Constructing a National Hero. Cancer Politics, Masculinity and Canadian Identity in the Terry Fox Story

Julie Perrone

A Thesis

In the Department

of

History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (History) at

Concordia University

Montreal Quebec, Canada

November 2013

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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By: **Julie Perrone**

Entitled: **Constructing a National Hero, Cancer Politics, Masculinity and Canadian Identity in the Terry Fox Story**

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (History)

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_____ Examiner
Dr. A. Ivaska

_____ Thesis Supervisor
Dr. R. Rudin

Approved by _____
Dr. T. McCormick, Graduate Program Director

November 5, 2013

_____
Dean J. Locke
Faculty of Arts and Science

ABSTRACT

Constructing a National Hero. Cancer Politics, Masculinity and Canadian Identity

in the Terry Fox Story

Julie Perrone, Ph.D.

Concordia University, 2013

Looking at the multitude of honours received by Terry Fox during his short life and bestowed upon him after he passed away, it is undeniable that the marathon runner's historical significance is tremendous. Despite the fact that he did not achieve his objective of running across Canada, and even though his life in the public eye only spanned a little over a year, Fox's legacy and public and official recognition are quite impressive.

But although a nation's heroes may be their most celebrated characters, they are also often the least examined, at least critically. Fox has been a tremendously influential figure in Canadian history, not just recently, and he has redefined for many the image of courage, determination, and selflessness. How did Terry Fox become a hero? How did this particular heroic narrative emerge? How has he been remembered and commemorated over the years? What messages have been disseminated or left out about him, about what he meant to Canadians and what he means to Canadian history? And, in the end, what does the memory of Terry Fox as a national hero tell us about Canada as a country? These are some of the questions that have remained unexplored until now.

We examine the construction process of Terry Fox as a national hero, which is best illustrated through the framework of hegemonic or dominant discourse. We indeed find that the power to define the meaning of the Fox story belonged to a few and offered them opportunities to reshape the past in order to influence the present. Among the multiple and tightly intertwined characteristics of this process, we chose to focus on discourses constructed through the media and through commemoration, about cancer politics, masculinity and national identity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In looking at the value of historical teaching, researchers in Canada (Jocelyn Létourneau) and in the United States (David Thelen and Roy Rosensweig) have found that young people's interest in History is often times dependant on having had one great teacher. A teacher who told the story of a past (or a story of the past), in such a compelling way that it inspired young students to continue investigating History long after leaving the classroom.

For me, this person turned out to be Dr. Ronald Rudin, my supervisor *extraordinaire*. He played a crucial role in getting me to this point here, the acknowledgment page of my doctoral dissertation. Dr. Rudin has instilled in me a passion for the study of Canadian public memory. To me, he is, and will remain, a model of critical inquiry, academic excellence and hilarious cynicism.

This dissertation was written over a three-year period, filled with enlightening and engaging discussions. I am thus indebted to the following people who have helped me in different ways: Steven High, Barbara Lorenzkowsky, Marc Lafrance, Peter Gossage, Graham Carr, Norman Ingram, Andrew Ivaska, Eric Reiter, Carolyn Fick, Robert Rutherdale, Jay Dolmage, Jocelyn Létourneau, Christian Laville, James Opp, Paul Zanazanian, Thomas H.B. Symons, Jack Jedwab, Herbert Marx, Charles Hayter, J.J. McCullough, Anthony Wilson-Smith, Leslie Scrivener, Bill Vigars, Brendan Kelly, Fred Walker, Olivier Côté, William Hamilton, Chris Miller and Simon Jolivet.

Lastly, I must thank my 'moral support' team. Such an endeavour includes exhilarating times but also moments of despair, where we wonder 'Why am I doing this to myself'? My husband Rob has been stellar: he patiently listened to my regularly changing (and usually long-winded) thesis statement, and stayed positive when I was not. Given his legendary propensity for cynicism, this was no small task and I truly appreciate it. My four parents, Papa, Maman, Michèle and Luc, have always been supportive of me. And finally, I should thank my sons, Caemon Bradley and Chase Blake. Even though they are too young to know what a Ph.D. dissertation is (or, en bon français, c'que ça mange en hiver), they should know that they were instrumental in its completion. They are the most beautiful boys on the planet and have made my life, and everything I do, deeply meaningful.

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INTRODUCTION

CONSTRUCTING A NATIONAL HERO

"You know, they say the United States is built on a history of heroes while Canada has none to look up to. But when I looked down the street today and saw Terry, I said, 'There's a hero'."[1] So spoke Sheila Fox (no relation), a Canadian Cancer Society representative, after she had seen Terry Fox[2], the one-legged cancer survivor who set out to run across Canada in April 1980 to collect enough money to find a cure for cancer. This comment that Fox is one of our only heroes in Canada was certainly not exceptional then; the discourse about the young runner in 1980 and 1981 was (and arguably still is today) all about how surprised Canadians were (and are) that this country could actually produce heroism and something akin to devotion to it. As Roy MacGregor mused in 1989, "Canadians aren't very comfortable with heroes. They're more used to cutting down than building up, more expectant of failure than success whenever a fellow citizen dares to raise his or her head above the field."[3] According to his brother Darrell, Terry Fox had been somewhat of a reluctant hero[4], but he was also a hero for a nation not very used to having one. If we agree that "We're just not hero-worshippers in Canada,"[5] it is

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[1] "Doctors diagnosed lung cancer, Terry Fox's marathon run ends," *Chronicle Herald*, September 3, 1980, front page.

[2] It should be noted here that I am choosing to refer to Terry Fox by his full name or last name throughout this dissertation. Most articles and books written about Fox simply refer to him as 'Terry', demonstrating, on the one hand, an (imagined) familiarity with the Canadian runner and, on the other, an indirect way to maintain the boyish image of Terry Fox. Indeed, very rarely has he been called 'Mr.Fox'. My choice is motivated by an academic need to distance myself from my object of study, but also in order to refer to him in the same way I would refer to any individual mentioned by name in this dissertation.

[3] Roy MacGregor, "A pause where Terry stopped Series: MacGregor on the road," *Ottawa Citizen*, July 16, 1989, F1.

[4] Darrell Fox indeed stated, in a documentary about his brother, that "The last thing he wanted was to be a hero." See Randall Carpenter, *A Dream as Big as Our Country. The Life and Times of Terry Fox*, VHS. Directed by John Ritchie. Force 4 Entertainment and The Terry Fox Foundation, 1998.

[5] See Simon Fraser University website at http://www.sfu.ca/terryfox/about/sculpture.html. Last accessed May 27, 2009.

even more significant that a young man like Terry Fox has attained such an exalted status.

Looking at the multitude of honours received by Terry Fox during his short life and bestowed upon him after he passed away, it is undeniable that the marathon runner's historical significance is tremendous. Despite the fact that he did not achieve his objective of running across Canada, and even though his life in the public eye only spanned a little over a year, Fox's legacy and public and official recognition are quite impressive. He was the youngest person to be named a Companion of the Order of Canada; he was named Newsmaker of the year in both 1980 and 1981; his silhouette was featured on a stamp and a coin. There are dozens of schools named after Fox, some twenty roads, streets and highways, public buildings, sports facilities, research centres and even a mountain. Terry Fox statues and memorials pepper the Canadian landscape, with more to come as the City Council of Richmond Hill, ON secured $240,000 in 2013 to build yet another memorial set to be unveiled in 2015.[6] Also in 2013, a Canadian-born L.A. producer has launched a funding campaign to make a Hollywood feature film out of the Fox story.[7] Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages James Moore has also just announced the development of an exhibit on Terry Fox, set to be presented in 2015 at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (soon-to-be Canadian Museum of History) on the 35th anniversary of the beginning of the Marathon of Hope.

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[6] See http://www.yorkregion.com/news-story/3901499-funding-for-terry-fox-tribute-approved-by-council/. Last accessed July 20, 2013.

[7] Marco Chown Oved, "Terry Fox goes to Hollywood," *Toronto Star*, April 12, 2013. Available at http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/movies/2013/04/12/terry_fox_goes_to_hollywood.html. Last accessed April 27, 2013.

During his announcement, Minister Moore stated that "Terry Fox is *one of Canada's greatest heroes* and his story deserves to be known by all Canadians as an important part of our nation's history."[8] But of course, rarely are heroes entirely uncontested and Fox is no exception. Some have raised questions about this exaltation of Fox's "average-ness" which apparently has "made him all the more a hero."[9] Political cartoonist J.J. McCullough has commented that "the contemporary Canadian nationalist-cultural establishment has transformed the late Mr. Fox into the very sort of demigod my teacher originally warned against – noble, flawless, and utterly unassailable in his ambitions and deeds."[10] Others have questioned the apparent commodification of the Terry Fox story: "In 25 years, we have turned Terry Fox's solitary sacrifice into a mass phenomenon and an industry..."[11] But as the memory of Terry Fox slowly fades away, the little dissent his legacy may have given rise to is also quieting down, leaving behind the crystallized image of a young boy turned national hero. In a nation of apparently so few heroes, Terry Fox shines on as a lonely but revered figure, his story crystallized into a heroic narrative of perfect devotion to a cause.

Although a nation's heroes may be their most celebrated characters, they are also often the least examined, at least critically. Fox has been a tremendously influential figure in Canadian history, not just recently, and he has redefined for many the image of courage, determination, and selflessness. However, as a *Vancouver Sun* reader aptly put it

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[8] Official press release by the Department of Canadian Heritage, "Minister Moore Announced Major Partnership to Honour One of Canada's Greatest Heroes: Terry Fox," July 4, 2013. Available at http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1372950507867/1372950530151/. Last accessed July 10, 2013. [our emphasis]
[9] Margaret McCaffery and Terry Murray, "Terry Fox: Heroes Aren't Saints," *Can. Fam. Physician* 27 (August 1981), 1184
[10] J.J. McCullough, blog available at http://www.filibustercartoons.com/index.php/2010/09/29/is-terry-fox-a-good-hero/. Last accessed July 12, 2011.
[11] Joanne Laucius, "Charity fatigue: why can't all that energy be put to something useful?" *Ottawa Citizen*, April 15, 2006, J3.

in 1981, "here we are, a nation in mourning for a young man we never really knew except for a single accomplishment."[12] How did Terry Fox become a hero? How did this particular heroic narrative emerge? How has he been remembered and commemorated over the years? What messages have been disseminated or left out about him, about what he meant to Canadians and what he means to Canadian history? And, in the end, what does the memory of Terry Fox as a national hero tell us about Canada as a country? These are some of the questions that have remained unexplored until now.

Because if he was indeed "a symbol of courage, of hope and of unity"[13] that "met the requirements of heroism"[14] and "personified how we as Canadians feel about ourselves,"[15] then it follows that learning more about Terry Fox can help us better understand the Canadian society that celebrated him. We thus propose to examine the construction process of Terry Fox as a national hero. Among the multiple and tightly intertwined characteristics of this process, we chose to focus on discourses constructed through the media and through commemoration, about cancer politics, masculinity and national identity.

Constructing Terry Fox

The construction of Terry Fox as a national hero is best illustrated through the framework of hegemonic or dominant discourse. We find indeed that the power to define

[12] "Letters to the Editor," *Vancouver Sun*, June 29, 1981, 4.
[13] Henry Ginger, "Terry Fox, Canadian hero dies: ran in Marathon despite cancer," *New York Times*, June 29, 1981, A1.
[14] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox: His Story*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981, 173.
[15] Bill Vigars quoted in Bruce Ward, "Terry's Marathon of Hope brought the country together," *Ottawa Citizen*, April 12, 2005, A1.

the meaning of the Fox story belonged to a few and offered them opportunities to reshape the past in order to influence the present. We use Antonio Gramsci's conception of hegemony, which entails "the creation of a particular structure of knowledge and a particular system of values."[16] This concept is essential in understanding the process of constructing Terry Fox and it ties together our discussion of the discourses at play in the Fox story and its commemoration. We find hegemony in the discursive forms taken by the media coverage of Fox's story and by the commemorative materials produced to remember and celebrate him. Michel Foucault's extensive work on the construction of hegemonic discourse is at the basis of our inquiry into how Fox has been remembered. According to Foucault, discourse analysis is about "saisir l'énoncé dans l'étroitesse et la singularité de son événement; de déterminer les conditions de son existence, d'en fixer au plus juste les limites, d'établir ses corrélations aux autres énoncés qui peuvent lui être liés, de montrer quelles autres formes d'énonciation il exclut."[17] It is thus not only about tracing the emergence of a particular discourse, but also to take notice of what has been left out in the process.

A significant means of disseminating dominant discourses is through the media, whose role in constructing meaning has been extensively discussed (and criticized). As Michael Evans states, "People and organizations are shaped by discursive forces, and the media play a powerful role in that discourse."[18] While hegemony may mean the domination of "a social group over the entire national society"[19] through the use of

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[16] Benedetto Fontana, *Hegemony and Power. On the Relation Between Gramsci and Machiavelli,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, 140.
[17] Michel Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir*, Paris: Gallimard, 1969, 40.
[18] Michael Robert Evans, "Hegemony and Discourse: Negotiating Cultural Relationships Through the Media Production," *Journalism* 3 (2002), 313.
[19] Antonio Gramsci, *Letters from Prison*, vol. 2, Frank Rosengarten, ed., New York: Columbia University Press, 1994, 67.

violence or coercion, Gramsci, and many after him, have argued that hegemony can also be achieved through ideology, or cultural hegemony. In other words, Gramscian hegemony is a peaceful yet intrusive and pervasive way to impose a way of life, a set of values. As Mark Stoddart rightly puts it, "Hegemony appears as the 'common sense' that guides our everyday, mundane understanding of the world,"[20] common sense that Gramsci conceptualized as "a relatively rigidified phase of popular knowledge in a given time and place."[21] The media certainly plays an active part in manufacturing consent and elaborating this 'common sense' and an examination of the Terry Fox story will inevitably entail a discussion of the role of the media in constructing it.

Commemoration is also a rich source of representations of hegemonic discourse: "À travers les actes commémoratifs, la mémoire se révèle être un indicateur des positions sociales dominantes ou valorisées."[22] A central idea of commemoration is indeed that of power, that is, the power to create and shape. As H.V. Nelles established in his study of Quebec City's Tercentenary celebrations: "Power to define the event, of course, rested ultimately with those who would foot the bill..."[23] Those who have the means to pay are the voices heard in the commemoration process, itself a reflection of the power relations in place and at play in society. This is why monuments not only celebrate a heroic individual or a watershed event, but also commemorate those who played a part in erecting the monument. Plaques listing the generous contributors to the monuments make

[20] Mark C. J. Stoddart, "Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse: A Critical Review of Theories of Knowledge and Power," *Social Thought & Research* Vol. 28 (2007), 201.
[21] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, David Forgacs and G. Nowell-Smith, eds. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985, 421.
[22] Dominique-Valérie Malak, *Identités, mémoires et constructions nationales: la commémoration extérieure à Québec, 1889-2001*, Ph.D. in Geographical Science, Université Laval, Département de foresterie et géomatique, 2003, 1.4.1, par.6.
[23] H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, 63.

sure that a selfless act does not go unnoticed. As James Young argues in his study of Holocaust memorials, "Memory is never shaped in a vacuum; the motives of memory are never pure."[24] Hence the commemoration of Terry Fox touches on the construction of his memory, the negotiations entailed in fabricating meaning and the underlying motives for making the story what it is today.

There are quite a few discourses about Fox disseminated through media coverage and commemorative materials, but we find that the most significant are those which have been the most prominent in his memory and yet, surprisingly, are also those which have never been questioned: attitudes to cancer, masculinity and national identity. One should note that these are heavily politicized issues which have become somewhat sanitized or oversimplified in the story. A critical inquiry into how these issues have been framed, elaborated and shared will illustrate the construction of Terry Fox as a national hero and will explain his significance in the context of 1980s Canada.

Susan Sontag's seminal work *Illness as Metaphor* is central to our understanding of the cancer discourse. In looking at the use of cancer as a metaphor for modern ills, Sontag finds that the discursive construction of the disease has contributed, in a sense, to the manufacturing of a relatively consensual and generally negative view of the disease. Cancer is a very political issue, even polemical as Sontag would argue. Debates about cancer and its treatment are ultimately about power relations: between doctors and patients, between practitioners and scientific researchers, between government and pharmaceutical companies. Terry Fox may be known as Canada's "cancer crusader,"[25] yet one would be at a loss to find any trace of these debates in his remembered story. To

[24] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust Memorials and Meaning,* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993, 2.
[25] "Terry Fox rites; cancer crusader," *The Telegraph*, July 3, 1981, 4.

truly understand the story of Terry Fox, we need to be aware of the discussions about cancer that were taking place at the time of the Marathon of Hope and whether and how these have evolved since. Fox made some choices in his own dealings with the disease and these also need to be explained and contextualized. By taking a closer look at cancer as a socially constructed discourse, we can start piecing together what exactly is entailed in constructing this national hero.

Hegemonic discourse is also found in the way Fox has been represented as a young man. Indeed, most importantly and glaringly ignored in the story is the idea of masculinity, deeply embedded in our collective remembering yet not really acknowledged in a significant way. The analytical frame of hegemonic masculinity originally developed by R.W. Connell in *Masculinities* is quite useful to explain Fox's construction, so too is the impressive scholarship produced by the many applications of this framework.[26] Hegemonic masculinity entails a similar process of manufacturing consent as found in Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony, through education and, ultimately, the internalization of elements embedded in this fabricated consensus. As in the political relationship described by Gramsci, Connell argues that the idealized masculine type may change over time: "Hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable."[27] Since Terry Fox is presented both as an uncontestable hero and as a

[26] Among the countless works on hegemonic masculinity, see for example works by renowned masculinity scholars Michael Kimmel and Michael Messner, especially their book *Men's Lives*. In Canada, Christopher Dummit's *The Manly Modern. Masculinity in Postwar Canada* is a must-read. Also pertinent is the recently published anthology edited byJosep M. Armengol, *Embodying Masculinities: Towards a History of the Male Body in U.S. Culture and Literature*.
[27] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities,* Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995, 76.

modest young man, a reflection on what type of masculinity/ies he is supposed to represent should allow us to identify the idealized form of the Canadian man and the specific values deemed inherently masculine, and heroic, at the time of his Marathon of Hope.

A third critical element in the Fox story is its intimate link with national identity and the concomitant construction of that identity through the elaboration of Fox's heroic image. Since Benedict Anderson's seminal book, *Imagined Communities*, works on the constructed nature of national identity, including a nation's foundational myths, have been legion. We have been particularly influenced by works tying together national identity and memory, especially John R. Gillis's anthology on *Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* and Pierre Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire*. We understand national identity in the same way as Gillis does, that is "National identities are, like everything historical, constructed and reconstructed…"[28]

In the same way that nations and identities are constructed, Hobsbawm and Ranger have suggested that traditions, and the past that they celebrate, are also invented, and serve "to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition which automatically supplies continuity with the past."[29] These traditions can take the shape of public commemorations, and as such they harness the power of collective memory to construct a national identity, to foster national consensus. The power and significance of memory for identity is undeniable. Pierre Nora has looked at the manifold manifestations

[28] John R. Gillis, "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," in John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, 4.
[29] Eric Hobsbawm, "The Invention of Tradition," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 1.

of memory and argued that there exist a space between memory (a personal, more colourful recollection of the past) and history (a more static and distanced past) which he calls *lieux de mémoire*. According to him, this liminal space is the "ultimate embodiment of a memorial consciousness that has barely survived in a historical age that calls out for memory because it has abandoned it."[30] A central characteristic of a *lieu de mémoire* is a willingness to remember and as such, it replicates power relations found in society and contributes in fostering (or imposing) consent over whose memory will be perpetuated over others. As the epitome of Canadianness, Terry Fox needs to be examined for what he and his memory mean for the national identity, especially given that this very identity was being challenged at the time of his Marathon.[31] We can extrapolate from his construction as a hero similar concerns and interests needing to be addressed in the construction or reshaping of the Canadian identity.

These three discourses are very much present in media and commemoration and in the story of Terry Fox itself. These have been deeply influential on the process of constructing the national hero but have also very much been influenced by that process as well. Some have written about Fox's life, about his cancer research legacy, or about his disability; but we need to learn more about how his story has been framed, shaped and retold. In the following chapters, we want to shed light on the behind-the-scene activities entailed in such a construction process. But before elaborating on the itinerary we will follow in (re)telling Fox's story, it seems necessary to begin with a short overview of that story, as it has been disseminated, repeated and remembered for more than three decades.

[30] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* n° 26 (Spring 1989), 12.
[31] Indeed, the Marathon of Hope took place in 1980, just around the time of the first Quebec referendum. It was thus a particularly significant and challenging moment for the Canadian identity. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

An overview of the story

Terry Fox started his Marathon of Hope on April 12, 1980 in St. John's Newfoundland. In the company of long-time friend Doug Alward, Fox, a kinesiology student from Simon Fraser University, wanted to set a record. While Mark Kent ran across Canada in 1974 and Brendan Kelly in 1977[32], Fox was going to be the first Canadian to run across the country on an artificial leg. A native of Winnipeg, Manitoba but raised in Port Coquitlam, British Columbia, the 21-year old amputee had lost a leg to cancer three years earlier. Marked by his experience in a cancer treatment unit, where he saw much younger children succumb to the seemingly incurable disease, he decided to help by collecting funds for cancer research in Canada. He set out on his journey almost ignored by the media, dipping his artificial leg in the Atlantic Ocean in front of a few onlookers and a reluctant journalist.

The CP release for the onset of the Marathon of Hope, one of our first glimpse of Terry Fox, was as follows :

> A man who lost his left leg to cancer three years ago says he hopes to run about 50 kilometres a day on his way across Canada. He began in St. John's on Saturday. Terry Fox, 21, of Port Coquitlam, B.C., said in an interview that he expects to reach Vancouver in late September or early October. "The most difficult part of the trip will be from here to Halifax because I'll have problems repairing or replacing my artificial leg." He said an artificial leg isn't made for running and he expects one to last about seven days. The War Amputees Association of Canada has said it would repair his artificial leg and provide him with new ones throughout the marathon.

[32] While Kent was the first to run across Canada, a man named John Gillis was the first one to walk across the country in 1906. Jennie Dill was the first woman to do so in 1921. See "Grueling run across Canada for a cause ain't what it used to be," *Toronto Star*, July 10, 2012, available at http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2012/07/10/gruelling_run_across_canada_for_a_cause_aint_what_it_used_to_be.html. Last accessed April 28, 2013.

> He said he decided about 14 months ago to run from Newfoundland to British Columbia to raise money for the Canadian Cancer Society and he has been training ever since. During the run he plans to take a break after each 16 kilometres. A van, supplied by a major Canadian manufacturer and equipped with sleeping quarters, will accompany him. Before leaving St. John's, Mr. Fox dipped his artificial leg in the harbour and said he wants to do the same in Vancouver. "My home is in British Columbia and I want to finish at home," he said.[33]

Early reports about Fox told readers that he was 21 years old, from Port Coquitlam, B.C. and that he had lost a leg to cancer. But besides this, journalists focused on Fox's plans for the run, his training, his rest, the maintenance of his artificial leg, in short the logistical side of the run. During the Eastern portion of his run, he received sparse media attention[34]; in some newspapers, readers could know how far Fox was every two weeks or so, but Canadians in general barely knew the "21 year old amputee who is running across Canada with the aid of an artificial leg."[35]

Things seemed to get worse when the Marathon of Hope went through the province of Quebec, then in the midst of a heated political debate over the place of Quebec within (or outside of) Canada. The newspaper coverage in Quebec was perhaps indicative of the uneasy relationship between that province and Terry Fox; he became

[33] "Leg amputated in illness case, man to run for Cancer Society," *Globe and Mail*, April 14, 1980, 9.
[34] From April 14 to May 7 1980, almost no one talked about Fox except in two newspapers, including Newfoundland's *Evening Telegram* which featured a small *entrefilet* on April 25 to announce that "Runner about half-way across the province." See *Evening Telegram*, April 25, 1980, 4. Fox may not have received media attention, but he apparently enjoyed great public support, as Leslie Scrivener reported on April 17 that "Terry is being cheered by motorists, who honk, wave and wish him well, and is warmly welcomed in the tiny Newfoundland whistle stops along the route." Leslie Scrivener, "He runs a campaign of courage," *Toronto Star*, April 17, 1980, D1.
[35] "Amputee's run 'piece of cake'," *Vancouver Sun*, May 15, 1980, B4.

'newsworthy' on the eve of his visit to Montreal and close to two months after the Marathon of Hope had begun.[36] As a *Vancouver Sun* reporter wrote,

> He's been run off the road by passing semi-trailer trucks, pelted by hailstones the size of golf balls…But for Terry Fox, who started jogging 8,500 kilometres across Canada April 12 to raise money for cancer research, the biggest problem to be faced now is the language barrier…as soon as he crossed the border into Quebec, Fox said he knew he was going to have problems…Support from the Quebec branches of the Cancer Society, which were supposed to assist in the fundraising by arranging events along the way, has also been disappointing, he says.[37]

Quebec was overtaken at the same time by the referendum campaign. It would be tempting to argue that Fox, a unilingual Anglophone, coming from a distant province in a country from which many (but not many enough as it would turn out) were hoping to separate, did nothing to help the situation.

As the story goes however, by the time he reached Ontario, Fox and his Marathon garnered more media attention and Canadians became aware of his existence. Fox crossed the Ontario border with sincere relief, and with little money to show for his efforts (a meager 35 dollars collected over a 100 mile stretch).[38] A news item when he arrived in Ottawa, Fox achieved celebrity status upon his arrival in Toronto: huge crowds gathered to see him, girls blushed as they rushed to him for autographs, and his personal life became newsworthy on all levels. In Thunder Bay, he announced he had to stop running because the very disease for which he was working so hard to get a cure, came back with a vengeance. From Canadian celebrity, he became then a national hero.

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[36] Leslie Scrivener, "Terry's running for the Cancer Society," *Montreal Gazette*, April 28, 1980, 21. And even at that, the article is a reproduction of one published in the *Toronto Star*. Leslie Scrivener is the journalist who followed Terry throughout the run, and who wrote his biography in 1981.
[37] "B.C. cross-country runner has problems in Quebec," *Vancouver Sun*, June 21, 1980, A9.
[38] Randall Carpenter, *A Dream as Big as Our Country. The Life and Times of Terry Fox*, VHS. Directed by John Ritchie. Force 4 Entertainment and The Terry Fox Foundation, 1998.

The assumed national sadness with which this news was received translated into…money. As Rick Ouston reported in the *Vancouver Sun*, the donations started pouring in right after Fox announced that his cancer was back.[39] Not only was money coming in for the Canadian Cancer Society, but honours began to flow for Fox after the end of the run, beginning by the ad hoc organization of a telethon on September 7, 1980, a way to continue the run for him. Organized by CTV, the telethon lasted five hours, enough time to collect 10 million dollars,[40] with the Ontario and British Columbia governments each pledging a million. The telethon was organised in less than 48 hours and was an unequivocal success, and Canadians congratulated themselves for it. The *Globe and Mail* reported that the telethon helped raise 100,000$ in two hours, while "it took 18 hours to raise that much on the Jerry Lewis muscular dystrophy telethon."[41]

Other than this star-studded event[42] organised in his name, Fox was given a series of awards shortly after the end of his Marathon. As early as September 13, 1980, some ten days after the end of the Marathon, the *Montreal Gazette* reported that an Ottawa city councillor asked that Ottawa "…create a more permanent tribute to Fox and suggested the trophy for the National Capital Marathon, held each spring, be named after him."[43] On September 18, he received the Order of Canada from Governor General Edward Schreyer, even though the Order was given twice a year on specific dates, "because of Fox's illness, and because of his contribution to the country, a special award should be

[39] Rick Ouston, "Donations pour in at end of Terry's run," *Vancouver Sun*, September 13, 1980, front page.
[40] The Terry Fox Foundation website, www.terryfox.org/Foundation/Facts.html, Last accessed November 11, 2011.
[41] "Terry Fox delighted as Telethon pushes total to $10 million," *Globe and Mail*, September 9, 1980, 4.
[42] Among the stars participating in the event were Darryl Sittler, Elton John, Lee Majors, Gordon Lightfoot, Anne Murray and John Denver, "Terry's favourite singer". "Terry Fox delighted as Telethon pushes total to $10 million," *Globe and Mail*, September 9, 1980, 4.
[43] "Cancer society studies ways to spend Terry Fox windfall," *Montreal Gazette*, September 13, 1980, 24.

made."[44] On October 21, the highest honour in British Columbia, the Order of the Dogwood, was offered to Fox by Premier Bill Bennett; the American Cancer Society awarded him its Sword of Hope on November 22; his athletic feat was recognized by the Lou Marsh award[45] on December 18 and he was voted Canadian of the year by members of the Canadian Press on December 23, 1980.

Terry Fox died on June 28, 1981 after a much publicized fight with cancer. His state funeral took place on July 2, the day after Canada Day, which prompted the *Ottawa Citizen* to headline "Canada's joy mixed with sorrow", since the day's celebrations had been dedicated to the late hero.[46] The funeral was televised nationally, despite the family's initial wish for a private ceremony: "The family reluctantly agreed earlier this week to allow television cameras into the church."[47] Perhaps a demonstration of the Fox family's resentment of having had to share Fox with an entire country on that day is the fact that in a fairly comprehensive list of honours bestowed on Fox and important events available on the Terry Fox Foundation website, there is no mention of the funeral.[48] Far from being private, the ceremony was attended by 40 family members and more than 200 guests.[49] Simultaneous memorial services were held across the country, including one in

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[44] "Terry Fox to get Order of Canada," *Montreal Gazette*, September 16, 1980, front page.
[45] The Lou Marsh Award is usually remitted to the top Canadian athlete each year since 1936, either at the amateur or professional level. Among its well-known recipients are Barbara Ann Scott (figure skating), Marilyn Bell (swimming), Bobby Orr, Guy Lafleur, Wayne Gretszky, Mario Lemieux and Sidney Crosby (hockey). Terry Fox is the only recipient rewarded not for participation in a specific sport, but for his physical prowess in the Marathon of Hope. According to Bill Vigars, this award is the one that resonated most with Terry Fox, as it recognized his athleticism rather than his handicap. Personal interview, March 5, 2012.
[46] Stephan Bindman, "Canada's joy mixed with sorrow," *Ottawa Citizen*, July 2, 1981, front page.
[47] Yves Lavigne, "CTV won't share Fox coverage in spite of request from family," *Globe and Mail*, July 2, 1981, front page.
[48] Terry Fox Foundation website, available at: http://www.terryfox.org/Foundation/Facts.html. Last accessed May 24, 2013.
[49] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 182.

Ottawa where 10,000 mourners were joined by a tearful Pierre Elliott Trudeau[50] who allowed flags to be flown at half-staff for a few days, "an honor usually reserved for major political officials."[51]

While Fox received countless honours before he passed away, and continues to do so posthumously, the few years after his death were the most 'prolific'. Most of the commemorative materials about Fox were indeed produced/unveiled between 1981 and 1985. After that, commemorations still occurred but sparsely, following no specific pattern with the exception of the 25th anniversary of the Marathon of Hope in 2005 when another round of honours was lavished on Terry Fox's memory (and family). One might expect a similar frenzy in 2015, on the 35th anniversary of the Marathon.

Historicizing Terry Fox

As mentioned earlier, this process of constant remembering has never been examined, even though Terry Fox is a well-known figure in Canadian history. The Fox story continues to be told in the same uncritical manner as it has been for close to 35 years. All in all, three theses[52] and three articles[53] form the rather limited body of work

[50] Picture of P.E. Trudeau, *Globe and Mail*, July 3, 1981, 8.
[51] "Canada televises funeral of young cancer victim," *New York Times*, July 3, 1981, A5.
[52] Francine Saillant, *Les aspects culturels de l'expérience du cancer en contexte clinique moderne*, PhD diss., McGill University, 1986; Susan Elizabeth Hart, *Sculpting a Canadian Hero: Shifting Concepts of National Identity in Ottawa's Core Area Commemoration*, PhD diss., Concordia University, 2008; and Karen Ann Christiuk, *Portrayals of Disability in Canadian Newspapers: An Exploration of Terry Fox,* M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 2009.
[53] Deborah Harrison, "The Terry Fox Story and the Popular Media: A Case Study in Ideology and Illness," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 22, no. 4 (1985): 496-514; Susan P. C. Cole, "The

including some sort of analytical component with regards to the Terry Fox story, and most of them have to do with cancer.

Deborah Harrison examines the newspaper coverage of the Marathon of Hope and suggests that the news story is usually framed to show "the possessive individualist ideals … as more important than the society and the individual as self-responsible."[54] She argues that the press coverage of the Terry Fox story adopted a narrative in which cancer was seen as an individual's problem, not a social one. Also using the cancer lens, Francine Saillant looks at cancer patients' attitudes toward the disease and briefly examines the media coverage of cancer victims Terry Fox and Johnny Rougeau (a French Canadian wrestler) to argue that their representation in the media promoted specific attitudes which were in turn translated into general expectations of how cancer sufferers should behave.[55] Susan Cole discusses the field of cancer research and how the funds amassed through the Marathon of Hope and the annual runs have been instrumental in the scientific advances made in the treatment of the disease. Her study is more focused on the medical aspects of cancer and cancer research and on the use of the Fox money. These three sources date back to the late 1980s and early 1990s and are essentially concerned with Fox as a cancer victim. There are no alternate reading of the meaning of Fox besides this focus on the disease that took him.

Using a different framework of analysis, Karen Ann Christiuk looks at the representations of disability in the Canadian media, with Terry Fox as her case study. She concludes that the media portrayed the disabled young man in "several traditionally

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Legacy of Terry Fox," *Queen's Quarterly* 97, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 253-275; and Sally Chivers, "Ordinary People. Reading the TransCanadian Terry Fox," *Canadian Literature* 202 (Autumn 2009): 80-94.

[54] Deborah Harrison, "The Terry Fox Story and the Popular Media," 498.

[55] Francine Saillant, *Les aspects culturel…*, 338.

stereotyped ways" and that more details about him "appeared at the onset of his terminal illness,"[56] something our research has confirmed as well. While her analysis gets somewhat closer to our own object of study, her limited sources (forty articles taken from either the *Toronto Star* or the *Globe and Mail*) inevitably reduce the scope of her work and, ultimately, the strength of her argument. At the very least, however, Christiuk offers a different perspective on the legacy of Terry Fox, considering as she does the importance of disability in the Fox story.

Only two authors look at the commemoration of Terry Fox: Sally Chivers and Susan Elizabeth Hart. Chivers's 2009 piece in *Canadian Literature* uses the same framework of disability studies as Christiuk to examine commemorative representations of Terry Fox, looking more closely at a children's book and a pictorial tribute.[57] She finds that the story told "deliberately excludes relevant aspects of disability."[58] According to Chivers, the commemorative materials about Fox "fail to capture the disability narrative."[59] Chivers manages to touch upon key aspects of the Fox memory and even includes Steven Fonyo in her analysis, though the article format does not allow her to elaborate much on most of these aspects. Hart's 2008 doctoral dissertation examines Ottawa's commemorative landscape and devotes a few pages to the Terry Fox statue. Hart discusses the move of the statue to make it part of the Path of Heroes, a federal initiative honouring historical characters that have shaped the country.[60] She devotes a

[56] Karen Ann Christiuk, *Portrayals of Disability in Canadian Newspapers*, ii.
[57] The books are Maxine Trottier's *Terry Fox: A Story of Hope* and Douglas Coupland's *Terry*, both published in 2005.
[58] Sally Chivers, "Ordinary People. Reading the TransCanadian Terry Fox," *Canadian Literature* 202 (Autumn 2009), 83.
[59] Ibid, 85.
[60] Besides Terry Fox, the Path of Heroes includes, among others, statues of Sir John A. MacDonald, Colonel John By, soldiers of WWI and WWII, Lester B. Pearson, Laura Secord, and Sir Galahad. It should be noted that the initiative has been dropped since, though some walking tours still use the term 'Path of

few lines to contrasting Fox with his 'neighbour', Sir Galahad[61], stating that the two men "offer a fine example of the evolution of the heroic male ideal over the century that separates them."[62] Unfortunately, the scope of her fascinating dissertation does not allow her to spend much time on Terry Fox and the meanings of his commemoration.

The body of work on Terry Fox is thus very limited in terms of the sources used, the period covered and the themes addressed. Authors have overwhelmingly relied on newspapers for their research, making the print media the only source, or "vecteur de mémoire" as Henri Rousso would say,[63] for Fox's story. No one has yet to look at any other materials produced about Terry Fox, whether these are films, documentaries, television and radio coverage or monuments. With the exception of Susan Hart's doctoral dissertation and Sally Chivers's article, all other studies have examined the coverage of the Marathon of Hope in 1980, some extending the scope to include Fox's death in 1981. Finally, the study of Terry Fox has been limited mostly to representations of disability and disease, a rather reductionist view of Terry Fox and what he means to Canadians and Canadian history.

Heroes'. See for example http://www.ottawawalkingtours.com/en/our-tours.aspx. Last accessed August 15, 2013.

[61] The statue of Sir Galahad was erected to commemorate Henry Albert Harper, a civil servant who died in 1901 while trying to save a young woman from the frozen waters of the Ottawa river. See the entry in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, available at http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/harper_henry_albert_13E.html. Last accessed August 23, 2013.

[62] Susan Elizabeth Hart, *Sculpting a Canadian Hero*, 179.

[63] Henri Rousso, *Le syndrome de Vichy*. Paris: Le Seuil, 1990, 253. Rousso separates memory materials into three distinct vectors: *vecteurs officiels* (statues and plaques), *vecteurs associatifs et culturels* (movies, biographies), *vecteurs savants* (history textbooks). Arguably, given the dearth of academic work on Fox, his memory mostly consists of official and cultural vectors, with a few references to Fox in Canadian history high school textbooks as 'vecteurs savants'. Additionally, most of the materials coming from these vectors were produced/released between 1980 and 1985.

(Re)telling the Terry Fox story

In the following chapters, we wish to tell a different Terry Fox story; a story about how and why he became a hero, how he is remembered and what messages are carried through this remembering. The public memory of Fox takes multiple forms and is made to carry multiple messages. We examined this plethora of primary materials to extract key messages about Terry Fox and about Canada in the 1980s. Commemorative materials are the historical aspect of memory, what Henry Rousso calls "l'étude de l'évolution des différentes pratiques sociales, de leur forme et de leur contenu ayant pour objet ou pour effet, explicitement ou non, la représentation du passé et l'entretien de son souvenir."[64] In this particular case, it is the study of the material forms produced to illustrate the memory of Terry Fox: media outputs, monuments, official honours, movies, ceremonies and rituals, biographies, learning materials, personal memories and any other memory marker used to tell the story of Terry Fox. All these materials have been examined as primary sources for the study of the memory of Terry Fox. Some sources were useful in providing context or texture to the story, others were instrumental in our understanding of the Fox phenomenon. However, most of them are repeating a traditional version of the story; we are indeed left with an almost entirely uncritical memory of Terry Fox.

There are also witnesses of the story to take into account, those who saw Fox during the Marathon of Hope and continue to be deeply attached to their memories of him and his run. There are still many of his friends and family around,

[64] Henry Rousso, *Le syndrome de Vichy*, 11.

some of them working actively in continuing Fox's self-appointed mission. In the meantime, they also perpetuate a "souvenir partiel, lié à l'expérience vécue." This memory, according to Henry Rousso, projects a "représentation figée, défensive ou offensive, de l'événement."[65] The Fox family has a significant stranglehold on all materials bearing Terry Fox's name. Let us only think of all the book authors thanking the family for approving their work, or the fate of a movie that the family did not deem suitable to his memory.[66] That stranglehold, ferociously defended, compares to the feeling of ownership over history felt by veterans of a war[67]: the narrative is static and the possibility of revision is almost non-existant. Though we attempted to interview Fox family members, our request was unfortunately denied and so too our access to Terry Fox materials held by the family. To be fair, our timing was unfortunate as it was a period in which the Fox family was in the process of repatriating 'all things Terry' under a single roof, which may have explained their unwillingness to grant access to un-catalogued documents and materials. Midway through our research process, Betty Fox, the hero's mother, passed away, which also proved to be an inauspicious time to send repeated meeting requests.

