done everything well, except I made one bad mistake, putting men in one place and women in another, there is no joy or pleasure in that. I must make men mate with women. I will put some pleasure, some good feeling in it...I myself will set an example." That such a simple arrangement as men and women being together in order to mate should escape their god is not an encouraging sign. Thankfully, however, the series does not reveal how Naapi sets the example. If a second-rate god was not enough, treatment of the Blackfoot closes with Naapi's admonition, "Don't get lazy." The Inuit are also corralled by the series narrative structure. The voiceover indicates that even their creation legends "speak of survival and death," an ambivalent pairing if ever there was one. It would appear that the Inuit's fate is surviving to die, a widespread condition that is universally applied to explain the Native.

¹⁰Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1978), 88.

¹¹Ramsey Cook, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* Introduction by Ramsay Cook. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), xx-xxi.

¹²Marcel Lebel "Observations sur le Vocabulaire et les Images dans les Trois Récits de Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534, 1535-1536 et 1541-1542." *Canadian Studies* Vol.17 (December, 1984), 81. According to Ramsey Cook, "No original manuscript exists - or at least none has been found - for the texts of any of the three *Voyages*." (Cook, *Voyages of Jacques Cartier* x-xi).

¹³Faced with a rebellious crew, the series insists Hudson "would have none of it." yet Pricket records that when the crew insisted Hudson make for England Hudson offered up a "bill of return" that Edwards' suspects was proof that "Hudson should indemnify them against possible charges of coercing him to return." (Philip Edwards, ed., *Last Voyages: Cavendish, Hudson, Raleigh: the original narratives* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, P.134)

¹⁴Karl P. Harrington, *Richard Alsop "A Hartford Wit"* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), 137. Harrington identifies Theodore Dwight as stating, "It was written by my uncle, Richard Alsop...[who] drew from Jewitt his story during repeated interviews, but complained of the difficulties he encountered from the small capacity of the narrator...he adopted the style of Robinson Crusoe as his model in the composition."

¹⁵Both the journal and the "Narrative" provide another point of view. Emerging from below to see what the commotion was about, he was stuck a glancing blow and fell back into the ship's hold without ever seeing the on-deck action. The blow renders him temporarily unconscious and upon regaining his senses and trying to stand, he again falls to the floor unconscious. It is only after the attack has concluded that he comes back to

his senses, being "recalled to my recollection by three loud shouts or yells from the savages" from: Hilary Stewart, *The Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt* (Vancouver: Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987), p.47. Jewitt is tied to the perspective by the camera remaining in place for the shot of the encircling Natives and the subsequent question and answer exchange between Maquinna and himself. The identification of the decapitated is then supported with a still image. The cumulative effect is to draw the viewer into an experience that Jewitt never witnessed and to illustrate the perpetrators with an unrelated historical representation.

¹⁶Jewitt himself writes that Maquinna "had learned the significance of a number of English words, and in general could make himself understood by us in our own language" (Stewart, *Adventures and Sufferings* 43). This would seem to be obvious for a man in his position. Trading and dealing with French, Spanish, and English speaking captains, he would have to have more than gestural capacity.

¹⁷In his first year of captivity, on the 6th of December 1803, Jewitt recorded his conversation with Maquinna wherein Maquinna detailed the background for the attack upon the *Boston*. This also matches the information as found in the Narrative. (In Alice W. Shureliff and S. S. Ingelfinger, eds., *Captive of the Nootka Indians: The Northwest Coast Adventures of John R. Jewitt, 1802-1806* Boston: Back Bay Books, 1993. P.116)

¹⁸Four months after leaving Nootka Sound, Jewitt saw Maquinna again upon his return to the harbor (Stewart, *Adventures and Sufferings* 174-175).

¹⁹James P. Howley, *The Beothuks or Red Indians: The Original Inhabitants of Newfoundland* Toronto: Coles Publishing Company Limited, 1974 (reprint of 1915 edition, Cambridge University Press). The detailed research of J. P. Howley is used here to ascertain the meanings of the map. His work is particularly valuable as it draws exclusively from primary documentation.

²⁰Howley, *Beothuk or Red Indians* 130.

²¹*Ibid.* 190, 195.

²²*Ibid.* 238.

²³*Ibid.* 238. Howley relates, "Copious notes in Cormack's handwriting are scattered all over the sketches, so that there is no difficulty in following out their meaning."

²⁴Ingeborg Marshall, *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk* (Montreal: Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 162-166.

²⁵*Ibid.* 137-153.

²⁶Marshall, *History and Ethnography* 160: "Critically important is the account from the Beothuk woman Shawnadithit, who was captured later and related the story of Demasduit from the point of view of the Beothuk."

²⁷Howley, *Beothuk or Red Indians* 226.

²⁸Donald H. Holly Jr., "The Beothuk on the Eve of their Extinction." *Arctic Anthropology* Vol.37 No.1 (2000): 89.

²⁹*Ibid.* 89.

³⁰Marshall, *History and Ethnography* 185-186.

³¹Howley, *Beothuk or Red Indians* 175.

³²Marshall, *History and Ethnography* 216.

³³Cormack's unedited speech exists in Howley, *Beothuk or Red Indians* pp.182-3.

³⁴Marshall, *History and Ethnography* 224-26.

³⁵John J. O'Meara, *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Journey to the Promised Land* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1978), xii.

³⁶*Ibid.* 4.

³⁷Cook, *Voyages of Jacques Cartier* 51.

³⁸Gaile McGregor, *The Wacousta Syndrome Explorations in the Canadian Landscape* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 21.

³⁹*Ibid.* 19.

⁴⁰*Ibid.* 22-23.

⁴¹*Ibid.* 20.

⁴²Northrop Frye, *Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1982), 49.

⁴³Cormack only preserves Shawnadithit's ghostly presence: Cartier vanishes and Donnacona dies dreaming of a mythic land; Maquinna seems held in a spectral landscape, while Jewitt lives out a haunted life. The two tales presented in the segment on the Inuit are also instructive. One tells of a man left behind by his family; he eventually regains the group by making a sled out of the bones and guts of one of his two dogs, but the *why* of

his predicament is never resolved. The second relates the murder of an old woman who becomes Sedna, goddess of the sea and mother of all beasts. The fingers of one of her hands are cut-off and transform into animals of the North: the polar bear is said to recognize man as "its" killer and therefore will always try to extract revenge.

⁴⁴McGregor. *Wacousta Syndrome* 7.

⁴⁵*Ibid.* 8.

⁴⁶*Ibid.* 9.

⁴⁷*Ibid.* 10.

Figure 1

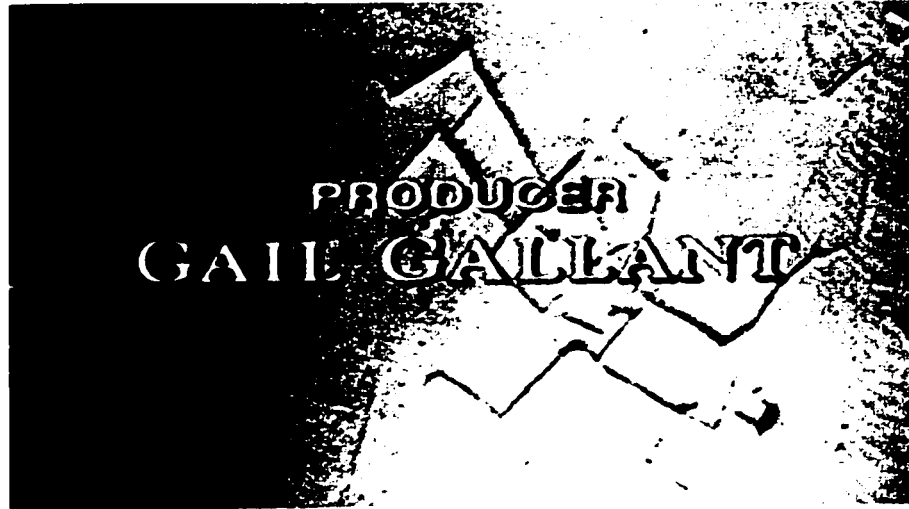


Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 4



Figure 5
Source: British Columbia Archives, PDP 02028



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 6

Source: Gilmour and Turgeon. *Canada: A People's History*. Vol. 1. p. 181.



Figure 7



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30

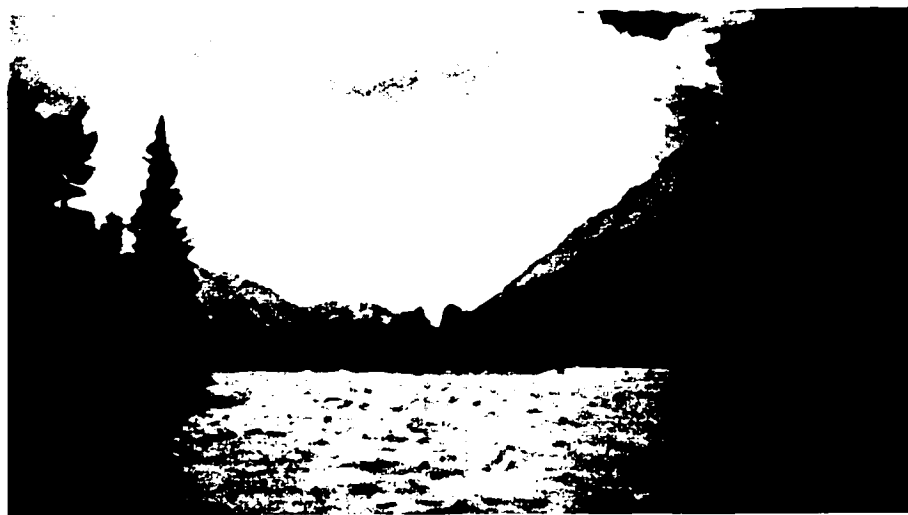


Figure 31



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



CHAPTER TWO

Eye Did it My Way: colonial narration's circumlocution of its own execution

This chapter focuses on episodes two through four. Episode two details the efforts of Samuel de Champlain to establish a trading post in the St. Lawrence River valley, his visit to the Native settlement of Huronia, and the founding of New France. Episode three depicts the sociocultural landscape of New France, the initial conflicts between the French and the British colonists in New England, and the displacement of the Acadians by the British. Episode four includes the French and British conflict of the Seven Years War (1756-1763), and the British attack upon the French settlement of Québec, their victory at the Plains of Abraham, and the ensuing capitulation of the French. Claude Lortie and Serge Turbide directed episode two, with additional sequences by Andrew Gregg and Laine Drewery; the writers were Hubert Gendron and Gene Allen; the co-producers were Metchild Furlani and Lynn Glazier. Episode three was produced and directed by Claude Lortie and Serge Turbide, and written by Hubert Gendron and Gene Allen. Episode four was directed by Serge Turbide, written by Mark Starowicz, and produced by Sally Reardon.

Through a sequential examination of key narrative points in these three episodes, this chapter traces the development of the visual narration for Native, French, and British subject identities. The discussion will argue that episodes two through four are firmly rooted in the first episode's visual narrative, reconfiguring it into a narrative circumlocution of colonial violence and subjugation. Hate, conquest, and the death of a people, are replaced with love, compassion, and the birth of a people. By the end of the

fourth episode the series' visual narrative will have transcribed the civilized/savage of the first episode into a self/Other opposition that generates an embryonic interior social space for Canada (the self) against the exterior space of the American colonies (the Other). The visual narrative of Huronia will be argued by this discussion to be the root of the pastoral myth of origin required by the series, establishing a pattern found throughout all three episodes under consideration in this chapter.

An historical narrative of Canada is faced with the problem of revealing the act of conquest from which it has emerged. Inherent in colonization is the subjugation of Native peoples by a new and dominant cultural identity that may later become a national identity. Although its principal focus is the work of Champlain and the establishment of New France, the second episode starts with the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs that began in 1519. An introduction comprising events that occurred over two thousand miles away and nearly one hundred years in the past pushes subjugation and slaughter into the distance as the series' "not like me." The slaughter of the Aztecs is delineated by an extended series of both re-enacted and painted representations of butchery, the closing instance of which reveals a blood-soaked rapier. The piles of gold that are shown after the rapier link conquest's rape to greed (Figures 1 to 4). These are qualities the series narrative will repress and, as Sigmund Freud argued, "The essence of repression lies simply in turning something away, and keeping it at a distance, from the conscious."¹ A presentation of the Conquistadors' violence allows the series to approach Canada's origin by visually distancing itself from the latter's own, shadowy, colonial heart. This declaration, however, also signals the repression that will be seen to disturb the narrative itself.

The presentation of the Aztec empire's destruction facilitates the episode's construction of a desirable subject identity for its narration of colonization: Samuel de Champlain, the father of New France. Champlain's narrative is considered as an allegory of love and courtship, between himself as suitor and the land as love object. The visual narrative for this tale will move Champlain and his men through a wintertime transition and into a new representational hierarchy with the natives. This will then lead to his symbolic progeny, Etienne Brulé, a member of Champlain's group, as the hybrid offspring who gains entrance into the imaginary world of the Native - Huronia. The episode's narrative circumvents colonial violence through this tale of love that then generates the context for its own mythic point of origin. Three elements of Champlain's narrative are of particular importance: 1) the land viewed as a mythic paradise (a love object), 2) wintertime (the womb or transitional space), and 3) the emergence of new subject identities (birth). The self/Other opposition seen in the first episode - including the Vanishing Indian, and landscape/nature - are transcribed into the second episode's narrative paradigm of desire, union, and birth. In effect, the non-Native represses the Native into the land that the non-Native then stands upon as a nascent people *belonging* in the New World. This is a double narrative movement, however, for the Native is reborn as the requisite colonial stereotype in a process that generates the disturbed landscape seen in the first episode.

In 1608, Champlain and twenty-seven of his men stay through the winter at the settlement called Québec. This event represents their entrance into the land's womb and a transitional period between their Old World and New World identities. The stark contrast between snowy isolation and Paris social life, the difference between reenactments in the

New World and painted reproductions of the Old World, together serve to reinforce the men's passage through a liminal space. The grave markers indicate the burial of their previous subjectivity (Figures 5 to 7). At this point, they have only entered into the *land* by way of a wintertime rite of passage. The episode's presentation of the springtime emergence of Champlain and his men reveals the nature of their newly formed subject identities in this land by way of their relationship with the Natives.

Following their winter passage, non-Natives are seen to have acquired a degree of dependence on the Natives (Figures 8 to 10). Natives overlook both their own territory and that claimed by the non-Native: the French are now just another tribe that must deal with the Hurons. This new arrangement draws Champlain into a military alliance with the Hurons and an attack upon the Iroquois - the Huron's enemy. Champlain's killing of three Iroquois chieftains at the onset of the conflict wins the day for the Hurons (Figure 11) and as the voiceover points out, "The alliance is sealed in blood." The alliance is emblematic of a physical union with blood flowing from a ruptured hymen that symbolizes a successful consummation of the relationship with both the Native *and* the land. Etienne Brulé, whom Champlain has earlier referred to as "my boy," will now pass through winter's liminality. The symbolism of insemination then continues with the presentation of a graphic showing the territory of the Hurons and a white line that snakes upriver into their lands (Figures 12 and 13). This is followed by a sequence showing Brulé during the winter in the company of a Huron elder. Brulé's wintertime moves him from one subject identity to another, as was seen during Champlain's and his men's first winter. The visual narrative of Brulé's springtime return signifies the breaking water that precedes birth and an emergence from the bush symbolizing a newborn's exit from the womb (Figures 14

and 15). With the advent of Brulé's hybrid form, the viewer is ushered into the desirable, natural paradise of Huronia. Huronia will prove to be the seedbed claimed by the series narrative for Canada's colonial point of origin.

The second episode uses Champlain's 1615 visit to Huronia to generate the mythic point of origin required by the series narration of Canada's historical origin. Huronia is the pivot point on which the series transfers an imagined Native Eden into an imagined non-Native pastoral origin. This discussion's analysis of Huronia involves four main events: the parallel drawn between Huronia and the French colony at Quebec, the fall of Huronia and the decline of the Noble (Savage) in the form of the Hurons, the rise of the Iroquois as the (Noble) Savage and their subsequent repression in a "strange victory" by the French, and finally, the artificial insemination of New France.

Huronia, as pastoral myth, is considered by this discussion to be associated with Canada's childhood. The visual narration of this origin is read in line with Jacques Lacan's *stade du miroir*, or mirror stage of child development. The term 'mirror' arises as a result of the child's discovery of form in the image of another: it is a "corporeal unity"² that the child is lacking. As Anthony Wilden points out, the mirror stage is evident in "the child's attempts to appropriate or control their own image in a mirror."³ The mirror stage is divided into two main phases: the pre-mirror, and the post-mirror. Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen explains that the pre-mirror stage is "when the distinction between ego and image did not yet exist."⁴ And as Ellie Ragland-Sullivan suggests, "The pre-mirror stage infant has already become the objects it sees and the experiences it has in its fundamental fantasies."⁵ The source for an infant's self, in other words, is derived from an exterior self - an Other. The term mirror, therefore, should not be taken only in the sense of a

reflective pane of glass, but also as another person at whom the infant gazes. In the post-mirror stage, according to Ragland-Sullivan, "Instead of treating images as if they were real, the post-mirror child begins to represent them in words and so passes from a state of nature to one of culture and language."⁶ What this entails, however, is the loss of primordial wholeness - the pre-mirror stage's lack of differentiation between the ego and the image. As Bruce Fink asserts, "Once the object is constituted [in language], the 'primal state' wherein there is no distinction...between subject and object can never be re-experienced...a kind of innocence is lost forever."⁷ The acquisition of a sense of self carries a corollary lack, in part because the image of the Other by which the self was realized is, in fact, not the self. This like/unlike character of the Other will be seen to have important consequences within the series narrative as it unfolds. The visual narration of Huronia will now be examined with the concepts of pre- and post-mirror in mind.

The episode's visual account of Champlain's experience in Huronia is presented with watercolors of the settlement that are seen both separately and superimposed on reenacted Native activity (Figures 16 to 19). The lack of fear in these representations recalls Jewitt's dream-like passage through the spectral landscape of the Nootka. The narrative of the second episode circles back to this dreamtime, infusing Huronia with the romantic apparitions that are crucial to colonialism's narrative. Huronia comes to exist within the series as the source for its pastoral myth: Northrop Frye believes this lies "at the heart of all social mythology. [It is] the vision of a social ideal...[and its] most common form is association with childhood, or with some earlier social condition."⁸ Champlain's tale has fathered a non-Native/Native hybrid, and carried the series narrative

into a social landscape envisioned as its childhood and mythic origin. The images that illustrate this reveal no non-Native and thus no differentiation between self and Other. The viewer is reflected in the screen by Native faces. The undifferentiated social world of Huronia signifies the fact that the series narrative - its self - occupies the pre-mirror stage and has become the objects it visualizes. The blissful state of totality - no distinction between ego and image - is then interrupted by an eerie vision of things to come.

The episode moves directly from Huronia's first appearance to a segment dealing with the fate of the French colony at Quebec. This institutes the French colonists' future and brings Champlain's tale to a close. The progression of images first replaces Huronia with views of the snow-covered French colony (Figure 20). Champlain then extols the land's potential as several scenic views of landscapes and wildlife are shown (Figure 21 to 24). This sequence echoes Champlain's first winter and springtime emergence by moving from Huronia to the sleep of winter's womb, and then to an awakening in a fertile land. However, it is a reverse movement in which Native presence is removed and the land is made available for the non-Native. The segment closes with an evening, wintertime view of the colony (Figure 25) that is accompanied by the voiceover's assertion, "New France will survive and a new people will be born."

The narrative sequence from Huronia to the birth of a new people in the French colony aligns two imaginary childhoods. One is the imagined Native Eden seen in Huronia. The other is the story of New France's birth - imagined because it is foretold. The episode is anxious to assert something in the future perfect tense: New France *will have been* established before Huronia's destruction. The loss of Huronia is decisive, for as Freud argued of the future perfect, "An essential precondition...is that objects shall have

been lost."⁹ Similarly, in a colonial context, Homi Bhabha argues, "What is being dramatized is a separation - between races, cultures, histories, *within* histories - a separation between *before* and *after* that repeats obsessively the mythical moment of disjunction."¹⁰ The "will have been" creates a distance between two conditions - idealizing one while working to repress the Other. The moment of violence within the colonial history of Canada that the series is narrating will occur when these two imagined childhoods are alienated from each other. The narrative will carry forward an idealized vision for itself while repressing the source.

When the second episode returns to Huronia after it envisions New France's birth in 1634, the viewer is presented with a series of images showing Native children in the presence of Jesuits (Figures 26 and 27). This contrasts with the first presentation of Huronia wherein no non-Natives were seen, and symbolizes the visual narrative's move into a post-mirror stage - a *becoming* Native, the objects it sees. Native subject identity is thereby established as what Bhabha calls "that 'otherness' which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference *contained* within the fantasy of origin and identity."¹¹ However, as noted earlier, this becoming entails a loss - that of the primal state of innocence. It is the loss of an imaginary origin (in fact, the Natives') lying at the heart of a colonial past that fixes Native representation in the imaginary state of colonial stereotype as fetish - the child of nature, and the Noble Savage. Bhabha believes "the scene of fetishism is also the scene of the reactivation and repetition of primal fantasy."¹² Colonial origin keeps returning to the fantasy of an imagined Native condition that it has claimed for itself, and thus the Native is contained, fixed forever as loss. The crucifix seen in Figure 27 is a representational wand that returns the Native to this child-like state.

The imagery of children with Jesuits is followed by a sequence of views depicting the destruction wrought upon Huronia by diseases the Jesuits transmitted (Figure 28). The Vanishing Indian once again collapses into the grave. The Hurons then come under attack by the Iroquois, an event illustrated by a sequence of images that emblemizes the destructive nature of the Natives' binary representation (Figure 29). The shift from child-like Hurons to savage Iroquois repeats the Natives' representational oscillation that was seen in the first episode. For example, in that episode a child-like Shawnadithit was paired with the hostile Maquinna, and the Blackfoot child developed into a savage warrior. This ambivalence pinned Native representation onto Bhabha's "scenes of fear and desire"¹³ that characterize colonial texts: scenes told over and over in order to reinforce stereotype.

As the images of Iroquoian savagery fade from the screen, a Jesuit describes the Huron as "a people wiped off the face of the earth." The stereotype of the Vanishing Indian is then strengthened when a Native voiceover notes, "You believe that you see living men, while we are but spectres, the souls of the departed." During the comments of Jesuit and Native, the viewer sees a devastated and ghostly community (Figures 30 and 31). The Beothuks' narrative decimation echoes in the empty space created out of Huronia, and the viewer is once again returned to a *remembered* Native past *as* past. The presentation of Huronia's collapse acquires credibility and appears natural because it looks like the remembered Beothuk demise.

Imbricated with the parasitic acquisition of origin myth is a desire for the land, a desire that was symbolically introduced by Champlain's romantic overture. A desire for the land underwrites the naturalization of the nation; as Eric Kaufmann asserts, this idea

"owes its existence to later Romantic thought...[and] refers to a dynamic whereby a nation comes to view itself as the offspring of its natural landscape."¹⁴ In placing itself in alignment with the Native in an imaginary point of origin, the series not only generates the stereotypical Native subject identity, it also engenders the rivalry between one child of the land and another. Therefore, the appropriation of an idealized Huronia as pastoral myth of origin necessitates the subjugation of the Native so that the *non-Native* may unite with the land. And so it should be at end of the mirror stage drama enacted in Huronia's visual presentation. As Ragland-Sullivan argues, this drama's end is marked by "that 'Cain and Abel' jealousy by which the infant identified with its mother is envious to the death of *anyone or anything* that threatens the union."¹⁵ The nature of the 'like/unlike' inherent to the Other's image now comes to the fore. Huronia and the Hurons exist as the 'like' or narcissistic pole; the threat comes to be posed by the Iroquois (alienation, or perhaps alien nation), who turn the Eden of Huronia into a savage wilderness.

Huronia was decimated by 1649, leaving the French to face the Iroquois, seen in the series emerging from the forest in an attack upon the French settlers (Figure 32). The first episode was visually punctuated with landscapes unsettled by a Native presence that threatened the eye/I. The visual root of this disturbance begins to take hold, as the second episode now presents neither Native nor nature as paradisiacal. The aggression of the Iroquois prompts Louis XIV to send troops from France in 1665 to defeat them. The second episode presents the disastrous winter campaign of these troops, in January of 1666, with a sequence that shows their defeat by winter (Figure 33). The military will be sent out the following autumn and will burn several deserted Iroquois villages to the ground (Figure 34). The images used to narrate the French/Iroquois struggle illustrate its

underlying nature, and symbolize the French characters' struggle with their fear of the wilderness and their fear of the savage who inhabits it. Yet only settlers face the threat of captivity or sudden death posed by the forest. The soldiers are never shown to face the Iroquois. Thus, the French cannot lay their hands upon the fear that strikes them.