On the other hand, we did have the pleasure of interviewing Bill Vigars, Fox's long-time friend and Cancer Society representative at the time of the Marathon. Vigars, now working as a public relations consultant, met with Fox a few weeks after the beginning of the Marathon of Hope and campaigned

[65] Henry Rousso, *Le syndrome de Vichy*, 253.
[66] This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.
[67] See for example Edward Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt's *History Wars. The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996.

extensively for him in Ontario. He remains to this day a close friend of the Fox family. Fred Walker, a Toronto radio show host was also contacted. Now retired, Walker spoke with Fox on a weekly basis throughout his run and developed a close, albeit virtual, relationship with him. We also spoke with Brendan Kelly, one of the first Canadians to run across the country successfully, and who was contacted by Fox to provide some guidance on how best to approach this challenge.

To (re)tell the story of Terry Fox as a process, we need to examine the role of the media in making this story a historically significant narrative. Because without the media's attention and its power to impose significance, Fox's journey may have remained a *fait divers*. We also need to look at the commemoration of Terry Fox, with particular attention paid to monuments and films, to see the different manifestations of the past and present interacting. In both commemoration and media coverage, there are different discursive constructions at play which also operate as different forms of mediation between past and present.

Through them, we see the emergence of three particular discourses, about cancer, masculinity and national identity, which we consider to be critical in understanding the memory and legacy of Terry Fox. It is necessary to review the debates related to cancer and how these are expressed in the Terry Fox story. Along with examining the relationship between the Canadian Cancer Society and Terry Fox, we need to look at the debate between cancer 'orthodoxy' and alternate approaches to treatment and cure. We also need to consider the memory of Terry Fox in terms of the image of masculinity it has projected. The dominant discourse being presented here is comprised of many

expressions: youth, physical beauty, athleticism, race, asexuality and disability. All these put together form an idealized and prescriptive image of what a Canadian male ought to be. We also need to situate Terry Fox and his story within a larger narrative about the Canadian identity. Despite the multiple commemorative materials produced about Fox, the underlying narrative about his life and its historical significance remains quite stable because it is framed in ages-old myths about the Canadian identity.

As stated in the beginning of this introduction, the works available on Terry Fox rely only on newspaper coverage and usually focus on the Marathon itself. The temporal scope of this dissertation spans over thirty years, from 1980 to 2013, to take stock of the development and evolution of Terry Fox's memory. Because we are studying a national hero, our examination is geographically broad: we travelled to several provinces to gather information and have tried to reflect on regional specificities when looking at the coverage of Terry Fox and his memory.

It is no shocking statement to say that there is a sorely missing analytical and critical examination of Terry Fox, which we hope to remedy with these following chapters. Our work here is not to deconstruct heroes, find their flaws and highlight their shortcomings. It is not to make light of the significance of heroes for national identity. But we find that if we do not take a critical look at how some individuals have become heroes, we are impeding our own understanding of the societies that have elevated them to such a status. If indeed heroes are the embodiment of a national ideal, they should be considered as tremendously useful discursive tools to teach about a nation's history. Thomas Symons mused forty years ago that Canadians needed to know more about their

history in order to better know themselves.[68] He argued more recently that without a deep understanding of our Canadian context, "one cannot be a good citizen, something we should all aspire to be," and that "knowledge about Canada allows Canadians to better understand their country and to better serve it."[69] This examination of national hero Terry Fox may contribute in one small way in learning more about how Canadians understand heroism, national identity and, ultimately, themselves.

[68] See for this T.H.B. Symons, *To Know Ourselves. The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies,* Volumes I II, Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1975.
[69] "An Interview with Thomas Symons," *Canadian Issues*, Summer 2013, 18-19.

CHAPTER 1

CELEBRITY AND HEROISM

Introduction

On June 30, 2010, the Historica Dominion Institute (now Historica-Canada) published the results of a survey in which the firm Ipsos Reid asked Canadians "which famous Canadian, past or present [they would want] to join their friends and family" for a Canada Day BBQ[1]. At the top of the list for 38% of all Canadians was Terry Fox, followed by Wayne Gretzky and Céline Dion. The list was comprised of 30 famous persons and respondents had to choose five of them to invite. The fact that Terry Fox was included on that list by Ipsos Reid is not surprising, nor, arguably, is his place at the top. Thirty years after his death, Fox remains one of the most famous Canadians out there, and a national hero still for many. He achieved celebrity/heroic status some three months after beginning his Marathon of Hope and his name continues to resonate today, although the younger generations seem to be slowly pulling away from the Fox legacy. Indeed, the same survey shows that Canadians aged 18-34 years of age chose Mike Myers and Wayne Gretzsky over the famous runner.[2]

We remember Terry Fox because he attempted to run across Canada on one leg and failed to complete his run because of the recurrence of cancer. But had he done all of that without the media's attention, he would not have been part of the famous people BBQ.

[1] "The Ultimate Canada Day BBQ: Terry Fox (38%), Wayne Gretzky (36%) and Céline Dion (33%) Would Top Canadians' Guest Lists," Press release issued on June 30, 2010. Available at https://www.historica-dominion.ca/node/992. Last accessed October 17, 2012.
[2] Ibid.

The more than 20 million dollars amassed during and shortly after his run, the countless honours bestowed upon him and his presence on the test for Canadian citizenship[3] would not have been possible without extensive media coverage of the Marathon and of Terry Fox. As observed in a 1999 *Toronto Star* article,

> The event's broad appeal is also attributable to the powerful role media can play in shaping our collective perceptions. The image of a young, determined Terry Fox, carrying on with his marathon of hope nearly two decades ago, is one that will stay with those of us who were around to witness the courageous effort. It was through extensive media coverage that we were able to collectively bear witness to it.[4]

The media can indeed choose to emphasize or ignore an event, framing its significance at the same time. As Marshall McLuhan rightfully pointed out in 1964, "All media exist to invest our lives with artificial perceptions and arbitrary values."[5]

But can we really attribute such prescriptive powers to the media? In *Communication as Culture. Essays on Media and Society,* James Carney examined the forms of communications and determined that there were two ways to see the matter. The first is to view communication as a simple transmission of information, the "transmission of signals or messages over distance for the purpose of control," and the second is what he calls a "ritual view of communication" which disseminates 'shared beliefs' rather than only information.[6] In both views, the act of communication is prescriptive in itself, because it serves to control its recipients in some ways and tries to inculcate 'shared

[3] Lysiane Gagnon, "Un guide bien fait", *La Presse*, November 17, 2009, A21.
[4] "Worth repeating. The legacy of Terry Fox remains strong," *Toronto Star*, September 7, 1999, 1.
[5] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1964, 199.
[6] James W. Carney, *Communication as Culture. Essays on Media and Society,* London: Unwin Hyman, 1988, 15-18.

beliefs'. Hence communication often entails domination or hegemony as well, something Michel Foucault has maintained in his conceptual studies of insanity, prison and sexuality.[7] To speak of the media is, then, also to speak about power: power to mediate, indeed, but also power to shape, influence, create and sometimes destroy.

In *The Image*, Daniel Boorstin recounted the rise of Charles Lindhberg to the status of American hero after his overseas solo flight and identified the media as the principal facilitator. According to him, the heroism of Lindhberg rested on the media thinking that he was heroic. The media created the importance of the event by measuring its own interest in the story: "The biggest news about Lindbergh was that he was such big news. Pseudo-events multiplied in more than the usual geometric progression, for Lindbergh's well knownness was so sudden and so overwhelming."[8] Boorstin's pseudo-events, then, are stories whose importance is compounded (or at times even created) by their media coverage.

Boorstin described pseudo-events as inherently fabricated,[9] and his dislike of celebrities was telling of his pessimistic vision, in the mid-sixties, of the perenniality of heroism, at least in America. Nevertheless, Boorstin was very conscious of the power of the media in not only transforming events, but embedding them with specific meanings. A few years later, Guy Debord reflected on this generalized re-creation of reality, what he

[7] See for this *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1964); *The Birth of the Clinic. An Archeology of Medical Perception* (1973); and *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975).
[8] Daniel Boorstin, *The Image. A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, New York: Harper & Row, 1964, 68.
[9] The definition of pseudo in the Merriam Webster dictionary is indeed "being apparently rather than actually as stated". Available at http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pseudo. Last accessed April 23, 2012.

called the 'society of spectacle'. He saw 'spectacle' as a sort of artificial reality standing between people and real life: "The spectacle is not a collection of images but a social relation among people mediated by images."[10]

While these reflections are useful to understand the power of the media, their datedness is unquestionable. The media industry has changed significantly since the Boorstin days and the media bias is something the general public, which is no longer considered to be a passive recipient of mediated communication, is relatively more aware of. But more important is that this conceptualisation polarizes 'reality' with 'pseudo-reality', as if something is either truly genuine or completely fabricated. Of course, it is never that simple. The mediation process complicates things quite a bit : reality and pseudoreality are intertwined, they are influenced by each other and their meanings and significance can shift quickly and dramatically.

To understand the media's involvement in the Terry Fox story, it is necessary to examine the process of celebritization and heroization experienced by Fox. To help understand this process, the concept of media events developed by Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz will be useful. Dayan and Katz define media events as "festive viewing of television,"[11] the "interruption of routine."[12] This interruption is 'monopolistic', in that every television channel is focusing on that event. To be considered a media event, a news story has to be reported live but should also be announced ahead of time and planned for.[13] The need for a 'live' event explains the authors' focus on television events,

[10] Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, Unauthorized translation. Detroit: Printing Coop, 1970, par. 4.
[11] Daniel Dayan & Elihu Katz, *Media Events. The Live Broadcast of History,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992, 1.
[12] Ibid, 5.
[13] Ibid, 7.

even though there is a certain level of immediacy found in daily reporting on an event like the Terry Fox run. For Dayan and Katz, a media event needs to be both live and planned; if not, it is simply a news event.[14] Media events are quite similar to Boorstin's pseudo-events, but differ in this idea of 'planning' and rightfully refrain from polarizing 'reality' and 'pseudoreality'. The authors concede that mediatized events transform reality and argue further that "…these great events may have their primary effect, and certainly their place in the collective memory, not in the form in which they were originally staged but in the form in which they were broadcast."[15] In other words, what people will ultimately (and unavoidably) remember are the media events, not the events as they happened.

Gary Whannel supports this argument and states that the "original story disappears entirely, leaving only a set of frozen spectral traces of itself."[16] To explain this, Whannel developed more recently the concept of 'vortextuality', an instance in which "certain super-major events come to dominate the headlines, and it becomes temporarily difficult for columnists and commentators to discuss anything else, as if by a vortex."[17] Vortextuality, according to Whannel, happens when "there is a compression of the media agenda, and other topics either disappear or have to be connected to the vortextual event."[18] Whannel thus focuses on the media response to an event, rather than looking at the event per se, as Dayan and Katz do.

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[14] Daniel Dayan & Elihu Katz, *Media Events*, 9.
[15] Ibid, 77.
[16] Gary Whannel, "News, Celebrity, and Vortextuality: A Study of the Media Coverage of the Michael Jackson Verdict," *Cultural Politics* 6(1), 67.
[17] Ibid, 71.
[18] Ibid.

Patricia Leavy has also reflected on mediatized event and coined the term 'iconic event' to refer to "an event that undergoes intense initial interpretive practices but also becomes mythic within the culture through its appropriation into other political or social discourses and its eventual use within commercial culture."[19] Hence going beyond Dayan, Katz and Whannel's focus on the event or its media response, Leavy is thinking about the after-life of the media event, about what happens after an instance of vortextuality. She argues that the iconic event eventually "takes on 'layers' serving as a representational vehicle and attaining mythic status."[20]

What we propose to examine in the following pages are the manifestations of these conceptualized events in the Terry Fox story. In looking at the Marathon of Hope as a media-made story, we can witness in a very vivid manner how much influence the media has in shaping the news and producing meaning. We argue that the Canadian media was instrumental in reformulating the Terry Fox story into a legendary narrative and in transforming an unknown runner into a celebrity, then a hero and ultimately a national myth. We found that three particular events capture this process, Fox's arrival in Toronto, the end of the Marathon of Hope in Thunder Bay and his passing.

On the road to Toronto : before the fame

As discussed in the introductory chapter, the media coverage of the first few months of the Marathon of Hope, which began in late April 1980, consisted of a few

[19] Patricia Leavy, *Iconic Events. Media, Politics and Power in Retelling History*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007, 5.
[20] Ibid.

updates on Terry Fox. But when the runner arrived in Ontario, the Marathon became quite successful, and more sizeable crowds began to greet him. Biographies and films about Terry Fox usually mention that the Canadian Cancer Society was ready for Terry Fox's arrival in Ontario, having assigned Bill Vigars to promote the Run and ensure that sizeable crowds were waiting.[21] Vigars, who had just been hired as a director of promotional events for the Ontario chapter of the CCS, promoted the run in an unsual manner. While Fox was running through New Brunswick and Quebec, Vigars was driving in every little town close to the TransCanada Highway between Ottawa and Toronto. He brought with him a Polaroid picture of the runner and asked to meet community organisers: "I'd stop at a garage and ask: who takes care of organising activities around here?"[22] The campaigning for the Marathon's Ontario stretch, having begun while Fox was still in Quebec, certainly helped a great deal in having crowds waiting at the Ontario border. Retrospectively, the frontier between Quebec and Ontario is remembered by Fox himself, and many Canadians since, as the literal and proverbial threshold between anonymity and success. Flanked with Canadian flags, Fox ran into Ontario as if he had just arrived in Canada. But we should note that the crowds welcoming the runner in Hawkesbury still did not compare to those in Toronto and thereafter. Incidentally, the Canadian media was at that time still paying little attention, if any, to the Marathon of Hope.

In Ottawa as well, while a much larger crowd than the 60-70 people at his send off in St. John's was there to greet him, the news coverage was still inconsistent. The day

[21] See for this *The Terry Fox Story* movie produced in 1983 and the 2000 version titled *Terry*; see also *Terry Fox. His Story* by Leslie Scrivener, both in the 1981 and 2000 versions.
[22] Bill Vigars. Personal interview, March 5, 2012.

before Fox's arrival, there was no mention of the runner's imminent visit in the *Ottawa Citizen*, missing an opportunity to publicize the Marathon. While most newspapers in Canada did not mention the visit at all, the *Vancouver Sun* provided a small *entrefilet* on July 3rd stating that "Terry Fox interrupted his cross-country marathon to fight cancer for a brief meeting with Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau on Wednesday."[23] The crowds were definitely getting larger, but somehow meeting Prime Minister Trudeau in Ottawa on Canada Day did not turn out to be the highlight of the Marathon, not even its turning point. In fact, for Fox himself, the visit was a disappointment, mostly because "He (Trudeau) didn't seem to know much about the run…He didn't even know I was running for cancer."[24] Fox had asked Trudeau to run a short distance with him through downtown Ottawa, but the Prime Minister's schedule did not allow it. Dwight Zakus has shown that part of Trudeau's early "political plan" was to develop a national sport system to "aid in the national unity and federalist development,"[25] which makes us wonder why Trudeau was not briefed about this young man running across the country, and why this meeting did not produce a more significant moment in the Terry Fox run.

The coverage on Terry Fox, while increasing significantly between the Ottawa and Toronto visits, still focused on the young man's leg and his itinerary. Still at this point, what defined the cross-country runner was his handicap and what made him newsworthy were the Marathon of Hope and the difficulties he encountered as he jogged along the TransCanada. So while Ontario as a whole is often depicted as the Anglophone

[23] "Amputee runner meets Trudeau", *Vancouver Sun*, July 3, 1980, A7. Apparently, the PM had been poorly briefed on the runner and his quest, Fox thus had to introduce himself and explain what he was doing. See for this "One man's miracle marathon" by Paul Dalby in *Toronto Star*, July 2, 1981, A16.
[24] Terry Fox, quoted in Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 119-120.
[25] Dwight H. Zakus, "A Genesis of the Canadian Sport System in Pierre Trudeau's Political Philosophy and Agenda," *Sport History Review* 27 (1996), 42.

light at the end of the dark Québécois tunnel, Fox's entrance in the province, despite the larger crowds awaiting him, did not grant him celebrity status. We see here that when the media pays little or no attention to an event, the public awareness of this event ends up being proportional to the place it occupies in the news. The people who saw Fox running in the Atlantic provinces or in Quebec may have supported him wholeheartedly and passionately, but his popularity was definitely localized and with limited reach.

Toronto : at last a Canadian celebrity

Terry Fox became a celebrity once he ran through the City of Toronto, where he experienced the most success to date on his run: "On Friday, he received his biggest reception so far. It was staged in downtown Toronto in front of thousands."[26] Why Toronto? Why not before or after? Why was Toronto so receptive of, and so ready for, Terry Fox? As much as Quebec's lack of interest and support for Terry Fox can partly be blamed on the Quebec media not picking up the story, a similar argument can be suggested here, in that Torontonians had one newspaper to thank for making them look so good in the story. Indeed, while there was intermittent media coverage for Fox until at least his Toronto visit, thus keeping the 'celebrity-making' process at a slow pace, the *Toronto Star* stood out as the undeniable exception.

[26] Fred Walker, Sound of Sports, CBC Radio Broadcast, July 13, 1980, available on CBC Archives website at: http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/sports/exploits/terry-fox-25-reliving-the-marathon-of-hope/day-93july-13-1980.html. Last accessed April 24, 2012. Notice the term 'staged' here, which fits nicely with the idea that the Toronto 'triumph' was a media constructed event.

It would have been surprising if news outlets had assigned a staff member to cover the Terry Fox story right at the start of the Marathon of Hope. But the *Toronto Star* did just that: Leslie Scrivener, who would go on to write Fox's authorized biography, was assigned to his story on April 17, 1980, and provided regular updates on the runner for the Toronto readership.[27] She ran with him for a while, then followed this up by weekly phone calls. From the moment Fox dipped his leg in the Atlantic Ocean, it seemed, the people of Toronto heard about him on a weekly basis, at the very least. While some could argue that Fox's triumph in Toronto was somewhat inevitable because the support for his cause was growing dramatically (and, in a sense, arguing that it could have been anywhere, it just so happened to take place in Toronto), we consider instead the role of the local media in preparing Torontonians for Fox's arrival.

In fact, the Toronto media was setting up what Dayan and Katz call a media event and, at the same time, creating the meaning of the story as it happened. We consider the Toronto visit to be a media event in that it was made to be much bigger than it really was, and, most importantly, because there was considerable planning involved by the Toronto media, in order to increase public interest. This fabricated interest, in turn, became newsworthy when it spread throughout the city. Because if we want to think that the public's adulation could have sparked anywhere, that the Fox story could have become a media event at any point….why not in Ottawa, Canada's capital, on Canada Day ? Why was the meeting with Prime Minister Trudeau or his arrival into the national capital not

[27] Indeed, Scrivener announced then that a weekly report would be featured in the Family section of the *Star*. Already on April 22, Scrivener wrote "Terry Fox may be 1,200 miles from Metro but he's already in our hearts." "Firms asked to back Terry Fox," *Toronto Star*, April 22, 1980, F2.

the highlight of the Run? This was perhaps because the Ottawa media was taking a more passive approach than Toronto's was, reporting on events instead of staging them.

The runner arrived in Toronto on July 11. On June 26, the *Toronto Star* already announced that "Toronto [was] getting ready to welcome Terry Fox", informing its readers that a pledge booth was installed at City Hall, covered in Terry Fox posters, where "Passersby are invited to sign a huge telegram – to be delivered to Fox before he arrives here July 11."[28] The *Vancouver Sun* reported that, a few hours before Fox reached city hall, his popularity "continues to build as Fox keeps running, and his schedule has become increasingly busy during his approach to Toronto."[29] A Toronto television station broadcast (CBLT) showed footage of Fox arriving in Scarborough (right before Toronto) to thousands of people wanting autographs and a "man wanting to give Terry a heart-shaped cookie", as well as footage of his run down University Avenue in downtown Toronto.[30] The route that Terry Fox was planning on taking through Toronto was printed on July 10 in the *Toronto Star*, ensuring that Torontonians were aware of the runner's whereabouts and could "give Terry Fox a hero's welcome tomorrow."[31]

July 12 marked a pivotal point for the Marathon of Hope, because Terry Fox was then featured in most Canadian newspapers examined for this purpose, with the exception of *La Presse*. The *Toronto Star* featured an unsurprisingly

[28] "Toronto getting ready to welcome Terry Fox," *Toronto Star*, June 26, 1980, C03.
[29] Sue Vohanka, "Terry's a hit in East," *Vancouver Sun*, July 11, 1980, front page.
[30] Robert Fisher, CBLT News, CBC Television Broadcast, July 11, 1980, available on CBC Archives Website at: http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/sports/exploits/terry-fox-25-reliving-the-marathon-of-hope/day-90july-10-1980.html. Last accessed April 24, 2012.
[31] "Metro is expected to give Terry Fox a hero's welcome tomorrow," *Toronto Star*, July 19, 1980, A02.

fervent headline that read "Tears flow as Metro hails Terry."[32] The article is suffused with local pride, the journalist happily reporting that "They called Terry Fox the toast of Toronto and he claimed he was just an ordinary guy." It continues by stating the importance of the event by underlining that traffic had been completely stopped "in the heart of the city" for Terry Fox.[33] One onlooker is quoted as saying "This is the kind of welcome we give the Queen,"[34] the journalist making sure that readers understood how meaningful the Fox visit had been, for Canada of course, but so much more for Toronto. Leslie Scrivener noted, as Fox left Toronto, that the loudest cheers for the runner came from in front of bars, where "patrons lifted their brew" to him.[35] Fred Walker, host of CBC's *Sound of Sport*, remembers that the Toronto media was definitely 'ready' for Terry Fox : "Toronto being the media capital of the country, of course they made a big fuss, radio and television stations, journalists, all wanted to have a few minutes with Terry to speak with him a bit."[36]

Still, Fox's Toronto visit was just an update on the run for some newspapers[37] and not a triumph as the *Star* reported it to be. He was called a hero in

[32] "Tears flow as Metro hails Terry," *Toronto Star*, July 12, 1980, A1.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Leslie Scrivener, "Terry bids us farewell," *Toronto Star*, July 13, 1980, A2.
[36] Fred Walker, Personal interview, April 25, 2012.
[37] While the *Chronicle Herald* did say that Fox has "received a hero's welcome Friday when he arrived at Toronto City Hall" (see CP, caption under picture of Darryl Sittler, *Chronicle Herald*, July 12, 1980, 22), the Toronto-related news was justifiably hidden in the sports section. The *Reader Post* in Regina used a CP article with the caption: "Fox raises cancer money" (CP, "Fox raise cancer money," *Reader Post*, July 12, 1980, 12), while the *Evening Telegram* reported on Fox's visit to Oshawa rather than his 'triumph' in Toronto (see CP, "One legged runner gets big welcome," *Evening Telegram*, July 11, 1980, 12.) The *Vancouver Sun* acknowledged Fox's triumph in Toronto with a short piece ("Toronto honors dogged man," *Ottawa Citizen*, July 12, 1980, 8; Sue Vohanka, "Terry's a hit in East," *Vancouver Sun*, July 11, 1980, front page) as well as the *Ottawa Citizen*. The day before, on July 11th, the *Citizen* devoted much more space to Terry Scott, a 30-year old man completing a wheelchair marathon between Trenton and Ottawa

Toronto and elsewhere news outlets reported that Toronto received Fox as if he was a hero. But generally speaking, the term used to describe Fox at that point of the Marathon was not that of a hero. For the city of Toronto, the Fox visit certainly qualified as a media event as understood by Dayan and Katz, albeit a localized one. But given that the Toronto gathering is now remembered as the turning point of the Marathon of Hope, one can easily see the media's influence in transforming the historical significance of the visit.

Elements of celebrity

While Fox may have been 'hailed as a hero' in Toronto, in reality his treatment in the media was more that of a celebrity, focusing on his well-knownness rather than any heroic achievement. It is no surprise that Fox attained celebrity status after his much publicized arrival and successful fundraising event: the relationship between the media and celebrity is one of intricate symbiosis. Indeed, for Philip Drake and Andy Miah, celebrities are "first and foremost known for their public profile and media circulation."[38] In *Celebrity*, Chris Rojek argues that "Celebrities are cultural fabrications. Their impact on the public may appear to be intimate and spontaneous. In fact, celebrities are carefully mediated through what might be termed chains of attraction. No celebrity now acquires public recognition without the assistance of cultural intermediaries…"[39] Celebrities rapidly become 'signs' for something else, and somewhat lose control over what they

("Wheelchair marathon nears Ottawa," *Ottawa Citizen*, July 11, 1980, 2). Let us remember that there was no mention of Fox in this newspaper on the eve of his arrival in Canada's capital.
[38] Philip Drake and Andy Miah, "The Cultural Politics of Celebrity," *Cultural Politics* 6(1): 51.
[39] Chris Rojek, *Celebrities*, London: Reaktion Books, 2001, 10.

project and what they represent. As P. David Marshall says, "the celebrity sheds its own subjectivity and individuality and becomes an organizing structure for conventionalized meaning. Like the sign, the celebrity *represents* something other than itself."[40] As a celebrity, it can be expected that every aspect of one's life will become of interest. This intense examination will in turn undoubtedly lead to value judgments and negative perceptions, all the while encouraging the celebrity's followers to consider him/her as a model. These are, for us, the three main characteristics of a celebrity: the sensationalization of personal life, public scrutiny and criticism, and the transformation of a celebrity into a role model. Let us look at how these manifest themselves in the case of Terry Fox.

Before Fox's arrival in Toronto, the focus was on the run itself; after his arrival, less information was provided on the logistical side of the run, his strategy or where he was headed. His celebrity status meant that the media was increasingly interested in his personal life more than the run itself, a first manifestation of celebrity. According to Boorstin, the focus on trivial aspects of a public figure's life is one way to differentiate heroes from celebrities: "Instead of inventing heroic exploits for our heroes, we invent commonplaces about them…It is commonplaces, and not exploits, which make them celebrities."[41] In a July 23 article, the *Vancouver Sun* covered the story of Fox's parents 'beaming over' his Marathon. As Tom Hawthorn reported, "Rolly and Betty Fox admit there is no describing the emotion of watching their son Terry win over an entire country

[40] P. David Marshall, *Celebrity and Power. Fame in Contemporary Culture*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, 56-7. [author's emphasis]
[41] Daniel Boorstin, *The Image*, 75.

as he runs across Canada on his one-legged marathon to aid cancer research."[42] Hawthorn also commented on Fox's star status, stating that "Young people give Terry the kind of adulation usually reserved for rock stars. Girls rush to him for autograph or a quick touch when he hop-skips into sight…and almost as certification of his new status, a song has been written about him."[43] While Fox seemed to be having trouble dealing with his new found fame, complaining on a radio interview that "I can't run a quarter mile without someone coming to talk to me,"[44] the Canadian Cancer Society deemed it necessary to set up some ground rules, as a memo published in the *Ottawa Citizen* stated: "He will make appearances during rest periods only… [and] companion runners should be mature and must stay at least 10 feet away from him."[45]

The Marathon of Hope's success in Toronto was also what caused it to be overshadowed by Fox himself. Reluctant to be the centre of attention, Fox, according to his brother, "would prefer it if the crowds and the media concentrated less on him as hero and more on the theme of beating cancer."[46] But this was exactly what was happening: people were starting to celebrate Fox, not because he was running for a cure for cancer, but because he was famous. Fox was asked to fly to Niagara Falls right after his Toronto visit to appear at Marine Land. He was not allowed to fundraise in the premises; owners just wanted him to be there to publicize the venue.[47] Needless to say, Fox refused to go;

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[42] Tom Hawthorn, "Parents beam over Terry's Marathon," *Vancouver Sun*, July 23, 1980, A11.
[43] Ibid. The song was entitled 'Never give up on a dream,' by Rod Stewart. See the lyrics at http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/rodstewart/nevergiveuponadream.html. Last accessed October 31, 2012.
[44] CBC Radio broadcast, June 8, 1980. Accessible via the CBC Archives website at: http://www.cbc.ca/archives/. Last accessed on July 24, 2012.
[45] Geoff Johnson, "What makes Terry run – a metal leg," *Ottawa Citizen*, June 23, 1980, 29.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story,* 126-127.

but this is telling of how powerful and profitable the image of the runner had quickly become.

If we examine closely the coverage on Fox in the *Vancouver Sun*, we can notice an update on average every two days, until the end of his run. Interestingly, not much is said about the run. We learn about the runner and about how popular he was: "The people of Ontario are responding to the effort of this young man from Port Coquitlam with an outpouring of emotion that is a touching mixture of tears and cheers."[48] In this issue, he was featured in the front page with his face in the middle of a toilet seat, a funny gift to the young man celebrating his birthday.[49] And this is what the article was about, Fox's birthday; there was no information as to his location and where he was headed, something that used to be the sole focus of articles about Fox and his Marathon. Same with an August 22 'update' where the Fox family was interviewed yet again:

> Fox's mother, Betty, shows us one (letter). It is addressed: Terry Fox, Canadian Cancer Society, somewhere on the highway, Canada. On the envelope a postal worker has written Try Port Coquitlam. What better proof of national fame? ...Terry is different (from their other children) because everything he did, he did to the best of his ability, she said.[50]

What made the news here was how popular he was. At another date, the front page of the *Vancouver Sun* was changed right before printing: the first version featured a picture of

[48] Moira Farrow, "Party doesn't deter Terry," *Vancouver Sun*, July 29, 1980, front page.
[49] The toilet seat was a reference to the poor sanitary conditions of the van, something Bill Vigars has commented upon on his first meeting with Fox and Doug Alward. Bill Vigars, personal interview, March 5, 2012.
[50] Miguel Moya, "Terry's mail just keeps piling up," *Vancouver Sun*, August 22, 1980, A3.

George Bush and Ronald Reagan, which was replaced by the now famous picture of Fox running into the night, with no caption.[51]

One has to acknowledge how fast Terry Fox became famous; in the space of a few months, he went from being a nameless amputee runner to having his picture on the frontpage of a newspaper, with no need for a caption. Fox was now 'well-known' for his 'well-knowness', as Daniel Boorstin would say. Between July 11 and September 3, most Canadian newspapers provided regular updates on Fox. We learn of an ill-fitting brace causing enough chafing to force Fox to stop running for two days,[52] another instance where he was diagnosed with tendonitis and told to stop again for 48 hours, and a day where a welder showed up with his tools and fixed the problem after a call broadcast over a local radio station.[53] Terry Fox's fame was undeniable: even the trivial details of his life or the run became headline material after this Toronto visit.

Once celebrity status is achieved, stars and their lives are often scrutinized in the hopes, for the media, to find interesting bits and transform them into breaking news. The failings of celebrities are, sadly, what usually catches the public's attention and are a common manifestation of celebrityhood. And Fox indeed started getting bad press after his Toronto visit. According to James Monaco, celebrities should only be considered as such once the media begins to report negatively about them: "Real celebrityhood, however, doesn't come until you realize that there are other images of you being propagated that don't quite jibe with what you know about yourself. To be quoted in

[51] The *Vancouver Sun* microfilm reels available at Concordia University feature several copies of each issues, with a clear mark on the copy that went to print (FINAL COPY). This proved to be quite fascinating since one can see what news reports lost their 'front page' value for the benefit of others, only a few hours before going to print.
[52] "Ill-fitting brace injures stump, slows Fox run," *Globe and Mail*, July 30, 1980, 11.
[53] "Welder aids Terry Fox," *Toronto Star*, August 13, A13.

People magazine is to be a proto-celebrity; to be misquoted in *People* magazine is to be a true celebrity."[54]

The negative press focused mostly on Fox's bad temper and his health. An article in the *Globe and Mail* on August 15, when Fox had just reached Sudbury, caused public uproar when it portrayed Fox as a temperamental, childish bully: "You get some days when he's so miserable you want to punch him in the nose," says Lou Fine, district director of the Canadian Cancer Society."[55] Fine was quoted later on in the piece, saying: "It was the society that made the success. He's only doing the running."[56] This comment referred not only to Fox's bad temper, but also to the (perhaps unrecognized) work of the Canadian Cancer Society whose endorsement of Fox and his Marathon of Hope had made it all possible. In fact, a 1984 Canadian Cancer Society brochure featured one of its employees, Ron Calhoun, stating that Fox was much less ambitious than the CCS, a nuance that we have not seen anywhere else: "Terry thought he could raise $100,000 from sponsors but I suggested we aim at $1 million. He considered this beyond his wildest expectations."[57] In this piece, the CCS was not only credited for its grand vision of a million dollar run, but also for coming up with the name, Marathon of Hope.[58]

A day after the publication of the negative story about Fox, the *Globe* reported that the article had caused much anger at the Canadian Cancer Society, and an official

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[54] James Monaco, "Celebration," in James Monaco, *Celebrity. The Media as Image Makers,* New York: A Delta Books, 1978, 14.
[55] Arthur Johnson, "Runner bears grudge against pain of illness in Marathon of Hope," *Globe and Mail*, August 15, 1980, 3.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Canadian Cancer Society, *Very Special People. The Achievements of the CCS in Ontario*, Toronto: Canadian Cancer Society, 1984, 43.
[58] Ibid, 44. Calhoun also recounts that "While the meeting was searching for an appropriate title to offer Terry that would represent the spirit of his run, Barbara Kilvert, our national public relations officer suggested…the Marathon of Hope…" a story that goes against the narrative in which Terry himself came up with the name.

was quoted as saying that "Mr. Fine has told him (the official) [that] he was just repeating remarks made by Mr. Fox," although journalist Arthur Johnson added later in the piece that "When interviewed by the *Globe and Mail*, Mr. Fine did not say that his remarks were a paraphrase of those of Mr. Fox."[59] Bill Vigars remembers this story as indeed a great misunderstanding, blown out of proportion by the constant media coverage. He also remembers that Lou Fine actually received death threats for his comments, to the point where Vigars had a t-shirt made for himself that read 'I'm not Lou Fine'.[60] In any case, the *Vancouver Sun* reported on the same day that the story did not impede the run but actually drew more support for Fox.[61] For example, a letter to the editor a few days later defended Fox's temper: "I would like to see Mr. Johnson [the *Globe and Mail* reporter] run even 100 miles and be all sweetness and light."[62] Another simply remarked that the very printing of this story was a sign of Fox's success, as "success of an individual always brings detractors."[63]

Besides being bad tempered, Fox was reportedly also quite defensive about his health and did not appreciate the media's concern that he should not be running, either because of the bleeding of his stump, or because of a heart condition he was choosing to ignore: "His heart condition is something that Fox hasn't talked about in his speeches and interviews across the country."[64] He would often have to comment on his physical

[59] Arthur Johnson, "Fox story angers cancer officials," *Globe and Mail*, August 16, 1980, 5.
[60] Bill Vigars, Personal interview, March 5, 2012.
[61] "Negative story boosts support for Terry Fox," *Vancouver Sun*, August 16, 1980, A9.
[62] "Letters to the editors," *Globe and Mail*, August 23, 1980, 7.
[63] "Letters to the editors," *Globe and Mail*, August 20, 1980, 9.
[64] Arthur Johnson, "Runner bears grudge against pain of illness in Marathon of Hope," *Globe and Mail*, August 15, 1980, 3.

condition, especially on his way from Toronto to Northern Ontario, something he abhorred. "I haven't had a checkup since I started. I don't think I need one. I know my own body,"[65] he said to a *Globe* reporter, while Margaret Chew from the *Vancouver Sun* wrote that the runner was "upset by what he calls exaggerated media reports about the bad condition of his leg stump. He explained …that wearing his new artificial leg is just like breaking in a new shoe."[66] An August 4 television report asked "is he pushing too hard?"[67] while playing the footage of Fox saying he does not need a doctor, showing the increasing concern over Fox's health and capacity to finish the run.

Fox let his anger out on a radio interview after that television report, stating how tremendously annoyed he was at the attention this story was getting, instead of the progress of his Marathon.[68] But for some, the runner's denial of any medical need was downright irresponsible: "Give it up Terry.…if he now deliberately incurs new suffering a thousand hearts made stronger by his example will falter at his folly."[69] Clifford Chadderton, director of the War Amputees of Canada, the organization which supplied Fox with prosthetic legs throughout the run, commented that "He's going to run into terrible problems with his stump because it's taking such a beating."[70] Cliff Chadderton knew full well that expressing concerns over Fox's condition was not well received: "The

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[65] Arthur Johnson, "Runner bears grudge against pain of illness in Marathon of Hope," *Globe and Mail*, August 15, 1980, 3.
[66] Margaret Chew, "Runner Terry to be given mobile home," *Vancouver Sun*, August 1, 1980, A3.
[67] CBC Television broadcast, August 4, 1980, Accessible via the CBC Archives website at: http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/sports/exploits/terry-fox-25-reliving-the-marathon-of-hope/day-115august-4-1980.html. Last accessed May 22, 2013.
[68] Bruce Mines, CBC Radio broadcast, August 10, 1980, Accessible via the CBC Archives website at: http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/sports/exploits/terry-fox-25-reliving-the-marathon-of-hope/day-121august-10-1980.html. Last accessed May 22, 2013.
[69] *Peterborough Examiner*, August 6, 1980, cited in Leslie Scrivener *Terry Fox: His story*, 136.
[70] "One-legged runner stopped – for now," *Montreal Gazette*, July 30, 1980, 24.

guy is so tremendous, but if anyone utters one word of criticism, it looks like we're not supporting him."[71]

Fox was aware of the War Amp's concerns, but he did not seem to be too bothered: "You've probably heard that the War Amputees have been after me to see a doctor….They don't understand that…I'm in top shape."[72] To be fair, the support of the Canadian Cancer Society was given to Fox under the condition that he get a medical checkup in each province. Vigars recalls that "he refused to do so right away in Newfoundland, refused to go see a doctor when he crossed to Nova Scotia."[73] Asked about this runner who had identified him as an inspiration, amputee marathoner Dick Traum stated in 1993 that he "knew nothing about Fox and what he was planning to do. He never wrote to me or called me…If he had asked me, I would have advised him that the pace he intended to maintain was too grueling."[74]

Besides bad press, celebrities can also expect to be imitated by total strangers, a third manifestation of celebrityhood. As Eric Louw argues, "celebrities can become (pseudo-) 'heroes' for their followers – role models the masses turn to for solutions to life's problems."[75] People were particularly inspired to emulate Fox after his much publicized passage in Toronto. For example, two teens decided to raise money by

[71] Cliff Chadderton, quoted in Leslie Scrivener, "Defiant Terry rejects warning: Little bit of pain is nothing," *Toronto Star*, July 31, A4.
[72] Terry Fox, quoted in "Doesn't need medical attention, Fox tells cross-country run critics," *Globe and Mail*, August 5, 1980, 8.
[73] Bill Vigars. Personal interview, March 5, 2012.
[74] Dick Traum and Mike Celizic, *A Victory for Humanity.* Waco, TX: WRS Publishing, 1993, 80.
[75] Eric Louw, *The Media and Political Process*, London: SAGE Publications, 2010, 114.

crawling on the floor, stating: "If Terry Fox can run across Canada on one leg, we think we can do 14 miles on our hands and knees."[76]

Others found more imaginative ways to raise money for a good cause. The story of Freddie Sless of Hamilton was quite particular among the handful of people who showed their support for Terry in various ways during his run. Sless decided to wallow "in a vat of lemon-banana custard" for as long as he could in order to raise funds for cancer research. Having collected over $900, the 50-year old man had to get out of his custard bath after 51 hours, the custard having turned green and emitting a foul smell, but mostly because "Hunger got the better of Mr. Sless on Sunday. He wolfed down some hamburgers - something that brought on stomach cramps so severe he had to leave his electrically heated vat parked on a car lot."[77] Instead of bathing in pastry fillings, others, more dishonest, decided to take advantage of the popularity of Fox and his cause. Indeed the *Globe and Mail* reported that some people in Sault Ste-Marie were going from door to door to collect money for the Canadian Cancer Society and keeping it for themselves.[78]

Growing media attention was becoming difficult for Terry Fox to manage. *Toronto Star* reporter and Fox biographer, Leslie Scrivener quoted him as saying "I have a saddened and weakening attitude toward the media and the press."[79] He always seemed to find the attention lavished upon him quite surreal and he often corrected journalists in

[76] "Terry inspires teens to crawl for pledges," *Toronto Star*, July 15, 1980, A02.
[77] "Custard caper a boon to Fox run for cancer," *Globe and Mail*, August 12, 1980, 4.
[78] "Soo residents warned about fake canvassers," *Globe and Mail*, August 6, 1980, 10.
[79] Terry Fox, quoted in Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox: His Story*, 141.

saying he had "nothing that can't be acquired by anybody."[80] Ultimately however, the coverage he wished for at the beginning of the Run had had the unwanted effect of making him a celebrity whose every action was scrutinized and (over)analysed. Hence the relationship between Terry Fox and the Canadian media was paradoxical.

Fox needed the media attention in order to publicize his run and knew full well that his tremendous success was due in great part to the constant media coverage that begun in Toronto. But at the same time, one cannot choose what the media will cover, and how they will cover it: the attention he wanted inevitably turned personal, focusing on his life, his family, his attitude and his behaviour. On the media's side, well, once newspapers, radio and television stations had decided that Fox and his Marathon of Hope were a news story, that story became theirs to tell. It is the eternal problem with which celebrities, professional athletes, artists, and heroes, must grapple every day: the publicity one seeks, either for oneself or for a cause, never turns out to be as it was imagined.

From celebrity to hero in Thunder Bay

After the news that a stomach flu slowing down the run turned out to be lung cancer causing it to end altogether, Terry Fox was featured in all the newspapers examined. Fox had run more than half way across the country, had battled the worst Canadian weather and terrain, but had to announce he was giving up in Thunder Bay, Ontario. The *Montreal Gazette*, just like most other Canadian newspapers, featured close to daily updates on Fox during the month of September, perhaps catering to the concern

[80] Stan Shatenstein, "Terry Fox Attempted to Carry Hope to Cancer Victims Across Canada," *Runner's World*, December 1980, 65.

of its readers, and in some instances the wording seemed to hint to a countdown towards the death of Fox rather than a pause in the run as Fox would have liked it to be.[81]

Dick Beddoes of the *Globe and Mail* commented that "What Terry Fox had was the boy-lonely dream of our land, a sweet pining to be famous in a harmlessly spectacular way, the wish to accomplish what no one else had ever done,"[82] and the front page article in the *Vancouver Sun* stated that "Fox has become a Canadian folk hero, gathering enthusiasm at every step along his bone-jarring trail."[83] Daniel Boorstin would have undoubtedly sneered at this comment because according to him, already in 1964, the folk, and its capacity to create heroes for itself, did not exist anymore. Instead, the 'folk' had been replaced by the 'mass' which did not create but rather received heroes produced by the media. He thus argued that "…the mass, in our world of mass media and mass circulation, is the target and not the arrow…While the folk created heroes, the mass can only look and listen for them. It is waiting to be shown and to be told."[84] It is certainly worth considering that as much as Fox was extremely popular, the Canadian media helped in gathering more support and inflating the crowds waiting for him.

An additional element of drama in this story, which surprisingly was not picked up by anyone at the time, was that, according to Brendan Kelly, Fox had just crossed the worst part of his route. Kelly remembers Northern Ontario as being the most difficult part of his run, because the road was a rollercoaster in that particular region. It was quite

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[81] In the *Montreal Gazette* : "Terry Fox marathon gave big lift to cancer campaign," September 5, 1980, 8 ; "Terry's run blew me away, reveals high school coach," September 6, 1980, 6 ; "TV show raises $9 million for cancer," September 8, 1980, front page ; "Terry Fox may go home soon: doctors," September 9, 1980, front page ; "Terry Fox gets a high tribute," September 10, 1980, front page. A similar pace is observed by the *Leader Post* in Regina, for example.
[82] Dick Beddoes, "A country needs such heroes," *Globe and Mail*, September 4, 1980, 8.
[83] "Cancer ends Terry's Run," *Vancouver Sun*, September 2, 1980, front page and continued on page A2.
[84] Daniel Boorstin, *The Image,* 56.

dangerous because there was only one lane each way and, most importantly, it was an isolating experience because no one lived close to the road for several miles at a stretch. Kelly was interviewed by a CBC reporter the day before the Thunder Bay announcement, where he described these conditions, a segment which would have served, undoubtedly, to congratulate Terry Fox. But Kelly received a call that morning and was told that the story obviously could not be broadcast.[85]

There was of course the odd dissenter, like Marylin White who wrote to the *Globe and Mail* editor to lash out at the overwhelming coverage about Fox and his cancer treatments. The woman from Willowdale, Ontario, wrote "I've had enough already of emotional programming, on Terry Fox. I'm tired of being told, not only how I should feel, but how I do feel."[86] Annoyed by the incessant day-to-day coverage on Fox's condition, White was probably more resentful of the overarching statements about national grief and (justly) thought the general sadness was an assumption that could not be made. Margaret McCaffery would comment, a few months after his passing that, "Certainly, anyone close to someone dying of cancer must have been appalled by the constant barrage of details on Terry's final illness, every half hour on the hour."[87] But these comments were rare in a sea of newspaper articles discussing the unfairness of Fox's battle against cancer.

This 'sea of sadness' is what we consider to be an instance of vortextuality in the Terry Fox story, that is the centering of almost all news and news outlets on Terry Fox. As Whannel stated, "… super-major events come to dominate the headlines, and it

[85] Brendan Kelly, Personal interview, May 25, 2012.
[86] Marylin White, Letters to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, September 17, 1980, 7.
[87] Margaret McCaffery and Terry Murray. "Terry Fox: Heroes Aren't Saints," 1184.

becomes temporarily difficult for columnists and commentators to discuss anything else, as if by a vortex."[88] The end of the Marathon was such a 'super-major event' for the Canadian media. The fact that there were almost daily updates for about a month on the condition of Fox was a continuation of this vortex. The heroic feat of Terry Fox, what made him a hero in Canada, was not to run a marathon a day for 6 months, or to amass millions of dollars for cancer research: what made him a hero in Canadians' hearts, was his defeat. Terry Fox became a hero when he announced, in Thunder Bay, that cancer had returned and that he had failed to complete his mission. He was a celebrity until this element of drama propelled him to a heroic status. Of course, much credit must be given to the media for the immediate coverage provided on the end of the Marathon of Hope.

Elements of heroism

"All heroes are celebrities; no hero is not a celebrity,"[89] has argued Roger Rollin. Heroism depends on a certain degree of well-knownness to be remembered and commemorated, while perhaps celebrityhood does not inevitably lead to heroic status. But the difference between being a hero and being a celebrity is not clear cut. And just as the polarization of reality and pseudoreality, that of heroism and celebrityhood oversimplifies both concepts.

For Sidney Hook, a hero is someone whose action(s) has/have changed the course of history: "the hero in history is the individual to whom we can justifiably attribute

[88] Gary Whannel, "News, Celebrity, and Vortextuality…" 71.
[89] Roger R. Rollin, "The Lone Ranger and Lenny Skutnik: The Hero as Popular Culture," in Ray B. Browne and Marshall W. Fishwick, eds, *The Hero in Transition,* Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983, 14.

preponderant influence in determining an issue or event whose consequences would have been profoundly different if he had not acted as he did."[90] Heroes make us wonder what the world would be like had they not made their mark. Arguably, a celebrity is not expected to change the course of history. He/she may gather unimaginable public attention for a certain period of time, but a celebrity's legacy, provided he/she was only known for well-knownness, will prove to be more superficial. But we should remember that even if we distinguish heroes from celebrity by what they have achieved, it remains that heroes, like celebrities, are fabricated, or at least their meaning enhanced and shaped by the media. They are not 'pure' the way Boorstin reminisced they were before the sixties. Indeed, as Whannel bluntly says, "The concept of heroism requires a degree of homogenisation in audience response. Such consensuality doesn't just exist, it has to be produced."[91]

In the same way that celebrities become signs meant to represent things other than themselves, heroes come to embody values and beliefs that may not have been part of the real-life hero's image during his/her life. But where the hero and celebrity differ greatly is in the construction and shaping of their story. We find that the focus on a celebrity is usually restricted to the individual himself, even if this individual is said to represent a whole range of issues. Conversely, it seems the hero is often times subsumed by his story and by the meanings and historical significance of that narrative. Indeed, the "modélisation du récit de l'échec ou de la victoire"[92] is a significant difference between celebrity and heroism. We find that the story of Terry Fox becomes imbued with

[90] Sidney Hook, *The Hero in History. A Study in Limitation and Possibility*, New York: The John Day Company, 1944, 108.
[91] Gary Whannel, "News, Celebrity, and Vortextuality…" 45.
[92] Pascal Duret, *L'héroisme sportif*, Paris: Presses universitaires de la France, 1993, 18.

dramatic qualities after the Thunder Bay announcement. Before this event, Terry Fox was seen as a famous runner doing something laudable. But when he announced that he was forced to abandon his run because of the recurrence of cancer, the story, it seems, became more meaningful. His failure to complete his mission was his heroic act, in a certain way, making him a martyr for his cause. The disease of cancer, in the story, thus played the role of a silent but ruthless enemy.

What made Terry Fox a hero in Thunder Bay, in the vortextuality caused by his announcement, was the way his story came to be presented. It is reminiscent of a decades-old model developed by Orrin Klapp to explain the process of heroization: humble origins, the performance of a heroic feat, the public recognition of that feat and gradual mythification. We examined the front page articles of the *Montreal Gazette* (September 3, 1980) and the *Globe and Mail* (September 4, 1980) as examples of Fox's transformation from celebrity to hero.

According to Klapp, the story of a hero must begin by pointing out the hero's "relatively obscure social status prior to his elevation"[93], which serves to dramatize the achievement. The beginnings of a hero take place in relative obscurity, since there is no public yet aware of the existence of the hero. It is only retrospectively that importance is laid on 'where it all begun', not only because it becomes the origin of a myth, but also because of the need to find early signs of greatness. This is what Paul Zunthor calls the

[93] Orrin E. Klapp, "Hero Worship in America," *American Sociological Review* 14(1) 1949, 55.

"fétichisation des origines"[94], the idealization of the beginnings and their eventual inclusion into a relatively static life narrative (the myth). The *Montreal Gazette* reminds its readers that "Terry, 22, was a Simon Fraser University student and a former basketball and soccer player," while the *Globe and Mail* article recalls that "His mother, Betty, described him as average in everything but determination."[95]

A second element of the heroic story is the performance of a "spectacular demonstration"[96], the triumph over an enemy or the demonstration of a superhuman ability; this is why and how he will be remembered. According to Bill Butler, the "measurement of a hero, his definition, is his confrontation with an antagonist. Without that meeting […] the good guy would consist of no more than human flesh and bone with the addition of a few superlatives…"[97] Butler further argues that obstacles and/or antagonists serve two purposes: they justify the individual's identity as a hero and they eliminate, thanks to a victory over these hurdles, the hero's 'normality'.[98] Cancer plays the role of the enemy in the Fox story, and it is Fox's confrontation with the disease which made him heroic. In the *Montreal Gazette*, the dramatic portion of the story is summarized as "Terry Fox started his 8,320km run in defiance of a merciless and terrifying disease. The story was supposed to end in victory. Now, it seems, cancer may have beaten him."[99] The *Globe and Mail* presents the story in a very similar fashion:

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[94] Paul Zunthor, quoted in Patrice Groulx, *Pièges de la mémoire*. *Dollard des Ormeaux, les Amérindiens et nous,* Montréal : Éditions Vents d'Ouest, 1998, 65.
[95] See "Snow, wind, rain – but that gutsy athlete just wouldn't stop running," *Montreal Gazette*, September 3, 1980, front page, continued at 2; and "All hope not lost for Fox, cancer official suggest," *Globe and Mail*, September 4, 1980, front page.
[96] Orrin E. Klapp, "Hero Worship in America," 55.
[97] Bill Butler, *The Myth of the Hero,* London: Ryder, 1979*,* 18.
[98] Ibid, 80.
[99] "Snow, wind, rain – but that gutsy athlete just wouldn't stop running," *Montreal Gazette*, September 3, 1980, front page and continued at 2.

"The odyssey of the runner Terry Fox, which grew into a defiant personal crusade, took a numbing turn on Tuesday when cancer…was found to have spread to his lungs."[100] What is emphasized in both cases is the return of the enemy and how it thwarted Fox's grand plans.

A third element in the heroic narrative is public recognition. A hero only exists if someone is there to acknowledge him as such: "Perception and identification of the heroic by the non-heroic are fundamental."[101] Klapp argues that "the fame of a hero is a collective product."[102] And indeed it is true that the more people celebrate a hero, the stronger his image as hero becomes. Hence in the *Montreal Gazette* article, Fox's recognition is expressed as such: "Thousands of genuinely moved citizens along the way offered their money and support."[103] The *Globe and Mail* focuses instead on the public response after Fox stopped his Marathon: "…there has been a deluge of calls and donations at the [Cancer] society's offices since it was announced that the run was over."[104]

Klapp's model narrative ends with a "mythical interpretation…in which various features [are] attributed to [the hero],"[105] that is, a value-laden reconstruction of the hero's actions.[106] The mythification part of the process is itself divided into different levels of hero-worship, such as "spontaneous or unorganized popular homage," official recognition and commemoration, the slow construction of "an idealized image or legend"

[100] "All hope not lost for Fox, cancer official suggest," *Globe and Mail*, September 4, 1980, front page.
[101] Roger R. Rollin, "The Lone Ranger and Lenny Skutnik," 15
[102] Orrin E. Klapp, "The Creation of Popular Heroes," *American Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 2 (1948), 135.
[103] "Snow, wind, rain – but that gutsy athlete just wouldn't stop running," *Montreal Gazette*, September 3, 1980, 2.
[104] "All hope not lost for Fox, cancer official suggest," *Globe and Mail*, September 4, 1980, front page.
[105] Orrin E. Klapp, "Hero Worship in America," 55.
[106] Ibid, 54.

and the development of a cult. "[107] What we find peculiar about the Fox story, is how quickly the mythification process developed between the announcement in Thunder Bay and his death.

In terms of spontaneous homage, candle light vigils were held for Fox, prayer books with thousands of signatures of well-wishers were put together, and a telethon was quickly organised in his honour. Fox was aware that a stamp was being developed, he was also supposed to serve as advisor on his own movie, and had made the dying wish of having a statue of himself installed at the new B.C. Place Stadium[108]: these initiatives are the most formal recognition one can hope to receive.[109] His image after Thunder Bay became somewhat idealized, which in a sense seemed inevitable once the status of hero was publicly and officially bestowed upon him. There was no 'cult' developed, although one could argue that the launch of the first Terry Fox run in the months following Thunder Bay could qualify as such.

Hence by beginning to frame the story of Terry Fox as a heroic narrative, the Canadian media effectively transformed Fox into a hero. The fact that the event which prompted this change in discourse is the hero's failure to complete his mission is telling of the nature of heroism Canadians are willing to accept.[110] Regardless, what Klapp recognized some seventy years ago was that heroism needed to be publicly recognized in order to be celebrated. Without the media as a means to make a heroic story such as

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[107] Orrin E. Klapp, "Hero Worship in America," 55.
[108] One must note that this 'dying wish' was rather surprising, given Fox's well-known modesty. Perhaps Fox only 'agreed' to the idea of a monument, without actually requesting it.
[109] "A last wish wanted statue put in BC Place stadium," *Vancouver Sun*, June 29, 1981, A14. The article states "Vancouver sculptor George Pratt is hoping that the provincial government will abide by the wish of Terry Fox and place his statue of the one-legged runner in front of the new stadium at BC Place."
[110] This will be discussed in greater length in Chapter 5.

Fox's known to the public, it is not certain how much of it would still be remembered today.

Terry Fox's death as iconic event

Fox did continue to make the news regularly between September 1980 and June 1981, either because of honours he was receiving or through updates on his treatments and condition. Even *La Presse* and the *Montreal Gazette*, which had picked up the Terry Fox story later than other newspapers, were updating their readers on the runner at least every week, sometimes more often. The media attention must have been quite overwhelming, as it prompted Fox to issue a statement in January 1981, saying that "while he appreciated the concern expressed by the public, he and his family need privacy and he hopes people will understand this need and respect their wishes."[111] With no improvement in his condition, Fox began a new, untested and somewhat controversial interferon treatment, but that too proved unsuccessful.

His death was extensively covered by the media. Newspapers were flooded by articles on Fox the day after his passing. He had taken a turn for the worse a few days before by falling into a coma, and died on the early morning of June 28, 1981. A press conference was called to make the announcement. The front page of the *Ottawa Citizen* read "Canada mourns its hero" and featured reactions to the news that Fox had passed away. Many were undoubtedly angered by what was perceived as the unfairness of it all, summarized by one commentator as "Why does it have to happen to people like Terry

[111] "Terry Fox seeks privacy as cancer test continue," *Globe and Mail*, January 31, 1981, 19.

instead of jerks like Ronald Reagan?" Another person expressed respect for Fox's achievement, but acknowledged that there were several factors weighing in on Fox's popularity: "Fox would not have gotten the attention he did unless he was dying."[112]

But while the media outpouring lavished every possible compliment on Terry Fox, John Fraser from the *Globe and Mail* warned that "if we now turn Terry Fox into a saint we will be missing the whole point of exactly who he was and what he did…"[113] And arguing against the general feeling that Fox's death was a terrible, and for some insurmountable loss, Fraser added "Without Terry Fox, there would have been no Terry Fox and we are not the lesser because he is now gone - we are the greater and potentially better, because he was here."[114] A *Vancouver Sun* reader reflected on the meaning of Fox and his story, but while his letter to the editor may have seemed like an expression of his loss, reader Jamie Lamb was also very conscious of the volatility of public life and recognition. In his imaginary discussion with the runner, he said that "Your struggle will not dramatically change our world. The…myriad tributes will fade so that people will one day ask, who was this guy?"[115] Fox's life may not have been idealized by everyone, but for a majority of people and the media, they "like to speak to the dead because, in a way, they're perfect."[116] His death did ensure that Fox would remain crystallized in time, forever young, full of hope and a darling of the Canadian media and population.

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[112] "Canada mourns its hero," *Ottawa Citizen*, June 29, 1981, front page and continued at 13.
[113] John Fraser, "Greater because of a hero," *Globe and Mail*, June 29, 1981, 8.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Letters to the editors, *Vancouver Sun*, June 29, 1981, 4.
[116] Douglas Copeland, *Terry*, Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2005, 146.

His death certainly created a vortex of news in Canada. But it was more than a simple instance of vortextuality. The passing of Terry Fox was what Patricia Leavy calls an 'iconic event'. As we recall, iconic events "become mythic within the culture through [their] appropriation into other political or social discourses and its eventual use within commercial culture."[117] Terry Fox's death is one of these moments where people can recall where they were and what they were doing at the time. His death is also the point where Fox can truly become a myth. His image becomes more static, keeping some flexibility only to allow for positive revisions. As Thomas Carlyle wrote over a century ago, "…if a man was great while living, he becomes tenfold greater when dead. What an enormous camera-obscura magnifier is Tradition!"[118]

As an iconic event, the death of Terry Fox demonstrates once again the role of the media in enhancing the importance of an event. As Leavy argues, "The media fixates on these events which in turn alert the public to the event's unique significance. The press thus engages in a tautology: the event is historically exceptional and it gets endless coverage, thus reinforcing its historical exceptionality."[119] Iconic events differ from media events and vortextuality, however, in that through their mythicization, they become part of the national identity: "Iconic events are a major source through which a collective memory of the past is established and national identity is formed and contested."[120] Fox was considered a living hero in Thunder Bay. But had he survived this second bout of

[117] Patricia Leavy, *Iconic Events,* 5.
[118] Thomas Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship,* London: Chapman and Hall, 1869, 37.
[119] Patricia Leavy, *Iconic Events,* 3.
[120] Ibid*,* 28.

cancer, one wonders if his heroic status would have remained. As Moses Hades and Morton Smith note, "death is after all the crown of the [hero's] career."[121] One can just think of how differently Canadians view embattled runner Steven Fonyo, still living, in comparison to Fox: "Unfortunately for Steve Fonyo, he did only one thing wrong: he didn't die. We will never know how Terry Fox would have handled all the media and public scrutiny."[122]

Conclusion

Terry Fox became a celebrity and a hero because of the Canadian media: it created the interest for the story and in turn the story became more interesting because the media paid attention to it. In a study on the Trudeau funeral, Marusya Bociurkiw argued similarly that "it is the media that becomes a desiring-machine: it is not the need for images of Trudeau that produce desire for them but rather desire that produces need."[123] What we have tried to demonstrate in this chapter is the intimate relationship between the Canadian media and Terry Fox, between media and celebrity- and hero-making. We noted their paradoxical relation of codependency: Fox needed the media to publicize his cause and the media needed a good story.

The elaboration of the image of a celebrity and/or a hero is a process of cultural production, in which the power to shape and the power to control rests in the hands of a

[121] Moses Hades and Morton Smith, *Heroes and Gods. Spiritual Biographies in Antiquity*, New York: Harper & Row, 1965, 94.
[122] "Letters to the Editor," *Vancouver Sun*, April 19, 2005, A14.
[123] Marusya Bociurkiw, *Feeling Canadian. Television, Nationalism and Affect,* Toronto: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011, 108.

few. It is hegemonic discourse the way Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault understood it to be: a means to use language or practices to prescribe social norms. Orrin Klapp states that the hero "tends to be preserved in tradition and to function in the group as an idealized image, almost as an ikon."[124] The concept of 'ideal' certainly alludes to the shaping of an image into a norm, a standard. In fact, the hero plays a great role, says Klapp, in "personality development, education, and *social control*."[125] The same is true of media events, vortextuality and iconic events. Dayan and Katz suggest that if a media event is successful, it should provide hope, foster a sort of fraternal feeling with a larger group and a "rededication to control institutions."[126]

The production of heroes and media-made events are both exercises in the formulation of a specifically prescriptive discourse: choices are being made about the content and the form of the story and meaning is purposely added so as to provide a message, a use for telling the story. This message is often times promoting a status quo, rooted as it is (by the heroic media story) in tradition. As Debord argues, "The spectacle is the uninterrupted conversation which the present order maintains about itself, its laudatory monologue."[127] Celebrity and hero-making, media events, and commemoration, then, can all be seen as integration processes which "evoke a renewal of loyalty to the society and its legitimate authority."[128]

Daniel Boorstin argued in the sixties that the evolution of heroes from sacred beings to common individuals with noticeable talents caused them to disappear and be

[124] Orrin Klapp, "Hero Worship in America", 61.
[125] Ibid. [our emphasis]
[126] Daniel Dayan & Elihu Katz, *Media Events*, 141.
[127] Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle,* 24.
[128] Daniel Dayan & Elihu Katz, *Media Events*, 9.

replaced by celebrities: "Two centuries ago when a great man appeared, people looked for God's purpose in him; today we look for his press agent."[129] Pete Axhelm reflected on the topic and mused that "Once, we routinely asked our kids who their heroes were. Today we fumble for answers when they ask us if there are any heroes left….But a cynical age now accepts the tarnished coin of celebrity in place of heroic virtue…"[130]

In an age in which there is a marked reluctance to celebrate great men, heroes have to cope with popular disbelief about their laudable intentions. William J. Bennett explained in 1977 the 'AHA! theory of behaviour' which he thought applied to people's approach to and perceptions of heroes. The behaviour consists essentially in assuming an ulterior and usually crass motive for doing good: "AHA! – you may appear to be an honest lawyer, but that is only a devious approach to get my business […] Watergate, 'demythologizing', phony sophistication, believing that every good action has an ulterior and crass motive, the rise of the anti-hero, and a variety of other forces have made the hero invisible to us."[131] In his elaborate definition of 'prestige' (a whole book's worth), William J. Goode argued that prestige was, in essence, a form of heroism and that heroism, was itself a form of social control. As he explains, and in the same critical vein as Bennett,

> Prestige is a system of social control that shapes much of social life. All people share the universal need to gain the respect or esteem of others, since without it they can not as easily elicit the help of other, and all individuals

[129] Daniel Boorstin, *The Image*, 45
[130] Pete Axthelm, "Where have all the heroes gone," *Newsweek* 1976, 44.
[131] William J. Bennett, "Let's bring back heroes," *Newsweek* August 1977, 3.

> and groups give and withhold prestige and approval as a way of rewarding or punishing others.[132]

These pieces by Pete Axthelm, William Bennett and William Goode were all published in the late 1970s, before Terry Fox had made his mark in Canadian history. One could argue that the cynicism and hopelessness expressed in these works and in North America during these years opened the way for a much needed hero. Alternatively, one could also say that the story of Terry Fox is even more heroic given the cynical environment in which he emerged.

[132] William J. Goode, *The Celebration of Heroes. Prestige as a Social Control System*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978, vii.

CHAPTER 2

PAST AND PRESENT IN THE COMMEMORATION OF TERRY FOX

In *Possessed by the Past*, David Lowenthal wrote that "in domesticating the past, we enlist it for present causes."[1] We domesticate the past by commemorating it, by materializing in the present the immaterial past. At the root of commemoration, and public memory more generally, is the relationship we entertain with the past: at times uneasy and messy, constantly shifting and inevitably mediated. In the same way that events are shaped by the media reporting them to an audience, the past is packaged for public consumption through commemorative materials. In examining such materials, we thus find ourselves looking at interactions between the past and the present. The commemoration of the past is a process of mediation, hence memory materials are vehicles for the transmission of a mediated version of the past. They are, in themselves, a discourse: "the remembering through that which lies at the basis of commemoration is always a remembering through a text."[2] This text can take many forms : a statue, a film, a book, a parade. And the commemorative form in which the text is delivered also plays a part in the mediation process, as much as an event will be reported differently, depending on whether it is presented on television, radio or internet. The commemoration of a national hero such as Terry Fox, then, will carry the message of remembrance in as many ways as there are memory markers.

In this chapter, focus will be placed specifically on monuments of Terry Fox and movies about him, to capture both the highly symbolic and intricately complex renditions

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[1] David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, New York: Free Press, 1996, xi.
[2] Edward S. Casey, *Remembering. A Phenomenological Study*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987, 232.

of his story. We focus on monuments as a form of *official* recognition, a bid to permanency that tells us as much about the process of memory than about the official authorities involved in that process. As Kirk Savage put it in *Monument Wars*, "national monuments acquire authority by affixing certain words and images to particular places meant to be distinctive and permanent."[3] As a relatively traditional means of commemoration, monuments are replete with symbolic imagery and can be very open to interpretations, despite the fact many assume that "monuments strip the hero or event of historical complexities and condense the subject's significance to a few patriotic lessons frozen for all time."[4] Monuments are also a snapshot of the period in which they were constructed and as such, those dedicated to Terry Fox provide us with a rich and vivid image of 1980s Canada, as viewed by those who commissioned, paid for, and unveiled those monuments.

We have also decided to focus on films as a form of *cultural* recognition, and perhaps less a 'traditional' form of commemoration. Films are of course rich in visual imagery, and as such have the "ability to summarize, condense, and in turn render comprehensible the difficulties of history."[5] They are also replete with subtexts and symbols and thus offer countless possibilities for interpretation. The final product can be examined for the choices made in everything from actors, to lighting, to scene selection and organization, to the prominence of specific objects or colour. These choices are not only meaningful in terms of film analysis but also in the historical analysis of the context in which the film was produced. To look at a film critically, however, one must have a

[3] Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005, 6.
[4] Ibid, 10.
[5] Mark Moss, *Toward the Vizualization of History. The Past as Image*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008, 2.

"sense of literacy to understand history as defined by image as opposed to the history that was once determined by words."[6] According to Robert Rosenstone, film can also be examined "on its own terms as a portrait of the past," not just a source of information for historical context.[7] For Rosenstone, historians and filmakers have much in common : "Both possess attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs – entire value systems – that color everything they express and underlie the interpretations by which they organize and give meaning to the traces of the past."[8] Together, monuments and films offer a glimpse into the official and cultural memory of Terry Fox, into the historical context of Canada in the 1980s, and into the interplay between past and present interpretations of the meaning and legacy of Terry Fox.

Commemorative materials are inevitably developed by a few, usually those who have the means and/or the power to commemorate. It thus follows that memory materials have long been considered "indispensable instrument in disseminating and perpetuating belief … in the reality of [an] imagined national community."[9] Inevitably, in commemorating an event or an individual, the personal memories must be subordinated to the collective (that is, a social group, an ethnic community, a nation), in order to construct a simple, unifying narrative. In *Commemorating the Nation. Collective Memory, Public Commemoration, and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Egypt,* Israel Ghershoni and James Jankowski discuss commemoration as a means to study the

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[6] Mark Moss, *Toward the Vizualization of History. The Past as Image*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008, 53.
[7] Robert A. Rosenstone, "Introduction," in Robert A. Rosenstone, ed., *Revisioning History. Film and the Construction of a New Past*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995, 7.
[8] Ibid, 6.
[9] Israel Ghershoni and James Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation. Collective Memory, Public Commemoration, and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Egypt,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, 306.

memory of a given society, a "vehicle for understanding collective memory."[10] Commemorative sites and objects are representative of a society and are shaped in accordance with specific values. An "inevitably politicized process,"[11] commemoration, though its first purpose may be to create or solidify collective memory, also ends up celebrating the people who organised the commemorative activity. Commemoration is a "tableau of national greatness" which is supposed to "move the masses to identify with the abstractness of the nation."[12]

According to John Bodnar, commemoration may be about a few imposing their views on the many. But it does not mean that the process of commemorating goes uncontested. Indeed, Bodnar argues that "The shaping of a past worthy of public commemoration in the present is contested and involves a struggle for supremacy between advocates of various political ideas and sentiments."[13] In looking at some of the commemorative materials about Terry Fox, we can see how some constituencies effectively wrote themselves into the Fox story through their participation in the commemorative process, confirming at the same time that "monuments are no less honorable to those who erect them than to those whom they seek to honor."[14] Commemoration is indeed less about the person some wish to remember than about those who want to remember him/her; the stories in this chapter will show that Terry Fox's wishes have indeed been for the most part disregarded. As Edward Casey puts it,

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[10] Israel Ghershoni and James Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation,* 5
[11] Ibid, 13
[12] Ibid, 9
[13] John Bodnar, "The Memory Debate: An Introduction," in John Bodnar, ed, *Remaking America. Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, 13.
[14] Colin Coates and Cecilia Morgan, *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine des Verchères and Laura Secord*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002, 195.

commemoration is "a highly mediated affair,"[15] and those who do the mediating enjoy various degrees of power over the interpretation of the past.

This is of course no ground breaking statement. Commemoration is a hegemonic process in which people, groups, organizations and/or institutions get to occupy a prized seat between 'what happened' and 'what it is hoped people will remember'. Benedetto Fontana describes hegemony as "necessarily impl[ying] the creation of a particular structure of knowledge and a particular system of values"[16], and for the process of commemorating, this means that those implicated will necessarily commit to memory events and characters that reflect specific values. As Norman Knowles suggested when looking at commemorative processes such as the one examined here, "every monument has a social history; careful consideration must thus be given to the individuals and groups responsible for its inception and completion and its intended audience."[17]

The following pages will focus on three particular commemorative stories: the Thunder Bay monument unveiled in 1982, the B.C. Place Memorial Arch unveiled in 1984, and the memory battle between two movies, *The Terry Fox Story* (1985) and *Terry* (2005). While we have examined a plethora of source materials on Terry Fox, we found that monuments and films provided us with a more meaningful story, not only about Fox, but about the negotiating process entailed in the construction of a statue and the production of a film. The three stories we have chosen to tell were the most documented, presented the richest narrative, and illustrated most vividly the ongoing negotiation between past and present. What we find in each are thus different iterations of the

[15] Edward S. Casey, *Remembering. A Phenomenological Study*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987, 218.
[16] Benedetto Fontana, *Hegemony and Power*, 140.
[17] Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002, 115-6.

relationship between the past and the present: the present struggle for ownership of the past, the use of the past for present purposes, and the revisitation of the past to better suit the present.

Remembering those who commemorate : the Thunder Bay memorial

Monuments are meant to be long-lasting, to continue to be meaningful for multiple generations. According to Norman Knowles, they serve to provide a "sense of rootedness and tradition" in a fast-paced environment. Because monuments are permanent (or at least supposed to be), the message they illustrate, in an abstract design or a statue, is usually expressed through symbols and allegories, using these to "re-create….the 'mystic chords of memory', those psychic threads that bind a people to [a] nation."[18] In the 1970s, Maurice Agulhon was predicting the end of statuary, or, at least, that of its 'life-like' form: "On statufie, désormais, nettement moins, et, quand on le fait, on sacrifie le plus souvent le réalisme du portrait à la beauté de l'évocation allusive."[19] Agulhon discussed the statue 'boom' of the First World War and the gradual abandonment of such monuments to commemorate the past, for which he blamed the "crise de la sculpture-portrait, crise du libéralisme, et crise de la ville."[20] Interestingly, while a similar evolution was probably the case in Canada as well, Terry Fox spurred "a round of monument-building in this country not seen since the Imperialist binge of obelisk-raising, urn turning, and crypt-encryption which followed the Boer War."[21] As

[18] Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars*, 8.
[19] Maurice Agulhon, « La statuomanie et l'histoire, » *Ethnologie française* 8 (1972), 178.
[20] Ibid, 181.
[21] Trevor Boddy, "Plastic Lion's Gate. A Short History of the Post Modern in Vancouver Architecture," in Paul Delany, ed. *Vancouver. Representing the Postmodern City,* Vancouver : Arsenal Pulp Press, 1995, 27.

mentioned in the introductory chapter, we can undoubtedly expect yet another round of monument unveilings in 2015, on the 35th anniversary of the Marathon of Hope.

The number of Fox statues and monuments peppering the Canadian landscape is impressive. Among the earliest were the massive memorial statue in Thunder Bay unveiled in 1982, statues of the runner in Ottawa, (unveiled in 1983 and rededicated in 1998 as part of the Path of Heroes)[22] and in front of the B.C. Stadium in Vancouver (1984 and replaced in 2011). Simon Fraser University in Burnaby unveiled a statue of its former kinesiology student in 2001.[23] There was then a second 'phase' of monument production in 2005, and only in British Columbia, to mark the 25th anniversary of the Marathon of Hope. In Prince George, the statue marked the place where Fox ran his first marathon : "He participated in the race to test his endurance before his planned Marathon of Hope across Canada."[24] A philanthropist financed the production of a lifesize statue in Victoria because he "was determined to see a symbol of his legacy in the city,"[25] where Fox would have ended his Marathon of Hope. A bronze statue of the runner was also unveiled in front of the Terry Fox High School, the school he attended.[26] In that same year, a plaque was unveiled to mark the beginning of the Marathon of Hope, in St. John's, Newfoundland. But according to a couple of tourists who tried to find it in 2009,

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[22] Susan Elizabeth Hart has looked at the Terry Fox statue's move from its original location, to its actual place as part of the Path of Heroes, an initiative from then Heritage Minister Sheila Copps. The Path of Heroes program does not exist anymore, as a January 19, 2012 email from the National Capital Commission confirmed. See pp. 176-181 of Hart's thesis for a short narrative of the move. Susan Elizabeth Hart, *Sculpting a Canadian Hero*.

[23] See Doug Ward, "Terry Fox more than just a subject for sculptor: he's been the only true hero that I have," *Vancouver Sun*, September 15, 2001, B1.

[24] "Fox statue in Prince George pays tribute to runner's achievement," *Vancouver Sun*, September 3, 2005, B2.

[25] "Terry Fox statue reaches Mile Zero," *Vancouver Sun*, October 10, 2005, B4. The statue cost 50K, all paid by Rob Reid, Victoria business owner.

[26] As an article states, "It cost $24,000 to bronze statue and the school is hoping to cover this cost through corporate donations so as not to deflect from its annual Terry Fox fundraising efforts." "School honours Fox with statue," *Vancouver Sun*, September 9, 2005, B4.

"it is hidden behind the Port Authority building. Access to it is down a driveway. There is no sign anywhere. No brochures speak of it at all."[27] To remedy this situation, this plaque was replaced in 2012 by a larger monument to "mark the starting point of this heroic act which has inspired millions of Canadians."[28] There are also countless plaques, streets, libraries and schools bearing his name, making Terry Fox certainly among the most commemorated Canadians.

The process of developing and constructing the Thunder Bay monument, following a rather quick pace to be unveiled on the first anniversary of Terry Fox's death, seems to have followed its course unhindered. Shortly after Fox's death, the Ontario government announced that it was renaming a portion of the Trans-Canada highway between Nipigon and Thunder Bay as the Terry Fox Courage Highway. James Snow, who took up office as Minister of Transportation and Communication around that time, recalls that "After touring the Thunder Bay area…it was decided to suggest to Cabinet that MTC include a scenic lookout on the renamed stretch of highway….one close to where Terry had been forced to stop…"[29]

Not only were the Minister and his colleague inspired to suggest a lookout and a monument to Terry Fox, they were apparently the ones who located the shirt that had been tied to a tree by Cancer Society officials to mark the end of the Marathon.[30] Snow found the statue's sculptor himself in his own riding of Oakville, and after the monument

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[27] "Terry Who? - Letters to the Editors," *The Telegram*, July 28, 2009.
[28] Jim Prentice, quoted in Parks Canada news release, "Government of Canada and the City of St. John's announce the commission of a statue representing Terry Fox dipping his foot in the Atlantic Ocean at Mile 0 of his "Marathon of Hope," July 14, 2012. Available at http://www.pc.gc.ca/APPS/CP-NR/release_e.asp?id=1651&andor1=nr. Last accessed July 25, 2013.
[29] Remarks by James Snow to the Ontario Monument Dealers Association, Friday, June 25, 1982, Valhalla Inn, Thunder Bay, Ont, 4. Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #1.
[30] Ibid, 5.

and scenic lookout project was approved, the Minister became quite involved in this particular construction project: "In my many years and different careers, I've been involved in construction of one type or another…construction of buildings, construction of bridges, highways, airports and transit facilities. But never, never had I been involved in the construction of a monument."[31] While the government of Ontario provided most of the funds, the City of Thunder Bay donated the property needed to enlarge the lookout for the memorial, this thanks to some lobbying on the part of a CCS representative.[32] The statue itself cost around $77,000, but the project as a whole, including the creation of turning lanes, the expansion of the lookout and the ceremony totalled a little over $513,000. About $53,000 was spent on the unveiling ceremony alone[33], almost as much as the cost of the statue itself, thus confirming that the people doing the remembering are as important as those they are trying to remember.

The monument is massive, with a nine feet tall, half-ton statue of Terry Fox towering over a bridge made of granite and facing west, where he was headed (see Illustration 1 below). Fox's statue depicts him in the middle of running (as is the case for all the Fox statues), his face reflecting the pain he must have felt doing so. On a side panel, a short narrative of Terry Fox's story ; his cancer, his amputation, the return of cancer. But despite "overwhelming odds, he inspired an outpouring of $24 million for cancer research."[34] Another section lists many of the awards and honours received by

[31] Remarks by James Snow to the Ontario Monument Dealers Association, Friday, June 25, 1982, Valhalla Inn, Thunder Bay, Ont, 4. Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #1, 6.
[32] Ibid, 4. The City was in fact 'encouraged' to donate the land, as stated in the minutes of a City of Thunder Bay ad hoc committee: "The Ministry will be requesting the City to convey lands they own adjacent to the Lookout." Ad Hoc Committee Minutes, Meeting No. 3 on October 1, 1981. Thunder Bay City Archives.
[33] Letter from W.D. Neilipovitz to James Snow, Terry Fox Lookout, summary expenditures, November 2, 1982. Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #2.
[34] Terry Fox monument, front panel.

Terry Fox to date, including the Order of Canada, the title of 'Canadian of the Year' in 1980 and 1981, the Lou Marsh Award, Canada's Sports Hall of Fame induction, the Order of the Dogwood, and the American Cancer Society's Sword of Hope.[35] On the bridge itself, there were the coats of arms of every Canadian province, showing how Fox had united Canada by trying to run across it and the "Canadian emblems of the maple leaf and beaver."[36]

Illustration 1. Thunder Bay monument

Source : Richard Keeling, Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain. [37]

Of course, there is the mandatory panel listing the people who unveiled the monument (fittingly at the front of the memorial): Governor General Schreyer, Lieutenant Governor John Black Aird, Premier Bill Davis, Premier Bill Bennett, Minister

[35] The Canadian Cancer Society would later request to add an award it had created a few months before Fox's passing, which was sent to his home because he was ill. More details on this particular story will be covered in the next chapter.
[36] "The Road to Hope was paved with Courage" Booklet, Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #2.
[37] Picture available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Terry_Fox.jpg. Last accessed June 29, 2013.