The episode's narrative indicates that the French military campaign forced the Iroquois to sue for peace and sign a treaty with the French that would last twenty years. Yet the defeat of an unseen enemy is described by the voiceover as a "strange victory." A strange victory indeed, for it is one of repression. The repression upon which New France is founded - the root of Canada's colonial past - arises from the appropriation of Huronia as pastoral myth and it is the source for what Frye has called "the past of a psychiatric patient, something of a problem to be resolved."¹⁶ In his investigations of repression, Freud argued that "as soon as the basically obnoxious idea exceeds a certain degree of strength, the conflict becomes a real one, and it is precisely this activation that leads to repression."¹⁷ The threat was not seen in the Huron as desired Other but in the Iroquois as feared Other. However, they are not to be seen as wholly independent subject identities, but as the two opposing poles of the colonially stereotyped Native - the Noble Savage.

The presentation of Huronia along with the Hurons and Iroquois, carries two narrative threads that are entangled with one another: the desire of the series narrative to present "Canada" as the offspring of its natural landscape, and the presence of an Other *in* that landscape. Thus, it is the binary nature of Native representation seen in the colonial stereotype and required by the series narrative that presents the "problem to be resolved." The narratives of an idealized, childlike Huronia and alienating Iroquoian savagery that together underlie New France and thus Canada, to cite Bhabha again, tell of the "desire

for a pure origin that is always threatened by its division."¹⁸ The image of settlers roped together as prisoners and led by Iroquois warriors emblemizes this captive condition (Figure 35). Having instituted its mythic point of origin by way of the Native, colonial self-narration is now tied to the Native - something both desired and feared: the Other.

The second episode closes with a depiction of France's efforts to overcome two problems faced in planting a colony in the New World: low population and a meager working class. France will solve the first by fertilizing the New World with *les filles du roi* - single women transferred from France during the years 1663 to 1673. The second is resolved by hundreds of *engagés*, or indentured servants, brought over from France during the same period. The narrative structure of this segment completes the extraction of Huronia as the pastoral myth of non-Native origin desired by the series narrative. The visual narration for both the *filles du roi* and the *engagés* also provides the basis for later, colonially stereotyped French-Canadian subject identity.

The transfer of the *filles du roi* and *engagés* is antithetical to the natural union emblemized by Champlain's tale of lover and beloved. The institution of New France, by contrast, is the artificial insemination of the New World. The arrival of the maidens in New France shows them herded like livestock for the inspection of interested bachelors (Figure 36). The visual narrative then moves to assembly-line nuptials that then lead into engravings depicting agrarian activities (Figures 37 and 38). With these latter images, the voiceover emphasizes, "What these women have in common is...their fertility." The alignment of their fecundity with the land's cultivation is followed by the presentation of a marriage from which seven children were harvested (Figure 39). The cumulative visual narrative denotes an institutional seed-planting for the harvest of a civil population. The

engagés' tale follows that of the *filles du roi* and is illustrated first with several images showing industrious activity. Forges are worked, buildings are constructed, and warehouses are full of activity. The *engagés*, however, are very nearly slaves, as their labour can be bought or sold without their consent. In short order, the voiceover details that "discipline is harsh, a runaway can be flogged in public, put in shackles, branded, or hanged." This assertion is visually supported with the image of a young man tied to a post (Figure 40). Together, the visual narratives of the *filles du roi* and the *engagés* reveal the execution of civil structure and the cultivation of both land and people.

The visual narrative that ends this segment on the *engagés* and *filles du roi* sets their industry and fertility into a bucolic and peaceful landscape. Now the "fascinating world" will no longer belong to the Hurons but to the French settlers, as the episode's narrative institutes one social order in the place of another. The final sequence of images presents an idyllic countryside that the voiceover describes as "their new home" (Figures 41 and 42). Yet the inheritance of an idealized setting brings with it the legacy of stereotype. One *engagé's* future and degree of self-mastery (he is "his own master, with a future in a new land") is undone by the distant red sky he walks into (Figure 43). Like the Native suspended in a silhouetted canoe (Chapter One, fig. 27), the direction of the *engagé's* movement is ambiguous. Is the distant sky lit by the sunrise of a bright future, or does it burn with the light of a setting sun? This image heralds the ambivalence of the French Canadian's future subject identity. The transferred wombs and labor will come to symbolize the prolific virgin and the indolent workhorse that ground French-Canadian subject identity in stereotype.

Thus, by the end of the second episode, the series narrative has operated the self/Other and landscape/nature paradigm established in the first episode to achieve the birth of the new social order seen in New France. Champlain's love story first insinuated non-Native presence into the paradisiacal point of origin in Huronia. By reprising the Vanishing Indian stereotype, the episode's narrative then repressed the Native into the landscape subsequently inherited by the non-Native. Colonialism's violence is nowhere to be seen, for it has been repressed. Rather than the rape of conquest, it is the vision of courtship, marriage, and birth that inflect the narration of Canada's historical roots. However, colonialism can still be seen to infect the representational configuration of subject identities. The Native is still the savage child, and keeps on vanishing. The decimation of Native culture inferred in the first episode has been visually narrated. Native representation also continues to underwrite both the manifestation of landscape and the formation of non-Native subject identity. Depending on whether Native presence is childlike or savage, the landscape is either a desirable Eden or a fearsome wilderness. Landscape itself will also inform the subject identity of the non-Native. The repression that is the source for the disturbed landscapes of the first episode has now been uncovered by the narration of Huronia's appropriation as pastoral myth. The French settler and New France will now replace the Hurons as children of nature and Huronia as pastoral Edenic origin, respectively.

The discussion now turns to the third episode. The two central narratives of this episode are structured by the account of Huronia. They are: the depiction of the French Canadian, and the social upheaval wreaked upon the Acadians by the British. French

Canadians and their landscape are presented as idealized representations that repeat the imaginary world of Huronia. The representation given to the Acadians equates them with the French Canadian and the destruction by the British of the Acadians' paradisiacal condition places the British in the role formerly played by the Iroquois. By the end of the third episode the French Canadian will be firmly positioned as the non-Native equivalent to the Huron. This lays the groundwork for their later representational subjugation: because they appear as children of nature they will be seen as needing protection. The sacrificial function of the Acadians serves to initiate the formulation of what will become the British-American's subject identity as non-Native savage Other. This permits a later differentiation between the British-Canadian and the British-American.

The delineation of the French Canadians' subject identity begins by generating a visual appreciation of their geophysical space. The scenic views of a bucolic countryside that introduce the French Canadians by way of the land, ground an appreciation of their subject identity in the land (Figure 44). As was the case with the Native, the viewer comes to know the French Canadians by way of their natural habitat. The dreamy world of Huronia revealed blissful domestic activity replete with children. The social world of the French Canadians is treated the same way. Once the episode has inserted them into an Edenic environment, the visual narrative proceeds to describe their idyllic interior social space. An extended sequence depicts a large, happy family milling about a table, preparing a meal, and then sitting down in happy concord to enjoy it (Figures 45 and 46). French fecundity introduced into the series narrative by the *filles du roi* in the second episode is the visual seedbed for this, the third episode's visual production of French-Canadian subject identity.

The representational descendents of the second episode's *engagés* also have a role to play in the third episode. From the images of domestic contentment, the viewer is visually transported into a warehouse where several men can be seen hard at work. Yet despite their hard labor, the accompanying voiceover of a Jesuit comments on their "aversion to sustained work." The French Canadians appear to be two things at once: a lazy but hardworking people. This trait has an ancestor in the presentation of the *filles du roi*'s agrarian fertility as Figure 38 presented such a split personality. The work of one young woman may exist only in the dreams of the other. Both hard-working and apparently lazy, French-Canadian subject identity is formed by the misaligned views of cultural bias: the indolent Other who, if you are not careful, will steal your job.

The scene changes from the work-a-day world to extended views of the French Canadians' winter leisure activities (Figures 47 and 48). During this succession of images the voiceover tells the viewer that "Canadians have made their peace with winter. For six months they are free from work...free to socialize and kick up their heels." The viewer is thus carried back to a fun-loving people with an "aversion to sustained work." The visual narrative of French-Canadian subject identity began with a productive landscape, moved into a prolific domestic space, then into one of stored resource, and finally returns to a winter wonderland. French-Canadian identity is thereby structured as a synthesis of the landscape it inhabits. This is an evolutionary step in the representation of Canada's pastoral myth that Frye describes as "pioneer life, the small town, the *habitant* rooted to his land."¹⁹ The Hurons have been displaced, and in their stead the viewer sees a French-Canadian stereotype. Their final winter frolic solidifies the representational roots of their

subject identity. Champlain and Brulé were both shaped by their passage through winter, and the French Canadians' playful winter personality signifies they are *of* the land.

The third episode's narrative follows the delineation of the French Canadians with a presentation of the Acadians' dispersal during the years 1755 to 1760. In keeping with the general practice of the series, the viewer first comes to know the Acadians by way of their landscape: an agrarian wonderland very much like that of the French Canadians (Figure 49). The depiction of Acadia as a heavenly abode is underscored by the voiceover's explanation that it was named for the garden of the gods in Greek mythology. This mythic origin links the Acadians through the French Canadians to the root pastoral myth stolen from Huronia.

The representational provenance of the Acadians also positions them, like the French Canadians they are compared to, as innocent children of the land. Instead of Hurons being attacked by Iroquois, however, the viewer sees the account of the Acadians' dispersal by the British. The visual narrative of this event begins with a return to the images of a happy Acadian family relaxing together at home (Figure 50). British soldiers burst into the room and chaos ensues, the pastoral landscape turned into a smoky disorder of burnt-out villages (Figure 51). The scenes that bring this segment and the third episode to a close present British soldiers roughly herding Acadian families to the shore, for embarkation on ships that are to take them to distant and foreign soil (Figure 52). This narrative of British aggression towards a peaceful people living in harmony with the land, grounds the British subject identity's development into a British-*American* one.

Here, at the end of the third episode, the series narrative has absconded with the Imaginary world of the Native, taking it as the root form for its own origin, replaced the

Native as child of nature with the French Canadian, and introduced the British subject identity as a violent Other. The series must still resolve the narrative presentation of the French Canadians' incorporation into the embryonic social space of Canada, and the differentiation of British subject identity into its American and Canadian component parts. Through an examination of key visual narrative sequences in the fourth episode, the discussion that follows will argue that the episode presents the demonization of the British American, the colonial envelopment of the French Canadians, and the idealization of the British Canadian. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the centrality thus far in the series of employing Native identity as a touchstone for the development of other identities, the root paradigm for this process is the narrative of Huronia.

The subject identity of the British American is first shown as antagonistic towards the land and nature, and then hostile to other people. Thus, the fourth episode opens by showing hand-set type and then dissolving to an image of a Native sitting under the shade of a tree in a wooded glade; the viewer is then returned to a block of set type (Figures 53 to 55). The operator of this printing press, Benjamin Franklin, has a "vision of North America's future: one language, one religion, one nation." The viewer is first introduced to the subject identity of the British Americans through their relation to the land. Yet unlike the harmonious and natural relationship between settler and landscape seen in the narrative of the French Canadians, the British-Americans' desire to cultivate homogeneity threatens to squeeze nature out of the landscape. This is communicated by compressing the iconic form of the Native as natural man between two images of mechanical reproduction's uniformity. Following the establishment of the British-Americans' external

identity - their definition by landscape - the episode turns to describe their internal, or behavioral disposition. Unlike the pleasant interior views of smiling kindred seen in Huronia, New France, and Acadia, the British Americans appear savage. The significations of relentless oppression generated by the imagery of Franklin's printing press are fleshed out directly after they are seen. The fourth episode follows up the press with a visual return to the Acadians' dispersal, the reiteration of which firmly yokes the British Americans to Iroquoian violence.

The representational parallel between British-American and Iroquois subject identities instituted in the repetition of Acadia's destruction is then strengthened by a clear delineation of the British-Americans' insidious nature. As narrative material, the fourth episode uses the Ottawa Nation's resistance to British forces in the Ohio Valley during the Seven Years War. Native savagery is first restated by images showing them applying war paint and calling for the "total annihilation of the English." They are then shown attacking forts and settlements as the voiceover informs us that "war bands massacre settlers and hold the interior in terror." As the Natives hold up their end of the representational bargain, the episode aligns them with the British Americans who, however, then 'out-savage' them - or as the voiceover takes pains to point out, "conceive their own cruelty." Knives are shown cutting cloth into pieces that are then placed into small containers. The cloth that is infected with smallpox and the containers are intended for a Native delegation. Told not to open them until they return home, the Native delegates become the vector by which smallpox decimates their villages. Here, the voiceover ominously intones, the British Americans "are using germ warfare."

The narrative of the Ottawa Nation/British-American conflict in the Ohio Valley concludes with a sequence of images of the decimated Native settlements, an example of which is shown in Figure 56. These victims recall the dead of Huronia, and the Vanishing Indian vanishes once more. This visual echo of the dead of Huronia paints the British Americans as more sinister still. Both Ottawa and Huron died of infectious disease, but the Jesuits in Huronia were "unwitting" while the British Americans are deliberate. The subject identity of the British American fatally contracts the Natives' savage nature as a result of this narrative emphasis. Meanwhile, the outcome of this infection is the Natives' conveyance into the nature of Canada's social space. From the scenes of dead and dying Natives, the imagery moves to a view of autumn trees arching over a creek and then ends with a wide view of a river leading inland (Figures 57 and 58). During this sequence the voiceover contends, "While these people are dying, history is taking a fateful turn." Or, as Benedict Anderson argues, "It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny."²⁰ The fateful turn of history the series is working into its destiny is the British Proclamation of 1763. This granted Native lands royal protection from American settlers or speculators. The visual narrative generates a vision of pox-riddled Native corpses floating downstream into the protective enclosure of Canada's nature. They are however, like the Huron refugees from Huronia, being moved towards the status of wards of the state - a state whose emergence marks their passing. With the subject identity of the British American now set in place, the fourth episode can present the "remarkable events" of an Other's subjugation.

Three key visual narrative sequences in the fourth episode reveal the manner in which the subject identity of the French Canadian is drawn into the series narrative. The

first is the representation given to the deaths of Generals James Wolfe and Louis Montcalm at and after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. The second is the visual narration of the British recognition of French-Canadian Catholicism. The third is the visual construction of the alliance between British governor James Murray and French bishop Olivier Briand. The French Canadians' fall - like the Natives' - will lead to their guardianship by the British. The British recognition of French-Canadian Catholicism, and the narration of Murray and Briand's alliance, serve to delineate the British in Canada as benevolent and thus differentiate them from their violent American counterparts.

The representation of General Wolfe's final moments is the first to appear after the conclusion of hostilities on the Plains of Abraham. The image used is Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe*, 1770 (Figure 59). The painting carries connotations of heroism and nationalism, and as art historian Vivian Fryd contends, "It is one of the earliest examples of modern subjects, settings, and dress replacing the traditional focus on the ancient world."²¹ This is important to consider for the painting is now used by the series to mark the onset of transition within its narrative. It is a move from what is becoming the old social order of New France to a new British order. Wolfe's placement at the center of an exterior panorama has important implications for the series' depiction of British subject identity in Canada. Art historian Dennis Montagna argues, "West staged Wolfe's death as the culmination of a vast, continuous narrative depiction of the entire battle."²² At the right, the viewer can see the landing of the British forces on the morning of the battle, while the center presents the battle itself and the far left reveals the celebration of victory. Fryd considers that the "battleground is a masculine space, glorifying manly valor and heroism."²³ Wolfe, therefore, lies at the pinnacle of a great

story and heroically commands the landscape, and the series voiceover announces that he will be returned to England as "the Empire's newest hero."

The scene then shifts to Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Côté's painting entitled *The Death of Montcalm*, c.1902 (Figure 60). As the voiceover discloses that Montcalm's body will be "put in a makeshift box," the audio carries the sound of whispering voices. From the heroic and masculine space of the battlefield, the viewer has been quietly ushered into a subdued, feminine interior space. Stereotypical gender roles place the woman in the kitchen, by the loom, doing household chores, or in the bedroom. These private spaces and domestic activities all represent passive and nurturing duties performed in service of the husband. The man, by contrast, is typically to be found in public spaces such as the factory or the office, in the more active role of the breadwinner. The hierarchy of stereotypical gender roles positions the male as dominant to the female - enclosing and *protecting* the female (who is Other to the male) in her 'proper place' of the household. The self/Other of gender stereotype is similar to that found in cultural stereotype. Here, instead of the female being subservient to the male, it is the colonized who are under the watchful eye of the colonizer. In their respective representations, Wolfe symbolizes the male's aggressive and invasive struggle to create, while Montcalm occupies the submissive, receptive, and enclosed 'female' space. Underpinning this relationship is the non-Native's (Wolfe's) responsibility to protect their Other - in this case, the French Canadian.

The enclosure of French-Canadian subject identity by an emerging national definition is symbolized by the movement from the public space of Wolfe's grand narrative presence to that of Montcalm's room, as well as Montcalm's ignominious end.

The first episode's embodiment of another fading race - that of Donnacona - echoes in the figurative treatment of Montcalm. With Donnacona in the role of the Vanishing Indian, the viewer was brought to bended knee at his deathbed. Candles flicker quietly in the background of the sad, mournful scene that Montcalm now occupies. Viewers are again brought into the privacy of a once-great man's final moments, and may recognize the significance of this event through the memory of Donnacona's passing.

The battle's final reference is to the journal entry of a surviving French-Canadian soldier. As his voiceover laments "We are lost," a single burning candle is briefly superimposed over a dramatic sunset illuminating the clouds with a deep red (Figure 61). As the candle fades from view, it leaves a slow sequence of sunset skies. This visual narrative signifies a people's sacrifice in this calamity that heralds the birth of a new people. (This sequence is a visual echo of the earlier one showing the *engagé's* red sky). The ambiguity of sunrise/sunset begins to coalesce as one people's sun rising from the sunset of another's.

The visual narrative that presents the conclusion of hostilities between the French and British further illuminates the symbolism of ascension from the ruins of a people. After their defeat on the Plains of Abraham, the French are surrounded at Montréal, where they are forced to surrender. They are shown to burn their flags rather than experience the humiliation of handing them over to the British (Figure 62). As the flags burn, the voiceover states: "As the symbols of Canada's past burn, Governor Vaudreuil negotiates Canada's future." This negotiation results in the "extraordinary and enduring concession" of the unobstructed practice of Catholicism. As was the case with the autumn fall of disease-ridden Natives, the series presents the incorporation of a subject people as

an extraordinary, and thus wonderful, incident. The British in Canada are shown to be sympathetic and protective towards both the Natives and the French Canadians. This benevolent nature distinguishes them from the British Americans who infected the Natives and dispersed the Acadians.

A view of the document proclaiming the recognition of Catholicism then emerges from and fades back into the bonfire while its details are related by the voiceover (Figures 63 and 64). The visual movement from flames through concession and back to flames signifies the marginal hell within which the French Canadians' subject identity is now suspended. Their hellish suspension is paradoxically caused by their Catholic spirituality. While Native representation will continue to be associated with the primitiveness of nature, French-Canadian subject identity will now be linked to religious simplicity. It is the recognition of their *difference* that encloses them within the colonial narrative. In the words of Bhabha, "This separation...lends authority to the official version and mission of colonial power."²⁴ The result is that "the colonized population is then deemed to be both the cause and the effect of the system, imprisoned in a circle of interpretation."²⁵ The protective intent of the British in Canada reveals more clearly the suffocating nature of Jewitt's and Cormack's preservationist desires in episode one.

The foundation for the institutionalization of French-Canadian subject identity within the series is completed with the fourth episode's presentation of the alliance between British governor James Murray and French bishop Olivier Briand. With its recognition by the British, French-Canadian Catholicism becomes the subjective sign of that group within the series narrative. The "colonial fantasy," as Bhabha argues, "effectively displays the 'separation', makes it more visible."²⁶ Murray is first introduced

by the voiceover, and is then depicted by means of his painted portrait (Figure 65). Following this, the voiceover introduces Briand while the screen presents scenes of a religious ceremony inside an ornate church, after which Briand's painted portrait appears (Figures 66 and 67). As his portrait fades to a view of a church steeple (Figure 68), he preaches in voiceover: "We order you to submit to the King and all those who share his authority." The church interior appearing prior to Briand's portrait emphasizes its priority status for all French Canadians, so that religion operates as signifier for both. Presented to the viewer at the onset, Murray's silent portrait overlooks the narration of French-Canadian spirituality.

The construction of the representational hierarchy inherent in the alliance between the British and the French Canadian then becomes clearly visible as the episode describes the relationship between Murray and Briand. The origin of their unequal union lies ten years in the past at the Plains of Abraham. While Murray commanded British forces on the field of battle, Briand tended the wounded. These characterizations mirror those given to Wolfe and Montcalm: the former masculine and the latter feminine. The visual narration of Briand's compassionate history then begins by moving from the interior of a church to a view of stone wall with a single closed window (Figure 69). Here, Murray's commanding history is described. As the voiceover announces their lifelong friendship, the camera pulls back to reveal another building and window (Figure 70). Briand's sign is the church while Murray is signified by fortifications. The closed window in a wall of stone signifies the British enclosure of French-Canadian spirit. The movement from the church's visible interior to the concealment of stone walls with controlled interior visibility, represents a construction of colonial power. Where "the barracks stands by the

church." Bhabha contends, "[the] visibility of the institutions and apparatuses of power is possible because the exercise of colonial power makes their *relationship* obscure. produces them as fetishes, spectacles of a 'natural'/racial pre-eminence."²⁷ Given the representational development of French-Canadian subject identity relative to that of the British in Canada, the relationship between Murray and Briand is to be expected. It *looks* only natural for these spiritual children to be protected by a commanding presence.

The visual narrative of the fourth episode has now clearly visualized the representational hierarchy between the subject identities of the French Canadian and the British in Canada as recognizable Other and protective benefactor, respectively. The benevolence of the British in Canada distinguishes them from the subject identity of the British American that lurks menacingly in the margins. The subject identity of the Natives has again played itself out in accordance with colonial desire and has once again vanished from view - for the time being.

The final segment of the fourth episode narrates the implementation of the Quebec Act of 1774. Among its provisions were the restoration of interior lands to Canada that had been claimed by the Americans, and a guarantee to the French that protected their religious practice. Prior to introducing the Act, however, the episode's visual narrative presents the cause. It begins with a view of a church steeple that then fades to a pan of a watercolour depicting the settlement at Montréal (Figures 71 and 72). The final images in the sequence reveal urban violence and upheaval (Figures 73 and 74). The viewer has been moved out of Canada and into the chaotic American colonies.

The fear generated by this American violence is shown to strike not at the British in Canada but at the French Canadians. The British respond to the French Canadians'

pleas for the rights of British citizenship with the Quebec Act's protective enclosure (Figure 75). The trembling subject identity of the French Canadian is again enveloped as Montcalm was boxed in and Briand walled-off. With the protective embrace resulting from benevolent British *recognition*, the French Canadians are returned to the confines of their natural habitat (Figures 76 to 79). Underneath these images of natural peace and prosperity lie the ghostly apparitions of Huronia, Acadia, and the French Canadians' first representation in episode three.

This last segment of the fourth episode began by moving out from a peaceful social context and into a chaotic one. It then returned to images of social tranquility with the narrative's introduction of the Quebec Act. The visual narrative of the episode closes by bringing these two social spaces, in a manner of speaking, face to face. Although the French Canadians are pleased with the Quebec Act, the Americans are most definitely not. The closing visual narrative first shows a tight view of a demon, pulls back to reveal a wider view, and then pans down to focus on the document lying in the foreground of the image (Figures 80 to 82). The significations of the demon are fleshed-out by the voiceover's remark that "the dream of an English American empire embracing the entire continent is blocked." The threat of the British American is free of its Iroquoian chrysalis, and its daemonic presence now menaces the captive spirit of a nascent nation.

The implications of a demon angered by benevolence are then applied to a broader canvas when the first of the episode's final two images appears. The fiendish nature of American subject identity is diffused into a shot of the American flag superimposed onto a painting of military conflict (Figure 83). The last image of the episode then appears and presents the viewer with a quiet, snow-covered field (Figure

84). This is Canada, and as the voiceover asserts, it "will have to fight for its very existence." The self/Other dialectic returns in the visual oscillation between an interior social tranquility and an exterior space of social upheaval. This mirrors the opening narrative juxtaposition of Conquistadors and Champlain the lover. Out there, the series visual narrative seems to say, is the "not like me." The closing image also returns to the transformational nature of wintertime. The embryonic form of a national subject identity sleeps in this snowy land.

The visual narrative of episodes two through four is rooted in the Old World/New World dichotomy and colonial stereotypes seen in episode one. These two social spaces and subject identities - wilderness chaos and cultural Other (the New World and the Native), and civilized order with a defining self (the Old World and the non-Native) - are developed through the Conquistador/Champlain narratives of hate versus love, to the disruption of an Acadian Eden, and into the final juxtaposition of American violence and Canadian tranquility. During these episodes, Native characteristics have been transferred into French-Canadian and American subject identities, the former acquiring traits of the lovable child of nature while the latter are stained with a savage's barbarism. British-Canadian benevolence is rooted in the first episode as well: Cormack's custodial responsibility underpins the enclosure of dying Natives and the protective embrace of the French Canadian. The visual narrative of these episodes has also consistently aligned nature with subject identities and their respective social spaces.