Snow and the Fox family. While the people who unveiled the monument were recognized as such, nowhere could one find the name of those who actually built it. This concerned Bill Curtis, president of the Confederation College of Arts and Technology, enough for him to write a letter to James Snow on July 16, 1982, where he stated: "Numerous members of the artistic community are concerned that neither the artist who designed the statue nor the foundry which cast it received any recognition on the site."[38] Curtis asked that proper attention be given to his missive, given that "there is talk of a petition and of raising the issue on an open-line show" but adding a plaque to the site would "prevent this contretemps from growing."[39]

Snow's speech at the unveiling ceremony was short, glossing over his involvement in the process and focusing instead on thanking the various public personalities in attendance. "That is how," Snow said, "we, in Ontario and indeed all Canadians, remember Terry….with a great deal of pride and respect."[40] The monument was in Ontario and had been paid for by the Ontario government. It should not be surprising that Snow's speech was sometimes focused specifically on his province, as "we, in Ontario will not forget him."[41] The side panel of the monument, featuring a short narrative of the Fox story, states that "To the people of Ontario, Terry gave us pride – pride in having known him and, briefly, shared his dream."[42] The relationship between Fox and Ontario was special: it is where his run enjoyed the most success. The Atlantic provinces certainly helped Fox in his endeavour, but a great many Canadians living there

[38] Letter from Bill Curtis, President of the Confederation College of Arts and Technology, July 16, 1982, Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #3.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Introductory remarks by James Snow, Official unveiling and dedication of the Terry Fox monument and scenic lookout, June 26, 1982, Thunder Bay, Ont., 4. Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #1.
[41] Ibid, 5.
[42] Terry Fox monument, front panel.

did not know about him. The Quebec experience was a fiasco. Western Canada never saw him run. But most Ontarians living close to the Trans-Canada had a chance to see Fox run; they heard countless times that the Marathon truly started in Ontario. Hence the Thunder Bay monument was also a celebration of Ontario's role in Terry Fox's success.

The scenic lookout and the monument were also thought out in terms of tourism to the region. Indeed, a news release on the unveiling gave greater details on how the site had been further developed to house the memorial: "The lookout site was enlarged and improved with the property donated by the City of Thunder Bay. In addition, left-turn lanes were added to the highway to safely accommodate the expected influx of tourists visiting the site."[43] Similarly, part of the communications strategy of the Ministry with regards to the Terry Fox monument was to film the unveiling and transform it into a 7-8 minute film, along with some footage provided by the CCS and still photographs, so that "The Ministry of Industry and Tourism could conceivably use the film as tourist promotion for the Thunder Bay area."[44] A special booklet printed for the unveiling and distributed to all in attendance featured a few remarks from Léo Bernier, member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, who seemed to celebrate how quick Thunder Bay was in commemorating Fox: "The citizens of Thunder Bay were the first to recognize the importance of his accomplishments and the Ministry of Northern Affairs is pleased to support their desire to erect a fitting tribute to this remarkable Canadian."[45] 'Firsts' were worth a lot of tourist dollars as well; perhaps being the first to commemorate Fox was

[43] Ministry of Transportation and Communication, News release, June 26, 1982, Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #1.
[44] Communications plan, Terry Fox Monument, Thunder Bay, 2. Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #2.
[45] Léo Bernier, "The Road to Hope was paved with Courage" Booklet, Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #2.

also believed to be a selling point, commanding, as Ian McKay says, "top dollars in the marketplace of significance."[46]

Despite the event taking place in Thunder Bay, the City of Toronto found a way to be involved in the process. A memorandum from Sheryll Reid from the CCS discusses the possibilities of a partnership between the CCS, the Ministry and the King Edward Hotel in Toronto: "we believe some very constructive groundwork was laid in terms of co-operation….in preparing a mutually rewarding effort to celebrate the hotel's first anniversary reception….all parties agreed that the primary purpose of the gathering will be to highlight the Ministry's tribute to Terry Fox."[47] The hotel hosted a lunch reception a few days before the unveiling for the media to view a short film about Fox and to ask questions about the monument. A press release issued by the hotel gave all the necessary information, but barely spoke of the monument or Fox. Mostly, it was about the hotel: "All of us at the King Edward and Trusthouse Forte[48] were anxious to mark the King Edward's first anniversary in a meaningful way…"[49] The partnership with Toronto served to include the city in the unveiling process somehow : "The King Edward reception…is an excellent vehicle to ensure that Torontonians, who made such a spectacular contribution to the Marathon of Hope, are fully informed about the Terry Fox monument…"[50]

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[46] Ian McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964," *Acadiensis* 22 (1993), 128.
[47] Sheryll Reid, Memorandum to Peter Rickard, The Kind Edward Hotel, Dale McConaghy, Executive Assistant, James Snow, Ontario Minister of Transport, Harry Rowlands, Ontario Division, Canadian Cancer Society, Bill Vigars, Ontario Division, Canadian Cancer Society, May 5, 1982. Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #2.
[48] Trust House Forte is the company that owned the King Edward Hotel at the time. See for this http://www.thestar.com/life/travel/2011/05/20/luxury_hotel_magnate_sees_big_rebound_in_business.html. Last accessed June 29, 2013.
[49] Press release by King Edward Hotel, June 3, 1982, Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #2.
[50] Ibid.

The story surrounding the Thunder Bay monument[51] is one of contest over ownership of the past. It is about who gets to 'interpret reality', as John Bodnar would say.[52] Indeed, what we see in this particular instance are different constituencies negotiating their significance into the Terry Fox commemoration: the province of Ontario and its particular relationship to Fox; the City of Thunder Bay, its hopes of increased tourism thanks to its 'ownership' of the end story of the Marathon; the King Edward Hotel and the City of Toronto for the recognition of this city's uncomparable support to Terry Fox. Given the assumed permanency of a monument, inclusion in the process, on the slab of stone or in the unveiling ceremony is a promise of historical significance, a manifestation of the perenniality of memory.

What was not part of this negotiation, however, was….Terry Fox. Indeed, Fox had specifically stated in 1981 that he did not want anything to mark the end of the Marathon. As a CCS representative had been told, "the runner objected to such a commemorative cairn [in Thunder Bay]."[53] This because he "didn't feel his run ha[d] ended,"[54] but also perhaps in a sense so as not to commemorate his failure. One wonders what Fox would think of the now annual ritualized form of commemoration of this very event through the Terry Fox runs. Indeed, these runs are usually organized at the beginning of September, around when Fox reached Thunder Bay and had to give up on his dream. Given his dying wish, it seems that the beginning of the Marathon would have better illustrated the way Fox saw his legacy. With this in mind, it seems that the unveiling date of the monument coordinated with the anniversary of his death also went

[51] The monument was moved temporarily in 1992 to make way for the enlargement of the Trans-Canada, but without much reactions. "Statue of Fox to be moved," *Toronto Star*, August 14, 1992, A10.
[52] John Bodnar, *Remaking America,* 14.
[53] "Fox opposes marker at place run stopped," *Globe and Mail*, April 3, 1981, 11.
[54] Ibid.

against Fox's wishes. But with the blessing of the Fox family, which seemed to appreciate the monument and happily participated in the unveiling, these wishes were eventually forgotten.

In any case, the site is now seen by many as "a national shrine to the heroic runner,"[55] and is listed as one of Thunder Bay's 'National Historic Destinations' alongside Fort Williams and other national historic designations.[56] There seemed to be a good tourist draw for the monument, so much so that an aldermen had to warn the city's MPP in 1989 that the site should be modified to accommodate the constant influx of tourists. Indeed, Ald. Dick Waddington was quoted as saying that the site had become "an 'open sewer' because there are no washrooms in the area", urging that funds be found for the construction of bathrooms on site.[57] The popularity of the monument not only caused damage to the surrounding environment, but it also caused damage to the statue itself, with people trying to steal a piece of Terry Fox's memory for themselves. The artist who designed and sculpted the statue was called in in 1996 to repair parts of it, such as "the left hand of the Fox figure which had been sawed off at the wrist. He also repaired damages done by an attempt to saw off the statue's head."[58] A sacred shrine for some, but certainly just another public space to vandalize for others, as one city official recalls that "Someone once climbed the statue to put a cigarette in the mouth of the sculpture that depicts Fox running."[59] One should note however that this is not the only Fox memory

[55] "Fox monument now a sewer," *Toronto Star*, February 6, 1989, A7.
[56] See City of Thunder Bay website, http://www.thunderbay.ca/Visiting/Attractions_and_Adventure/things_to_see_and_do/National_Historic_Designations.htm. Last accessed January 30, 2013.
[57] "Fox monument now a sewer," *Toronto Star*, February 6, 1989, A7.
[58] "Sculptor fixes vandal damage to Fox statue," *Toronto Star*, September 13, 1996, A10. One article states that the city had, by 1996, spent over 20,000$ to repair or clean the statue. See "Terry Fox monument defaced," *Vancouver Sun*, March 1, 1996, A3.
[59] "Terry Fox monument defaced," *Vancouver Sun*, March 1, 1996, A3.

marker to be vandalized[60] : Fox's grave was desecrated with graffiti in 1998[61] and the Prince George statue was vandalized in 2007, with drawings of a mustache and apparent signs that people had been trying to "knock the head off."[62]

The clash between past and present : The B.C. Place Memorial Arch

While the Thunder Bay monument may have been an occasion for different constituencies to negotiate their own significance in the Terry Fox story, the Terry Fox memorial in Vancouver tells a very different tale. In this particular case, a monument caused stridently negative reactions after its unveiling, to the point where it was decided that it had to be taken down. This is the story of a clash between a depiction of the past and concerns firmly rooted in the present. Indeed, the debate over the B.C. Place Memorial Arch used the commemoration of Terry Fox to address issues related to the City of Vancouver and its perceived image, to postmodernism clashing with popular taste and to the difficulties of representing a hero through contemporary art. Ultimately, Vancouverites, citizens and city officials alike, won the argument over how to remember Terry Fox. And interestingly here we see a situation contrary to that of Thunder Bay: while Fox opposed a marker in Thunder Bay which ended up getting constructed anyway, Fox had approved a memorial at B.C. Place which was almost uniformly rejected.[63]

Since the marathon runner was from British Columbia, it seemed only natural to try and rival Thunder Bay as a place of memory. Despite the fact that Fox lived in Port Coquitlam and studied in Burnaby, a monument in Vancouver promised to draw more

[60] Nor, it should be noted, are the Fox monuments the only ones to be vandalized.
[61] Scott Simpson, "Fox family devastated by desecration of gravestone," *Vancouver Sun*, September 30, 1998, B6.
[62] Laura Drake, "Vandals damage Terry Fox statue," *Globe and Mail*, July 12, 2007, A8.
[63] "A last wish wanted statue put in BC place stadium," *Vancouver Sun*, June 29, 1981, A14.

sizeable crowds. The President of Simon Fraser University (SFU), George Pedersen was aware that the Fox family was in talks with the Government of British Columbia to determine the location of a memorial to Terry Fox. He wrote to the Provincial Secretary in 1982 to make the case for SFU. Pedersen began his letter by recalling a moment of deception for the university when "At the time of Terry Fox's death we at Simon Fraser University began considering the lighting of an eternal flame on campus…. On the day of Terry's funeral a flame was lit in Robson Square (in downtown Vancouver) and we reluctantly abandoned our plans."[64]

Difficulties at the Robson site precluded the installation of a permanent memorial, which encouraged Pedersen to write this letter to "indicate our interest in having Simon Fraser University named as the appropriate site for this memorial."[65] According to Pedersen, SFU's significance in the Terry Fox story was crucial: "Terry Fox was a student of this University, and he began preparing for his Marathon of Hope on our running track and trails. In addition, our Burnaby Mountain campus is close to Terry's home."[66] Sadly for Pedersen, his proposal to transform SFU into a *lieu de mémoire* about Terry Fox was rejected. Despite the reference to the mythical beginnings of a hero, despite the obvious 'will to remember,'[67] SFU as a site of memory was not meant to be. On this original letter in the SFU archives, a handwritten note in red ink reads: "George

[64] Letter from K. George Pedersen to Honorable Evan M. Wolf, Provincial Secretary and Minister of Government Services F-160-1-0-8 Terry Fox file, SFU Archival Fonds.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History," 19.

Pedersen told me[68] the idea was turned down by Mrs Betty Fox. He said she opted for a memorial by B.C. Stadium."[69]

A contest was organized across the province to find a design for a memorial to Fox in front of B.C. Stadium, as per Betty Fox's wishes. A jury of nine evaluated over one hundred design proposals.[70] Members of the jury included Abraham Rogatnick, professor of Architecture at UBC, Arthur Erickson, architect for the UBC Anthropology Museum and Simon Fraser University, Luke Rombout, then director of the Vancouver Art Gallery, and a representative of the Fox family.[71] According to Rogatnik, the winning design for the contest had to achieve four clear objectives: "it had to provide an appropriate memorial to Terry Fox; accommodate a stream of pedestrian traffic through the square for stadium events; create a proper visual ending for Robson street; and overcome the 'nondescript' entrance to the stadium."[72] The B.C. Stadium, whose construction was completed a few months before the Fox memorial, had drawn a lot of criticisms itself as its "sheer bulk….overwhelms its human-scaled heritage surroundings….the B.C. Place Stadium is a characterless engineered building."[73] The memorial to Fox thus needed, in some sense, to beautify a brand new building that people

[68] The "me" here is the person who wrote the note in red letters. We can assume it was Pedersen's secretary, who put together this file.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Eve Johnson, "In defence of that Terry Fox tribute," *Vancouver Sun*, May 31, 1984.
[71] Internal memo, Davina to Alderman Kennedy, City Hall Vancouver, May 31, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives. The Fox family representative voted against the monument, because it did not represent Fox. Steel plates were added to ease their's and other critics' concerns.
[72] Abraham Rogatnick, quoted in Eve Johnson, "In defence of that Terry Fox tribute," *Vancouver Sun*, May 31, 1984.
[73] Mike Harcourt & Ken Cameron with Sean Rossiter, *City Making in Paradise. Nice Decisions that Saved Vancouver,* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2007, 102.

were already complaining about, an "out-of-place, oversized stadium wrapped in freeway tentacles."[74]

The winner was architect Franklin Allen who proposed a triumphal arch with Roman-style columns. As Rogatnick stated, the "triumphal arch goes with Terry Fox. It refers to the traditional idea of the triumphal arch and to triumph over adversity."[75] Four lions topped the arch, the most criticized element of the memorial, but also perhaps the most meaningful as Ed Cepka argues:

> The lions on the four corners of the monument are the most literal symbols to have appeared on an important piece of Vancouver architecture for some time…. Their location recalls angels with trumpets and charioteers with horses that were meaningful symbols at the time on the classical and neoclassical arches. The lions themselves however are all Vancouver. They are the Lions Gate Bridge, the courthouse, the mountains, protectors of the city looking out over the four corners. They are Terry Fox, symbol of courage and vision and strength. [76]

Colour projections of Terry Fox and his Marathon of Hope were supposed to enliven the arch, but were not included in the construction, for lack of budget, as was the case for three 'beacons of hope,' reduced to one which never worked properly.[77] The original design was thus changed significantly during the course of construction because of budgetary cuts, but also because of critics who "demanded additions to the monument,"[78] among them the Terry Fox family which was concerned that he was not referenced anywhere in the monument. Hence the memorial arch unveiled on May 18, 1983, was quite different from the design originally proposed (see Illustration 2 below).

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[74] Eve Johnson, "In defence of that Terry Fox tribute," *Vancouver Sun*, May 31, 1984.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ed Cepka, "Postmodern Controversy," *Canadian Architect*, August 1984 29(8), 34.
[77] Ibid.
[78] John Punter, *The Vancouver Achievement: Urban Planning and Design,* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003, 89. For example, because there were no references to Terry Fox, Allen accepted to add steel plates inside the arch illustrating Terry Fox and the Marathon of Hope.

Illustration 2 : B.C. Place Memorial Arch

Source : Courtesy of Matt Boulton [79]

Vancouverites clearly did not like the end product.[80] The memorial arch was despised the moment it was unveiled.[81] Mostly, what people did not like of the monument was its eclecticism and lack of clear reference to the individual it was commemorating. The arch was too postmodern for Vancouver citizens. Postmodernist architecture is defined by two main elements. Firstly, it is indeed willfully eclectic, a response to the minimalism of modernism: "Postmodern architecture recalled Art Deco, Art Nouveau, Victorian clutter reintroducing elements of the ornamerntal, decorative and pictorial that

[79] Picture available at http://www.flickr.com/photos/mafue/5162375787/sizes/n/in/photolist-8Sbwt6-arzYcp/. Last accessed September 2, 2013.
[80] Actually, the publication of the design prior to the construction had also created some debate within the architecture community. Trevor Boddy, "Plastic Lion's Gate," in Paul Delany, ed. *Vancouver. Representing the Postmodern City,* Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1995, 28.
[81] Readers of the *Sun* voted 92% against the design, according to a reader poll by Nicole Parton. "Fox memorial affront to taste," *Vancouver Sun*, June 5, 1984, B2.

modernism had for decades tried to purge and eliminate."[82] Secondly, the arch is made to represent the 1980s 'crisis in representation', "a deeply felt loss of faith in our ability to represent the real, in the widest sense."[83] This could explain why Terry Fox was nowhere to be found on the monument. The arch was, according to Cepka, "the first high profile, unabashedly Post-Modern structure in Vancouver."[84]

Alderman Warnett Kennedy was the most vocal critic of the monument, taking it upon himself to ensure its removal. In response to a piece in the *Vancouver Sun* by Abraham Rogatnick defending the monument, Kennedy wrote a long winded letter stating that "Rogatnik is a spell-binder. He can turn design into literary fantasy."[85] According to Kennedy, "we wanted a monument to Terry, not to architectural fashion-mongering in the 80's."[86] Kennedy quickly took action to have the memorial taken down. Indeed, a little over a year after the monument was unveiled, Kennedy put forward a motion in the City Council to "call upon the provincial government to have the structure removed to make space for a modest slab and plaque."[87] As the motion stated, the reaction to the memorial had been "overwhelmingly negative", and without wanting to overstep its mandate and "become design censors," City Council still suggested that the "affront to the memory of Terry Fox had become the concern of all British Columbians."[88]

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[82] John Docker, *Postmodernism and Popular Culture. A Cultural History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 82.
[83] Hans Bertens, *The Idea of the Postmodern. A History*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995, 11.
[84] Ed Cepka, "Postmodern Controversy," 34.
[85] Letter from Alderman Warnett Kennedy to the Editor of the *Sun*, June 4, 1984, City of Vancouver Archives.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Regular Council meeting, May 29, 1984, 29 (motions), 1263 (notebook). City of Vancouver Archives.
[88] Ibid.

The Sculptor's Society of B.C. pleaded with Council to hear their defence of the memorial and thus postpone the adoption of the motion. Kennedy became worried that the motion could be blocked:[89] "the motion will fail if the outraged public does not light a fire beneath the aldermen…"[90] He called upon Vancouverites to write, call, and send delegations in order to show the provincial government that "money, or the loss of it, is not the only consideration."[91] In another letter, to *The Province* this time, Kennedy mused that "the postponement….gives time for the realization that many citizens would gladly contribute to a citizens' fund to dismantle the existing memorial….Our society would show a healthy phychological [sic] attitude if it 'afforded' to remove this memorial."[92] The Sculptor's delegation was not able to appear "because of a personal matter,"[93] and Vancouver citizens responded en masse to Kennedy's call: the motion was carried.[94]

Vancouverites did their part; they wrote countless letters of support for Kennedy's self-assigned mission (and to whatever newspaper would publish them). These letters show us what the debate was about, and surprisingly, it was not nearly as much about Terry Fox as it was about Vancouver's image, and the disconnect between the 'people' and "self-indulgent professionals."[95] The memory of a hero was subsumed by the concerns of the consumers of that memory. Melissa Dixon from West Vancouver

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[89] To be fair, other council members may have agreed with Kennedy's take on the look of the monument, but balked at the cost of removing the monument, close to 400,000$, about 70% of its original cost.
[90] Letter from Alderman Warnett Kennedy to the Editor of the *Sun*, June 4, 1984, City of Vancouver Archives.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Letter from Alderman Warnett Kennedy to the Editor of *The Province*, June 11, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives.
[93] Regular Council meeting, June 19, 1984, 10 (motions), 1478 (notebook). City of Vancouver Archives.
[94] But let us note that the Memorial Arch was only removed in 2010. PavCo, the Crown corporation managing B.C. Place announced in 2010 that the arch had to be taken down "to make way for renovations to Terry Fox Plaza as part of a $563 million refit of BC Place, including a retractable roof for the stadium." "Architect of Terry Fox monument upset about plan to tear down memorial", *Vancouver Sun*, October 22, 2010.
[95] Letter to Nicole Parton, *The Province,* from Paul Trapnell June 6, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives.

expressed concerns that the "bewilderingly unsuitable so-called memorial" would be an embarassment to the City of Vancouver, which could lose face in front of the entire world: "Surely we are not going to display to our millions of Expo visitors from all over the world our lack of good taste and artistic integrity."[96] Another Vancouverite suggested that the arch be used as an ethnic pavillion at the Expo, as it "could serve as an ideal Oriental type of gateway (Chinese, Japanese or whatever)."[97] In response to a *Province* editorial criticizing every element of the monument, a reader wrote to share her embarrassment that her city was failing so miserably in commemorating Fox, compared to others: "If a little town like 'Thunder Bay' can build a decent statue, it's a shame to Vancouver."[98] The litany of criticisms showed how angry many in Vancouver were that such an 'abomination' had been built at the centre of their beloved city. Lynn Boyes wrote to the *Sun* editor that the memorial was "a disgrace and a terrible waste of money". Yves Farges wrote a letter of support to Kennedy stating that "A plastic-looking, oriental-styled, vulgar eyesore is a polite description…." One disgruntled citizen described the monument as reminding her of "an English train signal station or a mausoleum in an ancient English cathedral," another called it "Vancouver's public junk pile."[99]

Evidently, the monument created public uproar. These letters showed great anger at the appearance of this memorial, often linking the perceived ugliness of the structure to

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[96] Letter to Alderman Kennedy from Melissa Dixon, undated. City of Vancouver Archives. The B.C. Stadium was built in conjunction with the planning of Expo 86; the facility was set to host the opening ceremony of the international gathering.
[97] Letter to Alderman Kennedy from Myrna Campeotto, Vancouver, June 27, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives.
[98] Letter to Nicole Parton, *The Province*, from Mrs. H. Nummela, June 6, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives.
[99] Letters to the editor, *Vancouver Sun*, undated, City of Vancouver Archives; Letter to Alderman Kennedy from Yves Farge, May 25, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives; Letter to *The Province*, from B. Hanson, June 5, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives; Letter to *The Province*, from Pete Partaik, June 12, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives.

a voluntary affront to the Fox memory on the part of those involved in its design and construction. For some, the reaction against the monument was that of uneducated art critics: "I don't know much about art, but I know what I like."[100] The architect himself, when asked his thoughts on the public uproar unwittingly called Vancouverites "visual illiterates."[101] After reading Nicole Parton's piece in *The Province*, a reader criticized the newspaper for allowing her to review a piece of art, stating that "Letting Parton review the Terry Fox Memorial is like letting a third grader discuss U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East."[102]

According to Gerald Rolfsen, these negative reactions were, in effect, directed at the profession of architecture more generally. As he stated in a rebuttal to *The Province*'s seemingly one-sided campaign against the profession and the monument, "Your readers should be reminded that newspapers generally and Vancouver newspapers in particular don't like architects very much. Architects don't buy advertising."[103] And indeed a major part of the problem was this feeling of disconnect between the masses and high brow art like architecture. One contributor to *Canadian Architect* tried to explain the anger caused by the monument by the fact that Vancouver was a bland city, and thus its citizens were not accustomed to anything but "local commercial architecture."[104] Trevor Boddy examined the Fox monument and the backlash it created and argues that "The controversy … came in large part out of the public's loss of the ability to understand the

[100] Letter to *The Province*, from Gerald Rolfsen, June 7, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives.
[101] Franklin Allen, quoted in the John Kirkwood Korner page, *Vancouver Courier*, undated article. City of Vancouver Archives.
[102] Letters to the editors, from Geoffrey Bird, *Vancouver Sun*, June 6, 1984, A5.
[103] Letter to *The Province*, from Gerald Rolfsen, June 7, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives.
[104] Ed Cepka, "Postmodern Controversy," 34.

language of classical architecture, so that much of the spirit of the triumphal arch went uncommunicated."[105]

Not only was this controversy enhanced by the uneasy relationship between architects and Vancouverites, but it also caused some friction within the profession itself. Postmodernist architecture was an aberration to many modernists, especially because it "was reactionary in rejecting the modernist project; it proposed to revive pre-modernist manners…."[106] which had been rejected in modern architecture. Trevor Boddy and John Punter both suggested that architects feared the monument had been purposely chosen to "discredit the Post Modern so thoroughly that nothing further would be built in Vancouver in its eclectic image."[107]

Amidst these heated discussions about the image of Vancouver, the ugliness of the memorial, the divide between masses and high art and between modernists and postmodernists, people forgot about Terry Fox. Some letters stated that the monument was an insult to his memory, that the monument was not representive of what the runner was about or what he stood for. But by and large, Vancouverites fought over who knew better than anyone else how to commemorate the national hero. Many suggested their own designs. Take for example Estelle Harvey who suggested to "remove all this junk" on top of the arch, and replace it with a statue of Fox eerily resembling the one in Thunder Bay.[108] An unidentified design calls instead for a completely different monument: roman columns adorned with a friese reading "Greater love hath no man than

[105] Trevor Boddy, "Plastic Lion's Gate," 28-29
[106] Nigel Wheale, "Paradigms of the Postmodern," in Nigel Wheale, ed, *The Postmodern Arts. An Introductory Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995, 41.
[107] Trevor Boddy, "Plastic Lion's Gate," 29, also in John Punter, *The Vancouver Achievement,* 89.
[108] Letter to the *Vancouver Sun*, from Estelle Harvey, June 12, 1984. City of Vancouver Archives.

to lay down his life for."[109] Others simply wanted to have the designers fired. But in the end, the Terry Fox Memorial arch debate was about how people viewed their city, how they consumed and interpreted art and, most importantly, how they thought the past should be represented. While many decried that the monument did not refer to Terry Fox enough, very few referred to him in discussing the perpetuation of his memory.

The arch was taken down in 2010 to make room for renovations on the B.C. Stadium and the Terry Fox Plaza. The decision was made by the Crown Corporation which managed the facility and had perhaps been made easier because of the heated public debate in 1984. But it was undoubtedly heavily influenced by the Fox family's open dislike of the monument. Indeed, even as they requested a few changes on the monument along the way, the family ended up hating the piece and avoided commenting on it at the unveiling: "They attended the opening, but, asked for comment at the time, Fox Sr. replied only: 'We're here because it is a dedication to Terry.'"[110] The memorial arch was stored away and instead a piece by famed Vancouver artist Douglas Coupland was unveiled in 2011. The piece is comprised of four statues of Fox, each representing a 'step'in the Terry Fox wave and 'trot', each larger than the other as you walk away from the stadium.

[109] Unidentified design, undated. City of Vancouver Archives.
[110] "Terry Fox. Memorial Defended," unidentified newspaper, City of Cancouver Archives.

Illustration 3. New Terry Fox monument

Source : Courtesy of Brian Chase Photography[111]

As Coupland describes it, "By creating four sculptures depicting the four distinct movements that made up his unsual gait, the aim was to help people understand the pain and suffering he endured to reach his goal."[112] The Fox family wholeheartedly approved of the creation, unsurprising given the fact that Coupland had just released a book on Fox after obtaining access to his personal archives. But a new saga is now slowly developing, this one decrying the new but commercialized memorial, again vaguely using Terry Fox to voice criticism about the monument. Talking about a giant advertising screen behind the statues, a citizen complained: "The four sculpted figures are positioned with their

[111] Picture available at http://www.flickr.com/photos/16046216@N08/8444971453/sizes/m/in/photostream/. Last accessed July 15, 2013.
[112] Kim Pemberton, "Fox to be immortalized with sculpture series," *Vancouver Sun*, January 19, 2011, A2.

backs to the screen, as if the one-legged athlete is attempting to outrun a wormhole of electronic advertising."[113]

Revisiting the past : The Terry Fox story on film

Terry Fox approved a made-for-television movie on his life before he passed away. He was even supposed to "act as technical adviser and be consulted about the script."[114] Home Box Office (HBO) VP for programming, Michael Fuchs, announced in September 1981 that HBO has chosen a script about Terry Fox for HBO's first attempt at movie-making. The movie was entitled *The Terry Fox Story*. This was to be the first time a television network would produce a movie specifically made for television. Fuchs said that his network chose Fox among countless scripts coming from Hollywood "because of the heroic nature of Fox's Marathon of Hope".[115] Of course, one major reason for this choice was that "their statistics show that there will be a huge audience for this film,"[116] especially since the movie was to be produced and released so soon after Fox's death.

Ralph Thomas, a Canadian, was chosen as director because "As a Canadian, he will bring a special awareness of the impact of Terry Fox on the entire nation…Mr Thomas will be sensitive to the phenomenon of Terry Fox."[117] Thomas accepted the project only once Robert Cooper, the film producer, confirmed the movie was not going

[113] Geoff Olson, "BC Place screen lighting up the city the wrong way. Will mayor save the day?" *Vancouver Courier*, November 3, 2011, accessible at www.vancourier.com/story_print.html?id=5652447&sponsor=. Last accessed January 31, 2013.
[114] *Toronto Star*, December 13, 1980.
[115] Sid Adilman, "First pay-TV movie honors Terry Fox," *Toronto Star*, September 8, 1981.
[116] Sid Adilman, "Terry Fox pay-TV film said road to new markets," *Toronto Star*, September 9, 1981, C5.
[117] Sid Adilman, "Ralph Thomas to direct Fox movie," *Toronto Star*, June 17, 1982.

to be a purely heroic narrative : "… he wasn't interested if the movie was conceived as a story about a saint, but it's not. Terry had as many imperfections as perfections."[118] Cooper was Canadian as well, and thought the story would draw in the audience because it "has a Rocky feel to it but without being a fantasy."[119]

The crew auditioned countless actors in Canada, hoping to find someone who looked somewhat like Fox. They luckily found Eric Fryer, who had never acted but looked quite a lot like Fox and had also lost his leg to cancer.[120] The one 'glaring' American in the scenario was Robert Duvall, set to play Bill Vigars, CCS representative. Asked about his reaction on the choice of actor, Vigars said he had only one requirement, that Duvall not make him look like a 'used car salesman'.[121] Duvall had taken the role not so much because he liked the story, but because he was flat broke. As Michael Kaufman from the *New York Times* stated, "Mr. Duvall, who made it clear that his growing popularity has given him greater freedom to turn down roles, said he was happy over this four-week assignment, adding that it came along at a time when he was broke from having financed his own production."[122]

The producer also insisted on filming in Canada, mostly in Toronto, to make the movie as realistically Canadian as possible. Producer Cooper was fully aware that money could be obtained through different means and told the *Toronto Star*, hoping to get some

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[118] Sid Adilman, "Ralph Thomas to direct Fox movie," *Toronto Star*, June 17, 1982.
[119] Sid Adilman, "First pay-TV movie honors Terry Fox," *Toronto Star*, September 8, 1981.
[120] Rebecca Briker, "In the image and spirit of Terry Fox, Eric Fryer Runs to stardom," *People's Magazine*, May 30, 1983, available at http://www.people.com/people/archive/article/0,,20085124,00.html. Last accessed February 7, 2013.
[121] Bill Vigars, personal interview, March 5, 2012.
[122] Michael Kaufman, "HBO Films Terry Fox Story in Toronto," *New York Times*, September 20, 1982, C13. One cast member's name on the IMDB list will undoubtedly catch anyone's attention: Paul Bernardo. Indeed, the accused serial killer and rapist had a small role in the movie and was apparently a 'big fan' of Terry Fox.

funding, that "People in Thunder Bay said it happened here, so shoot it here and not in Toronto. We agree and we will with the province's help."[123] This was met with cynicism by the Ontario government as this internal memo seems to show: "Further to our recent discussion, the latest move by Cooper to obtain our assistance (translate $) is this statement to the press."[124] Filming in Canada also allowed for the easy recruiting of crowds to welcome Fox: a scene replicating the event in Toronto proved quite easy to complete, as more than enough people showed up quite early the day of the shooting. Apparently, Fryer looked so much like Fox, that some people confused him or became incredibly emotional.[125] This may explain why crowds were quite easy to entice to the filming location.

The movie was released first in the United States, and was received quite positively[126] by critics. A *Washington Post* reviewer saw value in the movie because it made Fox into a real person, not a perfect hero: "He has courage and determination, but he also displays a mean streak as long as the center stripe on the Trans-Canada Highway."[127] In *Runner's World*, Cooper confirmed that this was the intent of their work, as they found in the Fox story not one of perfection, but one about "an unreasonable kid with an obsession. The complex motivations that pushed him to do something that was medically and athletically incredible changed while he ran."[128] The movie was set to be released in more than 400 theaters across Canada, a decision that made sense given that,

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[123] Sid Adilman, "Ralph Thomas to direct Fox movie," *Toronto Star*, June 17, 1982.
[124] Memorandum to Honourable Gord Walker, Minister of Industry and Trade of Ontario and Mr. C. Westcott (Executive Assistant to the Premier) from Brian Villeneuve, in Ontario Archives, Ministry of Industry and Trade, File 5-6392.
[125] See for this the documentary *The Making of The Terry Fox Story*, 1983.
[126] The movie was awarded two Genie awards for Best Actor and Best Picture. See Michael Lawson, "Terry Fox Story awarded best picture, actor Genies," *Ottawa Citizen*, March 22, 1984, 93.
[127] "Terry Fox," *Washington Post*, May 22, 1983, 5.
[128] Robert McQuilkin, "Making a legend indelible," *Runner's World*, April 1983, 39.

according to Cooper, "When Astral, Fox and Famous [Players] first screened the film, they thought 'it was fabulous,' as well as commercial, Cooper reported; everything seemed to point to a hit…"[129] But the turn out was a disaster, collecting about $325,000 in Canada, not even half of what was expected. The fact that this was a made-for-television movie, available on paid television in the United States but presented as a feature film in Canada could have been partly responsible for Canadians' lack of interest. The problem, according to Cooper, was that they treated the made-for-television movie as a "preordained blockbuster" instead of treating it like a smaller scale picture to be released in a few carefully chosen theaters.[130] Perhaps the problem was also that the same weekend saw the release of the movie *Return of the Jedi*, whose popularity undoubtedly hindered the numbers for *The Terry Fox Story*. Demonstrating the appeal of the American blockbuster was the fact that Pierre Trudeau, Francis Fox and "other Ottawa notables" did not attend the premiere and that Trudeau instead brought his children to see the *Return of the Jedi*, a movie Jay Scott from the *Globe and Mail* said "needs that kind of publicity like the West Coast needs rain."[131]

But poor numbers at the premiere would turn out to be irrelevant in the face of a quite more sizeable problem about the movie. The Fox family absolutely hated it.[132] After the viewing, the Foxes reacted negatively, stating that the film "left viewers with the belief that Fox was ill-tempered and difficult," and Betty Fox said that "we thought it

[129] Jay Scott, "Poor box office baffles Terry's backers," *Globe and Mail*, June 2 1983, 25.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] The family hated it, but still accepted a donation of 65,000$ to the Terry Fox Trust, not to be confused with the Terry Fox Foundation. The trust was set up for the Fox family as a 'rainy day' fund, and included "75 per cent of the royalties from Ms Scrivener's best-selling book," as well as other monies accepted by the Fox family for different Fox initiatives. See Ian Brown, "Staying true to Terry," *Globe and Mail*, December 8, 1984, 10.

portrayed Terry as a non-caring person." [133] Bill Vigars also agreed with the family, stating that "the 1983 movie showed Terry as a very angry guy, which he wasn't."[134] By depicting Terry Fox as a flawed human being doing exceptional things, the movie was apparently misrepresenting him. The "he's just a young man like all of you"[135] story was perhaps more easily replicated in written or monumental form, because details could be glossed over. But the movie medium turned out a Terry Fox too close to reality. Films necessarily complicate the story they are trying to tell because of the dialogues, the visual environment and the chemistry between characters, all very subjective aspects of a story which are expected to be replicated, especially when most viewers have actually witnessed the event depicted in the movie. Making a movie implies that someone else will be impersonating the hero, which often proves problematic. So while biographies are perceived to be "getting close to the real truth of a person,"[136] films need to creatively recreate the 'truth'. Sometimes this 'truth' does not correspond to the audience's memory of that person, in this case the Fox family, who unhesitatingly rejected this depiction of the past.

Was Fox portrayed in such a negative light in the movie? He did at times look like an angry young man. One scene shows him throwing a tantrum because his friend Doug Alward does not find him a sock quickly enough;[137] another where Bill Vigars needs to ask him to stop acting out, stating: "you were pissed in Quebec because no one was there,

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[133] Rick Westhead, "Terry Fox film to focus on his run," *Toronto Star*, May 29, 2005, A20.
[134] Bill Vigars personal interview, March 5, 2012.
[135] Darrell Fox quoted in Randall Carpenter, *A Dream as Big as Our Country. The Life and Times of Terry Fox*, VHS. Directed by John Ritchie. Force 4 Entertainment and The Terry Fox Foundation, 1998.
[136] James Noonan, "Introduction," in James Noonan, ed, *Biography and Autobiography. Essays on Irish and Canadian History and Literature,* Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993, 1.
[137] Fox orders Alward to give him a sock, and screams at him when Alward, after fumbling through their clothes, gives Fox two socks. Fox replies, "Gimme a break I only need one sock ya clutz!" See Howard Hume et al, *The Terry Fox Story.* VHS. Directed by Ralph L. Thomas. Canada: HBO, 1983.

now there's people and you're still pissed."[138] Fox's explosive temper is definitely an important part of the story, as one of the emotional moments of the movie is when he reconciles with Alward after several tense and silent days.[139] His attitude towards girlfriend Rika Noda is also quite impetuous, acting offended when she reminds him that the world does not turn around him. In fact, in most of the scenes where Fox interacts with one other person, he seems aggressive, or at the very least overpowering. But the movie is also about Terry Fox the hero, showing his dedication to the cause, the pain he is dealing with, his determination in the face of the recurrence of cancer. There are touching moments such as when his brother Darrell joins him on the Marathon. The 'Making of' documentary gives great details on the filming of this scene, which was apparently a technological feat at the time. The scene ends up being a turning point in the film story.[140] There is also the scene where Fox arrives in Toronto, where triumphal music à la *Dynasty* is used to emphasize Fox's surreal but incredibly successful visit and ecstatic feeling. In short, then, the movie is about a young man going through a range of emotions, positive and negative, as he attempts to do something extraordinary.

The Fox family was often asked to provide input for commemorative materials about Fox, thus exerting some level of influence over the image and memory of Terry Fox. This influence was reflected in the fate of the 1983 movie. While it played annually around September when the Terry Fox runs were seeking volunteers and money, it has

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[138] See Howard Hume et al, *The Terry Fox Story*. VHS. Directed by Ralph L. Thomas. Canada: HBO, 1983. Bill Vigars recalls however that the 1983 movie depicted more accurately his close relationship to Terry Fox. In the 2005 version, Vigars's role is indeed greatly diminished. Bill Vigars, personal interview, March 5, 2012.

[139] Alward almost looks better than Fox in the story, a good man forgiving his friend for treating him so poorly.

[140] A wooden structure was built to allow for cameras to shoot the two men hugging in a moving circle. See Michael Goldberg, *The Making of the Terry Fox Story*.

since then been replaced by a new version (2005), this time produced by CTV (a Canadian private broadcaster). The film producer told the actor playing Fox, Sean Ashmore, to "stay away from the '83 movie" and to study instead documentary footage to understand his character.[141] John Doyle from the *Globe and Mail* summarizes the film as "It's about the run plain and simple…That's the gist of the entire movie: Fox's run seemed a mad plan, it met with skepticism and then overcame it all through the sheer force of his courage."[142]

The somewhat negative elements found in the first version are not there in 2005: Fox's parents' reaction to his Marathon idea, his uneasy relationship with his girlfriend Rika, the recurrence of cancer. In this movie, there is no mention of a well known altercation with Bill Vigars, and only some hints of a tense situation between Alward and Fox.[143] A Vancouver blogger wrote about the new movie that it was a "lamer, more acceptably saccharine film … produced [for] a much less polarized (albeit bored) reception."[144] Terry Fox is less angry; Betty Fox is more supportive; Doug Alward is still very nice but his appearance is less flattering; Rika Noda is not there and Fox's entire life before the Marathon is forgotten. The dialogues show a much more soft-spoken Fox than in the 1983 movie. One can also note that most of the scenes in the recent movie feature bright lighting, compared with several darker scenes in the original version. Through the

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[141] John McKay, "Terry Fox: A Hero's Story," *MacLean's*, September 9, 2005, available at http://www.macleans.ca/culture/entertainment/article.jsp?content=20050912_112057_112059. Last accessed February 7, 2013.
[142] John Doyle, "The sheer force of courage," *Globe and Mail*, September 9, 2005, R27.
[143] Bill Vigars and Fox stopped speaking to each other for a few days, after a screaming match about Vigars' alleged hijacking of Fox's schedule. Doug Alward and Fox were not on speaking terms by the time his brother Darrell joined them in August 1980.
[144] J.J. McCullough, blog available at http://www.filibustercartoons.com/index.php/2010/09/29/is-terry-fox-a-good-hero/. Last accessed July 12, 2011.

lighting, the choice of music and the friendlier dialogues, the movie certainly gives a more uplifting and positive feel.