Colonial violence has been circumvented through the use of Champlain's tale of love and courtship, and by colonial stereotypes like the Vanishing Indian and Noble Savage, both of which enable the appropriation of Huronia as the series' pastoral myth of

origin for Canada. In establishing its pastoral myth of origin (essentially the rape of Huronia) in this manner, the series' visual narrative has effectively made love to itself in the face of the Native.

The first episode instituted what is now confirmed by episodes two through four: the Native will fade in the face of civilization and the non-Native will settle into the land. Using those (past) events of episode one to justify the present narrative constitutes the future perfect 'will have been' - Natives will have been vanquished by their own nature before non-Natives actually claim their place. Thus, colonization is seen as expected, and not an act of conquest. However, the first episode's landscape were *unsettled* - disturbed by a lingering Native presence. These landscapes are troubled, as is the series narrative, because Huronia has not only supplied the material for Canada's pastoral myth, it is also the source for the repetition and repression that denote the fetishistic nature of the series' colonial narrative.

ENDNOTES

¹Sigmund Freud. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Vol. XIV. Trans. James Trachey. (London: The Hogarth Press. 1957). 147.

²Jacques Lacan. *The Language of the Self: The Function of Language in Psychoanalysis* Translated with notes and commentary by Anthony Wilden (Baltimore: London: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1981). 160.

³*Ibid.* 160.

⁴Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen. *Lacan: The Absolute Master* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1991). 44.

⁵Ellie Ragland-Sullivan. *Jacques Lacan and the Philosophy of Psychoanalysis* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1986). 19.

⁶*Ibid.* 29.

⁷Bruce Fink. *The Lacanian Subject: Between Language and Jouissance* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1995). 94.

⁸Northrop Frye. *The Bush Garden* (Concord, Ontario: House of Anansi Press. 1995). 240-241.

⁹Quoted in Fink. *The Lacanian Subject* 190, n.22.

¹⁰Homi K. Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge. 1994). 82.

¹¹Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* 67 (italics added).

¹²*Ibid.* 75.

¹³*Ibid.* 72-73.

¹⁴Eric Kaufmann. "Naturalizing the Nation: The Rise of Naturalistic Nationalism in the United States and Canada." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol.40 No.1 (January. 1998). 690.

¹⁵E. Ragland-Sullivan. *op.cit.*. 30.

¹⁶N. Frye. *Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press. 1982). 48.

¹⁷Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* 152.

¹⁸Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 75.

¹⁹Frye, *The Bush Garden*, 241.

²⁰Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* Rev.Ed. (London: New York: Verso, 1991), 12.

²¹Vivien Green Fryd, "Rereading the Indian in Benjamin West's Death of General Wolfe," *American Art* Vol.9 No.1 (1995), 73.

²²Dennis Montagna, "Benjamin West's The Death of General Wolfe: A Nationalist Narrative," *The American Art Journal* Vol.13 No.2 (Spring, 1981), 73.

²³Fryd, "Rereading the Indian in Benjamin West's Death of General Wolfe," 83.

²⁴Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 83.

²⁵*Ibid.* 83.

²⁶*Ibid.* 83.

²⁷*Ibid.* 83.

Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5

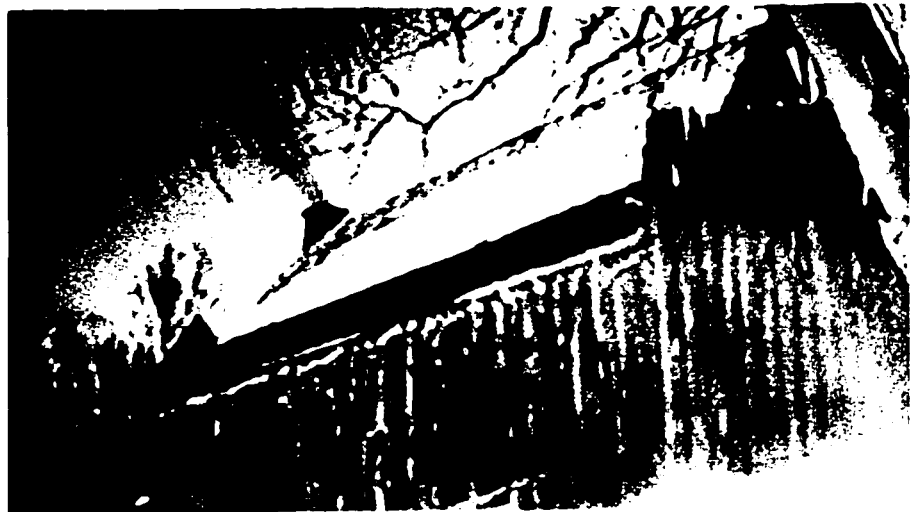


Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11

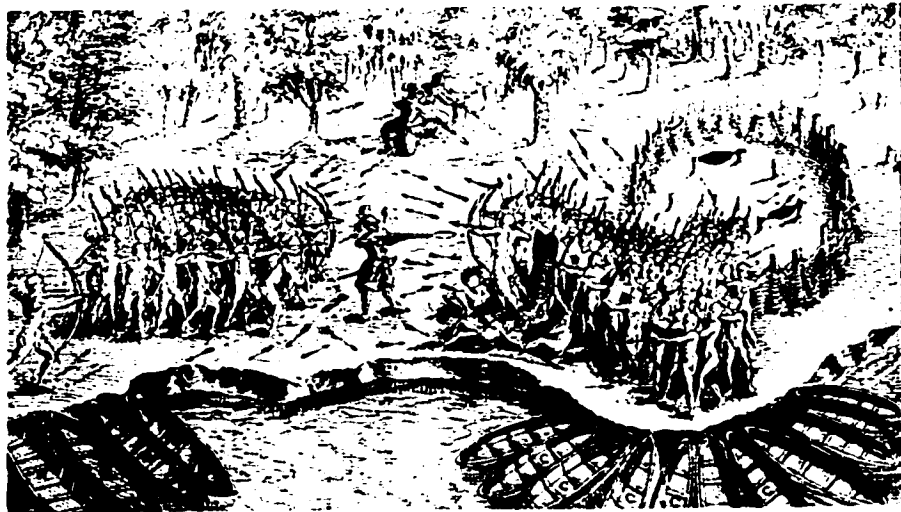


Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39



Figure 40



Figure 41



Figure 42



Figure 43



Figure 44

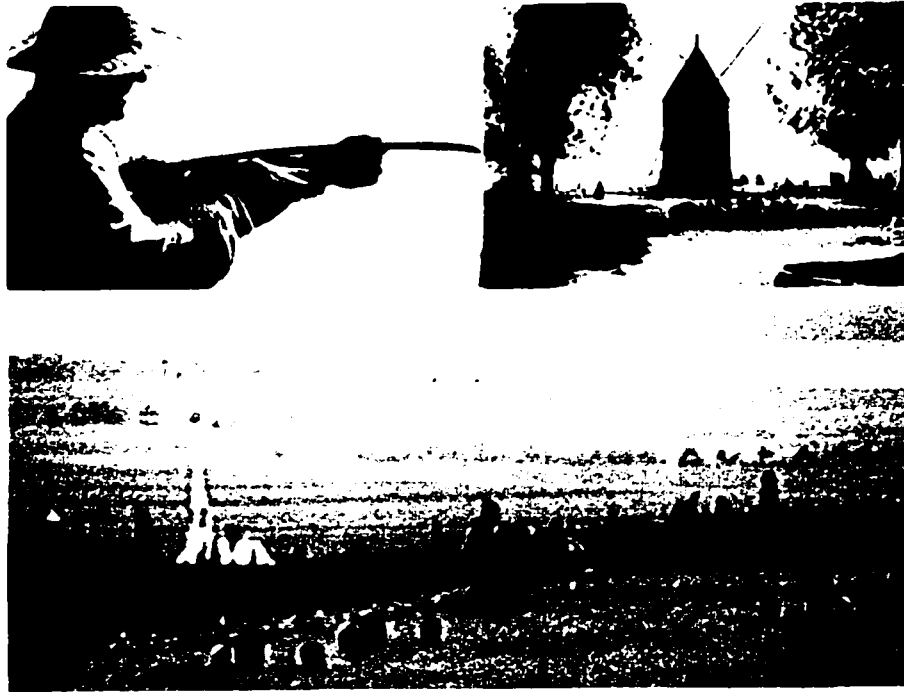


Figure 45



Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 48



Figure 49



Figure 50



Figure 51



Figure 52



Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55

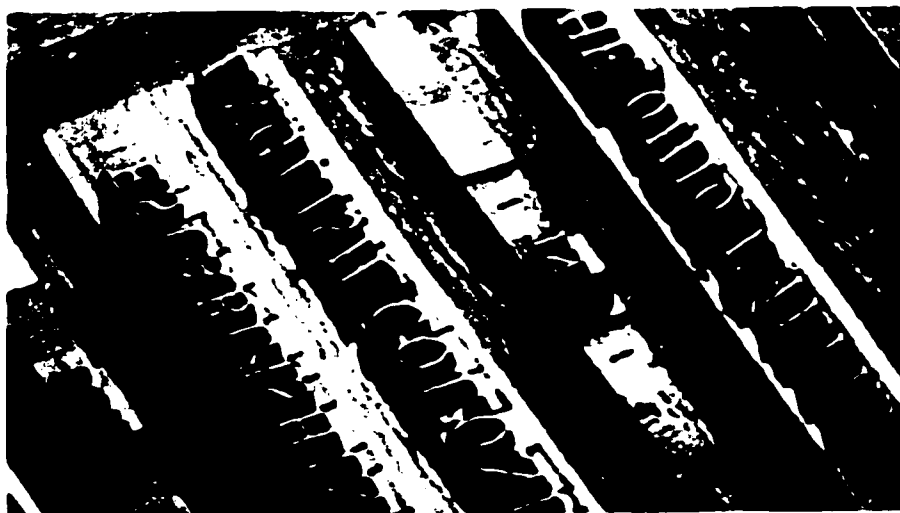


Figure 56



Figure 57



Figure 58



Figure 59



Figure 60



Figure 61

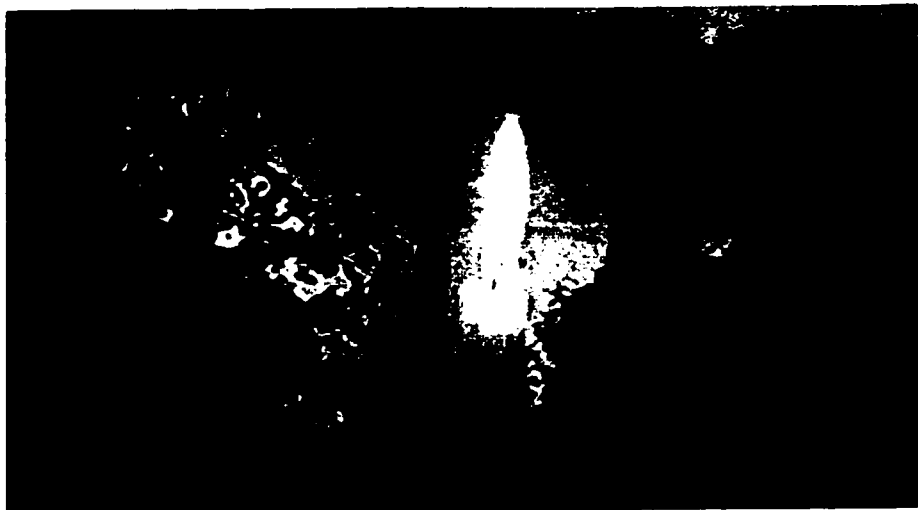


Figure 62



Figure 63



Figure 64



Figure 65



Figure 66



Figure 67



Figure 68



Figure 69



Figure 70



Figure 71



Figure 72



Figure 73



Figure 74



Figure 75

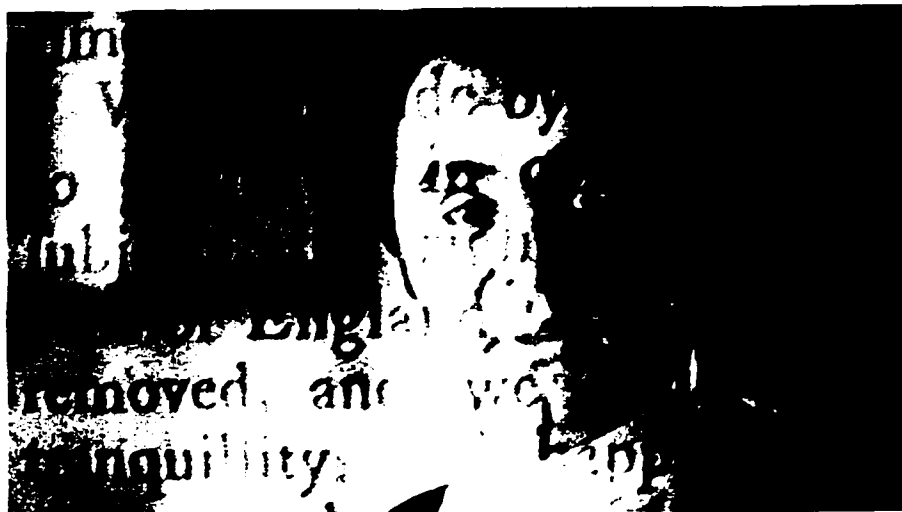


Figure 76



Figure 77



Figure 78



Figure 79

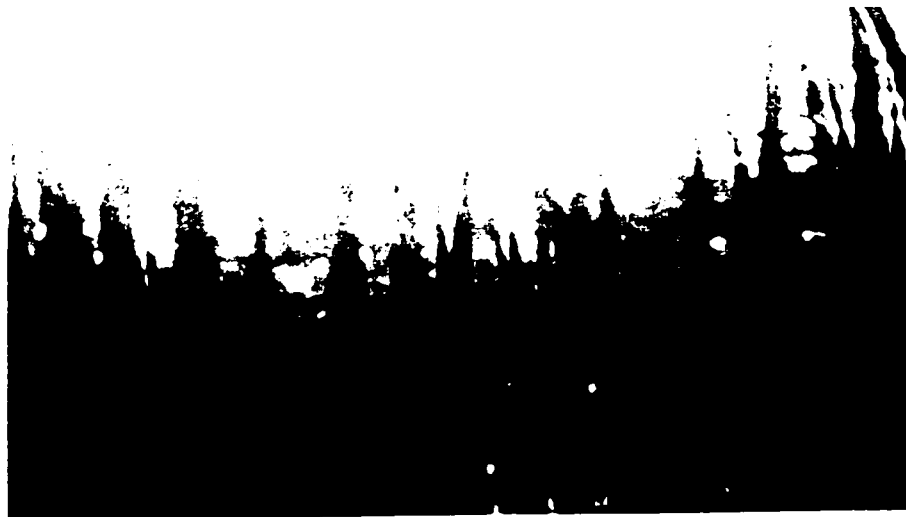


Figure 80



Figure 81



Figure 82



Figure 83



Figure 84



CHAPTER THREE

Oh, Canada, Thee Stand on Guard of We: a good little Canadian is not bad

This chapter takes episodes five and seven as subject material. Episode six will not be covered. Episode five covers the period from 1775 to 1815 and includes the migration of Loyalists into Canada from the American colonies during the 1780s, and the military conflicts between the British and Americans at Queenston Heights (1812), Chateauguay (1813), and Lundy's Lane (1814). Episode seven takes in the years 1815 to 1850, and deals with the growing influx of immigrants from Europe and the increasing civil unrest in Upper and Lower Canada during that period - specifically, the rebellions led by William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada and Louis-Joseph Papineau in Lower Canada. The director/writer for episode five was Laine Drewery, and the producers were Wayne Chong and Grazyna Krupa. Episode seven was directed by Peter Ingles, produced by Andrew Burnstein, and supported by the work of senior journalist Frédéric Vanasse. Episode six, omitted from discussion, relates the exploration of the Canadian North-West by Alexander Mackenzie and David Thompson, the growth of the fur trade in that region, and the initial non-Native/Native interaction. The omission of these narratives does not detract from the thesis' central focus - the development and positioning of subject identities in a nation's historical narrative - but allows a more complete treatment of the salient material of episodes five and seven.

The discussion of this chapter will argue that the series visual narrative continues to operate as a colonial discourse, and through the stereotypes it has established to this point, works to transform the image of Canada's colonial past into a vision of its national

future. The discussion will argue that this occurs in two stages. First, episode five establishes a distinction between nations - Canada and the United States - that turns the ambivalence of self/other inward: rather than the threat posed by an Otherness external to itself, the narration of 'Canada' now faces the problem of an Otherness within. Second, the visual narrative presented in episode seven attempts to resolve this internal conflict by reprising both Native and French-Canadian stereotypes in the production of a particular national social reality. The 'failings' of the colonized are thereby seen to justify their inscription by a colonial discourse into a national body of people.

Episode five opens by repeating the representations constructed by the end of episode four: the American subject identity is characterized by a violent desire emanating from a chaotic social space, the British subject identity in Canada is typified by order, restraint, and rests in a tranquil social environment, and it is the vulnerable, spiritual innocence of the French Canadian that is threatened. The first sequence of images in episode five regenerates the contrast in social order between the American colonies and Canada's nascent social space. Figures 1 through 4 show the visual narrative that takes the viewer from outer darkness into the glittering, genteel world of the British colony celebrating at the Governor's Ball. Then, after a series of interior views revealing polite dance and pleasant discourse, the viewer is returned to the dark of night and the ominous figures of American rebel spies on horseback. They are, according to the voiceover, "Preaching rebellion everywhere and raising holy hell." The choice of terms is apt, for the threat embodied by the dark riders is not directed by the series narrative towards the dancing belles. Rather, it is faced by the Catholic French Canadians. As the voiceover points out, "The Americans will never recognize the Catholic religion as the British have

done." This assertion is reinforced by the visual narrative's move from the spies' darkness into a church, then to a swinging censor, and finally to a French-Canadian parishioner who outlines his fear for the Catholic religion (Figures 5 to 8).

Three group identities are positioned by the visual movement from social revelry, through the darkness of impending rebellion, and into the spiritual space of the French Canadian: British urbanity, American vulgarity, and French-Canadian spirituality. However, this visual construction is characterized by a division signified in the contrast between the profane world of the British and the sacred space of the French Canadian. Murray and Briand's visual construction unified them, albeit in a hierarchical manner. British and French-Canadian social identities are now visually severed, split apart by darkness in the threat of rebellious American spies. The series re-presentation of contrasting social spaces prefigures the internal divisions that will be seen to disrupt its narrative. American subject identity will remain on the perimeter and allow a distinction to be drawn between two national characters. Rebellion, on the other hand, will become an internal peril to the unitary national identity being visually narrated by the series.

Episode five also reiterates the Native as vanishing savage child, in the narratives of Joseph Brant, a Mohawk chief, and Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief. Brant led four of the six Iroquois nations in a fight with the British against the Americans from 1775 to 1783; Tecumseh also sided with the British and led his warriors into battle against the Americans in 1812 and 1813. The visual narration given to Brant and Tecumseh is nearly a mirror image: the savage first appears, then collapses, and finally vanishes. Brant's narrative first greets the viewer with Natives applying war-paint, and then with a painted depiction of a wild-eyed savage (Figures 9 and 10). Yet like the conflict between Pontiac

and the Americans seen in episode four, it is the Americans who 'out-savage' the savage. George Washington calls for the "total devastation of [Native] settlements" and for "the country not merely to be overrun, but destroyed." This demonic desire is given visual support by his portrait superimposed on burning Native communities (Figure 11). Thus, the savage Natives collapse back into their role as the vanishing race (Figures 12 to 15). The savage warrior is transformed first into a lone female, and then into old men swallowed up by the woods. Those who do not dissolve into nature take the other, more iconic form of departure, the lonely canoe paddled along misty water and into a sunset.

Tecumseh is given the same representational treatment and fares no better than Brant's people. Tecumseh is seen in an ominous silhouette that then leads into a view of an engraving of several Native warriors engaged in combat (Figures 16 and 17). Then, once again, the savage is first reduced to a corpse, and then an enigmatic departure (Figures 18 to 20). Like Brant's people before them, the followers of Tecumseh exit the narrative's stage by returning to nature (Figures 21 and 22). The narratives for Brant and Tecumseh repeat visual elements that have run through the series narrative starting with the first episode: the barbaric savage, the frail Native female, and disintegration into the landscape. These elements have been woven into a narrative that has consistently worked to remove the Natives and replace them with a non-Native presence, from the first episode's presentation of Native origin as extinction and a Beothuk decimation dutifully recorded by Cormack, to Huronia and the birth of New France. In this manner, the series narrative has gradually built up the visual framework that allows the colonial origin of Canada to be seen as both natural and inevitable. Episode five continues this trend. With the introduction of a growing non-Native presence, the Native will, quite literally, fade

from view. Given the visual history of the first four episodes, episode five's narrative presents an *expected* process.

The series visual narration of the influx of Loyalist settlers in the early 1780s, repeats the Vanishing Indian stereotype. In the fifth episode, the remnants of Brant's people will reappear only to disappear into the flames of a campfire, an image that is accompanied by mournful music (Figure 23). The voiceover indicates at this point that Brant "leads 1,800 of his people to a new homeland on the banks of the Grand River...they will rebuild in the land of their future." Given their flaming exit, this is an ambivalent hope at best. The manner in which their "future" is visualized mimics the recognition of the French Canadians' Catholicism. The French Canadians were symbolically suspended above the flames in a representational hell, and after his defeat Brant states: "We are in between two hells" - recognition is again repression. The cross-purpose of building in a blaze is then further illuminated when the episode's visual narrative moves from the campfire's flames to a depiction of immigration into Upper Canada. The melancholy music that marked the passing of the Natives shifts up-tempo to accompany images of non-Natives moving along the water in brilliant sunshine (Figure 24). The relative subject positions of Native and non-Native are emblemized by their respective visual presentations. Each group is headed towards its future in a new land, yet only the non-Native is seen actually doing so - the Native's future is in flames.

The polarity of seen/unseen emblemized by Native and non-Native futures also holds true for the division of White and Black subject identities. The fifth episode presents the Loyalist immigration into the Maritime region in a way that shows non-Native White *presence* and Black *absence*. The visual narrative first presents a painted

depiction of the Loyalist arrival, and follows this with re-enactments of White settlers establishing themselves in their new land (Figures 25 and 26). The hustle and bustle of settlement is then reiterated by the painted image that follows the re-enactments (Figure 27). However, when the narrative turns to the Black Loyalists, the visualization removes the Blacks. The deserted shoreline shown in Figure 28 is Birchtown, according to the voiceover "the largest free Black settlement in the continent." Both Others, Native and Black, have ambivalent futures - flames for the former and desolation for the latter.

After the image of empty shoreline, the episode presents the image of a Black family exiting a landscape (Figure 29). This supports the voiceover's explanation that the experience of racism drove many Blacks out of Nova Scotia: they "escaped one kind of slavery, only to face another." An actor then appears onscreen in the role of Boston King, an ex-slave from the American colonies. He recounts how many of his fellow Blacks "were obliged to sell themselves to the merchants...[and] several fell down dead in the streets through hunger." This account implies that, left with no skills and without the ability to survive otherwise, the Blacks had no other option available but slavery. However, this excerpt has been selectively presented. The remark of King used by the series is in fact preceded by his detailed account of how, as a carpenter, he was able to gain a meagre living and followed by King's comment on White ineptitude.¹ Neither of these statements by King are used, only those remarks that highlight Black failings. According to King, the White settlement in the area of Birchtown failed due to White "impudence in building large homes."² King argues that "had they been wise enough at first to have turned their attention to the fishery, instead of fine homes, the place would have been in a flourishing condition: whereas it was reduced in a short time to a heap of

ruins."³ A more complete presentation of King's written account, like a more accurate explanation of Shawnadithit's map, would disturb the colonialist narrative of the series. As a cultural Other, the Black can only resort to slavery, for it is the defining (non-Native and White) self of the series narrative that is constructing a future.

The visual narrative treatment of the Native's future and the Black's presence reveals the colonialist discourse of the series. Bhabha declares, "Splitting constitutes an intricate strategy of defence and differentiation in the colonial discourse. Two contradictory and independent attitudes inhabit the *same place*, one takes account of reality, the other is under the influence of instincts which detach the ego from reality."⁴ The Other, Native or Black, cannot be *seen* to inhabit the same place despite the fact that he comprises a part of the historical narrative being presented. The series narrative insists on a point of origin that is undivided, yet, as was evinced by the repression in Huronia's narration, the original point of self-definition occurred *because* of an/other. This split is rooted in the desire for, and fear of, the Other, a paradox made evident in the series presentation of Huronia. The Other, whether Native or Black, is at once desired by the series narrative for its construction of Canada's historical narrative - the story of its 'self' - and it is also feared because neither Native nor Black *is* the unity self sought after by the series.

It is the all-inclusive self-definition under construction in the series narrative that now begins to erupt in this, the fifth episode. The title of the episode is itself symptomatic of narrative anxiety: *A Question of Loyalties*. As the episode's narrative has unfolded its reiteration of colonial stereotype, the ever-increasing number of subject identities within the narrative's margins, places greater and greater stress on the construction of unified

national self-definition. It is this increasing subdivision that the rebel spies on horseback heralded at the onset of the episode. The visual representation of the vulnerable French-Canadian subject identity was separated from that of the British, thus signaling a loss of control and the risk of another self-defining presence within. Bhabha points out that "the problem is not simply the 'selfhood' of the nation as opposed to the otherness of other nations. We are confronted with the nation split within itself, articulating the heterogeneity of its population...*internally* marked by the discourses of minorities, [and] the heterogeneous histories of contending peoples."⁵ The abduction of Huronia as a national myth of origin is, in a way, the root source for the 'nation split within itself', as Bhabha puts it. The series narrative, having once envisioned itself as a child, is now growing up. The 'people' of the nation now present the same threat once posed by the ambivalent Other - desired for self-definition, yet feared because it *is* an other and not the self. As soon as a *national* narrative desires to speak its 'self', it must contend with all of the different people who comprise it.

Throughout the fifth episode, the represented subject identities carry within them the threat of independence. Brant, as leader of the Six *Nations* Confederacy was said to travel to England where he made a deal, independently of the British in Canada, with the King for the protection of Native lands. Although his people are burnt-out of the narrative, they are said to settle in their "homelands." Figure 30 reveals one of these new settlers, and his split-toned face emblemizes the threat of inner schism faced by the series narrative. Tecumseh, the voiceover points out, had the "opportunity to realize a vision: a unified and independent Indian confederacy...a nation within a nation." Both Brant's and Tecumseh's tales were introduced with a series of Native portraits, each one

dissolving through the other. Figures 31 and 32 illustrate the beginning of Brant's story: Figures 33 to 36 are those that introduce Tecumseh's narrative. In all of these, and most clearly in Figure 36, the threat of the Other's returned look is indicative of the narrative's fear. The series' narcissistic self-visualization begins to unravel in the face of the returned gaze. Borch-Jacobsen concludes that "the ego forms through identification, by *conforming* to the image in which it sees *itself*."⁶ The phantasmic reflections of Huronia gave up a complete and satisfying image for the series narrative to take as its self. Here, in episode five, the ability of the narrative to completely *conform* to that which it envisions is disrupted by double vision. There is now a distinct and separate Other who stares back.

Brant and Tecumseh both present the same threat of a freely speaking voice seeking its own place in the narrative's history: the demand by an Other for *equal* recognition, very much as envisioned by Tecumseh - a nation within a nation. By citing Claude Lefort, Bhabha highlights "the enigma of language - namely that it is both internal and external to the speaking subject, [and] that there is an articulation of the self with others which marks the emergence of the self and which the self does not control."⁷ The narrative, in other words, is getting forced into defining itself through other speaking subject identities that it does not, in fact, control. The question is no longer as clear-cut as when the narrative opposed the external chaos of the American colonies with the harmony of Canada's social space. As Bhabha asserts, "Once the liminality of the nation-space is established, and its signifying difference is turned from the boundary 'outside' to its finitude 'within', the threat of cultural difference is no longer a problem of 'other' people. It becomes a question of otherness of the people-as-one."⁸

The fifth episode presents the Battle of Lundy's Lane in 1814 as the last American invasion of Canada. The visual narrative of the battle itself, however, signifies the onset of another - inner - struggle (Figures 37 and 38). The shadowy and nightmarish character of these images is further darkened by the voiceover's comment that "in the confusion, it is impossible to tell friend from foe and both sides kill their own men." The meaning of this violence, directed towards one's own (self), emerges in Freud's conclusion that "it is always possible to bind together a considerable number of people in love, so long as there are other people left to receive the manifestation of their aggressiveness."⁹ When the voiceover declares that America will no longer be a threat, the aggression is turned inwards. Two soldiers are shown supporting each other at the battle's end, but the effect of silhouette turns solidarity into the two-headed monstrosity shown in Figure 39. The narrative is no longer, to return to Bhabha, facing the problem of "the 'selfhood' of the nation as opposed to the otherness of other nations. We are confronted with the nation split within itself."¹⁰ Thus, the people (of the nation) become that ambivalent Other that has haunted the series narrative to this point. The cultural or racial Other initially provided an *external* point of reference for self definition, a nation, however, depends upon its *own* 'people' for self-definition. Therefore, the problem of Otherness has been internalized. Or, in the words of the voiceover, "Canada will be in peril, and the question of loyalty will haunt those who must defend it."

The narrative of the Battle of Lundy's Lane brings the fifth episode to a close and the final visual sequence presents a woman lingering in the doorway of a barn during a light rain (Figures 40 and 41). She stands for a moment, looks towards the camera, turns, and then enters the barn. After the frightening confusion of battle, and the staggering two-

headed beast, this last romantic visual sequence emblemizes the melancholy desire for the mythic past of a unitary self. Anne McClintock contends, "Women are represented as the atavistic and authentic body of national tradition...embodying nationalism's conservative principle of continuity."¹¹ While the woman lingers onscreen, the voiceover remarks that Canada "has seen a glimmer of its own identity." Yet despite this contention, the visual narration of this 'glimmer' cannot escape what Bhabha has called the "desire for a pure origin that is always threatened by its division."¹² The woman in the barn doorway symbolizes a lost mother-child unity that is now wistfully envisioned by the series narrative, yet her turning away only reinforces the sense of longing and loss generated by separation.

The fifth episode generates the potential for the manifestation of a distinct Canadian social landscape by presenting the cessation of the external threat posed by the Americans. During the visual narration of this process, the episode has re-introduced the established Native stereotypes of savage, child of nature, and Vanishing Indian. The episode has also introduced additional subject identities - both Black and White Loyalists - into the emerging social landscape being narrated by the series. During the course of the fifth episode, the problem faced by the narrative has become the threat of an internal Other, and is no longer a menace external to the national landscape. The internal nature of the threat was seen in the self-concerns and independent actions of Brant and Tecumseh, and the multiplication of group identities within the margins of the series national narrative. The dilemma of the Other's incorporation could be seen in the ambivalent representation of their futures: the prospects of non-Native and White settlers were *seen*, while the presence of Natives and non-Whites was not. The fifth episode has

also revealed that the series narrative is still prone to the construction of a *particular* representation of self/other relations: only the failings of the Other filtered through the narrative's screen, while those of the White, non-Native did not. The series narrative now faces the predicament of nationalizing itself: this represents the paradox of leaving behind the colonial state of historical origin.

The colonial discourse of the narrative, and its use of stereotype in the inscription and justification of a national social reality, will accomplish the leap from colonial origin to national presence. The discussion of the seventh episode will return to Lacanian theory to argue that the transition from colonial to national states can be understood by way of the Symbolic Order. Fuller explanation for this concept will be given as it is introduced into the discussion. For the moment, however, what this entails is the socialization of an infant's body as it enters language and culture: the infant, in effect, learns its place within an existing system of understanding. The parallel that will be drawn is that the series narrative institutes a national social discourse by way of inscribing a *body of people* into *its* social reality - how it desires to be understood. Yet despite this effort, the visual narrative of the seventh episode still betrays the anxiety and ambivalence of its colonialist heritage.

The seventh episode narrates the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada during the 1830s. The two main figures are William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada, and Louis-Joseph Papineau, leader of the French-Canadian *patriotes* in Lower Canada. To a lesser degree, the actions of Nova Scotian politician, Joseph Howe, are also presented. Although both groups, English and *patriotes*, are rebellious, they are differentiated by the

manner of their visual representation. As Other, the *patriotes* are shown to be violent and passionate. The English, by contrast, are more rational and orderly - despite their rebellious intent. Yet all three - Mackenzie, Papineau, and Howe - embody the threat of an independent, free-speaking voice within the emerging national narrative.

The seventh episode opens by presenting the growing influx of settlers during the early 1830s. During this visual narrative, the arrival of immigrants, and the social landscape of both Upper and Lower Canada are shown. All appears to be in order. The lumber industry is highly productive, the landscape serene, marketplaces are active, and large Upper Canadian families occupy fertile plots of land (Figures 42 to 47). The transposition of subject identities in Upper Canada is also proceeding apace. Figures 48 to 53 reprise the theme of a Native race that melts away in the face of civilization. The removal of trees seen in Figure 49 prefigures the removal of the Native group gathered around a tree in Figure 50. Thus, the Native fertility emblemized in Figure 51 is supplanted by the production of the non-Native womb seen in Figure 53. Lower Canada is envisioned as it was in episode three (Figures 54 to 58). Idyllic villages, farmlands, the gathering of grain, and the honest labor undertaken about the cabin, all reiterate the pastoral social landscape.

These paradisiacal visions of 'Canada' stand on uncertain ground, and the imagery of lumberjacks balancing themselves on rolling logs signifies this (Figures 42 and 43). The removal of indigenous nature in the production of the series narrative's self-definition, in other words, is both desirable *and* dangerous. As Jacques Lacan stated, "Once the subject himself comes into being, he owes it to a certain nonbeing upon which he raises up his being."¹³ This interdependence of self and Other is what troubles the

narrative. To paraphrase Lacan: once the nation comes into being, it owes itself to a certain 'people' upon whom it raises itself up. Bhabha pinpoints the problem by arguing that "the people are not simply historical events or parts of a patriotic body politic. They are also a complex rhetorical strategy of social reference: their claim to be representative provokes a crisis within the process of signification and discursive address."¹⁴ The series narrative keeps returning to the same problem over and over again - the dependence upon the Other experienced by a defining self: desire and alien nation.

The threat posed by the multiplying internal divisions created by a 'people' provokes a harsh response. The inwardly turned violence that appeared in the visual confusion of Lundy's Lane is now made manifest by an attack upon the 'people'. The seventh episode's narration of Mackenzie's dissenting voice first shows the manual inking of typeface, and then a view of his vandalized pressroom (Figures 59 and 60). Hard on the heels of the latter image, the screen fills with a row of soldiers (Figure 61). The dissemination of an independent voice is crushed and conjures up an image of authority, thus signifying that it is now a struggle to control an inner voice. The pairing of images showing free-speech with those of repression, occurs again in the subsequent narrative sequence of Joseph Howe's journalistic efforts. (Figures 62 to 64). The distribution of Howe's paper is followed by the image of a judge, that is then followed by a painting of Howe held high on the shoulders of a cheering crowd. The judge appears during the presentation of Howe's trial for libel, a charge he is acquitted of, and the jubilant throngs are those celebrating the verdict. The struggle is not just that of one man against authority, it is one of the people. The need to contain this growing menace is visually emblemized by the episode's presentation of the publishing efforts of two politically

active French Canadians, Ludger Duvernay and Daniel Tracey. They do not fair as well as Howe, and their attacks upon the ruling legislature win them a jail term (Figure 65). The emergence of the nation as a defining 'self' has the corollary of controlling the many voices of the 'people' it begins to enclose. The visual oscillation between free speech and authoritative control signifies internal struggle *in* a nation trying to raise its 'self' up on the freely moving ground of a people it now depends upon.

In order to exact a closer interpretation of the internalized threat of separation signified in the visual movement from Lundy's Lane to visual alternating images of authority figures and free speech, the discussion now returns to considerations of Lacan's theory and, briefly, to the narrative of Huronia. The latter gained significance when interpreted as the series narrative's move from a pre- to a post-mirror stage - a shift out of an undifferentiated sense of self and into an awareness of the other *as* Other. The Native then became repressed as an object of desire and fear that Bhabha refers to as "an articulation of difference *contained* within the fantasy of origin and identity."¹⁵ This shift also entailed loss: the loss of a primal state of innocence; the newly formed self becoming dependent upon the other and thus generating the desire/fear paradigm revealed in the series' colonialist narrative. A Lacanian reading of Huronia's narrative places it in his Imaginary Order. This order is not to be confused with human imagination; rather, as Ragland-Sullivan describes it, "The Imaginary Order is the domain of the *imago* and relationship interaction."¹⁶ The term *imago* refers to an idealized image of a person formed in childhood and it is most often a parent: the mother can be argued as the earliest *imago*.

The post-mirror infant progresses from a state of nature into one of culture and language. In this light, the state of bliss envisioned by the series narrative in Huronia symbolizes the mother/child union *up to* the manifestation of Lacan's Symbolic Order. Ragland-Sullivan elucidates "the Symbolic [as] that which makes man a representative animal, allowing him to formalize his own Imaginary perceptions and lived experiences via language."¹⁷ Ragland-Sullivan also makes it clear that the onset of the Symbolic Order occurs "at the same time that an infant begins to speak at around eighteen months, [and] comes to perceive that it cannot possess or be all for the Mother: indeed, it is separate from its Mother."¹⁸ A very important element in this development is "the Father (or Mother's brother or any third term...) [who] clearly intervenes by bidding for the Mother's recognition."¹⁹ The introduction of this third term - effectively a third presence - forces the child into the awareness that its symbiotic relationship with the mother was not 'one' being. In the seventh episode soldiers, smashed presses, and judges visually symbolize the Symbolic Order. Ragland-Sullivan explains that the effect of this third term

is that of enforced separation and taboo...[and the] simultaneous entry of language and separation into the infant's world causes him/her to abandon the 'natural' paradise of symbiotic unity. Thereafter he/she must normally opt for a socio-cultural identity based on relativity, artificiality, and compromise, identified with Law and language.²⁰

The link between the Imaginary Order's manifestation in the narrative of Huronia, and the appearance of the Symbolic in the images of authority over free speech, lies in the sequence, at the end of episode five, that shows the lone woman in a barn doorway. This visually symbolizes the prohibition of the Mother enforced by the separation and taboo of the name of the Father. She is there within reach, but with the loss of infancy in the

acquisition of nationhood, it is no longer possible for her to envelope the narrative's defining self.

The importance of the Symbolic Order's appearance lies in the narration by the series of a move from the Imaginary of colonialism's mythic pastoral origin, towards nationhood and the ability to speak itself as nation. The visual narrative of the seventh episode accomplishes this by way of established colonial stereotypes. In effect, the series begins to visualize Canada as 'nation' through the coercion by stereotype of the 'people'. The salience of the Symbolic Order, and colonial discourse as an apparatus of power to the narration of a people as a nation, is clarified first by Bruce Fink's explanation of the Symbolic Order's effect upon the infant. He states: "[In] the course of socialization, the body is progressively written or overwritten with signifiers: pleasure is localized in certain zones, while other zones are neutralized by the word and coaxed into compliance with social, behavioural norms."²¹ Secondly, regarding colonial discourse, Bhabha argues that its "predominant strategic function is the creation of a space for a 'subject peoples' through the production of knowledges (sic) in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited."²² The assertions of Fink and Bhabha overlap in the parallel between *the body* and *subject peoples*. While Fink is referring to an infant's body, Bhabha is dealing with a body of people, yet the experiences of each are the same - they are both subjected to an external, pre-existing system of meaning. The two statements differ, however, in that Fink is not specifying what *kind* of socialization is taking place.

The operation of colonial discourse, as a means of 'socialization' (in fact, here it is nationalization), is based on stereotype. When Fink explains that the Symbolic Order

creates "reality as that which is named by language and can thus be thought and talked about...[and the] social construction of reality [implying] that a world can be designated and discussed with the words provided by the social group's (or subgroup's) language."²³ He here grounds Bhabha's determination of colonial discourse as seeking "authorization for its strategies by the production of knowledges [sic] of colonizer and colonized which are stereotypical but antithetically evaluated."²⁴ Bhabha also contends that stereotype "*facilitates* colonial relations, and sets up a discursive form of racial and cultural opposition in terms of which colonial power is exercised."²⁵ To restate the preceding citations: a social construction of reality that is underwritten by colonial discourse, and driven by images of stereotyped subject identity, facilitates a world of racial and cultural difference that validates the application of colonial power.

The title of the seventh episode is *Rebellion and Reform* and it is an apposite title indeed, for within this episode the series narrative operates established stereotypes in the coercion of a 'people' into a nation's foundation. The episode relates both the English uprising led by Mackenzie in Upper Canada, and the civil unrest of the Lower-Canadian *patriotes* led by Papineau, but their differing visual treatments reveal colonialist stereotypes. The latter group is differentiated at the onset by Papineau's admiration for the American democratic system, and by the group's referent: *patriotes*. As such, they are different from the contented and passive French-Canadian subject identity that has so far been constructed within the series narrative. Both Papineau's inclination for American democracy and the patriot defending one's *own* country position this group as a threat.

The depiction of the *patriotes'* assemblies emphasizes their menacing nature, including as it does massed rifles, rifles being fired to the delight of the crowd, and

enthusiastic shouting and cheering by large crowds in front of the speaker's podium (Figures 66 to 70). The sum effect of these images is the recollection and regeneration of colonial stereotype: the dangerous and violent cultural Other, and an uncontrolled emotion that is 'typical' of the female as Other. Figure 70 shows the subtitling included with all of the speaker's French language address. The *patriotes'* subject identity becomes so recognizably dissimilar they are heard but not listened to; rather, they are interpreted. The visual narration of French-Canadian subject identity remains true to the ambivalence of colonial stereotype by including the gentle remonstrance of a French-Canadian bishop (Figure 71). French-Canadian subject identity is therefore split into two components: the violence of the *patriotes*, and their otherwise passive spirituality. The visual narrative reinforces the ambivalence inherent to their stereotyped representation by showing the bishop twice (Figures 72 and 73).

The visual representation of the English rebels contrasts that of the *patriotes* by showing them as less capable of violent action. Small groups of people quietly listen to Mackenzie's oration (Figure 74). He is shown having a friendly chat with a relaxed group of settlers (Figure 75). And a small, rather motley group that never discharges either emotion or weapon is the episode's visualization of English militant nature (Figure 76). The contrast between the *patriotes* and the English rebels becomes one of spiritual emotion versus reasoned intellect, in other words, the self/other paradigm that has been repeatedly hammered into place by the series visual narrative. The peaceful body of Upper Canada are not quite bloodthirsty enough, however, the violent and uncontrolled nature of the *patriotes* raises the expectation that they will suffer a fate similar to the Iroquois as the Savage half of the Noble Savage stereotype.

The rebellion in Upper Canada is then presented in all its farcical glory. Mackenzie is seen ranting and raving to a disinterested set of men in a tavern, and a member of the group describes him as conducting "himself like a crazy man...storming and screaming like a lunatic...many of us felt certain he was not in his right senses." Despite the exhortations of Mackenzie, his men will twice attempt to confront a small force of militiamen, and will twice retreat in a panicked frenzy. Mackenzie will lament that "800 ran, and unfortunately the wrong way." Mackenzie himself will run away to America when his rebellious efforts finally collapse altogether. The recalcitrance of this 'body of people' towards violence, introduces a desirable social condition. The *patriotes'* rebellion, by contrast, is a much bloodier affair with the voiceover tallying up over 180 *patriotes* dead. The episode presents three separate battles between the *patriotes* and British military during 1837: St. Denis on the 23rd of November (what the voiceover calls the "first in a series of bloody confrontations"), St. Charles on the 25th of November (a battle that ends, according to the voiceover, "in a bloodbath"), and the final battle on the 14th of December at St. Eustache. Fittingly, for French-Canadian stereotype, this last conflict has them holed up in a church while it is bombarded with cannon shells (Figure 77). The demise of the French-Canadian spirit is symbolized by a view of the Virgin Mary looking suitably disconsolate, and shrouded in smoke (Figure 78).

The narratives of the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada lay the foundation for the construction of a particular kind of 'body of people' desired by the series narrative, its social construction of a *national* reality. They accomplish this by progressively overwriting the people's body with signifiers of what can be called good and bad behavior. This reflects the Symbolic Order of the narrative, organizing its infant's body

into zones of pleasure, and into those that are neutralized by the word and coaxed into compliance with social, behavioural norms (as per Fink's explanation of Lacan cited previously). An emphasis on the violent passions of the *patriotes* set against an Upper Canadian burlesque of men who are led by a firebrand, and who run the wrong way, generates what Bhabha calls colonial discourse's pleasure/unpleasure by which it constructs the "space for a 'subject peoples'."²⁶ The narrative's inscription of stereotype onto the 'people' coerces them into the nationalization of its social reality. The stereotyped French Canadian subject identity illustrates the zone of 'unpleasure' - the Law of the Father that governs the infant's entrance into socialization. The violent Other must be taught its place and this lesson also teaches by example, both Upper and Lower Canadians come to know their place *within* the nation through recognition of its higher authority and a greater ideal.

The basis for this lesson lies in the effect realized from the comparison of the French Canadians and the Acadians seen in episode three. These two groups were observed to be alike, but the *innocent* Acadians were seen to suffer violence and expulsion at the hands of the British Americans. This attack upon a blameless and childlike group demonized the British Americans. What was left behind, in effect, was the stereotyped world of the French Canadians. In the seventh episode's narrative of the *patriotes'* rebellion, this pattern repeats itself with an important difference: the 'victims' of aggression and exclusion are now seen as guilty. What remains is a stereotyped world cleansed of its threat. This meets the objective of colonial discourse, which, Bhabha argues, "is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and

instruction."²⁷ The perpetrators of the violence, now the British in Canada, do not become demonized because the *patriotes* are seen to be the cause. The exaggeration by stereotype has made it their fault.

With the cessation of hostilities between the *patriotes* and the British military, the French-Canadian population south of Montreal suffers harsh reprisals. Units of the British military roam through the region, pillaging and burning farm buildings to the ground (Figures 79 to 81). Hundreds of *patriotes* are accused of high treason, with seventeen being executed, and several hundred others deported to a penal colony in Australia. While the voiceover details these facts, a visual sequence reveals the deported *patriotes* on board a ship (Figure 82), and the audio track plays a melancholy French-Canadian folk song. Neutered of their threat, the *patriotes* fall back into a tragic condition similar to that of the Natives' many exits. As far back as Donnacona in episode one, the Other's inevitable departure appears heartbreaking. In Huronia, once the Iroquois were repressed, what was left was the memory of the Beothuks' sad demise echoing in the snow-covered Huron settlement. Brant's people were tuned out with sadness, and Tecumseh faded tragically into memory. The colonialist narrative repeatedly envisions the same split: a menacing Other that is at once a child who becomes longed for.

The source for the colonial inscription of French-Canadian stereotype remains the Native and, like the Native, the French Canadians do not actually vanish. The colonial stereotype of the French Canadians keeps them in what Fanon described as "a continued agony rather than a total disappearance of the pre-existing culture. The culture once living and open to the future becomes closed, fixed in the colonial status."²⁸ Thus, following the sad removal of the *patriotes*, the viewer is returned to familiar images of

the happy French Canadian (Figures 83 and 84). Now that they are no longer warlike, they are a contented, stay-at-home 'type', carefree and at one with winter. As such, they are returned to the idyllic world that was envisioned for them in episode three.

The closing narrative of the seventh episode recounts the efforts in 1841 of Robert Baldwin, the Upper Canadian lawyer and leader of the Reformers' party, to unite with Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine of Lower Canada, and his followers. In 1841 Upper and Lower Canada were joined to form the United Province of Canada, taking Kingston for its capital. The two former provinces were given the same level of representation in the house of assembly. Therefore, in order to realize any progress, Reformers in either province came to depend upon each other. It is Baldwin, the voiceover notes, who will send "a letter that will change the course of history." While the particulars of this event are laid out by the voiceover, the viewer is presented with a visual narrative showing a horse and rider leaving Baldwin's home to travel cross-country and arrive at Lafontaine's residence (Figures 85 to 87). The product of Baldwin and Lafontaine's eventual political alliance is that Baldwin will win a seat in the riding of Rimouski, in the Lower St. Lawrence, and Lafontaine will be elected in the English riding of North York. The voiceover observes these outcomes as "gestures of goodwill [that] strengthen the alliance between reformers from both Canadas, and the personal friendship of both men." Scenes of hay-gathering illustrate both the election results and the voiceover's satisfaction (Figures 88 and 89). All is well that ends well, it would seem. However, the narrative of Baldwin and Lafontaine's personal and political alliance is not without its visual particulars.

The visual narration of the reforming alliance is a response to the problematic of nations within the nation. The bridge stands as metaphor for the meeting and eventual union of disparate groups. Rather than a two-headed monster emerging from the internal conflict of Lundy's Lane, or the anxiety-riddled stand upon rolling logs, the bridge represents a stable structure of alliance. The role call of individualism - Brant, Tecumseh, Mackenzie, and Papineau - is brought to a close with a return to a particular kind of unification. The characterization of Baldwin and Lafontaine's alliance repeats that of Murray and Briand in episode four. Here in the seventh episode, the viewer is again presented with a narrative that reveals the English extending their hand to a 'lesser', and incorporating them into the colonial/national narrative of the series. Without the benefit of the English subject identity, it would appear that both Natives and French Canadians would flounder. The upshot of the English and French-Canadian alliance is that the French Canadians are seen back in their fields, doing what they *always* do - gathering hay. The bind that the series narrative faces, the self/other of the colonial origin it narrates, has not been left behind.