For all these reasons, the movie has the Fox family stamp of approval[145] and it is the one now playing annually to remind us about Terry Fox. It is also sold on the Terry Fox Foundation website, alongside books by Maxine Trottier, Leslie Scrivener and Doug Coupland. As for *The Terry Fox Story*, good luck finding it on the schedule of any television network in Canada. Hence what the examination of the two Fox movies show is how the past can be revisited. Indeed, one version of Terry Fox's story has been purposely (and we might say actively) forgotten because some thought that its portrayal of Fox was inaccurate.

Conclusion : Who owns the memory of Terry Fox ?

The Fox family's support of the Thunder Bay monument has helped it become a national shrine to the marathon runner, while their utter dislike of the B.C. Place memorial certainly compounded the reasons for taking the postmodern *œuvre* down. Authors took it upon themselves to contact the Fox family about their project, as it seemed that their blessing was crucial for their work to be sold.[146] Finally, a too realistic movie has been relegated to dusty attics and replaced by one where the Fox family had more say, and more control over the image of Terry Fox.

[145] John McKay, "Terry Fox: A Hero's Story," *MacLean's*, September 9, 2005, available at http://www.macleans.ca/culture/entertainment/article.jsp?content=20050912_112057_112059. Last accessed on February 7, 2013.
[146] In fact, most if not all books about Terry Fox, biographies, pictorial books or children's books, have been 'authorized' by the Fox family. Authors usually thank the family on their acknowledgment page.

Betty Fox worked the rest of her life to ensure that her son's wishes were respected, that the money amassed only went to cancer research, that no commercial use of Fox's image would ever take place. To be fair, however, Fox's mother did take decisions that appeared to go against her son's wishes, though always with fundraising in mind. For example, she approved the sale of "a limited edition shoe like the ones Fox wore on his Marathon of Hope," so that profits could be sent to the Foundation.[147] Unfortunately this initiative created some problems as the shoes were sold at an offensively high profit on sites like EBay; users requested that the listings be taken down out of respect for Terry Fox's legacy.[148] Betty Fox also gave her blessing to the production of Royal Doulton jugs to be sold during the Terry Fox Runs,[149] the sort of commercial products to which Fox had always refused to lend his name.

Fox's mother, the family and Foundation, have had great control over the 'brand' Terry Fox. Even in official commemorations, they managed to enjoy some level of involvement in the process. Such is their control of the brand, that one disgruntled blogger reported in 2004 that he had received a letter from the Terry Fox Foundation's lawyer requesting him to take down his website. The domain name TerryFox.net, which Peter Kieser had registered in order to provide regular news about his high school (Terry Fox high school), was, according to the letter, "identical to our client's well-known trade-mark and name TERRY FOX. Your activities constitute violations of our client's trade-mark rights in the name and mark of TERRY FOX, and associated insignia…"[150]

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[147] Dana Flavelle, "Famous shoes get another run against cancer," *Toronto Star*, August 31, 2005, A03.
[148] "Outcry over eBay bids on Fox runners," *Toronto Star*, September 13, 2005, A16.
[149] "Jug commemorates Terry Fox," *Toronto Star*, April 29, 1990, A8.
[150] See peterkieser.com, "Terry Fox.net domain dispute." Last accessed May 27, 2009.

Official authorities tried to exert some influence over the way Fox was commemorated and remembered. Despite some efforts in perpetuating the memory of Terry Fox in a dignified, disinterested manner, it seemed inevitable that constituencies would try to write themselves into the story, one way or another, for tourism purposes or for provincial or municipal pride for example. We can surmise that for municipal, provincial and federal governments to commemorate Fox so rapidly and unhesitatingly, there must have been some sense of ownership over the hero's memory. To understand this motivation, we consider the term coined by David Cannadine in his examination of British rule: 'ornamentalism.' Cannadine defines it as a "carefully graded system of titles and orders, ribbons and stars" which has for its main purpose to "promote a sense of common belonging and collective participation."[151] In Cannadine's study, these ribbons and medals were meant to create the image of a unified empire[152]; in our case, one could say that the many official honours bestowed upon Fox, a stamp, the Order of Canada, a state funeral, and statues, served to promote Canadian unity.[153] As historian Benjamin Sulte rightfully argued, "depositing a commemorative plaque, a column or other sort of marker….this will activate patriotic feelings."[154] But most importantly, ornamentalism is a way for governments to include the person receving the honours into a hierarchical relationship, a "direct and subordinate relation"[155] to those doing the bestowing. Hence by celebrating Terry Fox the way they did, different levels of government were staking a claim to his story and to his name.

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[151] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism. How the British Saw Their Empire*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, 98.
[152] Ibid.
[153] This will be discussed in greater details in Chapter 5.
[154] Benjamin Sulte, quoted in Colin Coates and Cecilia Morgan, *Heroines and History*, 71-72.
[155] Ibid, 100.

To be sure, whatever the reasons behind the commemoration of Fox, there is no denying that it was done amazingly quickly and effectively. Coates and Morgan, speaking of the commemoration of Laura Secord in the early 20th century, argued that "the urgency of commemoration arose during a period of massive immigration and fundamental socio-economic change. A desire to create a stable national culture in a time of flux underpinned the efforts of commemorations in the early twentieth century."[156] There seemed to be a more immediate 'urgency' to commemorate Terry Fox, this time in a context of cynicism, disengagement and social ferment. This context required the 'rethinking' of a national culture through the 'invention of a tradition': a tradition of commemorating, celebrating and remembering national hero Terry Fox. Just as Eric Hobsbawm explains 'invented traditions', we could argue that the commemoration of Fox has come to include a "set of practices….which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition."[157] Commemoration can be understood as a means to suggest, if not prescribe, that people emulate or adopt the values represented in a memory marker. The process of commemoration, the activity of mediation between the past and the present, also carries a normative message. In the case of Terry Fox, we will argue in the next chapters that the retelling of his story has served to put forward specific ideas about cancer, masculinity and the national identity. Hence we will see that the commemoration of national hero Terry Fox is, in essence, an invented tradition.

[156] Colin Coates and Cecilia Morgan, *Heroines and History*, 70.
[157] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 1.

CHAPTER 3

THE POLITICS OF CANCER

Introduction

Cancer has often been called the "plague of the twentieth century"[1] and while the disease and its symptoms can be traced back three thousand years[2], its incidence in the twentieth century has been unprecedented. Hence while tuberculosis may have been a nineteenth century disease, representing the human consequences of the industrial revolution, cancer has certainly come to represent the scourge of modern times. As Francine Saillant argues, "Le cancer serait à la fois l'effet et la métaphore du monde moderne. La victime devient selon cette logique une victime des forces incontrôlées d'un monde perçu comme de plus en plus anarchique."[3] Cancer is not only a disease, but the exemplification of everything wrong with the world: "No other malady held cancer's unique capacity to serve as metaphor and mirror for a range of social concerns or as a manifestation of social, economic and ideological divisions."[4] In his work on radium therapy, Dr. Charles Hayter argues that the metaphoric powers of cancer are arguably more of a Western phenomenon: "Cancer also had moral connotations: because it was most prevalent in developed countries, it suggested corruption and degeneration at the heart of Western civilization."[5] Susan Sontag, whose work on metaphorical uses of

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[1] Samuel Epstein, *Politics of Cancer*, San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1978, 15.
[2]The first descriptions of cancerous tumours were recorded on the Edwin Smith papyrus dated from around 3,000 years ago. See http://www.cancer.org/acs/groups/cid/documents/webcontent/002048-pdf.pdf. Last accessed December 13, 2012.
[3] Francine Saillant, *Les aspects culturels* ...., 327.
[4] James T. Patterson, *The Dread Disease. Cancer and Modern American Culture,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987, 311.
[5] Charles R.R. Hayter, *An Element of Hope. Radium and the Response to Cancer in Canada, 1900-1940*, Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005, 7

tuberculosis and cancer has been extensively quoted, also believes that cancer represents debates and issues much larger than the disease itself, as it can be used to "propose new, critical standards of individual health, and to express a sense of dissatisfaction with society as such."[6]

Scientists in the early twentieth century discovered that cancerous cells were different from the others, a breakthrough that allowed them not only to 'see' what cancer looked like from inside, but also to heighten the mystery as to its possible cure. The American Cancer Society was established in 1913[7] in order to raise awareness of the silent killer and the Canadian Cancer Society followed suit in 1938[8]. Breakthroughs in research transformed the nature of treatments aimed at curing cancer: from hormonal therapy, to radiation, to chemotherapy. But despite continuous research on the disease, its incidence in the United States was such that in 1971 the National Cancer Act, declared war on cancer and called for national efforts to eradicate it.[9] By the 1970s, the identification of oncogenes, the cells that transform into cancerous tumours, and the gradual realization that household products were directly responsible for transforming these oncogenes shed some light on the mysterious disease. Indeed, the few years before

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[6] Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor*, New York: Farras, Strauss and Giroux, 1978, 73.

[7] Originally named the American Society for the Control of Cancer and founded by a group of physicians in May 1913, the American Cancer Society (ACS)'s primary purpose was to make Americans aware of the disease and work towards the elimination of the social stigma associated to this disease, all the while funding research which would, hopefully, ultimately eradicate the disease. For a comprehensive history of the beginnings of the ACS, see Victor A. Triolo and Michael B. Shimkin, "The American Cancer Society and Cancer Research Origins and Organization: 1913-1943," *Cancer Research* 29(1969): 1615-1641.

[8] Also named the Canadian Society for the Control of Cancer at its inception in 1938, the Canadian Cancer Society (CCS) was founded in 1938 following a recommendation to this effect by the National Study Committee on Cancer, itself created in 1931. A campaign to raise funds for the King George V Silver Jubilee Cancer Fund in the year prior to the creation of the CCS succeeded in raising over 500,000$ and the CCS received the interest on this amount as operating funds for the first few years of its existence. For a history of the beginning of the CCS, see Robert A. Macbeth, "The Origin of the Cancer Society," *CBMH/BCHM* 22(1) 2005: 155-173.

[9] There were no similar initiatives in Canada.

Terry Fox began his Marathon of Hope saw a significant expansion of the list of chemicals said to cause cancer.[10]

What defined Terry Fox more than anything else was the disease of cancer, what Jim Emerson from the *Toronto Star* called "his nemesis"[11]. Cancer was the reason why Fox ran in the first place, it is the cause Canadians associate him with. Fox was able to get the support of the Canadian Cancer Society (CCS) before beginning his Marathon of Hope by writing a widely quoted letter[12] that concluded, "Somewhere, the hurting must stop."[13] While Fox's request may have been grudgingly granted, it is safe to say that by the end of June 1980, the CCS was undoubtedly relieved that the risk it had taken had paid off. And pay off it did.[14] We should recognize that getting the green light from the CCS was an accomplishment on its own. But digging deeper than this, why did the cause of curing cancer resonate with Canadians at that particular time? An online search in the *Globe and Mail* from 1970 to 1980 for the term 'cancer' shows that the word was present at least every two issues, in articles reporting on newly identified cancer-causing products, on cancer victims seeking compensation from their workplace, or on a public

[10] As an example, the *Globe and Mail* headlines for March and April 1977 were quite telling of the growing awareness of cancer causing agents, but perhaps also of the fear created in the process: on March 7; "Study finds risk of lung cancer increases with exposure to tars"; on March 14, "Chemical used on fruit causes cancer in mice"; on April 5, "Chemical in children's sleepwear may be banned over cancer link"; on April 12, "Fluoridation increases cancer deaths, biochemist say, but dentists disagree"; on April 14, "Cancer centre head links overeating to disease". Hence, Canadians were well aware of the incidence of cancer in the late seventies and early eighties, and were now in a position to identify behaviours and products that were conducive to the development of cancerous cells and malignant tumours. See "Study finds risk of lung cancer increases with exposure to tars," *Globe and Mail*, March 7, 1977, 9; "Chemical used on fruit causes cancer in mice," *Globe and Mail*, March 14, 1977, 5; "Chemical in children's sleepwear may be banned over cancer link," *Globe and Mail*, April 5, 1977, 14; "Fluoridation increases cancer deaths, biochemist say, but dentists disagree," *Globe and Mail*, April 12, 1977, 5; and "Cancer centre head links overeating to disease," *Globe and Mail*, April 14, 1977, F02.

[11] Jim Emmerson,"86 Terry Fox run raises $4 million, official says," *Toronto Star*, November 5, 1986, D12.

[12] In the 1983 movie, *The Terry Fox Story*, as well as in Scrivener's bio, *Terry Fox*, it is reportedly his girlfriend Rika wrote the now famous letter.

[13] See Fox's entire letter to the CCS at http://www.terryfox.org/TerryFox/Terrys_Letter.html. Last accessed December 29, 2012.

[14] Fox had raised 1.7 million dollars by the end of the Marathon of Hope. Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 163.

personality's passing due to the disease. In other words, Canadians had heard about cancer almost every day for the previous ten years, probably even more, but besides giving to the annual fundraising campaign of the CCS or other cancer organisations, and besides perhaps a growing concern over the incidence of the disease, curing it did not seem to be a passion-instilling cause for Canadians.

The social context was ripe for Terry Fox, in several equally significant ways: cancer had become the number two killer in Canada by 1973 for both men and women[15], the medical profession had failed to eradicate the disease despite many promises to do so in the past, and despite a greater occurrence of the disease, many still did not know much about it. Hence Fox arrived to a receptive audience in the medical world, the cancer establishment and the Canadian population. The image and story of Terry Fox were used as vehicles to address larger debates pertaining to cancer, cancer treatment, and attitudes to the disease. In the telling and remembering of the story of Terry Fox, we find that particular views and opinions within these debates were favoured over others.

A symbiotic relationship? The Canadian Cancer Society and Terry Fox

Increased awareness about cancer was made possible through different news outlets which featured coverage of the disease, its increasing number of probable causes and the ever-changing treatments for its cure. Another means of increasing Canadians' knowledge about cancer was through the different programs across the country, including those promoted by the Canadian Cancer Society (CCS). The CCS was set to be "an agency which would enlighten the Public regarding the early signs and symptoms which may be indicative of cancer and the benefits which result from early recognition and

[15]J.S. Bennett, "Cancer in Canada," *CMA Journal*, Vol. 117, October 8, 1977, 718.

prompt treatment."[16] But according to Charles Hayter, programs such as the CCS have had their share of problems, mostly because their efforts were decentralized from the beginning and thus left wanting in terms of authority and power. This was compounded by the "failure of governments to establish early a central body with strong authority to take measures to coordinate care."[17] So while the Canadian Cancer Society may have been the first place Terry Fox thought of when looking for support for his run, the organization had several other competitors and did not even have any control over what its regional and provincial offices could and could not do.[18]

Nevertheless, the CCS certainly gained credibility and notoriety from the Marathon of Hope. A 1985 *MacLean's* article speaks of the "country's devotion to the Society, a grassroots, charitable organization with more than 1,000 branches across Canada, [which] is also a measure of the society's credibility – and of the faith of Canadians have in cancer research."[19] The fact that Fox campaigned for the CCS undoubtedly secured its status as a leading fundraiser in Canada, but it also seemed to affect other organizations in their fundraising efforts. For example, the B.C. Cancer Foundation experienced a significant drop in its revenue, close to 50 percent, because of "B.C.'s overwhelming response to Terry Fox's Marathon of Hope."[20] Its director was quoted in saying that while she "d[id] not begrudge the support for the Marathon of Hope…she [was] concerned about continuing support for her group."[21]

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[16] J.S. MacEachern, "The Canadian Campaign against Cancer," *CMA Journal*, January 1938, 65.
[17] Charles Hayter, *An Element of Hope*, 195.
[18] It was up to each regional office to decide whether or not to support the Marathon of Hope. As alternate not-for-profit organizations with similar missions, Fox could have chosen the B.C. Cancer Control Agency or the Ontario Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation, for example.
[19] Brenda Rabkin, "An investment in a cancer free future," *MacLean*s, 98: 14, 1985, 44-5.
[20] "Fox's popularity hurts cancer group," *Globe and Mail*, October 4, 1982, 10.
[21] Ibid.

While the CCS may have been responsible for decreased donations to other cancer organizations, it wanted to make sure people knew who they were donating to. When an organisation named Cancer Research Society Inc. seemed to have jumped on the Terry Fox bandwagon and was "canvassing for funds during the month of April," the CCS felt the need to publish a few pieces to make sure Canadians were not confused: "Cancer Research Society is a legitimate organization, but the CCS wishes to make the public aware that … a very small percentage of the funds raised by Cancer Research Society Inc. are distributed outside the province of Quebec."[22] The executive director of the Ontario division of the CCS stated that "they have caused considerable confusion in the minds of many of our supporters, especially corporate supporters."[23] Hence the CCS, enjoying its success, also needed to ensure that its 'brand' was clearly demarcated from that of other cancer fundraising initiatives.

Some believed there were many other causes that merited this level of popular philanthropy. During the Marathon, the McDonald's restaurant chain threw its support behind Terry Fox, but did so by abandoning one of its fundraising activities, a roller skating event looking to collect funds for the March of Dimes. The director of the organization "was 'flabbergasted' when he heard McDonald's had agreed to support the Fox cancer research drive after the chain had declined to sponsor the roller-skating event for disabled adults."[24] One doctor mused at the end of the Marathon that Canadians were devoting much money to cancer, while forgetting about trauma research: "They spent $7-

[22] "There is only one Canadian Cancer Society," CCS Newsletter, Ontario Division, Winter 1983, 8. Fonds Richard Albert Bell, Cancer Series, Canadian Cancer Society subseries, vol. 139, MG32-B1, National Archives, Ottawa.
[23] "Ontario Division Annual Report 1982, Canadian Cancer Society," Report of the executive director, Harry Rowlands Fonds Richard Albert Bell, Cancer Series, Canadian Cancer Society subseries, vol. 139, MG32-B1, National Archives, Ottawa.
[24] Denys Hogan, "Chain backs Fox, ducks March of Dimes," *Globe and Mail,* September 11, 1980, 10.

million on heart research, $4.5 million on cancer research and a paltry $220,000 on trauma with all its ramifications. Neglected to the point of ignored."[25] One reader of the *Globe and Mail* thought instead that "We are in need of other Terry Foxes" to help solve a more pressing global problem, to "discover a 'cure' to another modern day scourge called starvation!"[26]

In any case, the cause of Terry Fox and the purpose of the Canadian Cancer Society had become quite intermeshed in the 1980s. Indeed, according to Francine Saillant, the Terry Fox project became fused with the CCS's mission to the point where "le projet de Fox était devenu celui de la Société canadienne du Cancer, vu les intérêts évidents que la Fondation pouvait poursuivre en s'impliquant à fond dans ce qu'on a nommé la machine du marathon."[27] This can undoubtedly explain the CCS letter to Ontario's Minister of Transportation and Communications James Snow on June 20, 1982, stating its disappointment in not being properly recognized on the memorial to Terry Fox in Thunder Bay.[28]

Indeed, a few days after the unveiling of the large monument, CCS National President Maurice Legault wrote: "Representatives of the Canadian Cancer Society who attended the ... unveiling of a statue honouring Terry Fox in Thunder Bay last Saturday have expressed concern that the Award made to Terry by the Canadian Cancer Society is not listed among the honours recorded on the base of the statue." He explained that the CCS created an award in the name of Terry Fox (the Terry Fox Citation of Honour) and had

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[25] Joan Hollobon, "Cancer, heart disease less of risk to young then accidents, MD says," *Globe and Mail,* September 18, 1980, 14.
[26] "Letters to the editor," *Globe and Mail,* October 1, 1980, 6.
[27] Francine Saillant, *Les aspects culturels…,* 314.
[28] See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of the Thunder Bay monument.

remitted the first one to Fox. Legault continues, "the relationship between Terry and the Canadian Cancer Society was a very intimate one. The thousands of volunteers across the country would, I am sure, be most distressed to learn that this Award made to Terry, on their behalf, was omitted from this listing."[29] The CCS's insistence on being mentioned on the Thunder Bay memorial (along with its implication throughout the design and construction process) is not surprising given the close relationship it had developed with Fox. So much so, that in some cases the commemorative materials about Fox also talked about the CCS. Let us look for example at the B.C. Ministry of Environment informative panel on Mount Terry Fox, which states : "His valiant effort against incredible odds touched the hearts of all Canadians and people around the world and resulted in contributions of many millions of dollars to the Canadian Cancer Society."[30]

What seemed to be a symbiotic relationship, however, was perhaps more of a balancing act between supporting Fox as much as he wanted and keeping the CCS's purpose as separate from the Fox mission. As Bill Vigars recalls, "The CCS was afraid that Terry Fox and this phenomenon would overtake the Society."[31] Perhaps this was the reason why some regional offices just simply did not wish to support Fox, who did notice the varying levels of support throughout his run. For example in Newfoundland, Fox mused on his own responsibility to make the CCS partnership successful: "I started to do whatever I could to let the Cancer Society know about that potential. I needed them. I tried to let them know as best I could that I was dependant on them to have things

[29] Letter from CCS National President to Honourable James Snow, June 30, 1982. Ontario Archives, Fonds B370804, Terry Fox File #1. The Minister agreed to add the award on the monument 13 months later, as stated in a July 12, 1983 letter to the CCS.
[30] Panel on Mount Terry Fox, unveiled Sept. 22, 1981 by B.C. Premier William Bennett.
[31] Bill Vigars, personal interview, March 5, 2012.

prepared and set up before I got there. Some places they did it; in some places, they didn't."[32] Worse than this uneven support was flat out ignorance, as was the case, Fox felt, in Nova Scotia: "The Cancer Society here in Nova Scotia is doing nothing and money is being wasted. I would love to get my hands on the people in Halifax."[33]

Supporting Terry Fox in a suitable manner proved to be a challenge: while Fox felt some offices did not make any efforts, some people thought the CCS was actually abusing Terry Fox and using him to "further its fund-raising ambitions."[34] For example, there was a double booking incident where Fox had to cancel an appearance in Brampton because of a prior engagement to give a talk at a formal dinner event. What made the news was that the Brampton community event was supposedly Fox's choice, while the CCS was forcing him to attend a fancy supper with 150 business executives. In response, someone wrote to the *Toronto Star* that the CCS was misplacing its priorities: "Some organizers are more concerned with whether he uses the hotel that they arranged, I quote one of them: 'After all, we went to so much trouble for him.' Could any of them run 2,500 miles?"[35] Already in 1980, in Jeremy Brown's pictorial tribute, there was the need to dispel the idea that the CCS was forcing Fox on his journey: "At one point the Cancer Society was criticized for 'forcing him on his frantic pace', but no one was able to force Terry to do anything."[36] Apparently Fox's answer to these claims was to say that the CCS was actually not using him enough.[37] It was indeed a delicate situation, a fine balance between helping Fox and his cause, and supporting what appeared to be a delirious

[32] Fox's journal quoted in Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 73.
[33] Ibid, 79.
[34] Ibid, 127
[35] "Letters to editors," *Toronto Star*, August 1, 1980, A9.
[36] Jeremy Brown and Gail Harvey. *Terry Fox. A Pictorial Tribute to the Marathon of Hope,* Don Mills, ON: General Publishing Co. Limited, 1980, 5.
[37] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 133.

mission. Leslie Scrivener acknowledged this when she commented that "There are of course curmudgeons who insist that Fox is not being properly cared for and that the Cancer Society or anyone who gives him a peanut butter sandwich is encouraging him on a mad mission that will eventually destroy him."[38]

Besides having to thread this fine line, the CCS also had to 'share' its perceived authority on Fox with his family. Scrivener recalls seeing an internal memo of the CCS where it was stated that Fox had refused a medical checkup again and that his family had indicated they were not going to try and influence him, that he was old enough to make his own decisions. Asking Betty Fox about it, Scrivener uncovers a different story: the Foxes had said instead they had no control over him, because if they did he "never would have started."[39] It was inevitable that the relationship between the CCS and the Fox family would be uneasy, even difficult at times. Both projected a sense of ownership over the Fox image and legacy, the former because it partnered with Fox from the beginning and was essential in making the run successful, and the latter because it perceived itself as knowing better than anyone what Fox would want. But after Fox's passing, with millions of dollars to spend according to specific instructions from Fox, it appears that the CCS and the Fox family were headed for difficult times.

When Fox stated that he wanted all the monies he amassed to go to cancer research, the CCS ensured that these funds were set aside and treated separately from any other donations received. Because the funds were directed to research specifically, they were transferred to the National Cancer Institute, the research arm of the CCS, into a Marathon of Hope fund. Hence the funds did not go directly to

[38] Leslie Scrivener, "Genussi on Fox: He's terrific – a folk hero," *Toronto Star*, August 15, 1980, C1.
[39] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 1981 edition, 85.

the CCS, and the organization had to remind Canadians every year when came time to launch its fundraising campaign: "As the Cancer Society geared up for its spring fundraising drives, volunteers had to explain that Terry's money wasn't going to the society – and therefore it was not paying for much-needed daily services to cancer patients, such as care for the bedridden."[40] The CCS had to specify this in its 1982 annual report, somehow having to justify its continuous fundraising efforts:

> One of the continuing problems is the widespread misunderstanding in the minds of the public that 'now that you have all that Terry Fox money, you can't have any need for more'. [People] have no idea that all the Terry Fox money goes to the NCI for research, and that none of it is used for any of the programmes of the Cancer Society.[41]

The relationship between CCS and the Fox family eventually down right soured. In 1983, it was feared that the Terry Fox funds would not last more than a decade, given the pace at which the NCI, the research branch of the CCS, was spending the money. Even worse was the fact that NCI "has been dipping into the Fox fund to pay for its regular cancer research programs, despite an earlier agreement with the Fox family that the money Terry raised would go only to new, innovative research."[42] It seems the CCS and the Fox family, essentially represented by Betty Fox, at some point came to see each other as competitors instead of allies. As a telling article by Ian Brown describes,

> The Cancer Society would like to spend some of the Terry Fox millions on cancer prevention - anti-smoking programs aimed at teen-agers, and the like. Terry Fox, however, wanted the money he raised spent on research. Because Betty Fox considers Terry's wishes inviolable, all Fox funds pass over the Cancer Society into the National Cancer Institute's research program. Then there is the annual struggle over the Terry Fox Run. Terry wanted the run held

[40] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 189
[41] "Ontario Division Annual Report 1982, Canadian Cancer Society," Report of the executive director, Harry Rowlands, Fonds Richard Albert Bell, Cancer Series, Canadian Cancer Society subseries, vol. 139, MG32-B1, National Archives, Ottawa.
[42] Ross Laver, "Researchers scramble for diminishing fund," *Globe and Mail,* September 17, 1983, 4.

> in September. The Cancer Society doesn't like that, because it means competing with the United Way's fund-raising drive. Again, Mrs. Fox prevails….[43]

It is no surprise then that the Terry Fox Foundation broke off from the CCS in 1988, effectively becoming an independent trust.[44]

The Canadian Cancer Society supported Terry Fox from the beginning, although not every one of its regional office followed suit. While the CCS's credibility certainly benefitted from the run, the relationship with Fox at the beginning was clearly unequal, with Fox's cause subordinated in many ways to the mission of the CCS. As the Fox phenomenon grew larger, and as the Fox family became more powerful by virtue of its direct link with the runner, the CCS lost some of its 'ownership' over the Fox image. The uneasy relationship between the Fox family and the Cancer Society was bound to break, confirming the fears of the CCS that the Fox story would undercut, override, its own mission. When we look at the larger picture however, the story of the CCS and Terry Fox uncovers the formation of a dominant discourse, which becomes clearer as we start talking more broadly about cancer, research, treatment and attitudes to the disease. The story of Terry Fox, examined through the lens of cancer, becomes the locus of public debates about very profound issues related to this disease.

'Believe in miracles': the credibility of the medical profession

The medical profession had come under intense scrutiny in the years before Fox's cancer crusade. Harding LeRiche reflected on this in 1978 in the *Canadian Medical*

[43] Ian Brown, "Staying true to Terry," *Globe and Mail*, December 8, 1984, 10.
[44] See Terry Fox Foundation website at http://www.terryfox.org/TerryFox/Facts.html. Last accessed February 16, 2013.

Association Journal (hereafter *CMAJ*), stating that "An example of irrational thought and behaviour is the current revolt among pseudointellectuals against the medical profession."[45] LeRiche was complaining about patients giving themselves their own prognosis, remarking that "They both love and hate the physician, as they have always done, but now they tend to produce their own evidence to support their irrational attitudes and thoughts."[46] Another *CMAJ* contributor confirmed this loss of credibility, arguing that it came from "the fact that the populace is better informed and therefore perhaps more inclined to question or contest medical pronouncements."[47] But while these authors considered that it was the patient's fault, James Patterson argues it was instead the disease itself, and modern medicine and physicians' failure to cure it:

> Disoriented by Vietnam and Watergate, distressed by inflation and rising unemployment, many Americans came to question the nation's institutions, including the profession of medicine in general and the alliance against cancer in particular…The war on cancer, many thought, had stalled, and utopian predictions of the experts seemed hollow.[48]

For others, the loss of credibility of the medical profession was due to an increasing questioning of positions of authority: "Recently, many of these authority relationships have been breaking down and the authority figures are being rejected. The physician is one of these authority figures."[49]

By the time Terry Fox started running for cancer, we can safely say that the medical profession had lost some of its prestige. According to Barbara Clow, while the 1950s and 1960s may have been the "zenith of professional power and prestige," she argues that the 1970s saw the "medical profession begin a precipitous

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[45]Harding LeRiche, "Is the Age of Unreason Upon Us?" *CMA Journal*, July 8, 1978, Vol. 119, 5.
[46]Ibid.
[47]David Woods, *CMA Journal*, 767.
[48]James Patterson, *The Dread Disease*, 256.
[49] Mervyn & Frances Deital, "Profession and Society," *CMA Journal*, May 6, 1972, vol.106, 962.

fall from grace."[50] First, because the general population was more informed and encouraged to question conclusions and diagnostics as opinions more than unequivocal decisions. Second, because it had failed to find a cure for cancer, something it had enthusiastically committed to doing in the optimistic post-War years.[51] As one physician wrote in the *CMAJ* in 1977, "If 'cancer can be beaten' as so many billboards proclaim, many patients wonder 'why can't my doctor cure my cancer?"[52] Cancer diagnoses and treatments, then, became questioned as "subjective and judgmental decisions,"[53] not medical and certainly not infallible ones. For Barbara Clow, the disappointment was compounded by the fact that the society being seemingly attacked by cancer had been "accustomed to understanding the etiology of many illnesses."[54]

Patterson points to the popularity of Laetrile[55] in the 1970s to argue for the loss of credibility of the medical profession in the United States. Laetrile was discovered by Dr. Ernest Kreb and initially used to "hasten the aging of bootleg whisky," but his son, Dr. Ernest Kreb Jr.[56] argued that the properties of the product

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[50]Barbara Clow, *Negotiating Disease. Power and Cancer Care, 1900-1950*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001, 179.
[51]James Patterson, *The Dread Disease*, 50. Patterson argues that there was a general optimism in the late 1940s with regards to finding a cure to cancer. If scientists had been able to solve the "mysteries of the atom," finding a cure for cancer seemed as feasible. See also 140.
[52] Dr. Allan Lyall, quoted by Earl M. Cooperman, "Coping with cancer: denial and the need for a better bedside manner," *CMA Journal,* November 19, 1977, Vol. 117, 1123.
[53] Samuel Epstein, *Politics of Cancer*, 7.
[54]Barbara Clow, *Negotiating Disease,* 11.
[55]Laetrile is also called Vitamin B-17 and is extracted from apricot pits. Studies have been conducted in the 1950s and as late as 1982 but their results have proven inconclusive in terms of a direct effect of this natural product on cancer remission. It should be noted that the campaign for Laetrile as a 'natural' cancer cure continues today. See for example a UK website decrying the ban of Laetrile in the United States: http://www.worldwithoutcancer.org.uk/introduction.html. Last accessed December 18, 2012.
[56]The son was using "Dr." based on an honorary doctorate he received from a bible college in Tulsa, Oklahoma, degree bestowed following a one hour lecture on the benefits of Laetrile. See a short history of Laetrile at http://www.quackwatch.org/01QuackeryRelatedTopics/Cancer/laetrile.html. Last accessed December 18, 2012.

could be extremely useful in treating cancer.[57] Physicians generally did not support this natural 'cure', but given their perceived inability to figure out how to eradicate cancer, it seems a good number of Americans decided to try Laetrile as an option as credible as that of chemotherapy treatment. According to the National Cancer Institute's estimates, more than 70,000 Americans had been treated with Laetrile by 1978.[58]

Some doctors reported in the *CMAJ* that their rejection of the drug was seen by some of their patients as a confirmation that doctors did not want people to take care of themselves: "Many believe that physicians do not care and some, in referring to certain unproven treatments such as laetrile, go as far as to say that we are part of a conspiracy to suppress new information and useful treatments."[59] The continuous stream of articles on Laetrile as 'quackery' in Canadian newspapers leads us to believe that a similar situation had developed in Canada by the late 1970s. In fact, a *CMAJ* article in 1977 explained that the "spillover of interest in Canada" could be attributed to "one of the states [giving] the green light to Laetrile… the border state of Washington."[60] The CBC aired a controversial documentary entitled *Encounter with Cancer* in 1975, a documentary which presented the use of Laetrile as a human right to choose, an argument on which Canadian Laetrile supporters relied heavily.[61]

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[57]"Doctor wanted a drug to age bootleg whisky," *Vancouver Sun*, September 12, 1977, 6.
[58] See the National Cancer Institute website at http://www.cancer.gov/cancertopics/pdq/cam/laetrile/patient/page2. Last accessed on May 16, 2013.
[59] Earl M. Cooperman, "Coping with cancer: denial and the need for a better bedside manner," *CMA Journal* November 19, 1977, Vol. 117, 1123.
[60]Charlotte Gray, "Laetrile: Canada's Legal Position Firm but Pressure in the South Grows," *CMA Journal*, November 5, 1977 Vol. 117, 1073.
[61]Ibid, 1069

The fact that the debate over cancer, its treatment and prevention had been extremely politicized in the decades leading up to the 'Laetrile craze' was in great part responsible for the product's popularity. Indeed, newspapers reported on countless cancer-causing agents and the people producing them, profiting from them, and lobbying for them not to be outlawed. As Harding Le Riche argued in the *CMAJ* in 1978, "Suspicion always exists, right or wrong, that governments are susceptible to political pressures. This is particularly true in the United States, where there is a very voluble lunatic fringe, such as in the alleged drug for the treatment of cancer, Laetrile."[62] Hence framed as a human right to be claimed in the face of political corruption, Laetrile seemed a viable option. Especially when we consider that Laetrile was administered by injection or pills: "Physicians know all too well the public fear of cancer and the social stigma it carries. The lure of a so-called 'safe drug', which involves no terrifying side-effects or disfiguring surgery, is enormous."[63] David Boyes, director of the Cancer Control Agency in B.C., while not endorsing the natural product, thought that if it provided some hope for cancer sufferers and did not hurt them in any way, prescribing it should be allowed. Boyes argued further that "Permitting B.C. doctors to prescribe the controversial drug Laetrile would do no harm and might even deglamorize it enough to get rid of it."[64]

The medical profession was in a difficult situation when Terry Fox began his Marathon of Hope. Considered less trustworthy, at least according to the perception of many contributors to the *CMA Journal* at the time, doctors could

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[62]Harding LeRiche, "Is the Age of Unreason Upon Us?" *CMA Journal*, July 8, 1978, Vol. 119, 5
[63]Andrew McNaughton, lead spokesperson for Laetrile (and a Canadian), quoted in Charlotte Gray, *CMA Journal* November 5, 1977 Vol. 117, 1074.
[64] Carol Volkhart, "Laetrile prescription plan seem harmless," *Vancouver Sun*, May 1, 1980, A 19.

certainly welcome an individual whose message was in part to believe in their ability to cure cancer. The story of Terry Fox was itself a story about trust in modern medicine, about the belief that medical doctors could 'fix' him and rid his body of cancer. The Fox story followed what Deborah Harrison calls the 'medical model', that is, "The patient under the medical model is not a member of society, but an object; to be more precise, a defective object…In such a context, patients can only defer to the doctor's expertise...."[65] Harrison examined the press coverage on Terry Fox in 1980 and 1981 and finds that the story is interpreted as one related to medical issues primarily, more specifically to the "omnipotence of the medical profession as expressed through the importance of raising money for (invariably cure-oriented) cancer research."[66]

It is a similar take on the story that one can find in commemorative materials: Fox is remembered as wholeheartedly supporting cancer research and, by extension, the profession responsible for doing that research. And while Fox may have refused to see doctors during his run, this cannot be interpreted as showing his distrust of doctors at least in terms of their expertise in cancer treatment. Indeed, the refusal to see doctors during the run was related to problems with his amputated leg and his prosthesis, not about his state as a cancer remission patient. In the immediate commemoration of Fox, for example in the Scrivener biography (*Terry Fox. His Story*, 1981) and in the Ralph Thomas movie (*The Terry Fox Story*, 1983), medical doctors are never questioned. The diagnosis of cancer and the treatment

[65] Deborah Harrison, "The Terry Fox Story and the Popular Media: A Case Study in Ideology and Illness," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 22, no. 4 (1985), 499-500.
[66] Ibid, 502.

prescribed (in both instances) are shown as the only possibility: the very idea that several options of treatment could be offered to Fox is not presented in any way. Hence by glossing over the important debate over the treatment and cure of cancer, the commemorative materials are meant in some ways to reinforce the viewers' trust in doctors. And interestingly, that Fox's doctors failed to cure him is not something any of these materials are mentioning, let alone reflecting upon. The paradox is glaring: while the commemoration of Terry Fox celebrates medical doctors and cancer research as having saved Terry Fox once, it seems no one dares pinpointing that both doctors and research were not able, in the end, to spare the life of one of their most vocal supporters.

Research or prevention: a necessary choice?