The voiceover points out that the Reformers of both Upper and Lower Canada arrived at the realization of a *mutual* dependence. Yet the colonial paradigm of self/other insinuates itself into the visual narration that seeks to elide it. The bridge as metaphor for union is also the visual recognition of a gap. The bridge is an artificial construction imposed upon a natural landscape, and so comes to signify the narrative's colonialist construction of a national social reality for its 'self'. The defining self can never be fully immersed in the Other for this would entail loss - there would no longer be anything against which the self could be located. This is also revealed in the juxtaposition of

Champlain's romance and New France's artificial insemination. Champlain's narrative presented a *union* with the Other, the outcome of which would have been a blending of two that would have obliterated any further distinction between Native and non-Native. The natural and organic union of Native and non-Native, that produced a hybrid in the form of Brulé, was overwritten by the imposition of a civil organization upon the social landscape. New France inscribed a 'people' into itself through the punishment of the whipping-post and the marriage contract. The difference of the Other must always be recognized, to cite Bhabha, "as a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible."²⁹ The bridging of difference in the visual narration of Baldwin and Lafontaine *supports* difference, and leads French-Canadian subject identity back to stereotype in a reiteration of episode three's idyllic French-Canadian social landscape.

The final visual narrative of the seventh episode transfers the connotations of the Baldwin/Lafontaine story onto a national stage. Figures 90 to 93 show the bucolic images of hay-gathering that are then succeeded by a painting of Montréal seen from atop Mount Royal, an image that is followed by a series of period photographs depicting what the voiceover describes as the "peace and prosperity...of this new age." The contrast between the timeless scenes of hay-gathering and a painted representation of Montréal, and the photographs of the city's more modern times, reinforces the gap between a modern nation's colonial past. Both farming activity and a painted city are pushed into the past by the technical perception of the camera's eye, and the steam locomotive as the engine of the industrial revolution.

In the same manner that the bridge stands for union and division, the photographs tie a past and present together while at the *same time* capturing the disjunctive nature of a

past/present. The series narrative is still trying to patch its national identity together, and each time it does so it reveals the problem of its colonial origin. The sudden shift between painting and photograph, and hay wagons and a steam engine, symbolizes what Bhabha points to as "the perpetual generation of a past-present which is the disturbing time of the colonial intervention and the ambivalent truth of its enunciation."³⁰ The series narrative must tie together a time of colonial coercion and the modern nation's time of cooperation. And it is, according to Bhabha, "the impossibility of keeping true time in two longitudes and the inner compatibility of empire and nation,"³¹ that perturbs the series narrative. The national narrative of the series requires a past that it cannot directly address, for it has based its 'self' on a colonial subjugation that it has not revealed. To do so would involve not the recognition of difference, something that keeps repeating in the visual narrative, but the admission of sameness *in* difference - a hybrid form that would swallow its distinctive self.

Figure 94 shows the last image of the episode, and it accompanies the voiceover's enthusiastic description of "a country that will soon expand far westward across the prairies and over the Rockies to the shores of the Pacific - Canada!" Bridge and photograph are now combined in the visual suturing of a nation's internal division, bound together by a ribbon of steel. The future of this emerging nation remains tied to its internal Other, for as the closing credits of the episode roll up the screen, the viewer is returned to the folk melody that had accompanied the *patriotes'* exile. The past/origin paradigm of the Natives upon which the series narrative envisioned its primal *colonial* self - Huronia - is repeated in the fading song of the *patriotes* on which the series bases its burgeoning *national* self. The viewers are positioned in a manner that permits them to

always remember the Other *as* past, and to do so with a sense of longing. The past of the Other is necessary in order to underwrite the future of the nation's past/present ambivalence.

The seventh episode's solution to the problem of internal division is to return to its Native substitute - the subject identity of the French Canadians - as internal Other, to justify the application of colonial discourse. The episode's visual narrative presents the series' colonial discourse underwriting the construction of a particular national social reality that is driven by stereotyped subject identity. Like the Native, French-Canadian subject identity is split to reveal them as spiritual children of the landscape, and, as *patriotes*, a menacing Other. And, like the Native, French-Canadian subject identity is also locked into colonial status. Both groups, in effect, vanish into stereotype: Native culture fades into the landscape, and the French Canadians are trapped in the landscape, forever harvesting or chopping wood. While the Native was crucial to the series narrative's visualization of Canada's colonial origin (the abduction of Huronia), the French Canadian is essential to Canada's national origin. English subject identity as necessary for the survival of the Other's recognition is reiterated as well, with Baldwin and Lafontaine reprising the master/slave paradigm of Murray and Briand from episode four.

The nature of the master/slave dialectic is that despite the appearance of dominance and submission, without the one there would not be the other. And Bhabha might argue that the same is true in the self/other of colonial discourse found within the narrative of *Canada: A People's History*. There is both fear and desire for the Other - a need to maintain the separation in order to sustain the discourse itself. The threat of

separation embodied in episode five's rebel spies on horseback, that has haunted the visual narrative, is not separation as difference but loss. The narrative has struggled with a loss of control over the Other as a source for Canada's self-definition. Yet, the closing images of the bridge as metaphor for the 'togetherness' so desired by the narrative's newly formed national state do not close this gap. They sustain it.

ENDNOTES

¹Phyllis R. Blakely. "Boston King: A Negro Loyalist who Sought Refuge in Nova Scotia." *The Dalhousie Review* Vol.48 No.2 (Summer, 1968): 353.

²*Ibid.* 354.

³*Ibid.* 354.

⁴Homi K. Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994). 132.

⁵*Ibid.* 148.

⁶Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen. *Lacan: The Absolute Master* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). 64.

⁷Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* 146.

⁸*Ibid.* 150.

⁹Sigmund Freud. *Civilization and its Discontents* Trans. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1961). 61.

¹⁰Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* 148.

¹¹Anne McClintock. in Silke Wenk. "Gendered Representations of the Nation's Past and Future." *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* Ida Bloom, et al. Eds. (Oxford: New York: Berg, 2000): 69.

¹²Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* 75.

¹³Bruce Fink. *The Lacanian Subject: Between Language and Jouissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). 33.

¹⁴Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* 145.

¹⁵*Ibid.* 82.

¹⁶Ellie Ragland-Sullivan. *Jacques Lacan and the Philosophy of Psychoanalysis* (Urbana: Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986). 130-131.

¹⁷Ellie Ragland-Sullivan. "Explicating Jacques Lacan: An Overview." *University of Hartford Studies in Literature* Vol.11 No.2 (1979): 149.

¹⁸*Ibid.* 145.

¹⁹*Ibid.* 145.

²⁰*Ibid.* 145.

²¹Fink. *The Lacanian Subject* 24.

²²Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* 70.

²³Fink. *The Lacanian Subject* 25.

²⁴Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* 70.

²⁵*Ibid.* 78.

²⁶*Ibid.* 70.

²⁷*Ibid.* 70.

²⁸*Ibid.* 78.

²⁹*Ibid.* 70-71.

³⁰*Ibid.* 130

³¹*Ibid.* 131.

Figure 1



Figure 2

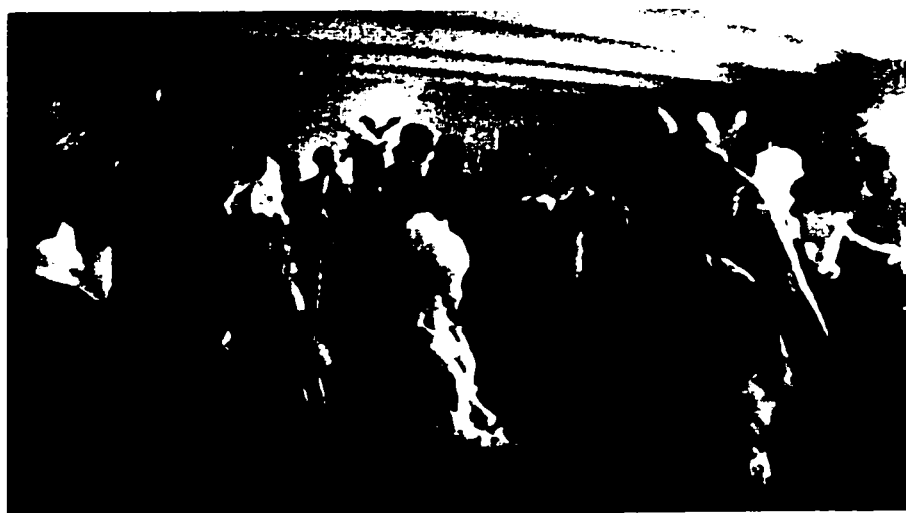


Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7

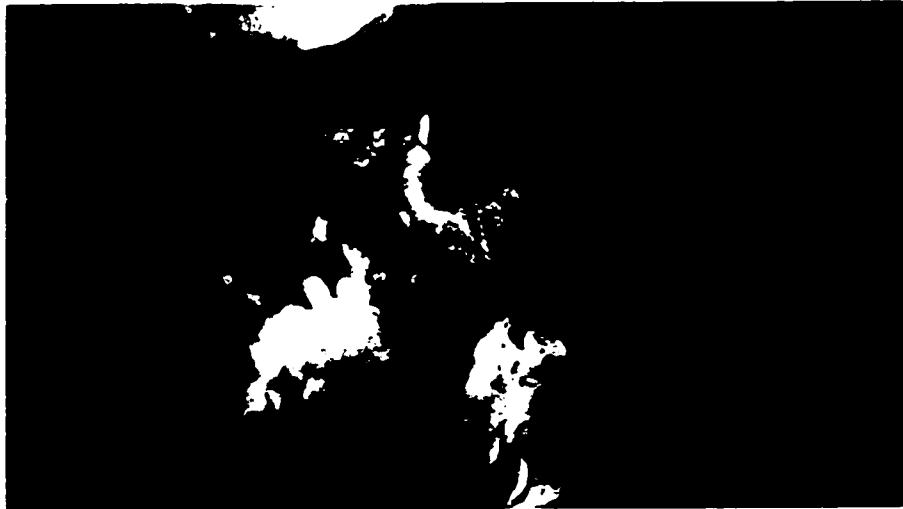


Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11

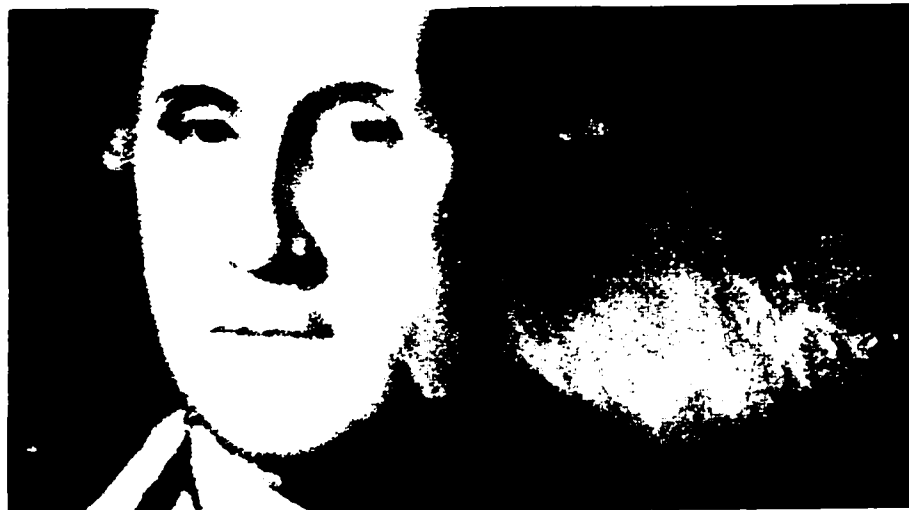


Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16

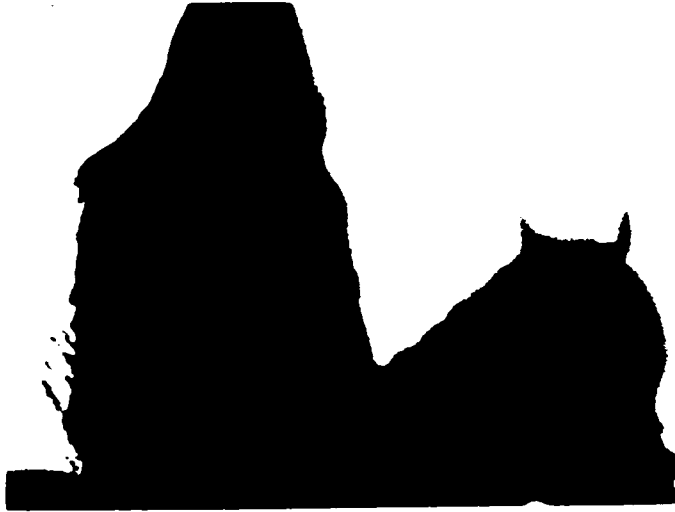


Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20

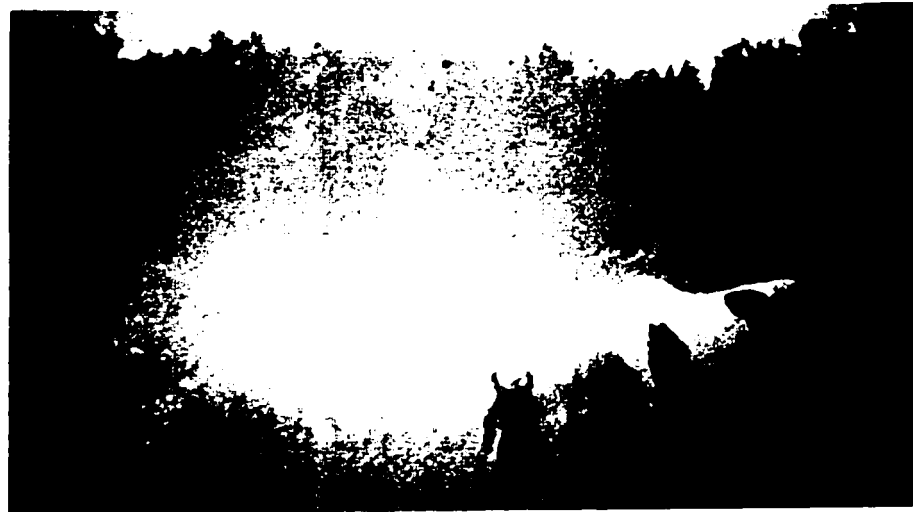


Figure 21



Figure 22

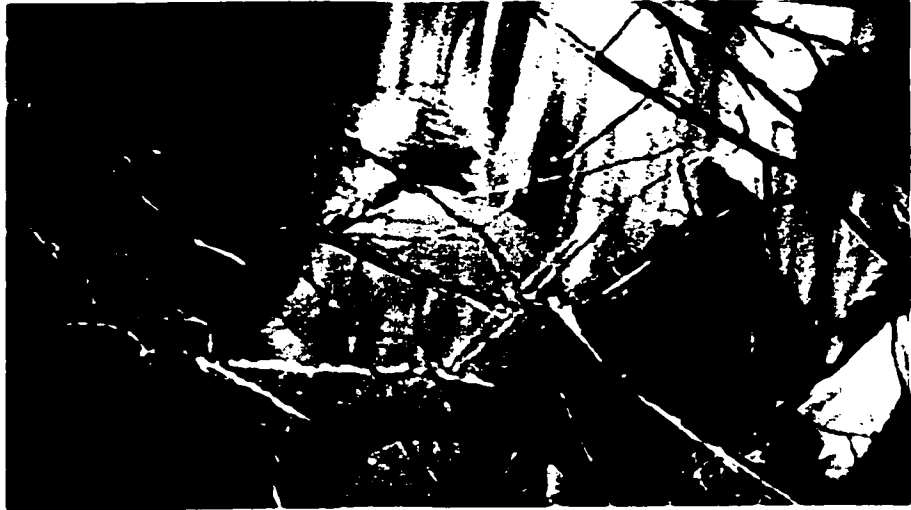


Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27

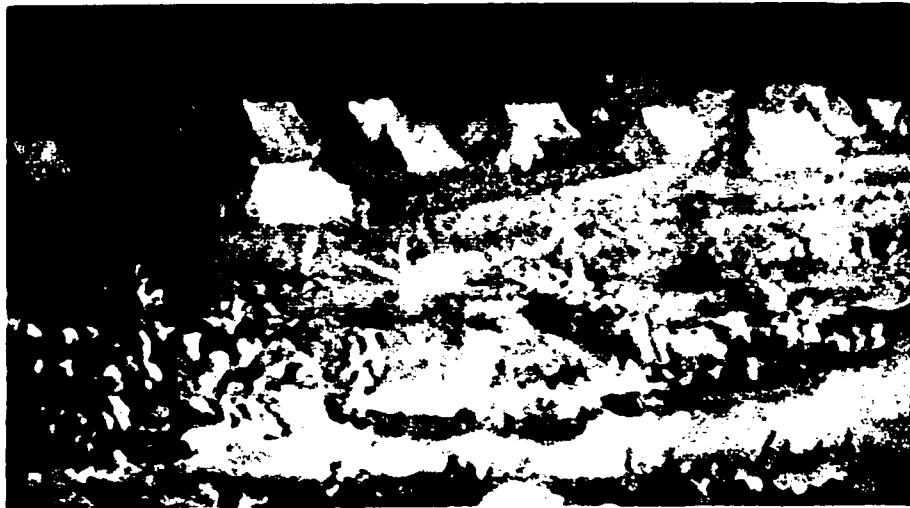


Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39

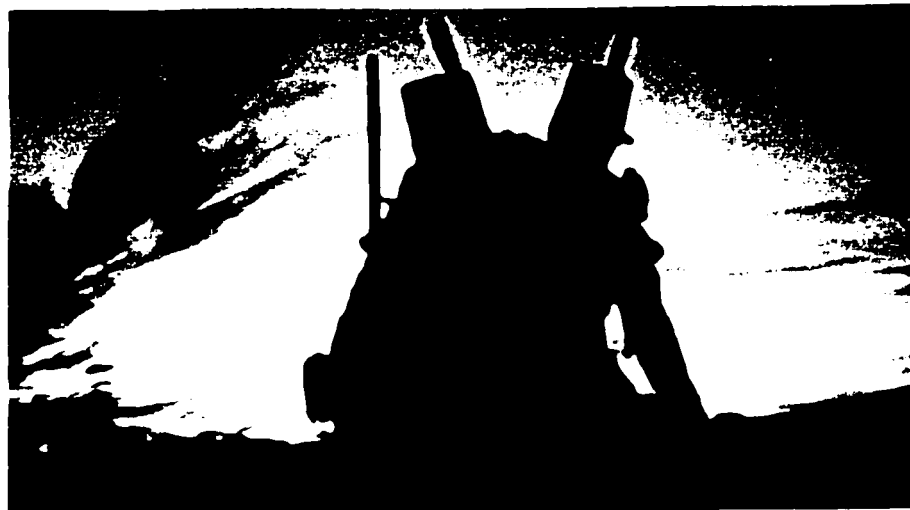


Figure 40



Figure 41



Figure 42



Figure 43



Figure 44



Figure 45



Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 48



Figure 49



Figure 50



Figure 51



Figure 52



Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55



Figure 56



Figure 57



Figure 58



Figure 59



Figure 60



Figure 61



Figure 62



Figure 63



Figure 64



Figure 65



Figure 66

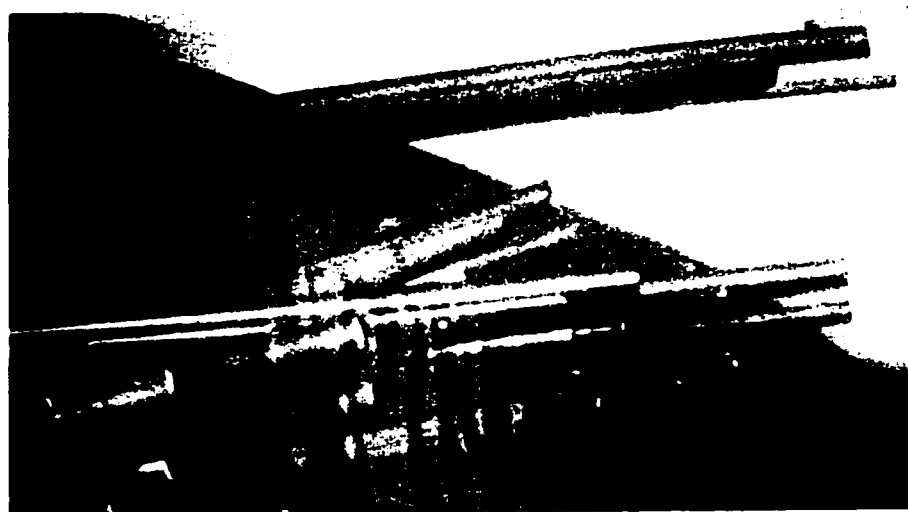


Figure 67



Figure 68



Figure 69



Figure 70



Figure 71



Figure 72



Figure 73



Figure 74



Figure 75



Figure 76



Figure 77



Figure 78



Figure 79



Figure 80



Figure 81



Figure 82



Figure 83



Figure 84



Figure 85



Figure 86



Figure 87



Figure 88



Figure 89



Figure 90



Figure 91

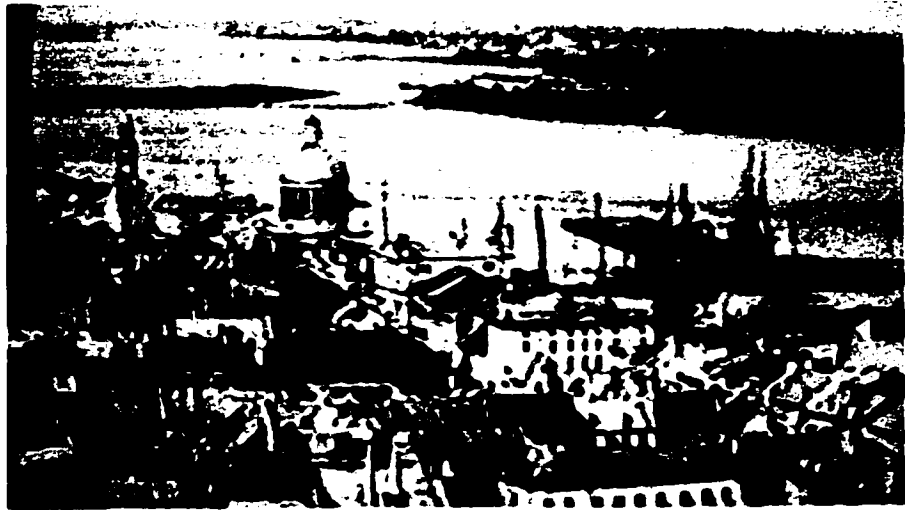


Figure 92



Figure 93

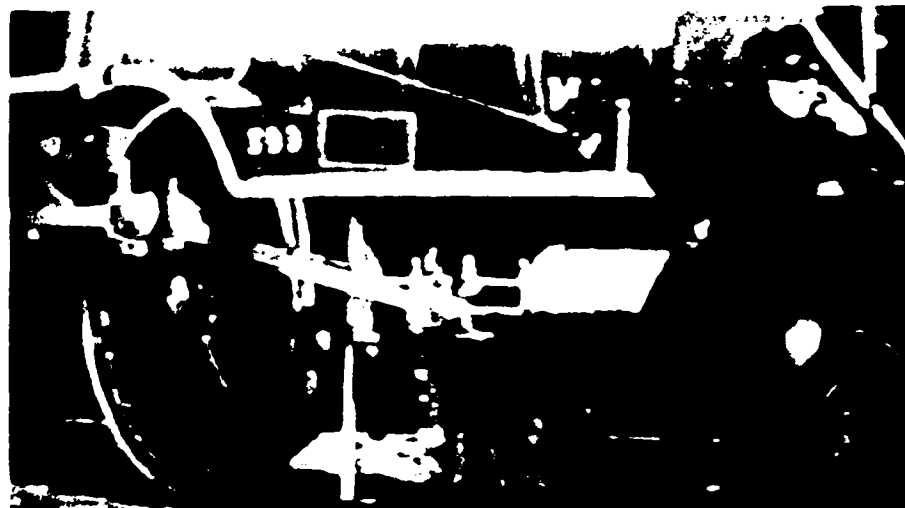
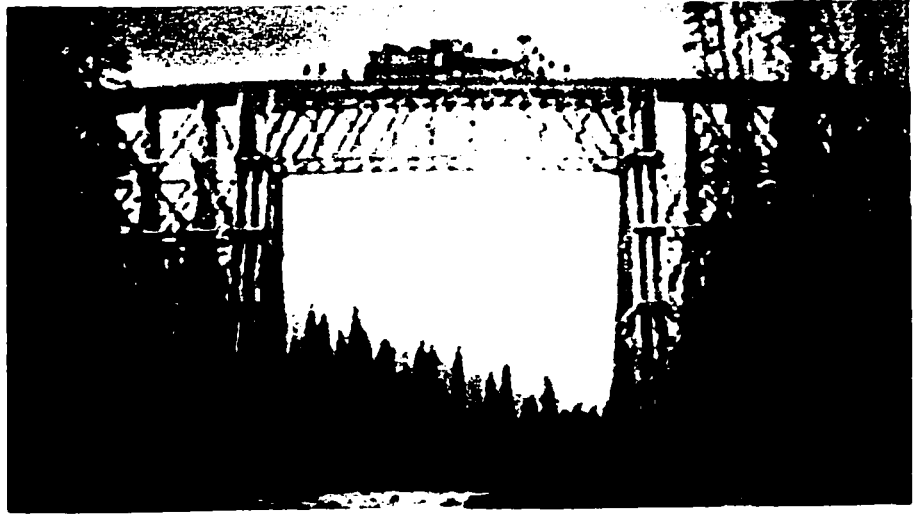


Figure 94



CHAPTER FOUR

Love and Marriage. Love and Marriage: go together like a colony and a nation

Chapter four examines the narratives of episodes eight and nine of *Canada: A People's History*. Episode eight spans the years 1850 to 1867, relating the arrival of ex-slaves from the United States, Irish immigrants, and Confederation. The three central characters are John A. Macdonald, George Etienne Cartier, and Thomas D'Arcy McGee. Episode nine covers the period 1867 to 1873 and presents the 1869 - 1870 Métis resistance to westward expansion, the creation of Manitoba in 1870, and the incorporation of British Columbia into the Dominion of Canada in 1871. The main protagonists in this episode are Macdonald, Cartier, and Louis Riel. Episodes eight and nine were written and directed by Jim Williamson, and produced by Fiona McHugh and Johanne Ménard.

This chapter will argue that episodes eight and nine present the Dominion of Canada in 1867 by way of gender and gender roles in a visual narrative that is romantic both in a romanticist narrative mode and as personal romance. 'Canada' as nation is gendered as female, and as such, married out of her colonial dependence upon Britain to become an independent sociopolitical body. The visual representation of this move from childhood dependence to nationhood will be argued to incorporate the union and loss that have consistently troubled the narrative. Marriage is a persistent theme within these two episodes and its use reveals the loss in union as well as the particular positioning of subject identity seen to this point within the series narrative. Episodes eight and nine also reiterate the particular subject identities presented to this point by the visual narrative of

the series. By virtue of gender constructs and marriage, the loss of diaspora is unified into a newly imagined national community by the higher ideal of family.

The opening visual sequence of episode eight introduces elements fundamental to the analysis of episodes eight and nine contained in this chapter. They are: marriage, loss, and an embodiment of the nation as female. The prelude to the episode presents a portrait of John A. Macdonald's first wife, Isabella Clark, while the voiceover indicates her poor health (Figure 1). As her deteriorating condition is described, her portrait fades to a shot of Macdonald's photo portrait in a watch (Figure 2). Isabella will die during the Christmas holidays in 1857, an event that "devastates Macdonald." The episode's visual narrative will underscore Macdonald's loss by showing the grave markers for Isabella and his only son, John, who died in 1848 at the age of 13 months (Figures 3 and 4). Yet despite Macdonald's devastation, he does not leave politics and withdraw into himself, for as the voiceover emphatically states: "There are ominous rumblings south of the border that no one can ignore." This statement heralds the re-release of America-as-demon by the series narrative. The menace of America serves as the catalyst for the gendering of Canada's landscape as female.

The recollection of Amelia Harris, a 52-year-old widow living in the province of Upper Canada, begins the alignment between land and 'female'. The voiceover accompanies an image of a foggy, tree-lined road (Figure 5) with the remark that Harris has "spent another sleepless night." The cause of her unrest is the American Civil War, and the possibility that she will once again experience the horrors of war. Harris wonders, "Am I never to be free from care and trouble?" (Figure 6). As a child, she had witnessed the destruction of her family's farm by American rebels in 1814, and this memory is

brought to the viewer with scenes of buildings engulfed in flames (Figure 7). The visual narrative then shows urban ruins, Federal soldiers, and a naval gun emplacement (Figures 8 to 10). During this sequence, the voiceover indicates that "a sense of fearful wakefulness disturbs the British colonies of North America." The two figures in black shawls seen in Figure 8 signify the female as witness to the loss of civilized structure. The fog-shrouded passage comes to symbolize both Harris's fretful recollections and the uneasy future of her landscape: as she worries, so does the land appear uncertain. Thus, the concerns of a woman are the pivot point on which threat is turned in the direction of the British colonies that are to become Canada. The land, in symbolic terms, is a damsel in distress.

The visual narrative of the eighth episode follows American military power by depicting its target: mostly women and children (Figures 11 and 12). These are followed by another image of American soldiery (Figure 13), so that vulnerability is encircled by danger. The visual narrative of the series also squeezed a victim in this manner in episode four (Chapter Four 4, figs. 53-55). American desire for Native lands placed the iconic form of the Native between images of the printing press' mechanical reproduction. Here, in episode eight, the Other is female, and her defence will delineate the nation. Ida Blom explains that "through the defence of the feminine, masculinity produces and demonstrates itself. Masculinity is measured by its ability to defend the feminine, which can also mean 'the nation'."¹ The visual narrative displays the Canadian men who arise in defence of the female, as the voiceover indicates that "British North America [has] no intention of being overrun." The images of a cannon manned by stalwart defenders and a militia's densely packed wedge, embody the masculine defence of feminine territory

(Figures 14 and 15). The stiff defence mounted by these men is followed by an image of Civil War skeletons, then by a group of relaxed women and children in the company of two men (Figures 16 and 17). These two images repeat the contrasting social conditions of anarchy and order first seen at the end of episode four. There, Canada's nature was a peaceful, sleeping landscape, whereas here, women embody the landscape.²

The presentation of Macdonald's first marriage, Harris's anxious narrative, the Civil War, and the initiation of a gendered representation of what will become Canada, together frame the narrative structure for both episodes eight and nine. As in the contrast between Champlain's love story and the rape of the Aztecs, the narrative constructs a more natural union as the basis for Canada's foundation against a violent, external Other. Contrary to Civil War savagery, the confederation of Canada produces nationhood by marrying personal loss (the death of Isabella and John Macdonald) into a newly imagined communal landscape of nation. The burials of Macdonald's wife and son are portents of the individual loss that grounds membership in a national landscape.

The two main groups of new arrivals in Canada's developing national space are ex-slaves from America, and displaced Irish peasants. The visual narrative of these groups transfers their loss of homeland into the gain of a new motherland. Bhabha writes, "The nation fills the void left in the uprooting of communities and kin, and turns that loss into the language of metaphor."³ The metaphors for the Blacks and Irish in Canada are marriage and family. The narrative for the Blacks' journey to Canada opens by showing their unhappy state south of the border (Figures 18 and 19). As slaves they are subject to the tyranny of the slave owner. The grim countenance of the slave master, seen in Figure 19, is followed by a landscape that emblemizes the ex-slaves' dreamland (Figure 20).

The voiceover notes it is a place where "slavery has been illegal...for half a century." The narrative of the ex-slaves' passage to Canada also relates the efforts of Harriet Tubman (c.1820 - 1913), a Black woman and motive force of the Underground Railway to Canada. This 'railway' was a covert, loose network of abolitionists who fed, clothed and aided escaping slaves during the mid-nineteenth century. Upon arrival in their new land, ex-slaves appear transformed (Figures 21 to 24). This visual narrative foregrounds marriage and family, and an upstanding citizenry ready in defence of their land.

The ideological construction of the visual narrative given to Irish emigrants parallels the Black diaspora. The viewer sees a pitiable peasant existence and the cruel indifference of landlords who evict the penniless from their homes in Ireland (Figures 25 and 26). A photograph of a single woman, dressed in black, follows these images, and is given added emphasis as the camera zooms in on her solitary form (Figures 27 and 28). Like the two black-shrouded witnesses to the destruction of the Civil War, this woman bears the pain of a nation's loss. The narrative then presents the disease-stricken sea journey undertaken by the Irish. The voiceover tells the viewer that a large number of adults died during the trip, and that many French-Canadian families adopted the orphaned children (Figure 29). Thomas D'Arcy McGee serves as the main protagonist for the episode's narrative of Irish emigration (Figure 30). He arrived in New York in 1842 where he married Mary Theresa Caffrey in 1847 (Figure 31). However, he complains in voiceover, the people in America "hate the Irish for his creed, despise him for his poverty, and underrate him for his want of learning." His move to Montreal in 1857 introduces him to an entirely opposite condition. As he notes, "Montreal looks upon you

not as foreigners, but as children of their own household." The rejuvenating effect is emphasized by the accompanying image of youths gathered at a fountain (Figure 32).

The visual narratives for the Blacks and the Irish can be seen to overlap on several points: the loss of a homeland, the loss being marked by a female figure, and marriage and family life signifying incorporation into the new land as *home*. It is also important to note that within each story, there are aspects that level the representational ground between self and Other. Foremost among these is the inclusion of civilized marriage and family, as widely recognized social norms. In addition, the narrative of the ex-slaves' emigration presents an image of Black males, like their White counterparts, standing on guard for their homeland. Within the tale of Irish exodus, French-Canadian families are revealed to have adopted the orphan children. This protective embrace echoes the treatment previously given to French-Canadian subject identity in the visual narrative of episode four. Now the French Canadians are seen as capable of reaching out and nurturing defenseless children. The homogenization of subject identity will occur on a much broader scale, and will be detailed shortly. For the moment, it must be stressed that the visual narrations of both Blacks and Irish transfer a people from one social landscape into another. The void that departure creates is filled by the national narrative of the series.

The eighth episode also visually details British North America's mid-nineteenth-century social composition, including both Native and non-Native groups. A milkweed plant bursting with seeds opens this presentation and signifies the social landscape's natural insemination (Figure 33). Following this, indigenous peoples are introduced by region: West Coast, Prairies, and the far North (Figures 34 to 40). The non-Native

population is then presented by a series of images comprised almost entirely of women and children (Figures 41 to 44). Both Native and non-Native depictions repeat established stereotypes: the Natives are identifiable by their natural location, and the civilized presence of the non-Native is in the process of rapidly replacing the Native. Yet they are also similar: each group is treated in the manner of an ethnographic survey. While the aboriginal people hunt and fish as usual, the non-Natives are subjected to an exposition that parallels the Natives' introduction in episode one: they are reduced to statistics. As the photographs of unnamed non-Natives pass across the screen, the voiceover indicates: half are Protestant, half are Catholic, roughly a third are French, women marry in their twenties and must submit to the authority of their husband, and the average family has six to eight children. While Natives were pushed into the land itself, the non-Natives are registered as an inventory of 'types'. The images of Black soldiers and custodial French Canadians, and the presentation of the people of British North America, along with marriage and family, all work towards a homogenization of difference. In contradistinction to 'nations within a nation', all these subject identities must recognize the higher, unifying ideal of a shared community. They may be different as long as they are all Canadian - all members of the same united family.

The series narrative is constructing a social reality for the people of a nation that unites them to the land they now belong to. The visual narratives of the many marriages found in both the eighth and ninth episodes, reveal this operation. The eighth episode presents the marriage of George Brown, founder and editor of Canada West's *The Globe*, to Anne Nelson in 1862, and the second marriage of Macdonald, this time to Agnes Bernard, in 1867. The ninth episode contains a presentation of British Columbia's

population growth. The marriage narratives in this tale of growth firmly envisage a social landscape of marriage.

The narrative of George Brown's romantic experience symbolizes an impassioned call to the nation as female. Brown traveled to London in 1862 to recuperate from depression. During his time there he became more familiar with the British parliamentary system. He also met and fell in love with Anne Nelson, marrying her in the same year. Anne's portrait is shown and then followed by a shot of a female figurine (Figures 45 and 46). While Brown rhapsodizes over his new-found love, the viewer is presented with a single figure, standing in a wooded glade (Figure 47). This visual narrative places an idolized female form into a natural context. It is an alignment that will be transferred into the evolving social landscape of Canada. Upon returning to Canada, Brown declares that he comes back "with a better knowledge of public affairs and a more ardent desire to serve." His pursuant calls for "compromise and cooperation" are delivered to an audience gathered outside his home (Figures 48 and 49). The visual presentation of his address singles out female listeners, thus highlighting the gender of the landscape he symbolically woos with his newborn vision of the future.

Macdonald's second marriage carries the connotations presented in Brown's nuptial narrative into a textual realization of the Dominion of Canada. Macdonald met and courted Agnes Bernard while he and the delegation from the Canadas were negotiating for self-governance in London. Agnes is shown in a photograph, after which their marriage certificate appears on screen (Figures 50 and 51). Once their marriage is announced, the narrative turns to the completion of political negotiations, and the voiceover declares, "The Queen gives her consent to the union of her British North American

colonies. Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, will now become the Dominion of Canada." This is supported by a slow pan of the British North America Act (Figure 52). The symbolism in the association of Macdonald's marriage certificate with the British North America Act, is that Britain is marrying off a daughter. The eighth episode then illustrates the celebration of this event on July 1, 1867 with a preponderance of carefree women and little girls (Figures 53 to 55). The celebratory fireworks in Ottawa are seen through the recollections of another little girl (Figures 56 to 58). It is as if by magic that the inanimate doll seen in Figure 56, as signifier of desire's object, is born into a young nation.

The penultimate segment of episode nine extends the symbolism of marriage and Canada's entrance into nationhood. Appropriately entitled *Tie the Oceans Together*, this segment clearly visualizes the marriage of men and women to the landscape they inhabit, while it ties the narrative knot between both coasts of the nation. The narrative covers the late 1860s in British Columbia, and presents one of its foremost concerns - a paucity of women. The voiceover observes that women are therefore sent for, arriving on board the aptly named *HMS Grappler*. Marriage ceremonies quickly ensue. The viewer is presented with a marriage certificate, a bride's photograph, and a registry of marriages (Figures 59 to 61). The image of the register then fades into a scenic landscape, foregrounding the wedding of a people to a land. The conjugal nature of the narrative has built up to this point from the visual narrative of Brown's romance. He symbolically carried a lovely vision into Canada. Macdonald's tale joined this to the declaration of the Dominion of Canada. The narrative of West Coast wedlock visually marries these romantic blushes together: Brown wooed, Macdonald married, and the landscape joined the ceremony.

These connotations are also interlocked with the visual narratives for ex-slaves and Irish peasants that carried a people into marriage in their new homes.

The connotations of marriage, and a wedding registry mingled with a landscape were prefigured in the eighth episode's visual narrative of the political negotiations between political and business leaders from the different regions of Canada that took place in Charlottetown in 1864. These discussions sought to achieve common political ground, and the basis for a unified nation. As the narrative of this event unfolded, it showed Macdonald's written desires for confederation superimposed on the coastline of the St. Lawrence River (Figure 62). At this stage, the Dominion of Canada was an unrealized dream, and the script of Macdonald only a love-letter. Near the end of the ninth episode in the narrative of British Columbia's wedding ceremonies, the dream is realized and the couple united.

The visual presentation of the events at Charlottetown in 1864, and the subsequent political machinations at Quebec City in the same year, marks an important turning point in the series narrative. The transition between these two narratives reveals the growth out of childhood and into adulthood. The series narrative presents the 'coming of age' for its subject - Canada. The terms childhood and adulthood can be replaced with colonial and national, respectively. The narrative is still, therefore, faced with what Bhabha refers to as "that 'weld' of the colonial site"⁴ and "the problematic transition between dynastic, lineage societies and horizontal, homogeneous secular communities."⁵ Bhabha identifies this split as occurring between the modern nation and its colonial past. Across this gap, the modern nation is faced with the racist stereotypes of its colonial

origins. The problem, therefore, is how the nation can claim its historical foundations without revealing the subjugation upon which these are built.

The narrative of the meeting in Charlottetown represents youth on the verge of adulthood. This apprehensive state is revealed by the narrative juxtaposition of the political conference with a local carnival, and by the idyllic views of land and nature that are woven into the presentation. The natural environment appears in its primeval, tranquil state, with only a few empty deckchairs to dot the beach at the water's edge (Figures 63 to 65). These idyllic representations of unspoiled natural harmony recall Champlain's vistas of a New World, and signify a 'before' condition of innocence. A childlike perspective is reinforced by the carnival imagery (Figures 66 to 69), but here a closer look is required. The narrative interweaving of political discourse on a people's future, with sideshow freaks and a whirling carrousel, reveals the narrative's opportunistic 'joking' - a playing with images.

The reading that this discussion applies to the visual joke played by the narrative is based on the work Sigmund Freud conducted into the relation between jokes and the unconscious. He argued that "during the period in which a child is learning how to handle the vocabulary of his mother-tongue, it gives him obvious pleasure to 'experiment with it in play'."⁶ The results of this 'experimentation' may be silly sounds or absurd word combinations. As the child approaches maturity, however, this kind of behaviour becomes *immature*, and it is frowned upon. The individual no longer has free access to this source of childish pleasure. Freud concluded that "the joke *will evade restrictions and open sources of pleasure that have become inaccessible*."⁷ The individual is still resorting to the word games of infancy but couches them in a socially acceptable manner.

thus evading the reprimands of authority and reacquiring a primal source of pleasure. According to Freud, "The thought which, with the intention of constructing a joke, plunges into the unconscious is merely seeking there for the ancient dwelling-place of its former play with words."⁸ The visual narrative of the Charlottetown gathering is a childish last poke at an adult world. The narrative's subject - Canada - is on the cusp of leaving a state wherein word-play (here, it is picture-play) is permissible. The approach of maturity (nationhood) brings with it the corollary restrictions of normative behaviour. The snarling lion seen in Figure 69 emblemizes the apprehension of a fun ride that is coming to an end.

When the visual narrative of the eighth episode moves on to the political debates that took place at Quebec City in October of 1864, the carnivalesque and sun-dappled world of adolescence disappears. In order to conform to the behavioral norms for eligible bachelors, the narrative's subject (Canada) must be presented accordingly. In the place of sunshine, the viewer is shown the rainy times of the conference (Figures 70 and 71). A pretty landscape thus becomes the hard rock of a soaking wet cliff-face representative of the hard, adult choices ahead. It is as if Canada, as bachelor, sheds a tear for its lost childhood, and looks longingly through a rain-streaked window. The episode's narrative reveals that while the negotiations are under way, the wives and children of the delegates tour the town and visit a museum of science. Thus, the unbridled enthusiasm of circus festivities is gone as well, to be replaced with reason and learning (Figures 72 to 74). Innocence is filled in with knowledge: sunlight is seen divided into its component parts in a prism's rainbow, a butterfly's wing is analyzed through the lens of a microscope, and the movement of the earth is revealed by Foucault's pendulum.

At this point the discussion returns to an argument set forth in chapter three. A central concern of that chapter was the problem of 'nations within a nation', and it contended that the series' visual resolution for this issue could be understood by way of Lacan's Symbolic Order. The narratives of the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada in episode seven were also considered, in chapter three, to represent the imposition of an external, pre-existing system of meaning onto the bodies of diverse groups, thereby generating the potential for a 'body of people'. In the eight and ninth episodes the process recurs, except now it is the inscription of the people's body onto a national landscape. There are, in others words, two stages in the formation of 'nation': the identification of a people, and the claim upon a landscape. To this point in the series narrative subject identity has been established, in part, by the landscape in which it is found. These formations generate *regional* identities and a diversification of internal divisions, thus contributing to (if not creating) the problem of nations within a nation. In chapter three - Fink was quoted in reference to the idea that the manifestation of the Symbolic Order involved the socialization of the infant's body by its being "progressively written or overwritten with signifiers,"⁹ and this was argued to parallel Bhabha's contention that the "predominant strategic function [of colonial discourse] is the creation of a space for a 'subject peoples'."¹⁰ The result of these procedures was that both subject identities - English and French-Canadian - in effect, learned their place and in the process made a national body-politic possible. However, a nation is not a people in isolation, but a geopolitical reality and therefore one that must stake its claim to the land. The shift from playful imagery to analysis, quantification and scientific proof, emblemizes that 'reality named by language'. Marriage, as theme, is the symbolic mechanism by which the

people's body is written onto the land. Thus the wedding registry dissolved into a landscape in (Figure 61) of episode nine.

The narratives of episodes eight and nine are not only romantic in nature: they are also Romanticist. These generate an overarching ideal by way of marriage. The series must create what Benedict Anderson calls an 'imagined community' and it uses marriage to accomplish this. Anderson explains the community "is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."¹¹ Anderson's formulation is based in part on the effect of print media, for example a national newspaper. Someone reading this newspaper in one part of the country could readily imagine another person, in another part of the country, reading the same paper. This *shared experience* underpins the creation of an imagined community. Marriage offers the same possibility as an experience shared across a broad spectrum of people. Marriage as both the union of two people into the higher ideal of love, and as an experience one person can imagine another having, links it to Romanticism. Gerald N. Izenberg foregrounds "the Romantic idea of infinite individuality [as] always linked with the notion of an all-inclusive totality other than and greater than the self, in a relation not of reciprocity but of dependence."¹² The theme of marriage thus allows the series narrative to put forward a sense of national identity (an all-inclusive totality) that then permits a body of people (infinite individuality) to imagine themselves freely sharing in a relation of dependence.

The wedding of a people to their land also represents an attempt to marry a colonial past into the modern nation, to suture what Bhabha referred to as that 'weld'. It is

this split that the series narrative attempts to stitch together by gendering the land as female and with its marriage motif. Resting *in* this gap (in fact, the gap itself) is the problem of origin - the split that was argued to have occurred in Huronia, wherein discovery of self entailed the loss of primordial unity. The narrative has faced this problem throughout its representational struggle of self/Other (in, for example, the credits over glyphs at the beginning of episode one, the savage/child paradigm, the violence/compassion of the French Canadian, and an invisible Black presence). The narrative's most recent attempt to surmount this persistent split was emblemized by images of bridges that nevertheless supported the gap. Early in episode eight, it returns to the bridge as metaphor for union, and joins it to the female form in the landscape. (Figures 75 and 76). While the viewer is presented with a panorama of a high-wire bridge, Macdonald waxes philosophically about one nation stretching from sea-to-sea (Figure 75). As his oration winds down, the camera crops down to focus on the single woman in the foreground of the image (Figure 76). The solution to the problem of unifying a nation's body of people, and linking them firmly with the land, appears in the form of the female.

In episodes eight and nine the female form repeatedly fills the screen, and marriage is a steady presence. The near obsessive repetition of the female form and marriage reveals a longing to recover the lost unity in the national origin the series narrative imagines for its subject. The desire expressed for this loss was first made manifest in the image of a woman who was seen to linger in the doorway of a barn at the end of episode three (Chapter Three, figs. 40 and 41). America had ceased to represent a threat of invasion and this led to the voiceover's observation that "Canada caught a

"glimmer of its own identity." However, it was argued that the woman also stood for the "atavistic and authentic body of national tradition...embodying nationalism's conservative principle of continuity."¹³ It was thus an image of longing for the lost mother/child unity. Lacan's concept, the *objet a*, is relevant here. According to Fink, it stands "as the *remainder* produced when that hypothetical unity [of mother-child] breaks down, as a last trace of that unity, a last *reminder* thereof. By cleaving to that rem(a)inder, the split subject, though expelled from the Other, can sustain the illusion of wholeness: by clinging to *objet a*, the subject is able to ignore his or her division."¹⁴ *Objet a* therefore stands for both lack and that which satisfies lack. Until nationhood is realized, the Native and Huronia appear and reappear as representational grounds for the non-Native - the Other that both creates and satisfies the lack within the colonial presence (referred to as desire and fear of the Other). Having repressed the Native, and desirous of nationhood, the visual narrative now turns to the presentation and re-presentation of the female form as the embodiment of a nation's elemental unity

The narrative's visual obsession with the female form as a symbol for re-union emerges most clearly in the eighth episode's narrative of the Quebec Conference at Quebec City in October of 1864. The centerpiece for this narrative is a depiction of the socializing that took place during the evenings. Considerable attention is devoted to the numerous dancing belles, and the camera's lens repeatedly eyes their bosoms (Figures 77 to 79). The significance of these furtive glances is revealed by Fink's assertion that "it is the absence of the breast, and thus the failure to achieve satisfaction, that leads to its constitution as an object as such, an object separate from and not controlled by the child...the child can never again re-find the breast as experienced the first time around: as

not separate from his or her lips, tongue, and mouth, or from his or her self."¹⁵ The female, as representative of the atavistic and authentic body of national tradition, now stands in the place of the Native, *on the burial ground of the Native*. Her image obscures that of the Native but still does not erase the irrepressible desire for wholeness. Instead of continually returning to the Native and repeating his stereotyped representation, the narrative longs for the female form's promise of a return to unity. Figure 80 presents the eye/I of the narrative gazing at the sleeping form of its desired object. Behind this longing are the same desire and the same division of colonialism that trouble the national embodiment of union envisioned for Canada as the series' subject. The visual representations of both Native and female (non-Native) function as imagined sources of origin: the former in colonial self-definition and the latter in national self-definition. At each stage (colonial and national) they are taken in by the series narrative as objects of desire, needed to satisfy the desire they create.