Fundraising related to cancer had always been primarily aimed at research, at figuring out the aftermath of cancer affliction. But in the 1980s, some people became more vocal about increasing awareness of preventative measures and refocusing funding allocations to prevention programs. In his 1978 book *The Politics of Cancer*, Samuel Epstein was unequivocal: "Cancer must be regarded as an essentially preventable disease."[67] Epstein argued that not enough was being done to tell Americans they could prevent the onset of cancer and called for the ACS to "balance its preoccupation with treatment with activist programs designed to prevent cancer."[68] However, it was always clear that Fox's mission was to collect

[67] Samuel Epstein, *Politics of Cancer*, 467.
[68] Ibid.

funds for research (and expressly cure-oriented research), rather than prevention. This was understandable because Fox had been told that "because of advances in research, new drugs had been developed to give him a 50- to 70-per-cent chance of survival. Two years earlier, his chances would have been about 15 per cent."[69]

He owed his life to new developments in research and was conscious that survival rates could increase dramatically with each significant clinical finding. Cancer research was thus a prominent part of the Terry Fox story. Every commemorative product mentions it, for example the inscription on the Thunder Bay memorial which reads: "Terry Fox inspired this nation with his dream – his Marathon of Hope – a cross-Canada run to raise money for cancer research."[70] The Simon Fraser University statue states in a similar way, "A Simon Fraser University student who by his remarkable courage, dauntless determination and selfless humanitarianism – exhibited in his Marathon of Hope for cancer research – became a Canadian hero."[71] The press release for the Terry Fox stamp also focused upon Fox's devotion to the cause of cancer research: "Il doit sa survie à la recherche contre le cancer et il en est reconnaissant…La pensée qu'il puisse promouvoir la recherche et encourager d'autres victimes du cancer le renforce dans sa résolution de franchir le Canada à la course."[72]

Hence there was no surprise when the funds coming from the Marathon of Hope were transferred to a special Terry Fox fund to be managed by the CCS's

[69] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 28.
[70] Terry Fox Thunder Bay Memorial, side panel.
[71] Simon Fraser University statue.
[72] Postes Canada, « Notice de timbre commémoratif, 30 sous »,in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426, vol. 9-24, no. 000915, Dossier 1, 1982-1996, Terry Fox, 13 avril 1982.

research arm, the National Cancer Institute of Canada.[73] In fact, these funds apparently came at a time when cancer research was effectively in crisis. Laurence Wilson, writing in 1978, was indeed speaking of a sorry state for Canadian cancer research. He argued that "The modest but excellent research establishment that has been built up in Canada is being slowly, inexorably dissipated by poor federal financing, its work inhibited and the morale of medical scientists progressively weakened."[74] As Scrivener recalls, "Terry's millions came at precisely the right time for Canada's scientific community, for there had been a crisis in medical research because of reduced funding. Just as Terry turned on Canadians, so he also turned on the scientific community."[75] Terry Fox was indeed "the greatest thing that's ever happened to cancer research in Canada."[76]

But arguments were also voiced against this monolithic focus on cancer research. Of course, some of these came from conspiracy theorists, like Virginia Crichton from the *Toronto Star* who stated that the lack of funding for cancer prevention initiatives and programs was in some ways explained by the money to be made with cancer research. She argued that "The staff and structure of these agencies has taken on the appearance of a large corporate structure whose future seems to depend on continued incidents of cancer….Nevertheless, as we become ill, rest assured there are those ready with a treatment regime. Mind you, the treatment can be as deadly as the disease, but just think of the money that went into

[73] Susan P.C. Cole, "The Legacy of Terry Fox." *Queen's Quarterly* 97, no. 2 (Summer 1990), 261.
[74] D. Laurence Wilson, "Medical research in Canada: a threatened national resources," *CMA Journal*, Vol. 119, August 12, 1978, 272.
[75] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 189.
[76] "Fox cancer donations top 1.5 million mark," *Vancouver Sun*, August 9, 1980, A9.

the research…"[77] Ralph Moss, writing in 1980, just like Crichton, was seeing conspiracies in keeping cancer incurable, all the while speaking of its possible cure: "Announcing the imminent demise of cancer has become something of a subspecialty within the medical profession, especially around the month of April, when the American Cancer Society conducts its annual appeal drive."[78] These alarmists presented quite a cynical view of research, but others just simply stopped believing that more research would eventually rid the world of this disease. Even Doug Alward, Terry Fox's friend and loyal companion on the Marathon of Hope, stopped campaigning for the Cancer Society a few years after Fox's passing because, "He has strong doubts about the value of cancer research. It did little to save Terry, he points out. 'Sometimes I think they're on the wrong track.'"[79]

Independently of whether people believed in a conspiracy by the cancer establishment or simply felt that cancer research may not be the road to take, what some like Ralph Moss agreed upon was that it was perhaps time for a change, a "radical change in direction – possibly toward unorthodox and nontoxic methods, and toward cancer prevention."[80] And indeed the push for more funds to be channelled to cancer prevention was gaining momentum at the time of the Marathon of Hope. As the Marathon ended and Fox began another battle against cancer, a few *Globe and Mail* readers expressed concern over the Terry Fox funds being spent only in research. George Prokos shared his dislike of the Cancer Society and its "head-in-the-sand attitude towards new alternative therapies," and

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[77] Virginia Crichton, "Funding for cancer misguided," *Toronto Star*, February 19, 1996, A15.
[78] Ibid, 66.
[79] Ken MacQueen, "Ten years have passed since one young man changed our view of the human spirit," *Ottawa Citizen*, April 7, 1990, B1.
[80] Ralph W. Moss, *The Cancer Syndrome*, New York: Grove Press Inc., 1980, 67.

criticized its approach of "fighting cancer through the traditional, medically approved channels." He concluded that even a phenomenon like Fox would not "create the potential to change this trend."[81] Another reader suggested that the Fox funds would be more useful if spent to "educate the public on proven methods in the prevention of cancer."[82] The lack of interest in funding cancer prevention, according to Moss, was that while preventing cancer was the undeniably best solution in the long term, its costs in the short term, "both in terms of lost profit opportunities and increased environmental controls,"[83] would be extremely high.

Cancer research seemed to be 'winning' the public relations contest, at least in Canada with Terry Fox. There is thus a dominant discourse at play in the Terry Fox 'cancer' story: the choice of research over prevention that Fox seemed to have made had direct effects on the direction taken by funding agencies like the Canadian Cancer Society. It also precluded any questioning of the effectiveness of cancer research in eradicating the disease. To illustrate this point, let us look at the debate over the cancer drug Interferon, which took place shortly after Fox's passing.

Fox's last hope had been Interferon treatment, and one of his direct legacies was the pursuit of this drug as a potential miracle cure for cancer. Interferon, a "rare and costly natural substance extracted from living cells,"[84] was said to have the potential to cure certain types of cancers like osteogenic sarcoma, the form of cancer Fox was afflicted with. According to Ralph Moss, a few million dollars had

[81] "Letters to the editors," by George P. Prokos, *Globe and Mail*, October 3, 1980, 6.
[82] "Letters to the editors," by Walter H. Davis, *Globe and Mail*, September 23, 1980, 6.
[83] Ralph W. Moss, *The Cancer Syndrome*, 235.
[84] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 171-172.

been allocated to Interferon research in the United States; so much money concentrated on one particular cure, he stated, was "hindering the development of unorthodox approaches to cancer, [and] ….attempting to develop the orthodox approaches."[85] Upon hearing of the new drug, Isadore Sharp, the hotel-owner and philanthropist who suggested the organization of an annual Terry Fox run, notified the CCS which sent some $15,000 to an Interferon outlet in Colorado in order to secure the quantities necessary for treatment, although "it wasn't known how much the overall treatment would cost, since doctors were experimenting with dosages."[86]

Fox was treated with what some called a 'controversial' drug. Controversial, because when Fox received this treatment, clinical trials had not been conclusive as to the effectiveness of the drug on reducing cancer mass. In fact, medical studies in the years following Fox's passing (and thus following the failure of Interferon treatment, we may add) could not demonstrate the drug's effectiveness, despite it being called "the greatest miracle drug since penicillin."[87] Interferon was "not the hoped-for miracle cure for cancer."[88] According to Susan Cole, writing in 1990, "… clinical studies with the INFs[89] have on the whole been disappointing although it is argued that perhaps we still don't know enough about the biological properties of these compounds to administer them optimally."[90] Let us remember that the 'natural' cure called Laetrile, deemed by the medical profession as pure quackery, was rejected because no clinical studies could show

[85] Ralph W. Moss, *The Cancer Syndrome*, 275.
[86] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 171-172
[87]"Miracle interferon loses some glamor," *Globe and Mail*, April 20, 1981, 10.
[88] "Realizing the dream of Terry Fox," *Globe and Mail*, June 23, 1986.
[89] Short for Interferon.
[90] Susan P.C. Cole, "The Legacy of Terry Fox," 260.

beyond doubt that the drug was instrumental in reducing cancer mass, or at least halt its growth. It was outlawed in several states, and was never legal in Canada. Interferon's success rate in clinical trials was not much better. But because it was 'research', and because Terry Fox supported both research and interferon research specifically, the drug did not lose any credibility (or research funding for that matter).

In fact, shortly after Fox's death and the much publicized failure of his last resort treatment with Interferon, Scrivener states that "the province of British Columbia announced plans to honour Terry further by constructing a $25 million Interferon plant in Vancouver."[91] The plant was called Pacific Isotopes and Pharmaceuticals. Its president, Terry Mailloux, was in no way bothered by the drug's apparent lack of results. As he stated in 1986, "Clinical studies have shown that it is not always as effective as the media have sometimes reported. Still, for many cancer patients it represents real hope…"[92] If the drug provided hope, it seemed to be enough. Again, let us note that one of the main arguments for Laetrile was that it gave hope to those who decided to take it. By 1987, Pacific Isotopes had not produced Interferon at the scale it was believed it would and was no longer the B.C. government's pet project. Instead, the company announced the creation of yet another research center, this one funded by the Terry Fox Foundation.[93] And what about Interferon? Its effectiveness in clinical trials was eventually

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[91] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 173. What the B.C. government announced was a donation to the Terry Fox Medical Foundation, an institution whose creation was approved by Fox himself, who in turn created Pacific Isotopes. See Kim Richards, "A progress report on the B.C. Government's plan to sponsor the manufacture and marketing of the so-called magic bullet against cancer," *Cancer Research* 4(2), April 1987, UBC fonds, Community Relations, 9-5.

[92] "Realizing the dream of Terry Fox," *Globe and Mail*, June 23, 1986.

[93] The Terry Fox Foundation and the Terry Fox Medical Research Foundation should not be confused. The Terry Fox Foundation is the organisation run by the Fox family which oversees the Terry Fox runs. The Terry Fox Medical Research Foundation was a project approved by Fox, but its mismanagement of funds in the 1990s forced the Fox family to distance itself from it. See for this Mark Hume's coverage in the *Vancouver Sun*, most specifically "Fox run foundation not connected to controversial research foundation," August 21, 1991, B3, and "NDP demands investigation of Fox foundation," August 22, 1991, A13.

demonstrated….but not as a cancer cure. Rather, it is an effective treatment for condiloma and hepatitis.[94]

Nevertheless, cancer research remains the focus of the Terry Fox Foundation, as per Fox's wishes. And it seems that the commemorated story continues to confirm the prevalence of research over prevention. Indeed, the few words found in the pictorial tribute by Douglas Coupland published in 2005 serve to explain the continued need for cancer research money:

> For many people, the words "cancer research" conjure up fuzzy images of shiny buildings in a part of town they never visit. The researchers all wear white lab coats and sport movie-star tans, and once a week they shout Eureka! and hop into their Corvettes and go out for a martini. In reality, researchers spend half their time filling out forms and trying to raise enough money so they can continue to do what they do….They're usually on the brink of being broke, and it's frustrating. Ironically, they also have to fight a common perception that cancer research is well funded.[95]

Attitudes to cancer: cancer-phobia, metaphors, self-help

The commemoration of Terry Fox has continued to disseminate a dominant discourse about research, because he was, and still is, clearly the champion of cancer research fundraising. But Fox was also perceived as a champion for change in attitudes towards cancer. As Leslie Scrivener puts it, "he changed the vocabulary around cancer, from victim to survivor."[96] When Terry Fox started to run, cancer, even though many Canadians knew about it, was still shrouded in some mystery. One former cancer patient wrote in 1977 that surviving the disease was one problem, surviving the stigma attached to it thereafter another tantalizing task: "People are afraid of cancer, they equate it with

[94] Kim Richards, "A progress report on the B.C. Government's plan to sponsor the manufacture and marketing of the so-called magic bullet against cancer," *Cancer Research* 4(2), April 1987, UBC fonds, Community Relations, 9-5.
[95] Douglas Coupland, *Terry*, Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2005, 161.
[96] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 1981 edition, 220.

pain and death….They associate it with evil and sin, sometimes thinking it's retaliation for an illicit sexual affair."[97] George Crile, writing in 1955, had noticed that the awareness campaign of the fifties was based on fear more than information. As he stated then,

> Those responsible for telling the public about cancer have chosen to use the weapon of fear. They have portrayed cancer as an insidious, dreadful, relentless invader. With religious fervor they have fashioned a devil out of cancer. They have bred in a sensitive public a fear that is approaching hysteria. They have created a new disease, cancer phobia.[98]

Terry Fox's primary mission was to find a cure for cancer, but in the process, he did raise cancer awareness like never before in Canada. As mentioned, cancer was a term Canadians were used to: news outlets covered new cancer-causing products, or cancer-ridden Hollywood stars. But perhaps what Fox succeeded in doing was to transform a distanced and uninvolved awareness of the disease into genuine care and concern.

Susan Sontag wrote in 1978 a seething critique of the way people used and dealt with the idea of cancer. She was specifically criticizing the use of cancer as a negative metaphor, which according to her made the victims of cancer feel much worse. As she argues, "cancer [is] no mere disease but a demonic enemy … not just a lethal disease but a shameful one."[99] Sontag noticed the use of medical terms associated with tuberculosis, in the late 19th century, to describe social, political and personal ailments. She noticed a gradual switch to cancer terminology in the 20th century. The use of cancer metaphors, for her, is a means to illustrate the fear instilled by this disease, but more importantly to provide the vocabulary for a critique of society: "Master illnesses like tuberculosis and

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[97] "Fear of those with cancer is a problem for those who have been cured," *Globe and Mail*, April 21, 1977, 2.
[98] George Crile Jr, *Cancer and Common Sense,* New York: The Viking Press, 1955, 7.
[99] Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor*, 57.

cancer are more specifically polemical. They are used to propose new, critical standards of individual health, and to express a sense of dissatisfaction with society as such."[100] Sontag, a breast cancer victim herself, argued as well that metaphors of cancer were used mostly "from the language of warfare."[101] She was calling then for a change: to stop using cancer as a negative metaphor in order to reduce the stigma associated with the disease.

Leslie Scrivener says that Fox changed the vocabulary surrounding cancer: to say someone survived cancer rather than being its victim was certainly a more positive way of looking at life post-cancer. According to Karen Kaiser, the term 'survivor' emerged in the larger discourse about cancer in 1985, after Dr. Fitzhugh Mullan used it to describe his own experience with cancer in an article published in *New England Journal of Medicine*. Mullan is known in great part for establishing the National Coalition for Cancer Survivorship, whose mission was to 'shift the perception of cancer patients from victims to survivors."[102] Hence it is true that shortly after Fox's Marathon of Hope, there were public calls for perception changes. Fox may have been part of this emerging wave of cancer patients whose experience with cancer did not fit the victimized image portrayed at large.

So through his awareness work and his legacy, did Terry Fox truly have an effect on the way Canadians viewed and talked about cancer? While people may have been more aware, may have started to care more, and perhaps understood a bit more the plight of cancer victims thanks to the story of Terry Fox, the vocabulary surrounding cancer,

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[100] Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor*, 73.
[101] Ibid, 64.
[102] Karen Kaiser, "The Meaning of the Survivor Identity for Women with Breast Cancer," *Soc Sci Med* 67, no.1 (July 2008), 81.

even when talking about Terry Fox, did not stray from the negative metaphorical use picked up by Susan Sontag. Terms like "taking the offensive,"[103] a "grim battle,"[104]or a "personal crusade"[105] pervaded the press coverage on Terry Fox during his short public life. But more importantly, this discourse continued for many years after his passing.

In 1998 when the statue of Terry Fox was rededicated in Ottawa, a plaque was unveiled which read "Terry's footsteps ceased as cancer reclaimed his body. Ten months later it would claim his life."[106] In the same vein, a critique of the 1983 movie stated that "Terry Fox did not in fact 'conquer' cancer, it conquered him."[107] His friend Rick Hansen used similar terms in his biography, describing Fox's attitude towards cancer as "a personal fight between the young man and this terrible thing that had attacked him. He would battle it as one-on-one."[108] Digressing from the warfare or combat terminology, Leslie Scrivener instead described cancer as a living thing, but still holding on to the winner-loser dichotomy: "He refused to be humbled by the disease burgeoning inside him. Even if cancer did claim him, Terry believed he was still a winner."[109] To illustrate cancer to young children, the book by Ann Donegan Johnson, *The Value of Facing a Challenge*, depicts two little devils pulling on threads inside Fox's lungs, with the caption "It was Terry's old enemy striking again."[110]

Particularly in the 1983 movie, one is struck by the way the disease is portrayed in the few scenes featuring Fox in the cancer ward. Children are of course pale and thin,

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[103] Stan Shatenstein, "Terry Fox attempted to carry hope…," 62.
[104] "Lung cancer finishes Marathon of Hope," *Globe and Mail*, September 3, 1980, front page.
[105] "All hope not lost for Fox, cancer official suggest," *Globe and Mail*, September 4, 1980, front page.
[106] Terry Fox plaque beside the statue in Ottawa.
[107] Tom Shales, "Realistic, Haunting, 'Terry Fox'," *Washington Post*, May 21, 1983, D11.
[108] Rick Hansen and Jim Taylor, *Man in Motion,* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1999, 70.
[109] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 174.
[110] Ann Donegan Johnson, *The Value of Facing a Challenge. The Story of Terry Fox,* La Jolla, CA: Value Communications Inc. Publishers, 1985, unnumbered pages.

most of them have lost their hair and can barely stand up or speak. But as Fox walks down the ward's hallway, one could think he was walking in a mental health institution instead. Patients are clasping at him, others are screaming uncontrollably, others are talking to themselves. The image of cancer in the movie makes it look more like a mental disease than a physical affliction. Hence if we look at the way cancer is portrayed, described, formulated and perhaps imagined in Terry Fox's commemoration, we find that the change in attitudes toward cancer, hoped for by Sontag, did not happen either during Fox's life or in his immediate commemoration.

The use of cancer as a negative metaphor may not have changed following Fox's crusade, but the attitude of 'self-help,' definitely encouraged and promoted by Fox, achieved more success. By running across Canada to raise funds for cancer research, Fox was taking action: not only was he trying to improve the current treatments by funding research, he was also taking great pains to make himself healthy as a way to stave off disease. This approach or response to a life-threatening disease is, according to Deborah Harrison, an illustration of 'possessive individualism' in the context of health. Indeed, she convincingly argues that Fox's general attitude and his self-appointed mission was laying the emphasis on the idea that "if the individual's health breaks down, this is a personal and not a social problem."[111] By taking matters in his own hands, in other words, Fox was promoting a dominant discourse in which cancer victims were encouraged, perhaps even expected, to find a way to fight the disease on their own.

Take for example the public support for Laetrile, which was part of an increasingly individualistic approach to health. It was up to people to be healthy in

[111] Deborah Harrison, "The Terry Fox Story and the Popular Media..," 497.

order to prevent disease and/or to take action in the face of medical illness. While this may seem like it "blamed the victim", James Paterson argues, "self-care made more sense than turning to doctors for answers to all sorts of problems."[112] This was the case in part because the movement in support of Laetrile emerged at the same time as an increasing concern for physical health, which implied the consumption of vitamins and supplements and regular visits at the gym or daily physical exertions of some kind. By framing cancer as a man-made disease, the conclusion that man needed to prevent it and cure it himself was not too farfetched.

But what this 'self-help' attitude also encouraged was a one-sided discourse about how cancer victims should react, cope and live. Indeed, Fox's motivation to achieve more than healthy people was also changing the image people had of cancer sufferers. Hence someone who sulked, cried or simply lied down went against this new idea of cancer survival, what we could call the 'super-victim'. As Francine Saillant pointed out, "Les discours sur les héros-victimes du cancer [comme] Terry Fox … véhiculent les valeurs et les représentations sociales inhérentes au comportement que l'on attend de la personne cancéreuse….Ces discours contribuent en quelque sorte à créer une matrice normative, laquelle est constitutive de la construction culturelle de l'expérience de la maladie."[113] Cancer patients may indeed have felt motivated by Terry Fox's accomplishments, but it may also have emphasized feelings of inadequacy in others.

[112] James Patterson, *The Dread Disease*, 264.
[113] Francine Saillant, *Les aspects culturels*…, 338.

Conclusion

So how did Terry Fox and his mission play out in this context replete with debates around whether to fund cancer research or cancer prevention, and whether it was up to the doctors to cure the disease or up to each individual to take care of his/her own body? Fox's actions did not send as clear a message as one could think. On the one hand, the discourse surrounding the Marathon of Hope seemed to favour research over prevention. Fox "brought a new respectability to cancer research, giving fresh life and a new purpose to those engaged in the search for a cure…."[114] When cancer returned, Fox put all his trust in new research and in his doctor's hands. After several chemotherapy treatments failed to cure him, Fox decided to try something else: "Terry Fox has been treated with the experimental drug Interferon in a last-ditch attempt to stop the cancer that is slowly killing the Marathon of Hope runner."[115] Fox's crusade was meant to provide the funds necessary to develop these drugs into the miracles they could potentially be. It is undeniable that research was a priority over prevention. Fox's last wish was that the money amassed through his Marathon, through the telethon organized after his death, and through any other monies in his name would be wholly dedicated to research.[116]

At the same time, while Terry Fox may have been focused on promoting scientific research and faith in the medical profession, his actions sometimes sent a different message altogether. As we have seen, Fox was representative of a form of 'possessive individualism' in which the individual is perceived as being responsible for his own well-

[114] *Vancouver Sun*, June 29, 1981, front page.
[115] "Interferon used to treat Terry Fox," *Globe and Mail*, February 17, 1981, 10.
[116] Susan P.C. Cole, "The Legacy of Terry Fox," 261.

being.[117] Fox's mission was to collect funds for cancer research, but often times Fox would say that he was running across the country to prove to people he could do it, despite an artificial leg. Whether it was to prove to himself or to others that he could perform such a feat, the idea behind the Marathon was individualistic: one person running alone across Canada in the hopes to find enough money on his own to cure cancer. In this sense, Fox was promoting an individualistic ethos as argued by Deborah Harrison. His message, that one person can make a difference is telling Canadians to take matters in their own hands, to try and make things better on their own.

One would think that Fox's death would have turned people away from cancer research, given how far it was from finding a cure despite his hope and despite the numerous but unsuccessful cancer treatments he went through. But the CCS, and later the Terry Fox Foundation, have been able to sustain their fundraising activities. Fox's legacy for cancer research is tantalizing: a total of $600 million have been amassed and there are runs around the world being held every September.[118] His message may have been both about faith in the medical profession and faith in the individual: but it did make cancer research a continuous priority in Canada.

[117]Deborah Harrison, "The Terry Fox Story and the Popular Media..," 497.
[118]See http://www.sfu.ca/terryfox/about.html. Last accessed February 16, 2013.

CHAPTER 4

THE MASCULINE IDEAL IN CANADA

Introduction

"Let me say simply that Terry Fox has caught the essential spirit of what man can be."[1] In 1980, Jeremy Brown and Gail Harvey wrote a short book on Terry Fox, the proceeds of which were to go to his Marathon of Hope. Among the many pictures were only a few glorifying sentences, such as this opening quote which summarizes quite effectively the subject matter of this chapter. While the previous chapter was spent examining the use of the Terry Fox story to present a dominant discourse about cancer, this chapter will look at a similarly dominant approach to describing masculinity. And while the chapter will touch upon ideas of youth, physical beauty, athleticism, race, relationship to women and sexuality, and disability, we argue that these are all rooted in the concept of hegemonic masculinity, hence the quote referring to 'what *man* can be'.

Hegemonic masculinity, a concept originally developed by R.W. Connell in *Masculinities*, combines Antonio Gramsci's understanding of bourgeois power and Michel Foucault's discursive construction analysis. Connell shifted Gramscian hegemony from social class to gender. Indeed, instead of the bourgeois class inculcating its way of life on the general population, he sees a masculine archetype imposing its specific traits and characters on all men, but also, almost necessarily in opposition, on women. Donald Sabo and Michael Messner, among the many who have used the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a frame of study, describe it

[1] Jeremy Brown and Gail Harvey, *Terry Fox. A Pictorial Tribute to the Marathon of Hope,* Don Mills, ON: General Publishing Co. Limited, 1980, 11.

indeed as "a structure of dominance and oppression in the gender order as a whole". In both bourgeois and masculine domination, we are talking about a normative discourse "valued by the politically dominant class and which helps to maintain its authority."[2] Hegemonic discourse is, if not always reactionary, at the very least a strong force for maintaining the status quo. And while Gramsci did not acknowledge the constructed nature and imagined homogeneity of the bourgeois class, Connell argues that hegemonic masculinity is based on an ideal that does not necessarily exist: "Hegemonic masculinities can be constructed that do not correspond closely to the lives of any actual men. Yet those models do, in various ways, express widespread ideals, fantasies and desires."[3] Primarily the expression of a white heterosexual ideal, the North American image of masculinity usually illustrates such core male values as "violence and aggression, emotional restraint, courage, toughness, risk-taking, competitiveness, and achievement and success."[4]

This frame of understanding, which we will use here to understand the discourse found in the multiple forms of commemoration of Terry Fox, is said to have emerged in response to, or at least following, the "cultural and political project of the reformulation of masculinity [which] started immediately alongside the second-wave women's movement in the 1970's."[5] The 1970s and 1980s witnessed what some call a crisis in masculinity: the redefinition of gender roles on an

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[2] John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War. Gendering Modern History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, 48

[3] R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (December 2005): 838.

[4] Danielle M. Soulliere, *Promoting Hegemonic Masculinity: Messages About Manhood in World Wrestling Entertainment Programming*, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Sociological Association, October 22, 2005, 3.

[5] Eric Magnuson, *Changing Men, Transforming Culture. Inside the Men's Movement,* London: Paradigm Publishers, 2007, 2.

unprecedented scale, which challenged the well encrusted notion of patriarchy. For Connell, it was not so much that patriarchal structures of power were falling apart, but rather that "What has crumbled, in the industrial countries, is the legitimation of patriarchy."[6] However the very idea of crisis has proven problematic for many. As Christopher Forth explains,

> Most scholars concur that the very term 'crisis' is simply inadequate. If there is no stable or non-critical period to be found prior to the disturbance in question (and historians have not found one), then the very idea of a crisis makes little sense. Others…argue that, given the constructed nature of the self-described above, some sense of crisis is endemic to any attempt to form a coherent and unified identity.[7]

Not only is the 'uniqueness' of this crisis questionable but, as Stephen Whitehead insightfully argues, identifying this moment as a crisis is itself a perpetuation of one hegemonic discourse about masculinity, as "the idea of a 'crisis of masculinity' speaks of masculinity in the singular; usually white, heterosexual and ethnocentric."[8] What we can safely suggest is that the concept of masculinity came under considerable criticism in the 1970s and 1980s, most effectively through a new wave of feminism perhaps indirectly influenced by the works of Foucault and others. This particular situation was indeed unprecedented and as such, we can argue that this period witnessed a profound redefinition of masculinity (and the very concept of gender for that matter).

In Canada, there was the launch in 1968 of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, created in response to the increasingly vocal women's movement

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[6] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 226.
[7] Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West. Gender, Civilization, and the Body*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, 3.
[8] Stephen M. Whitehead, *Men and Masculinities. Key Themes and New Directions,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, 55.

across the nation. Examining issues such as equal pay, maternity leave and birth control, the report of the Commission, tabled in 1970, made 167 recommendations which were for the most part at least partially achieved by the 1980s.[9] Hence the implementation of some of these recommendations during the 1970s and 1980s would certainly have challenged the patriarchal structure of Canadian society and, in this sense, necessitated a similar effort in the redefinition of masculinity as Connell argued was the case in the United States. John Tosh suggests that when a dominant order is challenged, "this dominant masculinity is likely to become a metaphor for the political community as a whole and to be expressed in highly idealised form."[10] Canada in the 1980s saw significant challenges to a masculine dominant order, hence explaining efforts in defining and imposing a hegemonic masculine archetype, as we see in the immediate commemoration of Terry Fox.

But the masculine archetype that we see developing in the Fox commemorative landscape is not all encompassing; it does not pretend to summarize what masculinity in 1980s Canada was. Instead, the study of the different material forms of memory point to characteristics deemed important by those who had the means to initiate and support commemorative efforts. What we found to be the most significant elements of the masculine imagery in the commemoration of Terry Fox are his youth and physical beauty, his athleticism, his whiteness, his sexuality, and his disability. Since Terry Fox was quite rapidly hailed a Canadian hero, and if he indeed "personified how we as Canadians feel

[9] Cerise Morris, Royal Commission on the Status of Women, Canadian Encyclopedia, accessible via: http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/royal-commission-on-the-status-of-women-in-canada. Last accessed June 8, 2012.
[10] John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," 49.

about ourselves,"[11] these characteristics should be construed as illustrations of what the ideal Canadian man should look like and how he should behave.

The kid: relationship to age and time

Terry Fox was "a young fella that wanted to do something courageous," remembers former CBC radio host Fred Walker, he truly "embodied the 'Canadian boy' image."[12] While Fox remained nameless for the first few weeks of his run, he appeared to accede quite rapidly to a first name basis with, well, Canada. At 21 years old, Fox was hovering between being a boyish athlete or a fine young man, though to be sure both images fit a hegemonic model of masculinity. Fox is indeed described with what are perceived to be masculine values and characteristics proper to boys or men, as the rest of this chapter will demonstrate. But one could also point to the idea of youth as a source of strength, energy and motivation, something which will also be discussed in greater length in the next sections.

In terms of youth specifically, suffice it to say here that Terry Fox was, as Gary T. Barker describes masculine youth, a young man "crossing the socially defined space between childhood and adulthood," on the threshold of a moment in time where he will be called on to "tak[e] on more complex and demanding roles in society."[13] However, whichever side of the proverbial fence Fox was considered to be, or considered himself to be, was irrelevant in the development of commemorative materials. Indeed, Fox was in a stage between childhood and adulthood at the time of the Marathon of Hope, what Gary

[11] Bill Vigars quoted in Bruce Ward, "Terry's Marathon of Hope brought the country together," *Ottawa Citizen*, April 12, 2005, A1.
[12] Fred Walker, Personal interview, May 25, 2012.
[13] Gary T. Barker, *Dying to be Men : Youth, Masculinity and Social Exclusion*, New York : Taylor and Francis, 2005, 9.

Barker calls a "socially constructed life phase and phenomenon."[14] But it was more often than not reshaped or might we say regressed to something closer to childhood.

For example, Leslie Scrivener described her first meeting with Fox and recalled how shockingly young he looked, "Although he was five feet ten inches, he seemed smaller, certainly smaller than his news photographs had shown him, and therefore more childlike."[15] Fox showed the endearing carelessness of youth as Scrivener describes him sitting in Government House in his wet shorts, drinking a glass of orange juice brought to him on a silver tray: "Fox did not feel out of place."[16] In his pictorial tribute, Jeremy Brown described Fox as a "mere youth," with "naïve purity."[17] He was, to be sure, the youngest person ever to receive the Order of Canada.[18] His child-like nature was highlighted in the many published pictures of the ceremony, showing Fox in his most formal outfit, a dark blue velvet suit, his youth even more enhanced by the stuffiness of the award ceremony in Port Coquitlam, B.C.[19]

In the 1983 *Terry Fox Story* directed by Ralph Thomas, the innocence and youth of Terry Fox are constantly illustrated. The first talking scene shows Fox arriving at the family home for supper, being told by his mother to "go make his bed" after getting a slap on the hand for trying to touch the food she was preparing. After announcing his plans to run across Canada, Fox hides in the staircase of his house, listening to his parents discuss the issue, just as a young child would do. In the documentary *The Making of the Terry Fox Story*, the actor playing Fox, Eric Fryer, said that "the willpower in this boy

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[14] Gary T. Barker, *Dying to be Men*, 9.
[15] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 1981 edition, 94
[16] Ibid, 115.
[17] Jeremy Brown and Gail Harvey. *Terry Fox. A Pictorial Tribute to the Marathon of Hope*, 10-11.
[18] See Terry Fox Foundation website, at http://www.terryfox.org/Foundation/Facts.html. Last accessed June 8, 2012.
[19] See picture at http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/cool/002027-2106-e.html. Last accessed June 8, 2012.

was incredible." Interestingly, Fryer was 21 years old at the time of this interview, just like Fox was when he embarked on the Marathon of Hope. In thinking he was much older than the runner he was impersonating, perhaps Fryer was influenced by Fox's boyish image.[20] The movie generally depicts Fox as playful but immature,[21] alternating between scenes supposed to produce sheer admiration and others seeking to humanize him. This shifting between laudable hero and regular boy serves to contrast in a very vivid manner the youth of Terry Fox with his achievement, something which was consciously captured in the Terry Fox stamp design: "The youth of Terry Fox made his heroic achievement all the more admirable, and Vancouver artist Friedrich Peter… has conveyed both these ideas in his dramatic stamp design."[22] The monument to Terry Fox in Thunder Bay also conveys an image of youth, emphasizing Fox's curls, but also his childlike features. His face appears completely smooth and free of details, with the exception of sweat rolling down to the side.

The fact that Fox was so young when he died definitely helped in demonizing the disease, and made his death all the more tragic because he had been "struck down almost at the beginning of his life."[23] The 1983 movie shows a frail and child-like Fox crying alone after hearing that the cancer had spread, his innocence dramatically highlighted by the baby blue hospital gown floating on his body. Dying at such a young age crystallized the image of the runner as an eternal child, illustrating "the picture of youthful nerve and

[20] Michael Goldberg, *The Making of the Terry Fox Story,* Canada: Jillcy Enterprises Inc., 1983.
[21] Playful most notably when he 'moons' the journalists following him during a day at the beach. Howard Hume et al, *The Terry Fox Story,* VHS. Directed by Ralph L. Thomas. Canada: HBO,1983.
[22] Postes Canada, « Notice de timbre commémoratif, 30 sous »,in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426, vol. 9-24, no. 000915, Dossier 1, 1982-1996, Terry Fox, 13 avril 1982.
[23] Dr. K. George Pedersen, Memorial Service for Terry Fox, July 2, 1981, SFU Archival Fonds, F-160-1-0-8 Terry Fox file.

determination," a hero who by his sacrifice, will be "permanently young."[24] The death of a young boy is, according to Richard Hawley, a powerful narrative in literature. According to him, adult masculinity entails "compromise, error, failure, loss and suffering." Hence to create an "enduring male stor[y]," either an adult hero experiences a downfall or a young hero suffers an early death.[25] In their examination of boys' representations in movies, Murray Pomerance and Frances Gateward noticed that ever since the first silent pictures, boys were, and often still are, depicted as "unruly tikes" that usually turn out as "symbols of the collapse of the civilized forces of nature."[26] Fox is indeed depicted as 'unruly' in many instances in Scrivener's book and Thomas's movie, for example. But juxtaposing this unruliness against the ravages of cancer, what effectively humanized Fox, emphasized in a very real way how the 'forces of nature' could sometimes be ruthless, unfair, powerful and dangerous.

By repetitively contrasting the youthfulness of Terry Fox with his accomplishment, or the unfairness of his death given his young age, there is an effort on the part of the media to encourage the younger generation of Canadians to 'do something'. If a 21-year old could run half way across the country on one leg, there was no reason why young Canadians could not get involved, socially, politically, academically. He was, as Leslie Scrivener puts it, "a sterling example of the potential in many people today proving that not everyone under 25 is drug-

[24] Mark Sutcliffe, "Terry Fox's legacy greater than he could have imagined," *Ottawa Citizen*, September 7, 2008, D8.
[25] Richard A. Hawley, *Boys Will Be Men. Masculinity in Troubled Times,* Middlebury, VT: Paul S. Eriksson Publisher, 1993, 30.
[26] Murray Pomerance and Frances Gateward, "Introduction," in Murray Pomerance and Frances Gateward, eds., *Where the Boys Are. Cinemas of Masculinity and Youth*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005, 5.

riddled and ego-crazed."[27] Hence Fox's young boy image may have been used to illustrate the hopes of a nation for a young generation perceived to be apathetic and withdrawn. In addition, if in the commemorative materials Terry Fox's heroism is partially rooted in his youth, then perhaps the message being carried out here was that the future of the country rested on younger Canadians, which explains why most of the written materials produced about Fox are educational sources aimed at elementary and high school students.[28] By 1981, Canada had become an 'aged population,' that is a population whose proportion of adults aged 65 and up went over the threshold established by the United Nations. Indeed, by the time Fox started his Marathon, 9.6% of the Canadian population was 65 years old or older, compared to the 8% UN threshold.[29] The feeling that the younger generation needed to be strongly encouraged to take charge was slowly emerging in Canada at that time.

One can notice the dominant discourse at play here. Fox's story was strongly focused, and still is, on how terribly young he was to get cancer twice and ultimately die. It was shaped in commemorative materials as a story which served to provide a model to a younger generation, a way for parents to set standards on how one could live his/her youth. The narratives on statues, in movies and in books overwhelmingly emphasize boyhood over adulthood, despite the fact that Fox could have well been considered an adult. He was completing a university degree, drove

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[27] Leslie Scrivener, "Genussi on Fox: He's terrific – a folk hero," *Toronto Star*, August 15, 1981, C1.
[28] The book by Maxine Trottier is primarily aimed at elementary school students, focusing on Fox's early years as a means to make him more accessible to this age group. The series "The Value Of" is also meant for younger children, to help them understand what specific values mean and how they are illustrated in concrete behaviours. Eric Walters's fictitious *Run* was thought of as a way to teach teenagers about Fox.
[29] See Canadian Encyclopedia website, at http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/population. Last accessed March 4, 2013.

his own car, was quite independent-minded, and demonstrated organizational and entrepreneurial skills that showed great maturity. But these 'grown-up' characteristics were neither discussed nor depicted extensively in comparison to those which made him seem younger.

The hunk: relationship to the body

It seems odd to discuss Terry Fox as a 'hunk' because this particular side of him is not mentioned in his commemoration, and certainly is not part of the more recent narratives of his life. Every year in September, Canadian newspapers devote a few pages to Terry Fox and to people's recollection of him and rarely are his physical beauty and muscular body mentioned. This is in contrast with the media coverage of the time, but also the early commemoration of Fox. Let us take, for example, Leslie Scrivener's description of Fox in the first few pages of her book. In 1981, she wrote of Fox that he was "better-looking than most with a well-scrubbed, intelligent face, straight teeth, and an Adonis-like profile – which would make older women feel maternal and teenagers feverish - [and he] had only one leg."[30] Her revised description in 2000 put much less emphasis on his beauty, stating simply that "he had a handsome face, perfect teeth, and curly hair. And he had only one leg."[31]

Picturing Terry Fox today as an 'Adonis-like' figure is quite difficult, but we should remember that he was adulated at the time of the Marathon, and his good looks certainly endeared him to a legion of teenage girls. In the 1983 movie, Fox's

[30] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 1981 edition, 7.
[31] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 4.

physical attributes are definitely an important part of the character, especially at the beginning. The movie opens with close up shots of Fox's half naked, sweaty, and athletic body, moving and twisting as he is playing basketball. A tender moment with his girlfriend Rika Noda in the park shows Fox without his shirt again, the camera lingering on his muscular shoulders as Noda wipes his entire body for him.

While these images may seem odd in today's context, where Fox is remembered as a pure, almost asexual hero, they were undoubtedly accepted and unquestioned in the immediate years after his passing. One characteristic extensively depicted in Scrivener's book and Thomas's movie but also in most, if not all, commemorative materials, are Fox's blond locks. One movie critic described his hair as cupid's curls,[32] another journalist talked of the "the blond, curly haired athlete."[33] In the movie itself, Fox is extremely protective of his hair, becoming quite angered when his girlfriend throws water at it. He explains, "When they cut off my leg, I thought that was it. But when I started losing my hair, that was really hard."[34] Somehow losing his hair was more difficult to cope with, undoubtedly because it was more complicated to hide than a prosthetic leg. Interviewed in 2005 about his recollections of the young runner, former Governor General Ed Schreyer recalled Fox's curls too: "I remember that blond curly hair on top of that smiling face. Many days on the road had left him with a great suntan. He was just a picture of glowing health, a young man on the ascendant."[35]

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[32] Jay Scott, "A glimpse of the boy behind the legend Film restores reality to the Terry Fox story," *Globe and Mail*, May 27, 1983.
[33] Henry Ginger, "Terry Fox, Canadian hero dies: Ran in marathon despite cancer," *New York Times*, June 29, 1981, A1.
[34] Howard Hume et al. *The Terry Fox Story.*
[35] Ed Schreyer, quoted in Charles Enman, "Sweet guy created something larger than he dreamed," *Ottawa Citizen*, April 26, 2005, D14.

There are two possible interpretations of this focus on Terry Fox's physical beauty, especially in the early commemorative years. On the one hand, the emphasis on Fox's good looks could have been a means to avoid discussing his disability. By describing or depicting his blond curls, his freckled face, his perfect teeth, memory producers in effect reduced the importance of his artificial leg by keeping the viewer's attention focused on his physical features. In his examination of sexuality and disability, Serge Dupras noticed this inclination in depictions of disabled individuals. He states, "L'absence de jambes met en relief la partie du corps opposée, soit la tête. La beauté de la personne sans jambes, c'est surtout sur son visage qu'on la retrouve."[36] Here we could see traces of a dominant discourse about the importance of physical beauty as a sort of compensation for disability. Francine Saillant pointed to this tendency in the press coverage of Fox, as she noticed that "….c'est bien plutôt, malgré la prothèse, la grâce d'un corps jeune et resplendissant qui est mise en relief."[37] Commemorative materials are, thus, refocusing the image of Fox on what is deemed 'palatable' and, more indirectly, on what is perceived as hegemonic. And we could argue that as disability became more readily accepted in Canadian society and, parallel to this, as Fox became a venerated hero, the focus of the story gradually changed.