The narratives of marriage presented in episodes eight and nine also work in conjunction with the colonial formation of subject identity already established within the series, and function to position these subject identities in a particular manner. This is exemplified in episode eight's visual narrative for the married state of Cartier and Hortense Fabbé. Cartier is already married when he is introduced in the eighth episode but it is an ambivalent condition at best. The representation of Cartier and Fabbé comes shortly after the episode's depiction of the American menace and Canada's defiant response. The images of Canadian militia and weaponry are followed first by a photograph of Cartier in a group of women (Figures 81) and then in a group of Canadian gentlemen (Figure 82). These two images pass across the screen as the voiceover notes.

"George Etienne Cartier stands out from among his peers." Indeed, for he appears as the sole male among a group of women. Along with connotations of a feminized Other in the tradition of Montcalm, this image heralds the character of Cartier's marriage to Fabbé (Figure 83). After her portrait is shown, the visual narrative devotes its attention to an empty bed, the pillow of which is adorned with a rosary, in a room ornamented with a crucified Christ (Figures 84 to 86). The camera then swings to the right to reveal a painted portrait of the Queen (Figure 87). The visual movement towards the bed and then away to gaze upon the figure of another women, in conjunction with Cartier's initial presence among a group of women, generates the characterization of an unfaithful husband. The likelihood of Cartier's predilection for another woman is confirmed during episode eight's narration of the political negotiations conducted in London by a Canadian delegation for independence from England in 1867. Just before the episode details Macdonald's marriage and aligns it with the signing of the British North America Act, it reveals Cartier's purchase of a fine dress for his mistress (Figure 88). As her portrait appears on screen, the voiceover indicates he is having a "very public affair" with her (Figure 89). Unlike Macdonald's symbolic marriage to the Dominion of Canada, Cartier is shown to be married yet of an independent mind. He appears united but separate, much like French-Canadian subject identity as a civilized Other - like and yet unlike.

The visual construction of the Other's subject identity as seen in episodes eight and nine, remains consistent with the colonial formulation already created in the series. The eighth episode's portrayal of the resistance to Confederation mounted by French-Canadian nationalist groups in 1865 is rife with typecasting. As the voiceover describes the opposition of Antoine-Aimé Dorion, leader of the *Parti Rouge*, and Wilfrid Laurier, a

politically active lawyer, the viewer is treated to a panorama of stereotypes. These range from a hayfield, to a sleigh-ride into a snow-covered village, a look at a church spire, the interior of a church, the interior of a confessional, a bishop surrounded by priests, a bishop, two pipe-smoking clerics, and finally another snowy landscape and a tour through the ice-covered world of the French Canadians' frozen representation (Figures 90 to 102). Buried under all the hay, snow, and accoutrements of Catholicism is the idyllic world of the French Canadian seen in episode three, and the figures of Bishops Briand and Lartique that were introduced in episodes four and seven, respectively.

Just as episode eight reprises French-Canadian stereotypes, episode nine follows its presentation of British Columbia nuptials by repeating the Vanishing Indian stereotype. The visual narrative alternates between photographs by Edward S. Curtis at the turn of the century and contemporary video footage of empty and attractive landscapes (Figures 103 to 106). The viewer is first presented with two native females, then a verdant setting. After this we see an old man's wrinkled face, and then a weather-beaten shoreline. This visual rhythm reinforces the impression of a once young and vibrant culture that is being slowly ground away. As these images follow British Columbia's nuptial bliss, the Native is once again seen to fade away in the face of advancing civilization. The cumulative effect is the fulfillment of the Vanishing Indian prophecy seen in the first episode, and remains true to the narrative content in the Beothuks' tale, the narrative encapsulation of Native origins with their extinction, and Jewitt's vision of a passing race. The return of Curtis' photographic fixation of the Native tightens the visual narrative's noose around native representation. The unavoidable erosion of the Native can be seen as a natural outcome of non-Native presence, and it is a

process repeated over and again. The viewer is first shown a pristine landscape, then what seems to be a penetration of this very landscape by the irresistible force of progress, and finally a photograph of the *Colonial Hotel*, an appropriately named structure of civilization (Figures 107 to 109). The continual repetition of this visual cycle throughout the preceding episodes authorizes episode nine's depiction of British Columbia's colonization.

Episode nine also restates the Other as internal menace in its visual narration of Louis Riel. This formation is entrenched in the threat posed by 'nations within nations' in the visual narrative of episode five, and evident in episode seven's presentation of the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada. Riel is introduced as a youth on his way from a Métis settlement in the Red River area to study law at the Collège de Montréal in 1858 (Figure 110). His portrait fades into the photograph of students seen in Figure 111, whereupon the voiceover reveals that the other schoolboys were "fascinated with his exotic background." Not leaving any uncertainty as to the manner of Riel's exoticism, the visual narrative presents a Native group in front of a teepee, followed by the stern countenance of a Native male (Figures 112 and 113). This visual movement from child to warrior mimics the first episode's narration of a Blackfoot child's transformation into a savage. Despite Riel's boyhood state, his future is formed by the return of past colonial stereotypes of the Native.

The colonial representation of Native subject identity in the series narrative has been seen to operate through ambivalence, as - for example - with the Native as both child and warrior (desire and fear). The ambivalence carried into the narrative's resolution of the internal division presented by 'nations within a nation'. The body of people was

split into the bloody *patriotes* and the hapless Upper Canadians. In each case - Native or native - the construction of negative/positive guided the placement of subject identity within the series narrative. The threatening aspect served to call for, and thereby justify, the application of colonial power. The Other was both cause and effect. The ninth episode's treatment of Louis Riel inevitably points towards the bloody Métis uprising in the Red River district. Thus, the series narrative is again faced with resolving a dangerous Other within the margins of the historical narrative it is constructing. And once more, it turns to the established practice of splitting the Other into the components of desire and fear. By the end of the ninth episode, Riel as hazard will be removed, leaving a more desirable Other in his place.

Riel's visual introduction - child to savage - grounds the narrative of his first romance, that itself heralds his ejection as perilous Other. Seven years after his arrival in Montreal, he meets a girl (Marie-Julie Guernon), falls in love, and becomes engaged to her on June 12, 1865. The narrative does not mention her by name but does present the viewer with Riel and Guernon's marriage contract (Figure 114). The voiceover then reveals that parents break off the engagement when they learn of Riel's Métis heritage. Here, the viewer is shown a photograph of Riel that fades to black. Riel will return to Red River in 1868, and by 1869 head up a provisional government for the Métis and settlers in the region. It is a governing body that he himself brought into being. At this point the viewer sees first to Riel's portrait, and then a close-up of a rifle barrel (Figures 115 and 116). Riel now appears to be as dangerous as a rifle pointed directly in one's face. The visual construction of Riel places particular emphasis on a savage and 'unsettling' character: as a child backed by a warrior who is deemed unfit for marriage, and as leader

of another government, he is visually conjoined with a gun. The particular nature of this construct becomes apparent in historian W. L. Morton's reading of the provisional government's statement of purpose. Morton concludes that it "is no more than an assertion of the rights of the métis [sic] to negotiate the terms on which Canadian authority would be established in the North-West"¹⁶ (*italics added*). Riel's desire for self-determination was not as clear-cut as the series might imply.¹⁷ However, the stress on a menacing nature serves to validate his rejection.

Riel's apparent potential for violence establishes the feared half of the Noble Savage paradigm, against which the narrative can then present the more desirable part. A group negotiating on behalf of Red River interests was sent to Ottawa in March of 1870. They were: a judge by the name of John Black, Reverend Noël-Joseph Ritchot, and Alfred H. Scott, the representative for members of the Red River colony who were of American extraction. The ninth episode's narration of these negotiations concentrates solely on Reverend Ritchot as a noble Métis emissary of reason. His portrait appears and then fades through a view of handwritten documents relating to the negotiations (Figure 117). The completion of negotiations in 1870 produced the Manitoba Act and the creation of the province of Manitoba. The visual narrative presents a computer graphic of the area, and then a photograph of several children in the company of a nun (Figures 118 and 119). With his savagery exorcized, the colonial Other is carefully planted as another young crop in the series' visual narration of its subject's body of people.

The desire/fear mechanism by which the colonialist representational discourse of the series operates can also be seen in the visual treatment of Thomas D'Arcy McGee. The narrative pairing of Riel/Ritchot as fear and desire is replaced with the Fenian

Society and McGee in the story of Irish-Canadian subject identity. The Fenians were an Irish-Catholic group that sought to free Ireland from British rule by attacking British colonies. McGee had been a member while he was in Ireland, but during his time in Canada, the voiceover notes, "He condemns violence and all secret societies that preach it." McGee's frequent criticism of violence as a political tool puts him at odds with the Fenians in Canada. While the voiceover points this out, the viewer sees McGee's portrait, then members of the Fenian Society, and then the Society's crest (Figures 120 to 122). McGee's position ultimately provokes the receipt of a threatening letter from the Fenians (Figure 123). The delineation of Irish-Canadian subject identity is thus formed from the same Jekyll-and-Hyde formula used for the Other throughout the series: simultaneously admirable and reprehensible. McGee is an *ex-rebel* who preaches peace; he is set against his Other violent half in the same manner seen in the Huron/Iroquois, British-Canadian/British-American, Upper/Lower Canadian, and Riel/Ritchot juxtapositions. In all of these instances of comparison/contrast, viewers are allowed to identify with a desirably *Canadian* identity (the Self of the self/other pattern). They may also come to recognize the unlike, or un-Canadian character, in the Others' fearsome incarnation.

After viewers have been presented with both halves of the Irish-Canadian subject identity, they are shown a nightmare vision experienced by McGee. While an image of Niagara Falls is on the screen (Figure 124), McGee relates the details of his dream. He finds himself standing at the edge of the falls, trying to attract the attention of two men in a boat that is in danger of going over the edge. The dream ends, however, with the two men rowing away as he himself goes over the falls. After this sequence, the ninth episode conveys the news of McGee's assassination in 1868. McGee's dream as premonition of

personal doom dovetails with the series' visual treatment of the deaths of its desirable Others. In the first episode, the exit of Donnacona (the Noble half of the Noble Savage stereotype) from Canada's narrative was symbolized by several overlapping views of river rapids (Chapter One, fig. 23). The departure of the desired Other from the narrative's visual landscape is thereby given a romanticized treatment. Their passing is tragic and thus they are mourned. McGee's funeral is given ample visual detail (Figures 125 and 126), and Macdonald's wife, Agnes, also sadly reflects upon his death. The nation as female lingers over McGee's passing, as if mourning the loss of a family member.

The visual narrative of Cartier's exit from the series comes after McGee's death, and carries the same connotations. Cartier's introduction in episode eight includes the voiceover's mention of his rebel past. He had been a *patriote* during the uprising in Lower Canada, but renounced violence as a political strategy. While the viewer is provided with this information, Cartier's portrait is superimposed on scenes repeated from the seventh episode's narrative of the rebellion (Figure 127). His portrait remains onscreen as the images of revolt fade away, and in voiceover he announces his "burning desire to...resume my duties as citizen and British subject." Viewers are thereby reminded of the rebellious nature of the French Canadian as they see this dark character removed from Cartier.

Cartier's death is presented near the end of episode nine and it echoes McGee's passing, as well as the depiction of Montcalm's demise in episode four. Cartier travelled to London in September 1872 to consult a specialist regarding his worsening degenerative kidney condition. In May of the following year he died, and according to the

voiceover, his last words were, "I am dying." The viewer sees Cartier's portrait first, and then a photograph of a bedroom (Figure 128). Excepting the absent body, this visual presentation turns the viewer to memories of Donnacona's deathbed, as well as that of Montcalm, and so the *loss* of another (instead of removal or repression). Cartier's body was returned to Canada aboard the steamship *Druid*, and the visual narrative of the ninth episode presents its passage along the St. Lawrence River through the recollections of Lady Dufferin, wife of the new Governor-General of Canada (Figures 129 and 130). As was seen in the narrative of McGee, it is a woman who mourns the nation's loss. The viewer then witnesses a series of photographs of Cartier's funeral in Montreal, an example of which can be seen in Figure 131. Cartier, like McGee before him (both ex-rebels), is memorialized in the series visual narrative through the sorrow of a woman.

In this way, the end of episode nine returns to the opening of the eighth episode: a woman's concern reflects on the land. She is witness to, and concerned for, a people's loss. The land's valiant defender, however, has the last word. The ninth episode closes by recounting Macdonald's emotional shock at the loss of Cartier, and his government's eventual resignation on November 5, 1873. While viewers see Macdonald's portrait on the screen, they hear an excerpt from his closing address to Parliament, wherein he states, "I have fought the battle of Confederation, the battle of union, [and] the battle of the Dominion of Canada." The gender order planted by the opening visual movement of episode eight returns in Macdonald, considered as a Father of Confederation, proclaiming his defence of the bride he symbolically carried home from London in 1876. The incestuous nature of fathering one's own bride reflects Blom's contention that masculinity produces itself by defending the feminine, which she also argues could signify the

'nation'. Incest, however, is not a civilized virtue - yet marriage is, and thus the series again suggests the anxiety of colonial ambivalence. A nation's historical narrative of its colonial past puts it into conflict with itself: it wants something that it can neither have, nor admit to wanting - its colonial roots. The narrative has been, in effect, fathering its own self-definition by way of the Other.

During the course of episodes eight and nine, the visual narrative has continually returned to the widely recognizable theme of marriage and family. The emphasis on these two subjects allows the narrative to generate an imagined national community for its subject - Canada. This mechanism arose from the first episode's opening credits over glyphs that emblemized the writing of a non-Native future over a Native as past, and moved through the symbolic courtship by Champlain of the land, which 'fathered' a colonial presence in the land. It thus arrives at a transcription of credit/glyph into the wedding registry of a new people in a new nation. It is the revelation of individual belonging in a higher order: one among many, who thereby become many in one. This can be restated as one inhabitant among many imagined others and therefore a nation's body politic. The participants in this process are given the opportunity to become something greater than their 'selves': a nation.

ENDNOTES

¹Ida Blom. "Gender and Nation in International Comparison." *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* Ida Blom, et.al., Eds. (Oxford: New York: Berg, 2000). 68-69. The issues involved in gendering the nation as female are given wide coverage in *Gendered Nations*. However, it is an extensive subject of analysis, and for interested readers it is worth mentioning several here. The collection of essays entitled *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities* Antoinette Burton, ed. (New York: London: Routledge, 1999), considers the colonial roots of gender construction in the making of a modern nation in the contexts of North America, Australia, and Asia. For a discussion on the role played by gender in the origin of the United States of America, the reader can turn to S. A. Marston's essay, "Who are 'the people'?: gender, citizenship, and the making of the American nation," in *Society and Space* Vol.8 (1990): 449-458. Gender and nation is approached from the perspective of the cultural female Other in Anna Triandafyllidou's essay, "National identity and the 'other'," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol.21 No.4 (July, 1998): 593-612. Joane Nagel looks at both historical and modern connections between 'patriotic manhood' and 'exalted motherhood' in nationalist ideology, in her article "Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol.21 No.2 (March, 1998): 242-269. And, finally, the journal *Social Text* devotes an entire issue to questions of gender and nation from the perspective of Queer Theory, in No.52-53, 1997. This list is by no means exhaustive.

²Examinations of the landscape gendered as female have produced an extensive list of academic papers. For those readers with an interest in this topic, a selection is listed here. Angela L. Miller, "Space, Cultural Authority, and the Imagery of Feminine Influence," in *The Material Culture of Gender: The Gender of Material Culture* K. Martinez and K. L. Ames, eds. (Winterthur, Delaware: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997): 311-335. Anne McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven: Nationalism, Gender, and Race," *Becoming National: A Reader* G. Eley and Ronald G. Suny, Eds. (New York: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 260-284. Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); and A. Kolodny, *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984). A useful collection of essays can be found in *Gendering Landscape Art* S. Adams and A. G. Robins, eds. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001). The subject is also covered in Angela Miller's *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca, New York; London: Cornell University Press, 1993); and Mark Roskill's *The Language of Landscape* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

³Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: London: Routledge, 1994), 139.

⁴*Ibid.* 249.

⁵*Ibid.* 250.

⁶Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* The Pelican Freud Library Vol.6 Trans. James Strachey (London: Pelican Books. 1976). 174.

⁷*Ibid.* 147.

⁸*Ibid.* 227.

⁹Bruce Fink. *The Lacanian Subject: Between Language and Jouissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995). 24.

¹⁰H. K. Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* 70.

¹¹Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* Rev. Ed. (London: New York: Verso. 1991). 6.

¹²Gerald N. Izenberg. *Impossible Individuality: Romanticism, Revolution, and the Origins of Modern Selfhood, 1787-1802* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992). 8.

¹³Anne McClintock. in Silke Wenk. "Gendered Representations of the Nation's Past and Future." *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* Ida Bloom, et al. Eds. (Oxford: New York: Berg. 2000). 69.

¹⁴B. Fink. *The Lacanian Subject* 59.

¹⁵*Ibid.* 94.

¹⁶Gerald Friesen. *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: London: University of Toronto Press. 1987). 122.

¹⁷The Hudson's Bay Company sold Rupert's Land (parts of northern Quebec, northern Ontario, most of the Prairies, as well as parts of what is now Nunavut) under pressure from England, to the Government of Canada in 1869. During the course of the fur trade, however, settlement had been established in the region to the west of Canada West (the Red River settlement) comprised of ex-Americans, Natives, and Métis - part French-Catholic and part Native. The transfer of Rupert's Land therefore involved the incorporation of territory and a distinct people. These people were not a part of the negotiations and only became aware of impending developments with the arrival of survey teams from the East. The figure of Riel can be read either as a 'hero' standing up for the rights of a people, or a revolutionary standing in the way of a just process. Riel's story is further complicated by the number of divergent interests within the 'people' he stands at the head of. Native groups in the region stood apart from Riel, while many

settlers either did not approve of Riel's aggressive strategies, or welcomed the transfer of the territory to Canada. The problematic nature of Riel is made clear by the titles of a number of works on the subject: George F. Gilman's *Louis Riel, patriot or rebel?* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1974), *Louis Riel: Rebel of the Western Frontier or Victim of Politics and Prejudice?* (H. Bowsfield, ed. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1969), and Georges C. Salagnac's *La revolte des Métis: Louis Riel, Héros ou Rebelle?* (Montreal: HMH, 1971). Thomas Flanagan adds a third perspective by blaming the whole affair on Riel and the Métis: they bore some of the responsibility for what grieved them, the government was near to solving the problems when the rebellion erupted, and Riel's armed revolt cannot be explained by the failure of political negotiations (T. Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered* Second Edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000: x).

Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3

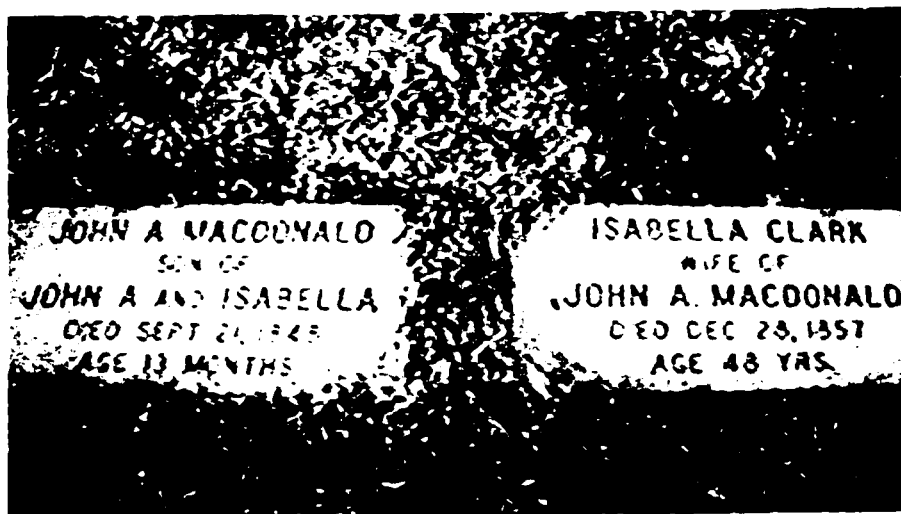


Figure 4

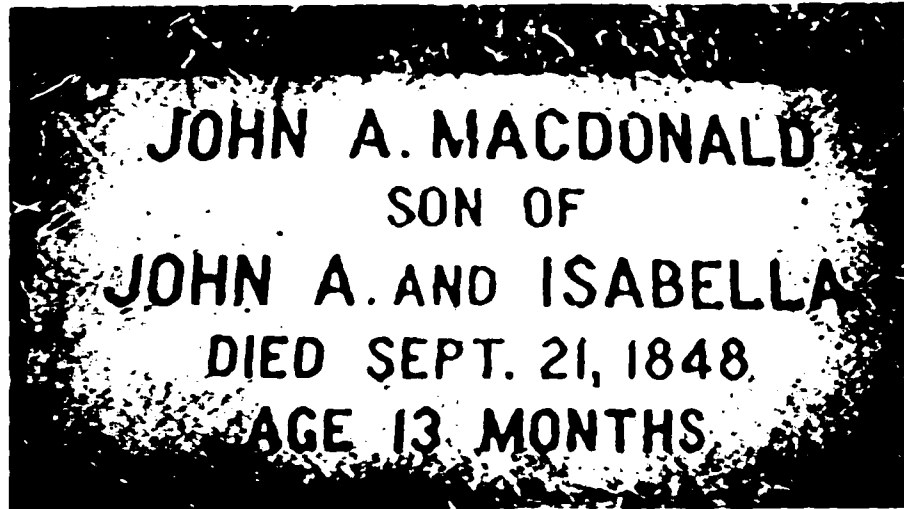


Figure 5

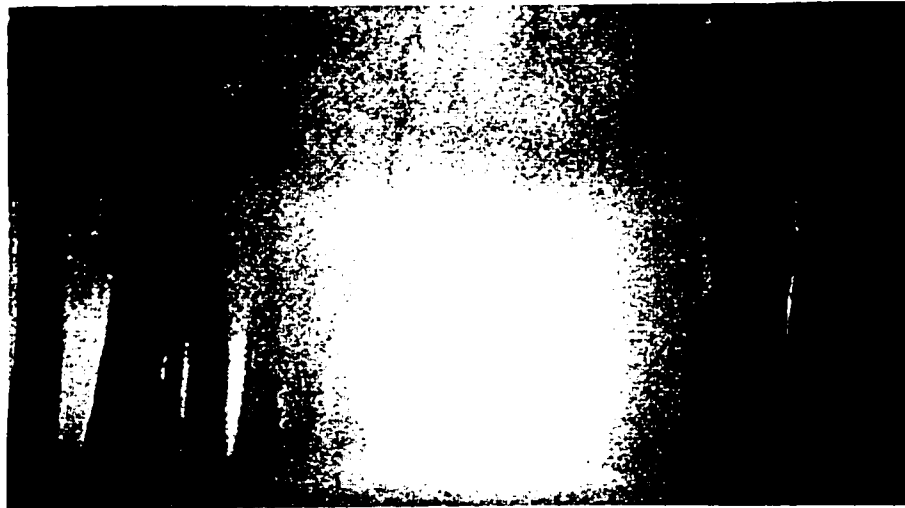


Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10

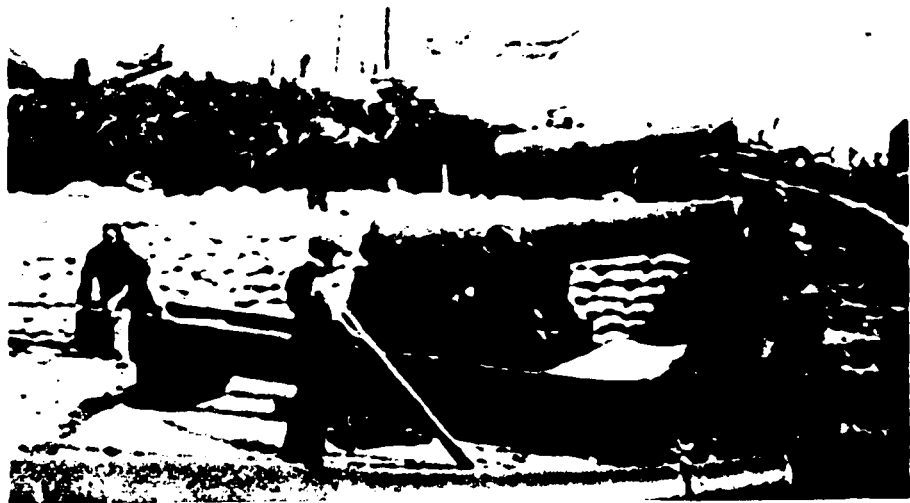


Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19

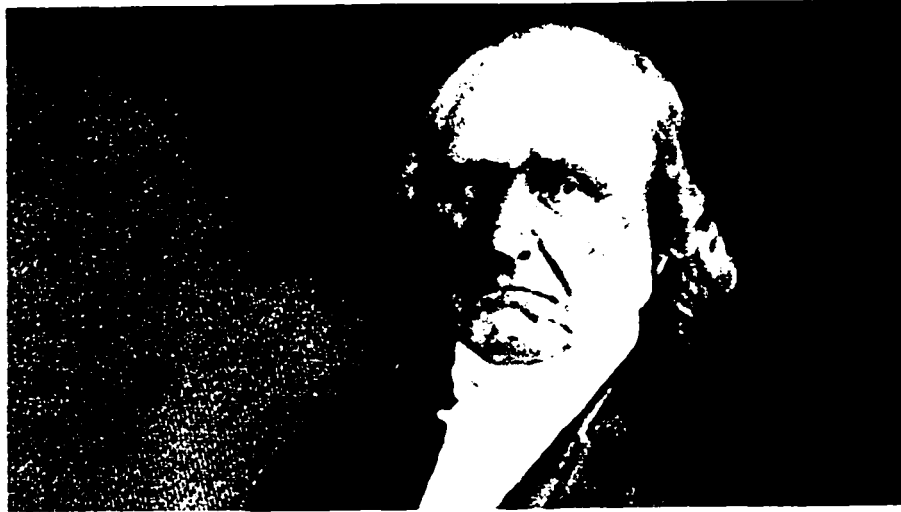


Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39



Figure 40



Figure 41



Figure 42



Figure 43



Figure 44



Figure 45



Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 48



Figure 49



Figure 50



Figure 51



Figure 52

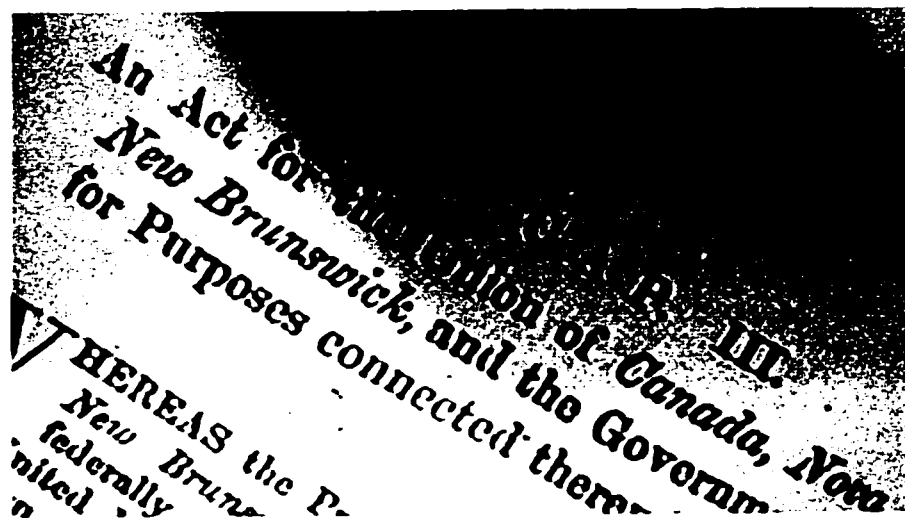


Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55



Figure 56



Figure 57



Figure 61



Figure 62



Figure 63



Figure 64



Figure 65

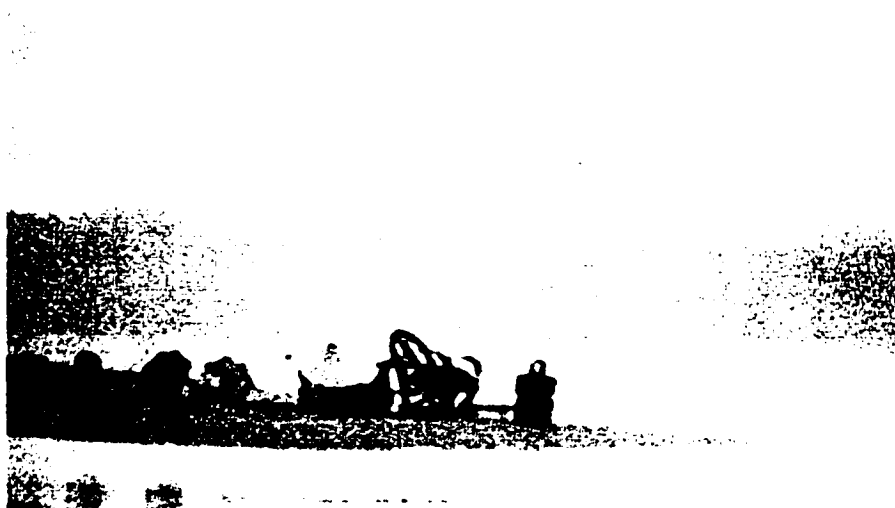


Figure 66



Figure 67



Figure 68



Figure 69



Figure 70



Figure 71



Figure 72

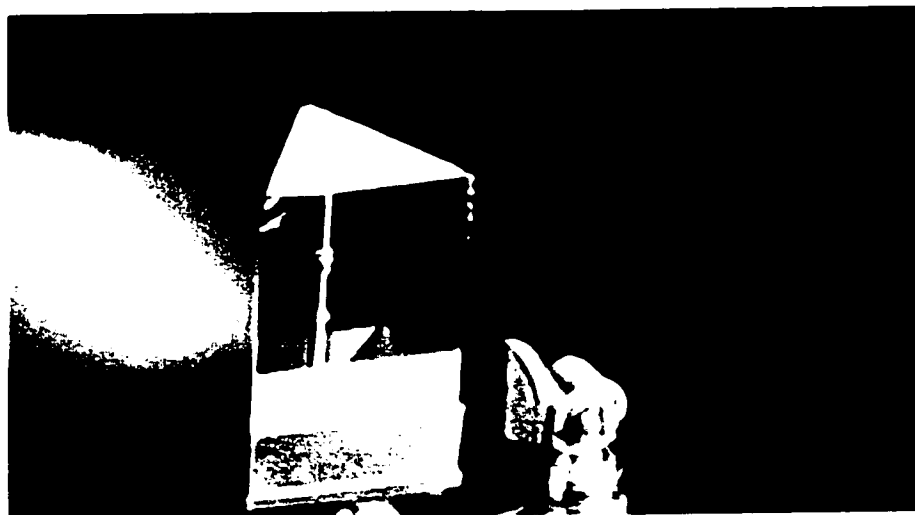


Figure 73

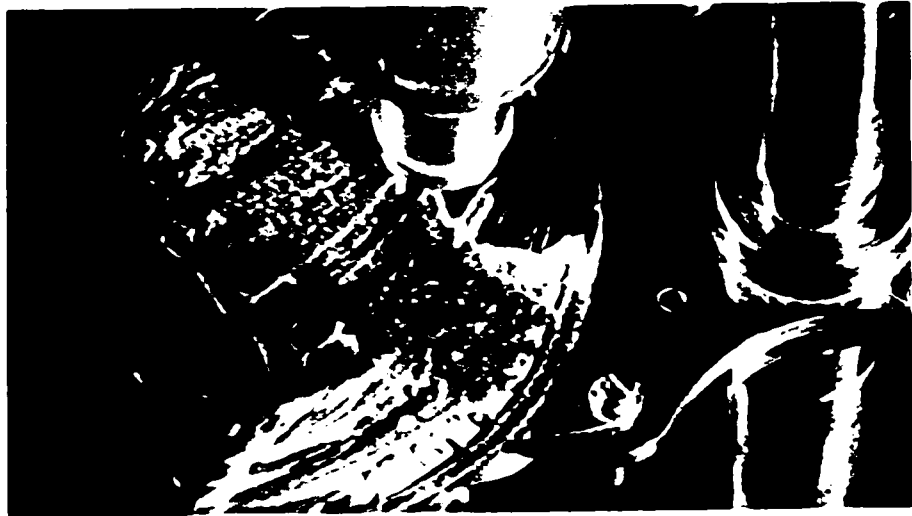


Figure 74



Figure 75



Figure 76



Figure 77



Figure 78



Figure 79



Figure 80



Figure 81



Figure 82



Figure 83



Figure 84



Figure 85



Figure 86



Figure 87



Figure 88

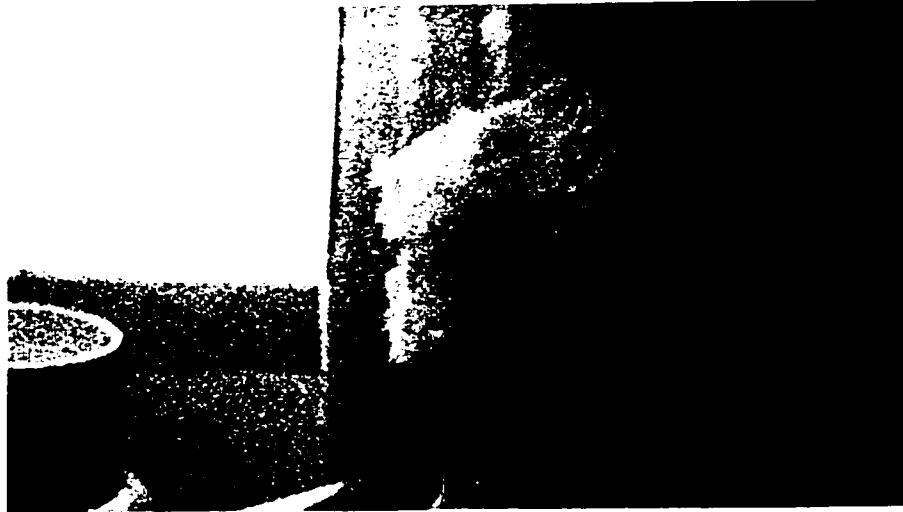


Figure 89



Figure 90



Figure 91



Figure 92

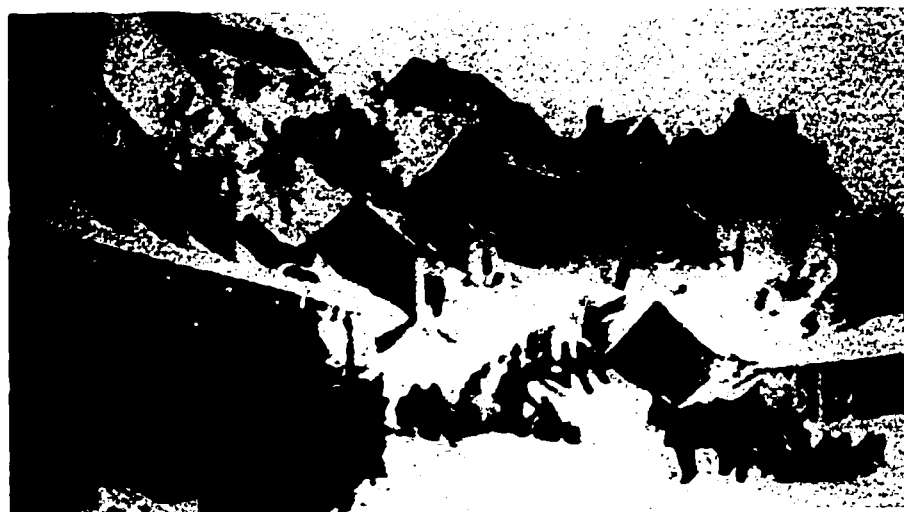


Figure 93



Figure 94



Figure 95

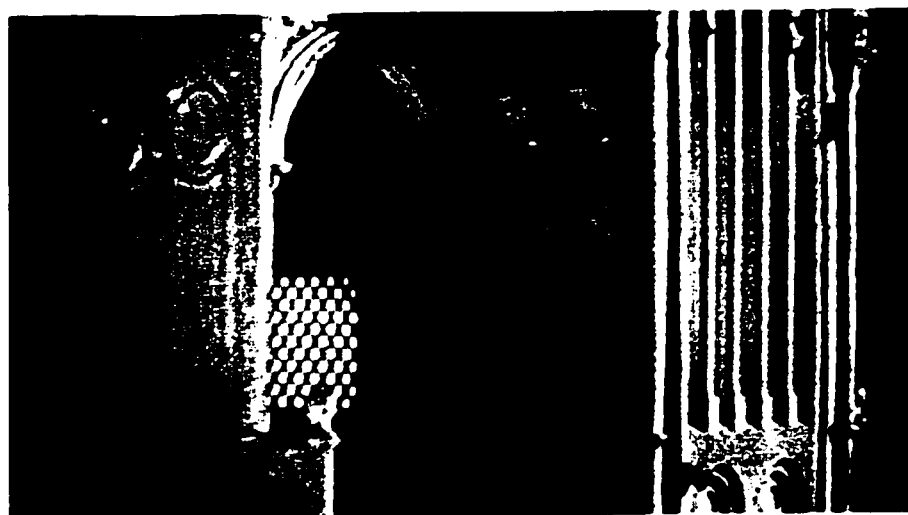


Figure 96



Figure 97



Figure 98



Figure 99



Figure 100



Figure 101



Figure 102



Figure 103



Figure 104



Figure 105



Figure 106



Figure 107

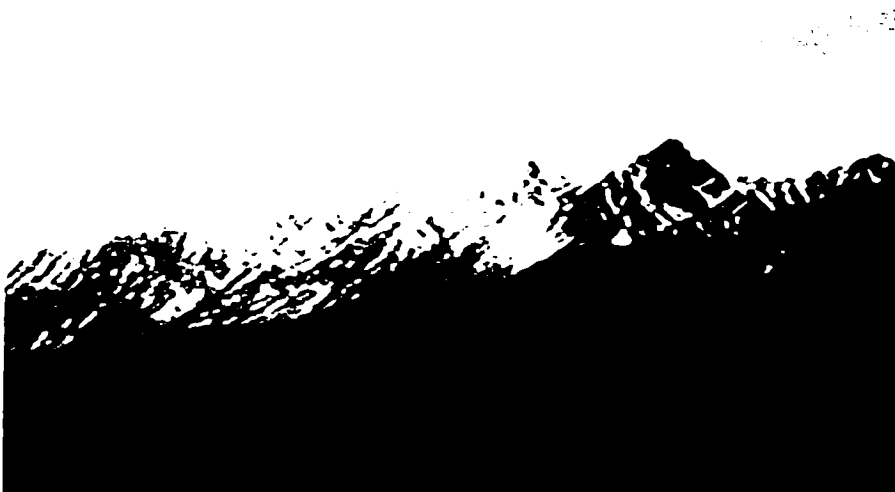


Figure 108

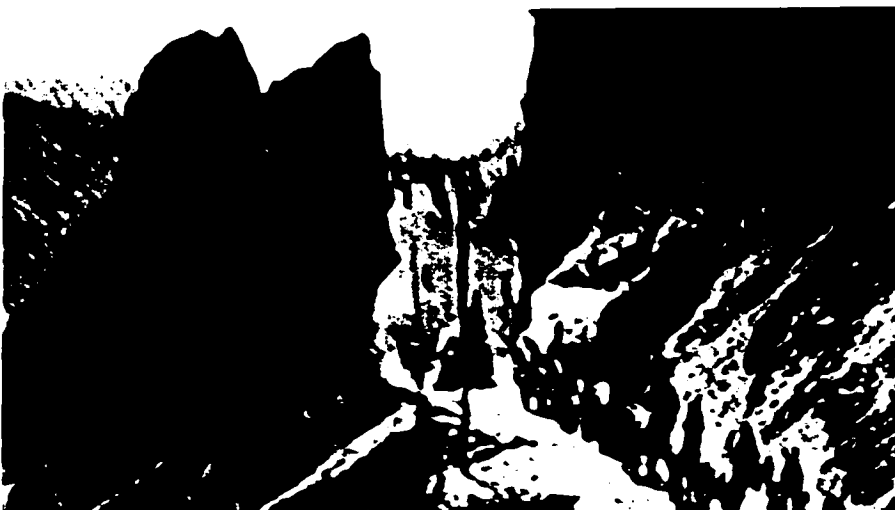


Figure 109



Figure 110



Figure 111



Figure 112



Figure 113



Figure 114

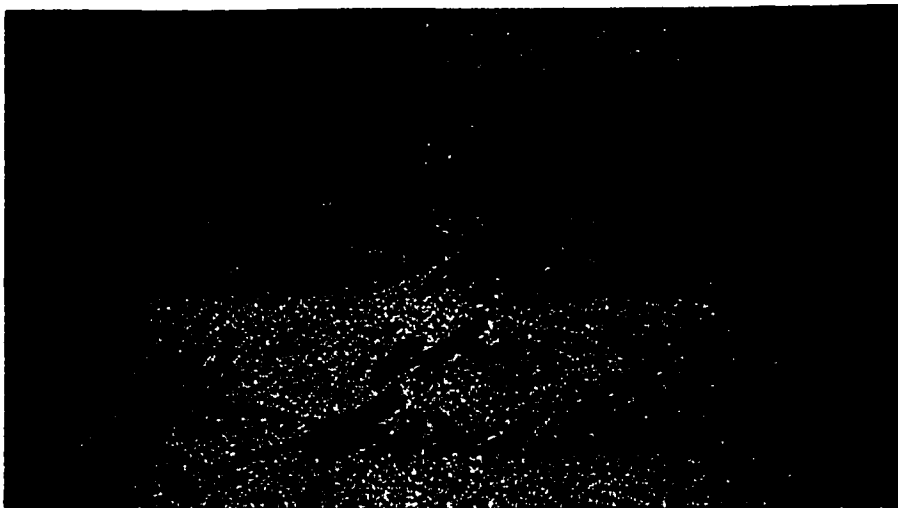


Figure 115

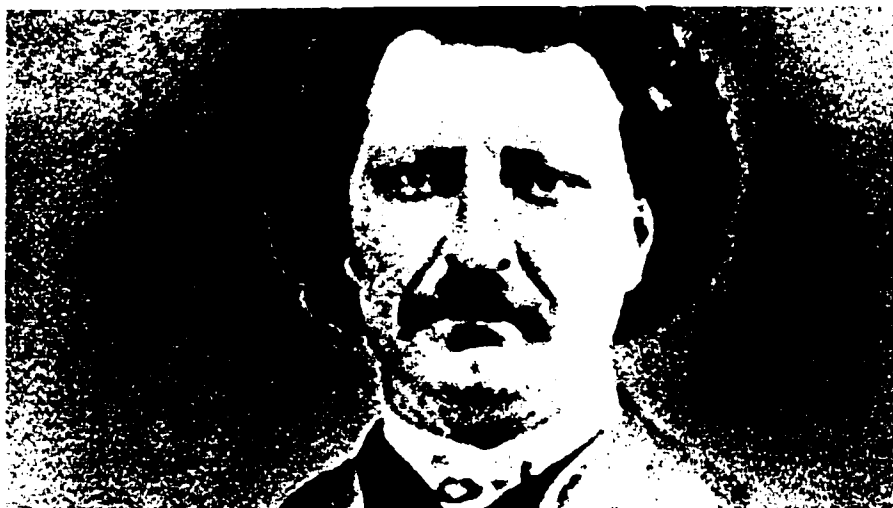


Figure 116

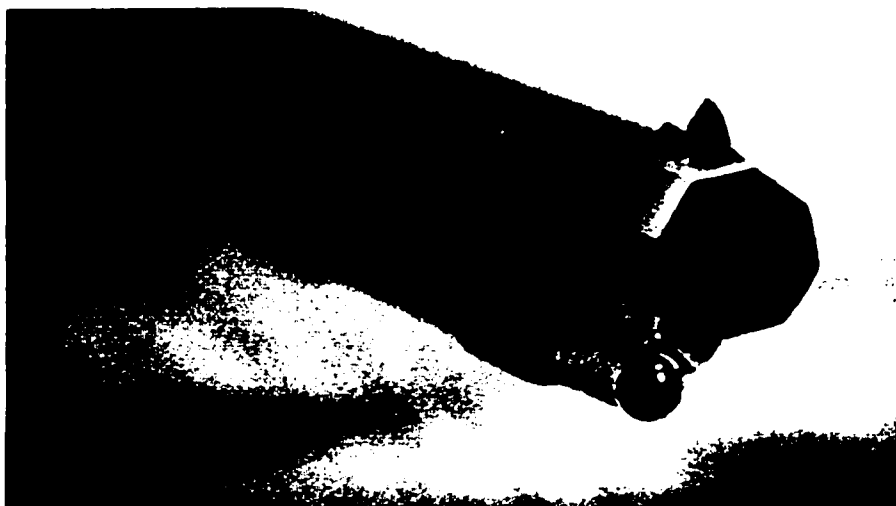


Figure 117



Figure 118



Figure 119



Figure 120



Figure 121



Figure 122



Figure 123



Figure 124

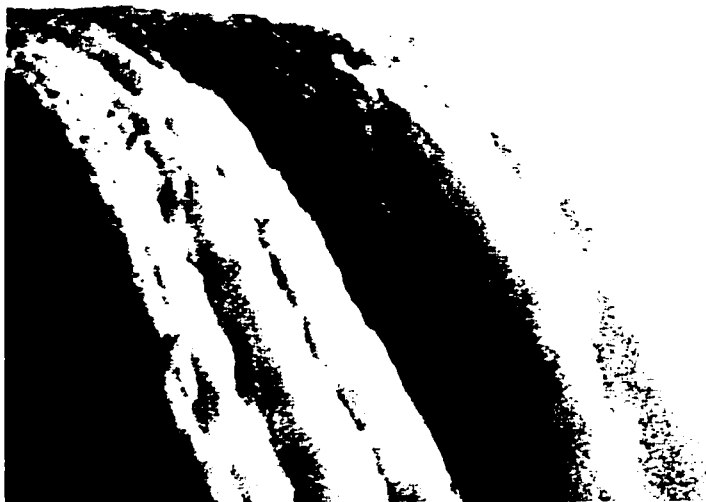


Figure 125



Figure 126



Figure 127



Figure 128



Figure 129



Figure 130



Figure 131



CONCLUSION

Through a concentration on the visual component in the first nine episodes of *Canada: A People's History*, this thesis has aimed to identify the series' specific narrative mode and discursive formation, and has determined them to be romanticist and colonialist, respectively. Landscape and nature played an important role in the determination and presentation of the various subject identities. This occurred on an individual level (for example, the Native as natural man, and the French Canadians and Acadians set in an idyllic space), and on a wider scale (American social space described with images of violence, and the Canadian as a peaceful landscape). The colonial stereotypes of Native representation facilitated the delineation of non-Native subject identities. These stereotypical forms made colonization look like an inevitable process, and by extension supported the implementation of a national identity. The visual narrative constructed subject identities with the mechanism of comparison and contrast. There was always an Other against which a self could be identified. Examples for this are the savage/civilized model and violent American versus the compassionate Canadian.

It is interesting to note that with the exception of a female series voiceover, a speaking or visual presence for Canada is difficult to locate. The title for the series is worth considering, as 'Canada' declares a people's history that it, in fact, ends up depending upon. This points to the influential linkage between people and nation as a self/Other relation. The visual narrative of these episodes displayed the series' persistent need for wholeness - Canada as a unitary state. The enclosure of Native and French-Canadian subject identities, Champlain's narrative of romance, and the omnipresence of love and marriage in episodes eight and nine, all speak to this need for unification.

Bhabha critically approached the relationship between a nation and its people, and in the process he determined the declaration of 'nation' to be "a holistic, representative vision of society...represented in a discourse that was *at the same time* obsessively fixed upon, and uncertain of, the boundaries of society, and the margins of the text."¹ *Canada: A People's History* betrays a similar obsession, one that is centered on a multiplicity of people. It is as if the pronouncement of nationhood from colonial origin is an uncertain thing, and one that must be repeated over and over again. 'Nation' as a distinct identity, like the post-mirror stage child, is therefore underwritten by lack. Both are in a position where they need the Other, continually seeking them out in order to confirm their self-image. The promise of repeated self-visualization contained in videos, digital videodiscs, textual publications, teaching materials, and web pages, may alleviate the anxious state of Canada.

As the reader may readily conclude, there are another nine episodes (#6, and #10-#17) of *Canada: A People's History* that have gone untouched. These extend beyond the scope of the present study's objective of analyzing the visual form and content of the colonial underpinnings in a modern nation's historical narrative. Although the work conducted in this thesis represents a thorough treatment of the visual narrative in eight of the first nine episodes of *Canada: A People's History*, it is only one among many possible avenues of investigation. The author of this thesis believes, however, that it establishes a firm foundation upon which to conduct further research along some of the remaining pathways.

ENDNOTES

¹Homi K. Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* (New York: London: Routledge, 1994), 144.

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INTERNET RESOURCES

Canada: A People's History. <http://history.cbc.ca/histicons/>