This is reminiscent of a debate which took place a few years ago in the United States regarding the commemoration of U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. FDR had suffered from polio at a young age and needed a wheelchair to move around most of the time. But he and his administration worked tremendously hard to avoid having FDR

[36] André Dupras, « Sexualité et handicap: de l'angélisation à la sexualisation de la personne handicapée physique. » *Nouvelles pratiques sociales* 13, no.1 (2000), 175.
[37] Francine Saillant, *Les aspects culturels…,* 316.

seen and photographed with any sort of prosthetics. In a similar manner as with Terry Fox, FDR's strong stature and importance for national identity transformed the issue of disability into an issue of national image. A statue was unveiled in 2001 depicting Roosevelt sitting in his wheelchair, spurring congratulatory remarks from disability rights groups: "It's wonderful that the whole world will now know that President Roosevelt led this country to victory in World War II and through the Depression from his wheelchair."[38] But this representation actually went against Roosevelt's wishes, who consistently requested that his disability not be shown and it also revisited a past where disability was not openly discussed. The statue of FDR needed to represent how far the disability movement had come since the 1940s, independently of whether it depicted the past accurately. In a similar manner, it became more important to highlight Fox's disability rather than his dashing good looks.

We can also note the presence of beauty standards of the time as expressed in depictions and descriptions of Fox, in contradistinction to other characters related to Fox's life and story. His friend Doug Alward, who accompanied him on the Marathon, planned the itinerary, kept track of the mileage, cooked the food, called communities and collected the money, is a telling example. Alward, in effect the sidekick of hero Terry Fox, is described in Leslie Scrivener's book as "Shy, soft-spoken, and bedrock stubborn, Doug was a small man, the same age as Terry, with thin, dark hair that was receding prematurely, glasses, and a perpetually

[38] Michael Deland, chairman of the National Organization on Disability, quoted in Christopher Clausen, "The President and the Wheelchair," *Wilson Quarterly* 29, no.3 (Summer 2005), 25.

quizzical look."[39] Alward did indeed seem shy, as he remained in the shadow throughout the Marathon of Hope. He did not achieve a similar notoriety as Terry Fox, able to work in a hospital as a health-care worker without being accosted too regularly after the Marathon ended.[40] Of course, Fox was doing the running and he was the one who had had cancer and launched a crusade to find a cure for it. And Alward seemed to accept his role on the sideline. As Lynnette Porter suggested, sidekicks "are content to let the heroes take the credit for good deeds and successful rescues."[41]

But one could surmise that if Fox's good looks helped him become such a star, the fact that Alward was not perceived to be as photogenic may have contributed in keeping him out of the picture, so to speak. In the 1983 movie, Alward is played by Michael Zelniker who closely resembles him. He wears large and thick glasses and seems as shy and soft-spoken as Alward was. Interestingly, Alward's appearance in the 2000 movie is less flattering and not very realistic. The actor playing Alward is tall, quite large, almost overweight, misshapen. Thirty years later, Fox's angelic looks were still being contrasted with Alward's apparently less fortunate features. In any case what the media representations relating to Terry Fox's beauty tell us is that it was an important element of his image, and appears to have been emphasized in a variety of ways to compensate for his disability.

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[39] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 1981 edition, 8. Scrivener is nicer to Alward in her description of him in 2000, where the sentence quoted above is replaced by: "Shy, soft-spoken, patient and loyal, Doug was twenty-one, the same age as Terry. He was slightly built, with dark, thinning hair and glasses." See Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 4.
[40] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 2000 edition, 215.
[41] Lynnette Porter, *Tarnished Heroes, Charming Villains and Modern Monsters: Science Fiction in Shades of Gray on 21st Century Television*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc. Publishers, 2010, 84.

The athlete: relationship to sport

One key component of hegemonic masculinity discourse is the relationship between man and sport. As Susan Cahn found in her examination of gender and sexuality in 1920s America, "Sport remains a key cultural location for male dominance, a site where traditional patriarchal values are upheld in response to changes in the broader society."[42] The area of sport is indeed a locus of enhanced masculinity, entrenched reactionary values, but also the place where the meanings of masculinity, as well as gender roles, can be negotiated. Cahn indeed found that gender relations and norms could be effectively modified through participation in sport: "as they manipulated the gender norms and concepts of their day, athletes frequently introduced subtle revisions that stretched or even subverted conventional gender distinctions."[43] But in the Fox story, sport only serves to make Fox into a model of athletic masculinity, a "jock in a family of jocks."[44]

The great feat of Fox the national hero was essentially a physical one: he was admired for what he was capable of doing with his body in order to motivate Canadians in giving to cancer research. Monuments to Fox, according to Susan Hart, focus primarily, as those of hockey great Maurice Richard, on the "physical aspects of their achievements,"[45] which demonstrate that Fox's physical prowess is a crucial part of his story and memory. Indeed, Fox's statue in Thunder Bay, and this is the case for every Fox statue, depicts him as he is running, muscles bulging from the effort, sweat dripping down his face. What we know Fox for is his

[42] Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on Strong. Gender and Sexuality in 20th Century Women's Sport,* New York: Free Press, Inc., 1994, 278.
[43] Ibid, 239.
[44] Douglas Coupland, *Terry*, Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2005, 16.
[45] Susan Elizabeth Hart, *Sculpting a Canadian Hero*, 181.

running, which is why all his statues represent him in the middle of a physical performance, just like Maurice Richard's statues always show him on his skates. And we find that the model of athleticism Fox is made to embody is one in which resistance to pain and levels of stamina are essential features of masculine identity.

The pain Fox felt throughout his Marathon of Hope made his mission that much more heroic and it also ensured that pain would be an integral part of the Fox story. Press coverage devoted quite some time to describing how excruciating Fox's running must have been: "Determination is etched in his features but he looks tired, and as he walks toward the intersection it becomes startlingly obvious just how difficult his run must be."[46] And his pain is indeed captured in his commemorative materials. For example, the Fox stamp design was chosen for its depiction of a "vision pathétique de la souffrance et du courage."[47] In the Jeremy Brown picture book, Fox is described as "Sweat pouring from his limbs, his stump frequently aching painfully, sores and cysts building from the punishing motion…"[48] Even in Maxine Trottier's children book, it looks like pain is glorified: "The prosthesis rubbed his stump raw and bloody, his bones were bruised, his foot blistered badly and he lost toenails, but he wouldn't give up."[49] In *The Value of Facing a Challenge*, Fox's disregard for the pain is described positively: "Running was hard on Terry. One time he got dizzy and lightheaded because the strain on his heart was so great. But the reaction was typical of Terry. He rested a few minutes in the van,

[46] Sue Vohanka, "Terry's a hit in east," *Vancouver Sun*, July 11, 1981, front page.
[47] « Notes philatéliques », by Denis Masse, in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426-9-25.
[48] Jeremy Brown and Gail Harvey, *Terry Fox. A Pictorial Tribute to the Marathon of Hope*, 5.
[49] Maxine Trottier, *Terry Fox: A Story of Hope*, 13.

then went out and did fifteen push-ups in the road and started running again."[50]

Fox's statue in Thunder Bay manages to show his pain through the sweat dripping on the side of his face, and his clenched fists. In the 1983 movie, pain is present throughout, either etched in Fox's face or part of conversations with his mother, his girlfriend, his doctor or his friend Doug Alward. And most of these conversations are usually about Fox's anger cause by people's concerns over blood dripping or dizzy spells. Hence pain was, and still is, an important part of Fox's image, and an important characteristic of the masculine model he has been set to embody. According to Don Sabo and Michael Messner, pain and sport are deeply embedded in the masculine ideal: "Sports are just one of the many areas in our culture where pain is more important than pleasure. Boys are taught that to endure pain is courageous, to survive pain is manly."[51] The emphasis on Fox's resistance, then, represented efforts in illustrating how a man should act. It was also a representation of how a man should react to pain. Just like Wendy Jane Gagen argued in the case of wounded soldiers' expected resistance to pain, we argue as well that "Toughness and resolve to deal with pain stoically may indicate a masculine desire to be capable of either transcending pain or manfully ignoring it."[52]

Besides resistance to pain, the dominant discourse about athleticism also points to the importance of stamina. Indeed, Fox's strength and stamina are also

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[50] Ann Donegan Johnson, *The Value of Facing a Challenge.*
[51] Michael Messner and Donald Sabo, *Sport, Men and the Gender Order. Critical Feminist Perspectives,* Chicago, IL: Human Kinetics Books, 1990, 86.
[52] Wendy Jane Gagen, "Remastering the Body, Renegotiating Gender: Physical Disability and Masculinity During the First World War, the Case of J.B. Middlebrook," *European Review of History* 14, no. 4 (December 2007), 530.

very much part of his image as a masculine ideal. Heather Stewart from the *Ottawa Citizen* wrote of Fox still looking "fresh" after a day's run, because as she sees it, "Stamina is part of Fox's nature."[53] Maxine Trottier explains to her young readers that "Pushing himself a little farther each time, he built up his endurance and increased his strength…"[54] Fox's resistance to pain was thus equalled only by his sheer physical strength. Francine Saillant argues this very point in her Ph.D. thesis, stating that

> Tous les documents publiés autour du héros suggèrent d'ailleurs, au niveau de l'image, une telle rhétorique du surpassement: les photos montrent plus souvent le jeune homme en pleine course, le visage heureux de son effort malgré l'épuisement, le corps penché vers l'avant, définitivement défensif et combattif, les muscles tendus de cette attaque mordante contre la route, métaphore de l'existence où il avance inexorablement.[55]

The lens of sport to examine the Terry Fox story thus uncovers a dominant discourse of masculinity focused on athleticism, with particular attention paid in demonstrating Fox's irreproducible pain threshold and stamina. As a sport hero, Fox embodies fundamental values intrinsic to this particular domain. As Gary Whannel has argued, "Sport … appeals to the moral entrepreneurs. Here is a symbolic arena in which heroes can parade, epitomizing the finest, most noble values, and providing role models to which boys can aspire."[56]

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[53] Heather Stewart, "Cancer victim jogs into Ottawa on a leg and a prayer," *Ottawa Citizen*, June 28, 1980, 2.
[54] Maxine Trottier, *Terry Fox: A Story of Hope*, 13.
[55] Francine Saillant, *Les aspects culturels de l'expérience…*, 316
[56] Gary Whannel, *Media Sport Stars. Masculinities and Moralities,* London: Routledge, 7.

The white Canadian: relationship to race

Another (though more subtle) iteration of hegemonic masculinity discourse found in the Terry Fox story and memory is that of whiteness. Gail Bederman, in *Manliness and Civilization*, convincingly linked masculinity and race in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century America, arguing that "as white middle class men actively worked to reinforce male power, their race became a factor which was crucial to their gender."[57] Showing that whiteness and masculinity influence each other's definitions, she demonstrated that white manhood was understood as answering to higher standards. The story of Terry Fox does not have racist undertones, nor does it really include any issue related to colour, or persons of colours for that matter. But the very absence of race in the story and commemorative materials is telling of the 1980s Canadian context. Canada had implemented its multicultural policy in 1971, included a section against racism in its Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, and created a House of Commons Special Committee on Visible Minorities' Participation in Canadian Society in 1983. Canadians were increasingly aware of racial inequalities, but less conscious of how deeply embedded white privilege was in their society. As Barbara Flagg argues, "the white person has an everyday option not to think of herself in racial terms at all. In fact, whites appear to pursue that option so habitually that it may be a defining characteristic of whiteness: to be white is not to think about it."[58]

This particular form of dominant masculinity discourse differs from the others we examined in this chapter, because we are in effect looking for something which is not

[57] Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, 3.
[58] Barbara J. Flagg, "The Transparency Phenomenon, Race-Neutral Decision-Making and Discriminatory Intent," in Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds, *Critical White Studies. Looking Behind the Mirror,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997, 220.

there. We are looking for traces of what Joyce E. King calls 'dysconscious racism', that is "a form of racism that tacitly accepts dominant white norms and privileges…[in which people] accept certain culturally sanctioned assumptions, myths and beliefs that justify the social and economic advantages white people have as a result of subordinating others."[59] This is what we can see, or rather not see, in the Fox narrative. Fox's whiteness is part of his physical beauty: according to Richard Dyer, being blonde with blue eyes was the epitome of whiteness, "white within white."[60] Even the focus on Fox's freckles in some ways has for effect to emphasize his whiteness, since only on white skin can we see this feature. Fox came from a middle class family, had an uneventful childhood, went to school and then attended university. This in itself was perhaps a privilege. But more significant is that Fox may have been able to do what he did, an unorthodox way to collect money for the Canadian Cancer Society, in part because he was white. As Dyer argues, "the right not to conform, to be different and get away with it, is the right of the most privileged groups in society."[61] One wonders how a Marathon of Hope would have fared, had Fox not been a Caucasian male. Pushing this reflection further, we could wonder if Terry Fox could have become a national hero and icon had he not been white and if he would have enjoyed the same level of popular and media support.

Besides Fox's whiteness, race is not very present in his commemoration, even when looking at Scrivener's book, the few children's books and the movie made about him. In the rare instances where a non-white is featured, it is usually in a minimal role if any. Let us take for example the 1983 movie about Fox. The only person who is not

[59] Joyce E. King, "Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity and Miseducation," in Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds., *Critical White Studies,* 128.
[60] Richard Dyer, *White,* New York and London: Routledge, 1997, 44.
[61] Ibid, 12.

Caucasian is Fox's girlfriend, Rika Noda, a worker at the rehabilitation clinic where his therapy sessions took place. When Noda was interviewed for a documentary about 'the making of' the Terry Fox story, she shared her thoughts on her presence in the movie: "Rika is oriental. I was looking at actors who could play me. They ended up choosing her [the actress she was hoping they would pick]. But then again she was probably the only oriental my age out there."[62]

The very fact that Fox's girlfriend was Asian could be seen as an indication of the increasingly open nature of Canadian society. But Noda was not very present in the commemoration of Fox, and she is now almost completely obliterated from the story, which sends mixed message about attitudes to race in Canada. With the exception of Noda, there are no visible minorities in the movie, besides a very small number scattered in the crowd, which is, in effect, overwhelmingly white. In the children's book *The Value of Facing a Challenge,* all the drawn characters are white, expect for one African American wheelchair athlete, and 'Indians': "One day there was nobody to be seen until a pick-up truck loaded with Indians from a nearby community passed by. The Indians waved and cheered."[63]

The commemorative materials often depict Fox as the representative of all Canadians, or at least an ideal to which all Canadians should aspire. But this is problematic when thinking about race, because Fox does not adequately represent the challenges ethnic minorities have to face; he may not even be seen as a realistic role model because of his whiteness. Amanda Cosgrove and Toni Bruce used the lens of whiteness to examine New Zealand yachtsman Sir Peter Blake and the media coverage of

[62] Michael Goldberg, *The Making of the Terry Fox Story*.
[63] Ann Donegan Johnson, *The Value of Facing a Challenge. The Story of Terry Fox*.

his death and noticed the absence of race identification: "…there remains a glaring absence of such identification around those individuals who are articulated to national identity, and particularly around those primarily white sportsmen who have been represented in the media and popularly taken up as national heroes who purportedly represent us all."[64]

By not acknowledging that Fox was white and by arguing for his overall representativeness, the commemorative materials indirectly imposed a vision of what a Canadian should be, and who should be excluded by default. If Fox is supposed to represent Canadians, if we say of him that "he became an embodiment of the way we would all like to see ourselves,"[65] hence to be the 'norm' against which all Canadians are measured, the fact that he is white should not be overlooked. Michael Kimmel indeed argues that one significant expression of hegemonic masculinity in the West is the "power of white and native born men over non-white and/or non-native born men." Race is indeed a crucial part of the hegemonic masculinity discourse at play in the story and the commemoration.[66] Because as Dyer has stated, "As long as race is something only applied to non-white peoples, as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they/we function as a human norm. Other people are raced, we are just people."[67]

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[64] Amanda Cosgrove and Toni Bruce, "'The Way New Zealanders Would Like to See Themselves': Reading White Masculinity via Media Coverage of the Death of Sir Peter Blake," *Sociology of Sport* Vol. 22 (2005): 337.
[65] Editorial, *Toronto Star*, June 29, 1981, A6.
[66] Michael S. Kimmel, *The History of Men. Essays on the History of American and British Masculinities*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005, 7.
[67] Richard Dyer, *White,* 11.

The heartbreaker: relationship to women and sexuality

If we are looking at manifestations of hegemonic masculinity discourse, it is only natural to discuss women and sexuality given that the ideas of virility and domination over women are an integral part of these manifestations. This particular section unearths in some ways some of the considerations we have elaborated in the previous section about race. In effect, talking about women in the Fox story is to talk about two very specific roles: that of the mother, Betty Fox, and the girlfriend, Rika Noda. Because besides these two women, not many others have been part of the story; we are indeed talking about what is, for the most part, either absent or silent. Having both these images of a protective matron and a confident flirt gives out two very different images of Fox: the obedient son or the desirable boyfriend. And let it be said that over time, the role of Noda has consistently diminished, to the point that she is not even mentioned in the 2000 movie remake of Fox's life. Hence the masculine ideal presented by Fox in the 1980s, characterized as it was by contradictions, will eventually be "resolved" by simply forgetting about them.

It is no ground breaking statement to say that the heavy presence of Terry Fox's mother in his life, and especially in his commemoration, ensures that we continue to see Fox as a boy rather than a young man. She made sure that Fox's memory would be well guarded, and she worked tirelessly to ensure his legacy was kept alive: "It is an incredible legacy of one young man, overseen primarily by his loving mom…"[68] The role of mother is a significant part of the Fox story, showing both the strength and the pain entailed in raising children (and for her, to lose them). But despite the fact that by the time she passed away in 2012 she was the leading figure of the Terry Fox Foundation, her role in

[68] "A mother and her son's legacy," *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal*, June 21, 2011.

the life of her son was traditional: worrying about his health, how much (and what) he ate, how tired he looked. In fact, the 1983 movie shows that Fox's mother was much less supportive than his father. When Fox tells his mother about his plans to run across Canada, she screams at him and forbids him to go. When Betty Fox's character later on announces this plan to the father, his only response is: "When?"[69] The father in the movie is stronger, less emotional, and commands respect by his authoritative masculine silence.

The other image of women in the story is that of Rika Noda, the subdued but yet quite forward girlfriend of Terry Fox. While she has been essentially removed from the memory of Fox today, she was mentioned a few times in the press coverage of the time, she was a very important character in the 1983 movie, interviewed extensively for the "Making of" documentary, and was also very present in Scrivener's book. In the 1983 movie, Noda is portrayed as outgoing and confident. She kisses Fox on their first date as Fox is struggling to muster up a few coherent words; she tries to get close to him physically in a park while Fox refuses that she touches his leg; she kisses him again in a car ride after the Prince George Marathon but gets a 'not in front of everyone' response. Fox asks her to write the letter to the Canadian Cancer Society, and she is the first person he calls when he receives his second cancer diagnosis.[70] According to Noda, she was also the first person to learn about his plans to run across Canada.[71] Scrivener spends some time discussing the relationship, but concludes that "Rika was finding her relationship with Terry enormously taxing. She was in love with him, but realized he didn't feel the

[69] Howard Hume et al. *The Terry Fox Story.*
[70] Ibid.
[71] "He left girl behind to accomplish goal," *Ottawa Citizen*, June 29, 1981, 14.

same way. He told her he didn't have the time to spend with a girlfriend because he wanted to concentrate totally on his running."[72]

The fact that Fox had a girlfriend but was willing to lose her in order to complete his mission showed strength of character, emotional distance and a very mature focus on his goals. But while the memory materials showed that Fox was interested in the opposite sex, they also highlighted Fox's restraint, almost asexuality. Scrivener does indeed make sure to mention in her book that Fox and Noda's was a "chaste romance."[73] But during the run, Fox was not indifferent to women. A woman named Marlene whom he met in Ontario was deemed special enough by Fox to go on a few dates at night after his grueling runs and the pair "may have briefly contemplated a romance." Fox also thought seriously about inviting another to travel with him during the run.[74] As Scrivener recalls, "Young women were intensely attracted to him, and once in a while, one might join the Marathon of Hope for a day or two along the road, but Terry said he never fell in love."[75] Jon Ferry from the *Globe and Mail* made a similar comment in 1981, stating that "the handsome 21 year old ambassador for cancer research… doesn't have time for fun, frivolities or female propositions."[76] In effect, by making women a 'frivolous' pastime, Fox's asexuality becomes a manifestation of hegemonic masculinity rather than its contradiction. In this particular case, interest in women would have made Fox appear weaker; his distinterest made him strong and masculine.

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[72] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 1981 edition, 60.
[73] Ibid, 66.
[74] Ibid, 125.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Jon Ferry, "Fox runs into hero's welcome from Metro throngs," *Globe and Mail*, July 12, 1980, front page.

The sexual attractiveness of Fox was something that could be acknowledged in the years immediately following the end of the Marathon and the end of Fox's life. The Fox movie released in 1983 has several moments of sexual tension between Noda and Fox, and also shows what may have been the daily life of Fox in Ontario, when girls run to him for autographs and one of them tells him "Why don't you come back with me, I have my own place."[77] But Fox's constant (and/or apparent) refusal of female advances allowed for his image to project the values of purity, restraint and devotion to a cause. The promotion of these values may have been in part a reaction to rapidly changing social mores and roles, and that the use and reuse of Terry Fox's 'squeeky-clean' image sought to show how young males should behave.

The amputee: relationship to disability

Until this point we have seen how the Terry Fox story and his commemoration promoted a certain masculine ideal. But what about disability? How can we reconcile this overbearingly masculine image with the fact that Fox was disabled? We argue that the way Fox approached his disability and the way it is depicted in his commemorative materials are consistent with the dominant masculinity discourse being transmitted and perpetuated about Fox.

The 1970s and 1980s were crucial years for the disabled in Canada, foremost because many policies and laws were implemented to secure their rights and ensure their well-being. For example, the Canadian Pension Plan Disability was launched in 1970, the Human Rights Act was enacted in 1977, the Charter of Rights and Freedom in 1982, the

[77] Howard Hume et al, *The Terry Fox Story*.

Disabled Persons Participation program in 1985, and the Employment Equity Act in 1987. In 1981, the year that Fox died and the International Year of the Disabled Persons, Canada saw the creation of a *House of Commons Special Committee on the Disabled and the Handicapped*, responsible for identifying the "problems facing the disabled in Canada."[78] But according to Jane Crossman, the people who did the most for bringing awareness of the disabled, of their challenges but also of their talents were Fox and Rick Hansen, who "genuinely transformed people's perceptions of disabled athletes' abilities and capabilities through their unparalleled achievements of elite physical performance."[79]

R.W. Connell wrote in 1995 that since masculinity was a concept so entrenched in physical performance, disability was problematic in sustaining the 'gender order': "The constitution of masculinity through bodily performance means that gender is vulnerable when the performance cannot be sustained – for instance, as a result of physical disability."[80] To be a disabled man, then, had the potential to reduce one's own sense of masculinity because of the normalization of physical prowess as 'proof' of male power and identity. As Thomas Gershick confirms, "The bodies of men with disabilities serve as a continual reminder that they are at odds with the expectations of the dominant culture."[81] Hence the focus on physical performance in the case of Terry Fox certainly looks like a way to minimize his disability and, at the same time, to solidify his image as a masculine ideal. An internal document of Canada Post summarizes effectively what the commemorative materials tried to do in committing Fox to memory: "Il faut montrer son

[78] Jane Crossman, *Canadian Sport Sociology*, Thomson Nelson: Toronto, 2007, 66.
[79] Ibid.
[80] R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*, 1995.
[81] Thomas J. Gerschick, "Coming to Terms: Masculinity and Physical Disability," in Michael Kimmel and Michael Messner, *Men's Lives*, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1995, 313.

infirmité sans la mettre en évidence."[82]

Despite the many advances of the disability movement in the late 1970s and 1980s, the general reactions to disability continued to include uneasiness and discomfort, hence the need to emphasize Fox's abilities rather than disability. Some journalists masked their discomfort with humour when they interviewed Fox, like Ted Withers on CBC Radio who cheekily said to Fox "at least you can carry extra legs with you, most of us can't do that,"[83] or reporter Joe Mullins who chuckled asking Fox "do you have an extra leg, so to speak?"[84] Interviewed on not getting the part of Terry Fox for the 1983 movie, the actor playing his brother Darrell bursts out laughing when the interviewer asks him: "You weren't ready to cut off your leg for the part?"[85] Others seemed outright repulsed by Fox's disability. Prince Charles, during his visit to Canada, expressed his admiration for Fox as such: "the Canadian hero accomplished much 'despite his hideous handicap'."[86]

In the 1983 film, some attention is paid to Fox's leg, but by and large the movie is about Fox the cancer victim. There is a short scene with Rika Noda where Fox must cope with her refusal to join him on the Marathon. Noda, working in a rehabilitation clinic for the disabled, tells Fox she must stay with her patient, Goggy, the "retarded kid I'm working with." Fox is incensed and responds: "What's more important, a retarded kid, or

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[82] Postes Canada, Réunion du comité de consultation des timbres postes, 18 mars 1981, in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426, vol. 9-24, no. 000915, Dossier 1, 1982-1996.
[83] Ted Withers, CBC Radio, April 11, 1980. Available on the CBC website at: http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/sports/exploits/terry-fox-25-reliving-the-marathon-of-hope/preparations-april-11-1980.html. Last accessed May 23, 2013.
[84] Joe Mullins, CBC TV, May 1, 1980. Available on the CBC website at: http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/sports/exploits/terry-fox-25-reliving-the-marathon-of-hope/day-20may-1-1980.html. Last accessed May 23, 2013.
[85] Michael Goldberg, *The Making of the Terry Fox Story*.
[86] Charlotte Montgomery, "Quiet Diana elicits wolf-whistle chorus," *Globe and Mail*, June 23, 1983, 9.

me running across Canada?"[87] What we find here is what David Serlin would call the categorization of disabilities. In his examination of prostheses in postwar America, Serlin found that some disabilities seemed to be considered more positively than others. Hence he argues that

> Through the public circulation of these images of veteran amputees, we begin to see the formation of arbitrary (though no less hierarchical) categories for thinking about disability itself…Part of this delineation relies on the perceived difference between disability induced by modern technology or warfare and hereditary disability…[88]

In our particular case, mental disability is depicted in a more negative light than physical disability. We could also say that a disability due to cancer might be considered less strange, easier to understand than a disability with which someone was born. Indeed, a disability resulting from a now fairly common disease may garner more sincere empathy than a disability which cannot be as easily explained and contextualized.

This categorization notwithstanding, Fox's own attitude to disability was not positive, to say the least. While the growing disability movement was vying for more rights and acceptance for the disabled in Canada, Fox spent most of his time denying he was disabled.[89] He either denied or at least argued that his disability was not permanent or in any way limiting: "I can beat my disability."[90] Dick Traum, the amputee said to have inspired Fox to start running commented in his autobiography that "Fox was doing exactly what I set out to do. Like me, he was willing to take a

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[87] Howard Hume et al, *The Terry Fox Story*.
[88] David Serlin, *Replaceable You. Engineering the Body in Postwar America,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, 35.
[89] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 1981 edition, 69.
[90] Randall Carpenter, *A Dream as Big as Our Country. The Life and Times of Terry Fox*, VHS. Directed by John Ritchie. Force 4 Entertainment and The Terry Fox Foundation, 1998.

calculated risk in an effort to be successful. Some psychologists call it denial. You are denying your disability by doing something that most able-bodied people wouldn't or couldn't do."[91]

But as much as Fox tried to deny his disability, as much as his commemoration made this particular aspect of the Fox story secondary, it remains that he is remembered for attempting to run across Canada on one leg. Had he had two functioning legs, one could surmise it would have been even harder to convince journalists to show up in St. John's Newfoundland to wish him well on his mission. Hugh Gallagher's examination of Franklin Delano Roosevelt points to a similar conclusion: "No matter how much he denied it – to himself and to the world – he was, indeed, a crippled man. The attack of polio that caused his condition was the central event of his life; his illness and lengthy rehabilitation shaped and altered his character."[92] One could also see another iteration of this paradox in the story of Helen Keller, as her "fame and public personhood were literally embodied in the disability of her body,"[93] despite her efforts to appear 'normal'. In very similar ways, Hellen Keller, FDR and Terry Fox were publicly constituted as disabled persons and as such, it was not possible, despite their incessant efforts, to distance themselves from that image.

In effect, Fox was going beyond denying his disability: he was overcompensating for it and/or actively trying to will it out of his existence. He projected the image, both during his life and his commemoration, of what has come to be called a 'supercrip': "'supercrip' images which idealize disabled people as heroes (or others … show them to

[91] Dick Traum and Mike Celizic, *A Victory for Humanity*, 80.
[92] Hugh Gregory Gallagher, *FDR's Splendid Deception,* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co, 1985, 213.
[93] Kim E. Nielsen, *The Radical Lives of Helen Keller,* New York: New York University Press, 2003, 135.

be the innocent victims of evil or misfortune) are as common as negative stereotypes."[94] Fox himself is quoted as saying that people should in no way pity him because "you could take my real leg away and I'd probably be even stronger than I am now with one."[95] Gary Whannel argued that the 1980s promoted a very particular kind of masculinity, the "ultra hard macho and the rise of the cyborg…the fusion of machine and flesh, or flesh made invincible, represent[ing] in almost parodic form the desire to transform the male body into a muscular invulnerability."[96] Susan Jeffords also noticed the high 'machismo' of the 1980s in her examination of Ronald Reagan and U.S. masculinities. Indeed, as a 'macho' president, Reagan was portrayed as almost superhuman: "chopping wood, breaking horses, toughing out an assassination attempt, bullying Congress, and staging showdowns with the Soviet Union."[97] Hence one could argue that with his metal leg, Fox tried to be stronger and tougher, more 'macho', than men with two working legs: "Terry, it seems, is turning out to be the Sound of Sport's answer to the bionic man."[98]

While this narrative certainly contributed to transforming Fox into a national hero, as such Fox was supposed to be a model for all Canadians, including the disabled. And as Jack Nelson rightfully argues, the supercrip story of Fox was taking the focus away from crucial questions related to disability: "The focusing of public attention on the heroic struggles of a few – the 'Disability chic' approach – diminishes the attention needed to

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[94] Clive Seale, *Media and Health,* London: SAGE Publication, 2008, 109.
[95] Jeremy Brown and Gail Harvey, *Terry Fox. A Pictorial Tribute to the Marathon of Hope,* 11.
[96] Gary Whannel, *Media Sport Stars*, 69.
[97] Susan Jeffords, *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinities in the Reagan Era,* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994, 12.
[98] CBC Radio, Havelock, July 6, 1980. Available on the CBC website at: http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/sports/exploits/terry-fox-25-reliving-the-marathon-of-hope/day-86july-6-1980.html. Last accessed May 23, 2013.

access, transportation, jobs and housing, and the movement to improve the status of all those with disabilities."[99] The attitude of Terry Fox toward his disability was setting a model quite difficult to emulate for most disabled people and which could prove counterproductive. By acting as if he was not disabled and did not need special treatment, Fox was far from encouraging greater accessibility programs. Moreover, such a model may actually have made some feel even less able-bodied than they actually were: "…a lot of ordinary disabled people are made to feel like failures if they haven't done something extraordinary…Do we have to be supercrips in order to be valid? And if we're not super, are we invalid?"[100]

To be sure, Rick Hansen received similar criticisms from his Man-in-Motion tour of the world a few years later. Peter Kavanagh from the *Globe and Mail* wrote that this worldwide fundraising effort was, in effect, a "circus stunt." Kavanagh suggested that "… Hansen's exceptional effort makes none of us feel truly good. It makes some feel smug, others warm, a few superior and many inadequate," but it really only brings attention to the stunt, not the real needs and demands of the disabled.[101] Jocelyn Lovell, a quadriplegic athlete, agreed with this statement, explaining that because of stories like Fox's and Hansen's, "When the media picture people in a wheelchair now, we're always supposed to be smiling or playing basketball."[102]

The supercrip theory is the framework we use to link disability and masculinity in

[99] Jack A. Nelson, "The Invisible Cultural Group: Images of Disability," in Paul Martin Lester, *Images That Injure. Pictorial Stereotypes in the Media*, West Port, CT : Praeger, 1996, 122.
[100] Alan Toy, quoted in Jack A. Nelson, "The Invisible Cultural Group: Images of Disability," 122.
[101] Peter Kavanagh, "The Hansen Tour: stunts detracts from real issues," *Globe and Mail*, September 30, 1985, A7.
[102] Jocelyn Lovell quoted in Tim Harper, "Almost home! Spunky wheelchair athlete is rolling along toward the finish line after his around the world odyssey," *Toronto Star*, May 17, 1987, A9.

the Terry Fox story, because as Dale Stevenson argues in his M.A. thesis, "the supercrip version of masculinity is very similar to hegemonic masculinity in that there are rules that are often unattainable to the majority of people with disabilities."[103] Hence Fox's disability – and the way it is taken up and represented in the public imagination – in no way contradicts our argument that the Fox story promotes a very specific type of hegemonic masculinity, it actually confirms it. The supercrip theory embodied in Fox's attitude to disability shows a focus on male strength and stamina, on athleticism, on restrained sexuality. According to Kim Nielsen, Helen Keller's disabled superstar status ensured that her story would always be about "perpetually overcoming her disability." For Nielsen, Keller's acceptance of this role, just like Fox's own acceptance, allowed them to move beyond the image of a disabled person, but in so doing it "depoliticized disability by relegating it to the realm of coping and personal character."[104] Fox never campaigned for disability rights, although many have since used his name for that cause. Shortly after he abandoned his Marathon, the Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded wrote to Prime Minister Trudeau in order to ensure that disabled rights would be entrenched in the Charter of Rights and Freedom, and used Fox's example "to remind the country's political leaders that if human rights are to be entrenched in the new constitution, the rights of Canada's handicapped cannot be ignored."[105] Fox was used as a flag bearer for the disabled by virtue of his disability, but not because he expressed any form of grievance or made any specific demands.

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[103] Dale Stevenson, *Paralympic Masculinities: Media and Self-Representation of Athletes at the 2008 Paralympic Summer Games,* M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 2010, 16.
[104] Kim E. Nielsen, *The Radical Lives of Helen Keller*, 12.
[105] "Entrench rights of the handicapped, group for retarded urges politicians," *Globe and Mail*, September 8, 1980, 10.

Conclusion

The Terry Fox story and commemoration show the widespread use of hegemonic masculinity discourse whose main purpose is to illustrate the ideal Canadian male. By reiterating that Fox was supposed to represent us all, the commemorative materials have presented the skewed, but perhaps hopeful vision of a healthy, athletic, attractive white male as the epitome of Canadianness. Even when depicting, describing or illustrating Fox's disability, the materials under study have managed to minimize it and focus the viewer's attention instead on his physical performance. If masculinity is a "defensive category,"[106] then it follows that the use of hegemonic masculinity in the commemoration of Terry Fox may have been in response to changing times. Hence despite the context of the 1980s, where significant changes and development occurred in the ways discrimination was viewed, either because of race, sex, or disability, or in the willingness of society to acknowledge, accept and include difference, the elaboration of a national model like Fox sought instead to confirm and uphold a more traditional view of masculinity and, indirectly, social status quo.

It cannot be too surprising that official authorities and the mass media adopt so readily a masculine archetype as national hero. After all, masculinity and nationalism are deeply intertwined concepts: "the culture and ideology of hegemonic masculinity go hand in hand with the culture and ideology of hegemonic nationalism."[107] The ultimate sacrifice Fox made for his cause is in itself a vivid illustration of idealized masculinity. As George Mosse muses, "Heroism, death and sacrifice on behalf of a higher purpose in

[106] Christopher Dummit, *The Manly Modern. Masculinity in Postwar Canada*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007, 19.
[107] Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(2), 249.

life become set attributes of manliness."[108] By adopting Fox so readily, so quickly, and so unquestionably, the Canadian government was setting their sight on a hero who promised to embody how Canada should be: strong, dedicated, courageous, selfless….but also white, abled and male. As Eva Mackey argues, "The term 'virile' as an ideal term for a nation – in opposition to 'subservient and dependent'- indicates the belief that a nation, to be a proper nation, must have the male-gendered characteristics of virility."[109]

[108] George Mosse, *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 51.
[109] Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference. Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada,* London and New York: Routledge, 2002, 41.

CHAPTER 5

THE MYTHICAL CANADIAN IDENTITY

Introduction

"Canadians worry more about their identity than most other people in the world do," wrote Robin Mathews in 1988. And it is true that much ink has been spilled on defining exactly what that identity was (and is): "Canada has produced a veritable canon of strategical exploration and description of its ongoing identity crisis, now among the oldest and most dense bodies of inquiry into culture and nationhood in the industrialized world."[110] Canada's everlasting concern with finding and defining its identity is so omnipresent, according to some, that this "preoccupation with its own history, its relentless cultural stock takings and self-inventories"[111] might as well be considered part of this elusive identity. According to Roy MacGregor, this is where Canada leads the world: "Not hockey, not pulp production, not snow, not even potholes, but in picking through their own belly-button lint…compulsive self-introspection…seems oddly and uniquely Canadian."[112]

Foremost in the difficulty of understanding and defining a Canadian identity is to agree on where to find its roots. According to Philip Resnick, Canadians have remained much closer ideologically to their European ancestors than their neighbours to the south: "What differentiates Canadians from Americans is the fact that Canadians remain a good deal more European in their sensibilities and will continue to be the more European part

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[110] Jody Berland, "Marginal Notes on Cultural Studies in Canada," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 64(4), 514.
[111] Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden. Essays on the Canadian Imagination*, Toronto: Anansi, 1971, 223.
[112] Roy MacGregor, *Canadians. A Portrait of a Country and its People*, Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2007, 39.

of North America into the foreseeable future."[113] But for philosopher John Ralston Saul, this is absolutely not the case: "To insist on describing ourselves as something we are not is to embrace existential illiteracy. We are not a civilization of British or French or European inspiration. We have never been."[114] Instead, Saul argues that our identity is rooted in our Aboriginal environment, that "We are a people of Aboriginal inspiration organized around a concept of peace, fairness and good government."[115] For others, what matters is not so much our roots but rather our very influential neighbour to the South. Because one characteristic most Canadians seem to agree upon is that we are not American. But according to Jeffrey Simpson, "whatever Canadians may think of their American neighbours, they have never been more like them."[116] Hence there has been considerable debate over the roots of a Canadian identity: are Canadians more like their European ancestors, the peoples who were here before them, or are they looking more and more like the people living under the 49th parallel? The very idea of one single Canadian identity has since been set aside for a multiplicity of identities, especially since the mid-1980s when multiculturalism emerged as a key marker of identity.[117]

But at the time of Terry Fox, whatever the Canadian identity was, it was widely perceived to be under threat: the Americanization of our culture, Quebec's possible shattering of our presumed national unity, even our own lack of interest for Canada as a topic of study. Indeed, a few years before Fox began his Marathon, Thomas Symons

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[113] Philip Resnick, *The European Roots of Canadian Identity*, Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2005, 19.
[114] John Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country. Telling Truths About Canada*, Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008, xi.
[115] Ibid, xiii.
[116] Jeffrey Simpson, *Star-Spangled Canadians: Canadians Living the American Dream*, Toronto: Harper Collins, 2000, 343.
[117] A four country survey by Jocelyn Létourneau on historical consciousness conducted in 2010 found that when Canadians were asked to define their country's history in one sentence, multiculturalism was the term that came back the most often. See for this an article by his Master's student, Raphaël Gani, "L'histoire nationale dans ses grandes lignes," *Canadian Issues*, Spring 2012, 48.

headed a Commission on Canadian Studies, established by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, and found that Canadians were not even interested in 'knowing themselves'. As Symons stated,

> I would have thought it should be reasonably clear that a society, like an individual, needs to know itself and its place in the context of the world. But it became pretty clear to my colleagues and me….. that the first task of the Commission was to suggest why it was important for a reasonable amount of attention to be devoted to their own country by Canadians…..Also there was just downright hostility or disdain – a kind of academic or intellectual snobbery: something that's Canadian is small potatoes, second-rate almost by definition.[118]

Hence the Canadian identity in the 1980s was a difficult concept to define, and a difficult idea to sell.

According to Anthony Smith, national identity is comprised of several elements, including the territory itself, a mass culture, common rights and obligations, a central economy and "common myths and historical memories."[119] If we accept that national identity is a construction, just as the very idea of a nation is, according to Benedict Anderson, an "imagined political community,"[120] then it follows that the myths which are said to make up national identity are also constructed. What we are examining here, then, are these manufactured myths seeking to define the Canadian identity through Terry Fox.

To discuss the Terry Fox story as a myth is not to argue that it is invented. Rather, we want to show that the story is used as a text or, as Roland Barthes calls it a 'parole', embedded with prescribed values and norms. As Barthes states, "le mythe est une parole

[118] Thomas Symons, *The Symons Report*, 13.
[119] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991, 14.
[120] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* London: Verso, 2006, 6.

définie par son intention beaucoup plus que par la lettre."[121] The mythical aspect of the Fox story is thus the intention, behind the perpetuated narrative, to prescribe certain behaviours and attitudes: "…la fonction maîtresse du mythe est de révéler les modèles exemplaires de tous les rites et de toutes les activités humaines significatives…"[122] Myths are an integral part of the construction of a national identity specifically because of their prescriptive lessons. And just as myths should be examined as a discourse and not a simple story, so too the national identity should be read as a similar text. As John R. Gillis said of identities, they are "not things we think *about*, but things we think *with*."[123]

This last chapter will look at how the image and memory of Terry Fox were used to reformulate existing myths about the Canadian identity. We previously discussed the process by which Fox became a hero, we looked at the commemorative materials developed about him, and we looked at the messages these materials disseminated about cancer politics and masculinity. Now we delve into a discussion of the Canadian identity, as it has been theorized, perceived, shaped and reshaped, through Terry Fox. What we find is that the Fox story often times takes the shape of ages-old Canadian myths said to make up the national identity: the survival narrative, itself comprised of founding myths about 'northern-ness', the all-engulfing landscape and the *voyageur* spirit, and the everlasting myth of Canadian unity. Underlying all of this is the repeated use of mythical frameworks of national identity to tell the story of Terry Fox, at a time when this identity was being intensely questioned. It is as if there was a perceived risk that these myths would be forgotten, that the memory of what makes the national identity would fade. It is

[121] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, Paris: Édition de Seuil, 1957, 231.
[122] Mircea Eliade, *Aspects du mythe,* Paris: Gallimard, 1963, 18.
[123] John R. Gillis, "Introduction," 1996, 5.

as if the story of Terry Fox was used as a *lieu de mémoire*[124] to perpetuate the Canadian identity.

Defining the Canadian Identity

Keith Spicer wrote in January 1980 that Canada was a "nation of uncertain nationality."[125] And still today, asking people to describe the Canadian nationality produces sometimes confusing answers. A telling example of this is Brendan Kelly's[126] response during an interview: "What would be the one word to describe a 'Canadian'? That's the beauty of it: we are a fabric of different worlds, different identities. There is no one word to describe us. What distinguishes us is perhaps the fact that our identity was never forced upon us. We construct it the way we want…This is part of our identity."[127] Mackey suggests that the crisis in Canadian identity has encouraged governments to "constantly enact policies to intervene in the production of identity and culture."[128] Jody Berland argues in the same way that the discourse surrounding the Canadian identity, though at times controversial, usually works on a "consensual, if unevenly effective, social democratic nationalism" which regularly makes the claim of the "necessity of state intervention to preserve endangered cultural values and forms of expression."[129] Hence despite not being clear about what exactly the Canadian identity is, the state has played a key role in protecting it.

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[124] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* Spring 1989.
[125] Keith Spicer, "1980 will be the year for reconciliation," *Montreal Gazette*, January 2, 1980, 8.
[126] As we remember from previous chapters, Brendan Kelly ran across Canada in the late seventies, to publicize the Canada Games, held in his home province of Newfoundland.
[127] Brendan Kelly, personal interview, May 25, 2012.
[128] Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference,* 13.
[129] Jody Berland, "Marginal Notes on Cultural Studies in Canada," 515.

If Terry Fox was indeed the embodiment of 'the' Canadian identity, then the great involvement of the Canadian federal and provincial governments in his immediate commemoration should not be surprising. After all, nation-building is in many ways an exercise in defining a nation's identity, imposing it as such, and ensuring its protection. In the introductory comments to *Ornamentalism. How the British Saw Their Empire*, David Cannadine wrote:

> Nations, it has recently become commonplace to observe, are in part imagined communities, depending for their credibility and identity both on the legitimacy of government and the apparatus of the state, and on invented traditions, manufactured myths, and shared perceptions of the social order that are never more than crude categories and oversimplified stereotypes.[130]

Hence it is up to a few to elaborate and disseminate what the Canadian identity is thought to be, or ought to be, and the use of common myths is one way to go about doing this.

We mentioned the concept of *lieu de mémoire* in the introduction, because at the root of it all, the commemoration of Fox's story can be seen as a liminal space between the fabled Canadian past and the Canada that had developed since. This liminality is at the heart of Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire*, as he understands them to be "moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded."[131] According to him, a 'site of memory' can be anything: a literal place, a document, a story, a character. So long as this site is "invest[ed] with a symbolic aura."[132] In our case, it is the story of Terry Fox itself that serves as such. A *lieu de mémoire* exists through the

[130] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism. How the British Saw Their Empire*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, 3.
[131] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History," 12.
[132] Ibid, 19.

perceived need to commemorate in order not to forget: the repetition of the Terry Fox story and his extensive commemoration illustrate a will to compensate for the loss of "spontaneous memory."[133] The Fox story is a *lieu* where old Canadian myths are perpetuated and where an old conception of Canada is confronted to a contemporary one whose contours are not as clearly delineated as some have imagined the past to be.

And it was indeed a time of change. The feature article in the January 1981 issue of Canadian publication *Maclean's* was a piece entitled "1980. The turbulent year that was." In this piece, author Roy MacGregor took stock of the news headlines of the year 1980, stating that "The headlines for 1980 are suffocating, both in weight and content."[134] Along with Fox's Marathon of Hope, Canada experienced the fall of a minority Conservative government (Pierre Trudeau's win over Joe Clark), an unsuccessful referendum campaign in Quebec, the first woman speaker of the House (Jeanne Matilde Sauvé), and the creation of the Assembly of First Nations, to name only a few of these headlines. These events took place in a context of worldwide economic crises causing massive unemployment and countless workers strikes, an effervescent social climate where women, disabled persons and ethnic and LGBTT communities were more and more vocal about their grievances and their demands, and where born-again religious movements were "sweeping North American politics."[135] It is safe to say, then, that the use of the Fox story to express the essence of the Canadian identity was in many ways a reactionary response to the 1980s political, social and historical contexts that provided the impetus for transforming the story into a *lieu de mémoire*.

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[133] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History," 12.
[134] Roy MacGregor, "1980. The Turbulent Year That Was," *MacLean's*, January 1981, 29.
[135] Ibid.

The narrative of survivalism

Part and parcel of the construction of a national identity is the retelling of mythical stories of greatness in order to illustrate a people's common past and common promise for the future. In his musings about the Canadian identity, G.B. Madison explains the link between identity and national narrative as such:

> National identity is constituted largely by historical (often quasi-mythical) narratives of the nation's past, present, and projected future. It is primarily a construction of historical and moral imagination, an aesthetic as much as an empirical account of a nation's historical emergence. Where (and if) it exists, genuine community arises from affective states associated with symbols and historical events that speak to the nation's collective character as it is understood by the members of that nation. It recounts tales of struggle and overcoming, achievement and sacrifice, and various other fabled accounts of the events and ideas that gave rise to the nation of today.[136]

And apparently nowhere else as much as in Canada do we venerate the 'tale of struggle' as the very foundation of our historical narrative and, by association, national identity. Indeed, according to Margaret Atwood, the "central symbol for Canada…..is undoubtedly survival, la survivance."[137] For Atwood, survival is at the heart of Canadian literature (both English and French) and thus at the heart of our identity. Survival is our own brand of anxious heroism, one focused not on "who made it but [on] who made it back, from the awful experience – the North, the snowstorm, the sinking ship – that killed everyone else."[138] The unending difficulties encountered by Fox during his short public life are the very representation of what Canadian survivalism is. Fox was disabled and recovering from cancer, and imposed on himself a physical training/exertion regimen that would have proven difficult to sustain even for the healthiest and fittest of individuals. The very

[136] G. B. Madison, *Is There a Canadian Philosophy? Reflections on the Canadian Identity,* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2000, 112-13.
[137] Margaret Atwood, *Survival. A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*, Toronto : Anansi, 1992, 32.
[138] Ibid, 33.

idea of him running 'despite' these physical difficulties, combined with the obstacles he faced during the run (physical, geographical, social, linguistic), make the story of Terry Fox, whether reshaped or not, one of unending struggles.

The mythicized narrative of survival is indeed about struggling immensely, and in the end survival is sometimes not even granted to the hero. In extreme cases of survivalism, Atwood says, "the obsession with surviving can become the will not to survive,"[139] which in some ways illustrates Fox's ultimate sacrifice after disregarding his health for so many months. His death was understood as a personal sacrifice certainly, but most importantly a sacrifice for everyone else: "He fought magnificently to the end for himself and for others."[140] In her children's book, Maxine Trottier wrote of Fox, "Terry tried to beat cancer. He fought harder than he had ever fought before, but some things are simply not meant to be." The important message extracted from the Fox story here was that he gave everything he had to survive. The fact that he failed is not nearly as significant as the effort he put in.

The Canadian narrative is a not a story of victory, but one about relief that one is still alive. This is something Atwood reflected on: "Could it be that Canadians have a will to lose which is as strong and pervasive as the Americans' will to win?"[141] The 'Canadians as losers' image is something that many historians have written about. Desmond Morton for example mused in 2003 that "This is a land settled by losers because if they were winners, would they even have emigrated to this cold, remote

[139] Margaret Atwood, *Survival*, 34.
[140] Ed Broadbent, quoted in "Cancer Marathon of Hope an inspiration," *Globe and Mail*, June 29, 1981, front page.
[141] Margaret Atwood, *Survival*, 35.

land?"[142] But for Morton, accepting this fact in no way diminishes the historical accomplishments of Canadians: "…look how well the losers have done here! At the same time, the memory of losing explains our moderation and our caution."[143] The famed self-deprecating character of Canadians, a "national art form" according to Roy MacGregor,[144] fits well into an inglorious narrative of struggle and difficulties and is reflected in the response Fox received as a hero. Because as Pauline Greenhill rightfully argues, "…what was typically Canadian about Terry Fox was his failure to achieve his goals – in this case, running across Canada and finding a cure for cancer."[145] Fox himself was always reluctant to accept the title of hero, feeling 'intimidated' in front of crowds gathered to celebrate him.[146] The image of a humble and modest national hero seemed to suit that of the country. He was, as Leslie Scrivener wrote, "ordinary enough."[147]

We find that some of the key expressions of Atwood's survivalism are deeply rooted in our geography, just as the story of Terry Fox is. Because, as W.L. Morton wrote in 1960, geography is what makes the survival of Canada a story of triumph over hardships: "The preservation of such a national society is not the unique mission of Canada, but it is the central fact of Canadian history that it has been preserved and elaborated by Canadians in one of the largest, harshest and most intimidating countries on

[142] Desmond Morton, "Is National History Possible?" *Canadian Issues*, October 2003, 55.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Roy MacGregor, *Canadians*, 45.
[145] Pauline Greenhill, *True Poetry: Traditional and Popular Verse in Ontario*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989, 162.
[146] "With a hop and a hope, a brave lad became a nation's hero," *Globe and Mail*, June 29, 1981, 10.
[147] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 173.

earth."[148] It is peculiar that climate and geography have become accepted defining elements of the Canadian identity. As Carl Berger remarked, "Everybody talks about the weather and the climate: seldom have these been exalted as major attributes of nationality."[149] But as Pierre Berton once argued, "…climate has shaped our history and affected the way we think and act."[150] The Canadian stories of survival do not only speak of the harsh winters but also of the immensity of the territory. At least this is how Andrew Malcolm, an American, explained it in 1985: "Americans and other nationalities can look up at the skies on clear, dark nights and feel humbled, for a moment, by a distant universe of stars. Canadians can feel that within their country, without looking up."[151] Just as the climate is deemed to have shaped us, so too "…the central personality of the Canadian is landscape."[152] It is, according to Blair Fraser, because of the vastness of Canada that its people have stayed united.[153]

The Canadian landscape and weather are omnipresent in the Terry Fox story, contributing to the narrative of constant struggle. One can just look at the headlines in the *Vancouver Sun* in August 1980 to notice the presence of the elements: on August 14, "Terry tackles terrain;" on August 15, "Terry battles hills;" and on August 21, "Fox runs in Ontario thunderstorms."[154] A poem written about Fox shortly after he died mused that "The hills were high and they wearied you so….Run Terry run / Gale force wind blew

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[148] W.L. Morton, "The Relevance of Canadian History," reprinted from CHA Annual Report 1960, 1-21 in A.B. McKillop, ed., *Contexts of Canada's Past. Selected Essays of W.L. Morton*, Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1980, 184.
[149] Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in Peter Russell, ed., *Nationalism in Canada*, Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1966, 4.
[150] Pierre Berton, *Why we Act Like Canadians. A Personal Exploration of Our National Character*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982, 83.
[151] Andrew H. Malcolm, *The Canadians*, Markham, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1985, 6.
[152] Roy MacGregor, *Canadians*, 13.
[153] Blair Fraser, *The Search for Identity. Canada, 1945-1967*, Toronto: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1967, 314.
[154][154] See *Vancouver Sun*, "Terry tackles terrain," August 14, 1980, A15; "Fox battles hill," August 15, 1980, A12; "Fox runs in Ontario thunderstorms," August 21, 1980, A8.

snow and rain / The icy air made your body shake…[155] While the 1983 Fox movie does not focus much on the difficulties Fox encountered on the road, spending more time on interpersonal relationships and conflicts, the 2000 version provides multiple scenes where the landscape seems to engulf the runner. The difference between the two movies could be explained by the fact that the 1983 production was American while the movie released in 2000 was Canadian. Hence the vision of what needed to be part of the story, like the struggle against the elements, may have been quite different.

The weather and geography remained present as the story was retold in 2004, with Leslie Scrivener stating that "He was like the Canadian Shield granite he passed, soft like the moonlight on his way through Ontario farmland."[156]A year later, Scrivener wrote again, "Terry's story didn't finish there. Like the wind that buffets the prairie wheat. It goes on and on."[157] Mike Beamish from the *Vancouver Sun* mused similarly that "his campaign through the countryside, large cities and whistletops of Canada is recalled as one of the reaffirming moments in Canadian history."[158] Doug Coupland in his 2005 pictorial biography wrote about Fox's sunburned cheeks, telling his reader that it was only Fox's left cheek that showed extreme sunburn, because it was "the cheek that faced the sun as he ran westward …the Canadian landscape burning itself onto his body."[159]

Juxtaposed to the immense northern territory is the lonely Canadian, another vivid expression of the story of survival. Northrop Frye has reflected on this Manichean struggle in his seminal work *The Bush Garden*:

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[155] Grant Filson, "Go Terry Go," in Pauline Greenhill, *True Poetry,* 176.
[156] Leslie Scrivener, "Why Terry Fox finishes first," *Toronto Star*, November 27, 2004, A03.
[157] Leslie Scrivener, "The trek a hero wanted; on the road not travelled, memories of Terry Fox are fresh and bittersweet," *Toronto Star*, September 1 2005, A18.
[158] Mike Beamish, "A runner who never gave up," *Vancouver Sun*, April 7, 2005, B2.
[159] Douglas Coupland, *Terry*, 59.

> When all the intelligence, morality, reverence and simian cunning of man confronts a sphinx-like riddle of the indefinite like the Canadian winter, the man seems as helpless as a trapped mink, and as lonely as a loon. His thrifty little heaps of civilized values look pitiful besides nature's apparently meaningless power to waste and destroy on a superhuman scale, and such a nature suggests an equally ruthless and subconscious God, or else no God.[160]

The vastness of the land is present in all commemorative materials in one form or another, most often by stating the number of miles he planned to run or the total number of miles Fox was able to complete before cancer returned. Take for example the inscription on the Thunder Bay monument which states: "Running 26 miles a day, this outstanding athlete had conquered five provinces when he reached Ontario in June. Then at mile number 3,339, very near this site, Terry's dream was shattered."[161] Ann Donegan Johnson in her children's book emphasized the goal to achieve instead: "He was ready to take on the challenge of a 5,300-mile run across Canada."[162] Similarly, an article from the *Globe and Mail* states that "It was the intention of Mr. Fox…to run every inch of the 5,200 mile-span of Canada."[163] One could also note the several pictures of Fox where the lone runner is set against the immense landscape.[164]

Isolation is a crucial element of the Terry Fox story. Maxine Trottier describes hope as "the echo of his footsteps pounding a lonely stretch of highway just before dawn."[165] And this loneliness was quite present in the Fox story, especially in this award-winning picture of Fox running alone on the Trans-Canada, guided only by the lights of a

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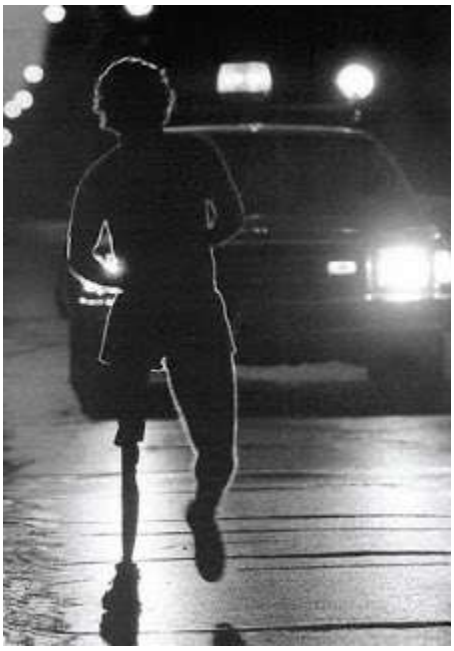
[160] Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden*, 138.
[161][161] Thunder Bay monument inscription.
[162] Ann Donegan Johnson, *The Value of Facing a Challenge. The Story of Terry Fox,* La Jolla, CA: Value Communications Inc. Publishers, 1985.
[163] "With a hop and a hope, a brave lad became a nation's hero," *Globe and Mail*, June 29, 1981, 10. Notice the different estimate of the distance Fox had to run to achieve his goal.
[164] See for example Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 52; Maxine Trottier, *Terry Fox. A Story of Hope*, front cover.
[165] Maxine Trottier, *Terry Fox: A Story of Hope*, 1.

police car (see Illustration 4 below).[166]

Illustration 4 – Terry Fox in the night



Source: *Courtesy of Peter Martin, photographer*

As Leslie Scrivener wrote, "he was the loneliest figure in the country…"[167] In her analysis of poems written on Fox in Ontario, Greenhill argues however that "…several poems comment upon his aloneness and the solitary nature of his run, though it was generally reported that he had a support group in the van that followed him and that for various durations other runners ran alongside him."[168] But his lonely quest certainly seemed more in tune with the narrative of heroic struggle and has been emphasized over that of the team work that may have contributed to the Marathon's success.

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[166] See for this http://www.canadashistory.ca/Magazine/Online-Extension/Articles/Terry-s-Journey.aspx. Last accessed April 15, 2013.
[167] Leslie Scrivener, "Why Terry Fox finishes first," *Toronto Star*, November 27, 2004.
[168] Pauline Greenhill, *True Poetry,* 163.

The dramatic quality of the Terry Fox story, the narrative of survival against all odds (cancer, weather, disability) and the isolation of the hero, was also enabled by the focus on the marathon. Indeed, according to Allen Guttman, literature about runners is usually about marathoners rather than sprinters, because authors "needed time, time for their creatures to suffer, to doubt, to despair, and – sometimes- to fail."[169] One of these novels, by Allan Sillitoe, illustrates how the story of a marathoner can be malleable and full of dramatic possibilities. The main character, a prison inmate training for a marathon, has ample time to reflect on his life during this lonely time: "…and I couldn't see anybody and I knew what the loneliness of the long-distance runner running across country felt like, realizing that as far as I was concerned, this feeling was the only honesty and realness there was in the world…"[170] Reflection and introspection were indeed part of Fox's daily routine, as told by his multiple and lengthy journal entries.

The fact that the Canadian identity can be explained by the country's geography or its weather makes us wonder whether this is due to the perceived lack of other distinguishing qualities. Or, alternatively, it is the vagueness of it all that actually resonates with Canadians, or at least enthralls those who perpetuate this particular characteristic. As Eva Mackey argues, "The wilderness (with nature as overpowering and hostile) has also been mobilized to affirm a common idea in Canadian nationalist discourse: that a characteristic of Canadianness is its indefiniteness."[171] For Northrop Frye, the Canadian identity was more than indefinite, it was unknown, unchartered: "One wonders if any other national consciousness has had so large an amount of the unknown,

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[169] Allen Guttmann et al. *Essays on Sport History and Sport Mythology*, Arlington: Texas A&M Press, 1990, 156.
[170] Alan Sillitoe, *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner. Brilliant and Biting Tales of Working Class Life and Morals,* London: PAN Books, 1959, 156.
[171] Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference,* 48.

the unrealized, the humanly undigested, so built into it."[172] In any case, the Terry Fox story certainly fits well in this geographical definition of the Canadian identity and has served to perpetuate this image.

Another expression of survivalism is the narrative of traveling from East to West in order to discover (and conquer) the land. Fox's travels across the nation recount in some ways the early Canadian settlers and pioneers setting course towards the unknown West, facing untold hardships along the way. As Doug Coupland wrote in 2005, "Perhaps Terry was born with an innate need to go West – a bit of the Canadian pioneer spirit.'[173] As Frye has noted, Canada's motto is reminiscent of the travel of early settlers: "The essential element in the national sense of unity is the east-west feeling, developed historically along the St.Lawrence-Great Lakes axis, and expressed in the national motto, *a mari usque ad mare*."[174] The story of Fox is about running west: "It wasn't easy, but each step was bringing him closer to the west coast of Canada, closer to home, closer to beating cancer."[175] He struggled to cross Canada, just like the early explorers would have done, 'conquering' provinces one at a time.[176] If, as Frye mused, "The sense of probing into the distance, of fixing the eyes on the skyline, is something that Canadian sensibility has inherited from the *voyageurs*,"[177] then the Fox narrative of going the distance is also, in some ways, an updated version of the *voyageur* or *coureur des bois*. Terry Fox was lonely, at the mercy of the weather and geography, traveling extremely long distances at a

[172] Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden*, 220.
[173] Douglas Coupland, *Terry*, 12.
[174] Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden*, iii.
[175] Maxine Trottier, *Terry Fox. A Story of Hope*, 18
[176] The term 'conquer' is used on the Thunder Bay monument inscription.
[177] Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden*, 222.

time with nothing else besides his artificial leg, but doing what he wanted to do and enjoying a level of independence not often experienced by most people. As he himself wrote in his journal, "I was doing what I wanted to do. How many people could say that?"[178] This is how *coureurs des bois* are remembered: "Ne disposant pour toute ressource que de son fusil, de ses raquettes, de son canot et de son audace, le coureur quitte…pour d'incroyables périples de 1000, parfois 2000 kilomètres."[179] By commemorating this cross-Canada story, efforts were made, albeit indirectly, in reminding Canadians about their history, their historical roots as *voyageurs* or *coureur des bois*. Using the narrative of the Marathon of Hope served to imprint the idea of travel, exploration, even conquest. In this sense, then, the story of Fox is a *lieu de mémoire* for the story of early Canada, and for this particular aspect often said to characterize the Canadian identity.

The travel is really what matters in the Terry Fox story. As the 2000 movie tells us, the Marathon of Hope is what we should remember about Fox, not his previous life. Indeed, while the 1983 movie starts with Fox prior to amputation, the 2000 Canadian version begins in Newfoundland. Just as the idea of the marathon provides enough time for a writer to develop an entire novel, so too did the Marathon of Hope leave enough time for Canadians to become aware of Fox. The traveling is almost ritualized in the later versions of the narrative, with clearly identified moments of despair and others of almost religious revelations. Roberto Da Matta has theorized that travel is key in rituals: "In the ritual world, or rather in the dislocated world of ritual and consciousness, there is a

[178] Terry Fox, journal entry of Day 15, South Brook Junction, NF. Available at http://www.terryfox.org/TerryFox/terrys_journal_entries_and_map.html. Last accessed April 17, 2013.
[179] Robert Lahaise and Noël Vallerand, *La Nouvelle-France, 1524-1760*, Outremont: Lanctôt Éditeur, 1999, 111.

fundamental difference: it is the travel that becomes important."[180] In the story of Terry Fox, the travel is Fox's accomplishment. It is also the setting for his public life story, and the reason why more and more Canadians became entranced with his progress. In a certain way, the annual Terry Fox runs are a ritualized commemoration of the struggle of Terry Fox, with thousands of Canadians encouraged to push their own personal limits by walking or jogging for a set distance.

In short, then, we find that Terry Fox has come to represent the essence of Canadianness in part because his story is one that resonates, and has resonated for a long time, in one form or another, as the Canadian narrative of survival. The Fox story is replete with references to our geography, to our weather, and uses these elements to develop a narrative of survival harking back to centuries-old identity myths about the north and the *voyageurs*. As Eva Mackey rightfully argues, "Nationalism often depends upon mythological narratives of a unified nation moving progressively through time – a continuum beginning with a glorious past leading to the present and then onward to an even better future. These mythical stories require that specific versions of history are highlighted, versions that re-affirm the particular characteristics ascribed to the nation."[181] And the mythical story here is one heartwrenchingly focused on struggles. As Brendan Kelly says it best, "Another characteristic of Canadians: challenges. We always

[180] Roberto Da Matta, "Carnival in Multiple Planes," in John MacAloon, ed, *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance,* Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984, 216.
[181] Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference,* 23.

respond well to challenges. Our life and our history is made of challenges and the way we responded to it."[182]

The myth of Canadian unity

The 1980s were a time of crisis not just in Canada. Postmodernism has often been cited as the paradigm explaining the many social and political upheavals witnessed since the late 1970s, especially when talking about the idea of nations: "postmodernism seems to be implicated in a crisis of national identity and of the very concept of the unitary nation-state."[183] Postmodernism, according to Philip Hammond, "accurately describes the uncertainty, relativism and lack of self-belief which characterises society today,"[184] and as such has been identified as a framework for understanding, but mostly questioning, such all-encompassing concepts as nation, community and identity. But independently of whether we agree with the 'postmodernity' of criticism directed at the idea of national identity, it remains that Canada as a nation in the 1980s was experiencing significant difficulties.

One key characteristic deemed to define Canada is its federal system of governance, a system based on compromise and a will to stay united. As Northrop Frye has said, the "Canadian genius for compromise is reflected in the existence of Canada itself."[185] The nature of the compromise, in essence the federal compromise, lies in the peaceful cohabitation of very different people, living in very different provinces, that is, a

[182] Brendan Kelly, personal interview, May 25, 2012.
[183] Paul Delany, "Introduction," 6
[184] Philip Hammond, *Media, War and Postmodernity,* London and New York: Routledge, 2007, 8.
[185] Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden*, 219.

"compromise between unity and diversity."[186] Because national unity rests on this idea, Garth Stevenson argues that "Federalism, clearly, is for most Canadians inseparable from their image of their country."[187] But national unity is more of an idea than a reality, and this was especially the case in the 1980s, with mounting regional discontent and the Quebec separatist movement.

We find that the story of Terry Fox was used to perpetuate the myth of national unity, in the same way as was the story of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR): both stories were about physically uniting the country, one by rail and the other by foot, and gathering support and devotion for the nation along the way. John Murray Gibbon wrote of the railway in 1935 that it "gave Canadians confidence in their own country."[188] Proof that the CPR was an integral part of the Canadian identity for Gibbon is that his history of the railway is in fact a history of Canada, starting as far back as Christopher Columbus's discovery of the American continent. For Daniel Francis, the CPR narrative of unification was a myth, constructed at the same time as the wood planks were being laid on the ground: "The myth of the CPR as creator of the country is, in fact, as old as the railway itself, which is not surprising given that it was the railway itself which created the myth."[189] In a similar manner, Terry Fox was said to have united the country like never before, a myth travelling alongside with him during the Marathon of Hope. While the CPR 'unity' story may have been used to solidify a newly confederated union, the Fox

[186] Garth Stevenson, *Unfulfilled Union. Canadian Federalism and National Unity*, Toronto: Gage Publishing Limited, 1982, 41.
[187] Ibid, 1.
[188] John Murray Gibbon, *Steel of Empire. The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific, the Northwest Passage of Today*, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1935, 407.
[189] Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History*, Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997, 17.

version served to forcefully illustrate a national unity that seemed at the time to be challenged from many places.

The quotes about how Fox brought unity to the country are legion. Leslie Scrivener for example wrote of Fox that he was "a symbol of unity, and he spurred a heart thumping national pride."[190] Andrew Malcolm of the *New York Times* described Fox as "A 22-year old who was running across Canada to raise cancer research funds has succeeded in doing what politicians have so far failed to do – bringing a sense of unity to this often divided country."[191] And a *Toronto Star* reader stated that "This young man united the people of this nation as no man in our history."[192] Even Fox himself, responding to a question about his influence on the Canadian population, said that "… if I had a part in bringing the whole country together, that makes me feel good."[193]

Of course, the political value of Terry Fox at the time was unprecedented. As Francine Saillant pointed out, "le lien entre le projet de Fox unissant par son courage les déchirures de l'unité nationale et le projet fédéraliste s'établissait très aisément dans la population, surtout en cette période post-référendaire où le débat constitutionnel battait son plein."[194] The political context was quite unstable, and one could argue that the 'unity' brought about by Fox was only superficial. Shortly after Fox announced his cancer had returned, Pierre Trudeau was announcing that the constitution would be repatriated without the provinces' support, because no agreement had been reached

[190] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story*, 173
[191] Andrew H. Malcolm, "Cancer victim bringing unity to Canadians," *New York Times*, September 14, 1980, 17.
[192] "Letters to editors," *Toronto Star*, July 3 1981, A7.
[193] "Terry Fox receives the Order of Canada," CBC Television, September 19, 1980. Available at http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/sports/exploits/terry-foxs-marathon-of-hope/terry-fox-cc.html. Last accessed April 17, 2013.
[194] Francine Saillant, *Les aspects culturels…*, 322.

among them.[195] The *New York Times* reported then that "[Terry Fox] was hospitalized as Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and the Premiers of the 10 fractious provinces failed once again to achieve agreement on a draft constitution for Canada, which often seems less of a unified country than a collection of squabbling regions."[196] And according to Garth Stevenson, the decades preceding the Marathon of Hope had indeed seen considerable and "intense federal-provincial controversy."[197]

The story of Terry Fox may have served to promote national unity, but its commemoration highlights also at least two long lasting problems related to regionalism: the idea that Ontario somehow represents Canada as a whole, which to be fair is not an issue in Ontario but certainly has been anywhere else, and the marked absence of Quebec from the narrative.

The province of Ontario plays a crucial role in the Terry Fox story as the very place where the Marathon became newsworthy and, thus, successful. In the 1983 Fox movie, the moment when Fox enters Ontario is highlighted as the first elating event for Fox and his team. As he crosses the border, crowds are waiting for him with Canadian flags and red and white balloons fill the sky as he runs through the group of well-wishers. It is as if Fox has just arrived in Canada, not just Ontario. Let us also remember from

[195] Garth Stevenson, *Unfulfilled Union*, 215.
[196] Andrew H. Malcolm, "Cancer victim bringing unity to Canadians," *New York Times*, September 14, 1980, 17.
[197] Garth Stevenson, *Unfulfilled Union*, 174.

Chapter 2 that the Thunder Bay monument celebrates Ontario's support for Fox[198] but also refers to Canadians in general.

The association of Ontario and Canada as a whole should not be surprising, however. While the economic centre of the nation has slowly shifted towards Alberta in the past few decades, and even more so today as the "Canadian economy will continue to tilt toward Alberta, with the rest of the country providing goods, services and labour to support its big spending oil sector,"[199] Ontario has been, at least since the 1970s, "a fairly consistent ally of the federal government with regard to a wide range of constitutional and intergovernmental issues."[200] The many studies available measuring regional discontent all show, for one, that the province of Ontario was, historically, rarely unhappy with the federal government and with its place within the federation and, second, that other provinces have often complained about Ontario's greater degree of influence on federal decisions.[201] The place of Ontario in the Fox narrative is another instance in which the province played a decisive role in setting the way for the rest of Canada. It is not so much that the role of Ontario contradicts the myth of Terry Fox as a unifying symbol, but rather it underlines that Fox's odyssey created different responses across the country.

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[198] The front panel of the monument states: "To the people of Ontario, Terry gave us pride – pride in having known him and, briefly, shared his dream."
[199] Claudia Cattaneo, "Fort McMurray: Economic Centre of Canada?," *Financial Post*, June 5, 2012. Available at http://business.financialpost.com/2012/06/05/fort-mcmurray-economic-centre-of-canada/?__lsa=146b-ae61. Last accessed July 25, 2013.
[200] Garth Stevenson, *Unfulfilled Union*, 106.
[201] See for example: Andrew Parkin, "Patterns of Regional Discontent in Canada," Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC), presentation to PCO – Intergovernmental Affairs Ottawa, May 19, 2004; J. Scott Matthews, Matthew Mendelsohn and Randy Besco, "Regionalism in Political Attitudes, 1993 to 2008," prepared for presentation at the "State of the Federation Conference," Toronto, ON, November 19 and 20, 2010; Canada West Foundation (Loleen Berdahl), "Whither Western Alienation? Shifting Patterns of Western Canadian Discontent with the Federal Government," October 2010. Beginning in the 1990s, however, Ontario has slowly become a 'have-not' province, with Alberta becoming more influent, especially since the oil boom.

Of course, the most obvious problem to the 'unity' myth perpetuated in the Fox story is that of Quebec, which had just gone through a referendum forcing Quebecers to reflect intensely on the place of their province within the federation (or outside of it), and which was far from agreeing with Trudeau's efforts to repatriate the Constitution. Fox, who was not hesitant to point out his ignorance of Canadian politics, said to a CBC reporter that "I don't understand what happened with the referendum."[202] Scrivener wrote that Fox was a true Canadian, liked hockey, "respected the maple leaf" and most importantly, "wondered why the heck Quebec wanted to separate."[203] The province of Quebec was never really a part of the Terry Fox story, unless we consider his stay in Quebec as one among the plethora of obstacles he encountered, one of the many struggles in his survival narrative.

Certainly the political context of the time played a part in impeding Fox's success in the province and, consequently, his legacy. Three years before Fox traveled to Quebec, Brendan Kelly, now a school principal in the Yukon, had a significantly different experience during his run across Canada to publicize the Canada Games held in Newfoundland. Despite being concerned about tensions between his home province of Newfoundland and Quebec over what he called the 'Hydro-Quebec fiasco'[204] and the memory of the 1970 October crisis, Kelly indeed recollects that,

> I had a great experience in Quebec… I had someone record about 14 lines of French on a tape which I carried with me throughout the run (tape which I still have). The lines basically summarized what I was doing. I would

[202] "Terry receives the Order of Canada," CBC Television, September 19, 1980.
[203] Leslie Scrivener, *Terry Fox. His Story* (1981), 12.
[204] The fiasco Kelly is referring to is a deal between Hydro Quebec and the province of Newfoundland to harness hydroelectric power from the Churchill River, deal which took effect in 1972 shortly before Kelly's run. The terms of this deal were much more advantageous for Quebec (a very low price on the electricity produced) and it is often argued that the negotiating tactics used by Hydro Quebec were close to being coercive. The agreement is set to end in 2041, and thus remains a delicate issue between the two provinces.

> mumble these lines every time I'd meet someone. Everyone was extremely welcoming, even the QPP offered an escort even though I'm sure they were really busy. I was supposed to meet René Lévesque but he wasn't in the office so I met his executive assistant. Months later I received a fleur-de-lysée flag with his signature in the middle, and a card written all in French.[205]

Hence the Quebec media was unresponsive to Fox, the political context made things uncomfortable to say the least, but even the Canadian Cancer Society did not seem interested in reaching out to Quebec. Bill Vigars, CCS representative for Ontario and friend of Fox, recalls that CCS offices were quite independent at the time. At a meeting where directors of the six regional CCS offices in Ontario were discussing whether or not to support the Terry Fox Run, Vigars remembers that there were heated discussions and some directors declined to get involved.[206] According to him, the general director overseeing all the Quebec offices refused as well, in part because Fox did not speak French.[207] So while the individual CCS volunteers may have been interested in supporting the run, no centralized plan of action was devised. Hence, it would be tempting to state that the Quebec segment of the Marathon of Hope, without concerted efforts from the CCS, without media attention, and considering the political climate of that particular moment, was bound to be a failure.

Both movies (1983 and 2000) depict Fox's passage in Quebec as a horrible

[205] Brendan Kelly. Personal interview, May 25, 2012.
[206] Interestingly, one of the regional offices to decline originally was Toronto, where Fox experienced his greatest success. Bill Vigars, personal interview, March 5, 2012.
[207] We were able to obtain the name of the director at the time, Guy Angers, from the Quebec office of the Canadian Cancer Society after many phone calls and email messages. No more information was provided and no access to archives was granted besides the CCS files readily available at Library and Archives Canada.

experience, which according to Fox's own journal, was truly the case.[208] The 'unity' Fox spurred across Canada, at least in the support for his cause, was undeniably less intense in Quebec. And arguably, the legacy of Fox in that province reflects its exclusion from the original story. As a Quebec Terry Fox Run organizer explained in 2000:

> Terry Fox était ce jeune homme de l'Ouest canadien, à qui le cancer avait volé une jambe, et qui avait traversé tout le pays sur l'autre, en 1980….Il y a maintenant la Fondation Terry Fox, puis une marche de l'espoir annuelle par tout le Canada anglais. Mais au Québec, ça boîte, c'est le cas de le dire. Tout le monde connaît l'histoire touchante de Terry Fox. Beaucoup de Québécois ont vu le film tourné sur le Marathon de l'Espoir. Mais ça ne colle pas. Ou peu. Le cancer est le même, mais le héros est comme le héros d'ailleurs. ..Ce n'est pas tout à fait Maurice Richard.[209]

Markers of national identity such as the narrative of survival, the vastness of the land and the fabled *coureur des bois* should have resonated with French-speaking Quebecers. Indeed, these characteristics are not restricted to the English Canadian identity. As Margaret Atwood suggests, "Québec authors have been just as addicted to Survivalism as have those in the rest of Canada."[210] The relationship between identity and environment in Quebec literature, for example, recalls elements similar to those discussed in the preceding sections. As Jacques Lacoursière and Jacques Mathieu have suggested in *Les mémoires québécoises*, this relationship "aurait produit un discours valorisant ses forces et ses aptitudes face à la nature….Dans ce pays neuf, chacun aurait dû en quelque

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[208] One can gather from Fox's journal entries while in Quebec that his stay in the province was not pleasant at all. On June 11 1980, for example, he wrote "The only people here who know about the Run are the truckers and the out-of-province people. Everyone else wants to stop and give me a lift." See some of Fox's journal entries on the Terry Fox Foundation website at http://www.terryfox.org/TerryFox/terrys_journal_entries_and_map.html. Last accessed April 17, 2013. It should be noted that not many quotes are featured on the website; the fact that this negative comment about his passage in Quebec is there says much about the story being told by the Foundation. To see more quotes from his journal, we direct the reader to Leslie Scrivener's *Terry Fox. His Story* (both 1981 and 2000 versions).

[209] Diane Adams, quoted in "Diane Adams ressuscite la marche Terry Fox," *Le Soleil*, August 11, 2000, A1.

[210] Margaret Atwood, *Survival*, 218.

sorte se faire pionnier, conquérant sa part de territoire."[211] Atwood's 'survival' is 'la survivance,' a similar tale of struggle but over the "maintien d'une langue et la construction progressive d'une identité,"[212] rather than surviving by cheating death. But because Terry Fox was unequivocally Anglophone, and because Quebec had no opportunity to develop any form of attachment to the hero, Fox and his story never really resonated in Quebec. Speaking of Fox as a unifying symbol, then, is to take a narrow approach to his story.

The myth of Canadian unity was certainly well illustrated in the Terry Fox story and the perpetuation of this myth may have been in response to challenges to the very idea of Canadian unity. In the same way that the Fox story was a *lieu de mémoire* for myths about survival, so too the story could also be considered as a liminal space between the historical myth about a united Canada and the 1980s context of *déchirure* of the national fabric. The efforts in commemorating the unifying power of Terry Fox can be read as attempts to remind Canadians about their common history, their common character, and their common national goal. But embedded in the commemorative materials are the very conflicts some were trying to gloss over.

Conclusion

If we agree that the Terry Fox story was a *lieu de mémoire* for the many myths of the Canadian identity, it could explain the many messages we found embedded in that

[211] Jacques Mathieu and Jacques Lacoursière, *Les mémoires québécoises*, Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1991, 92.
[212] Pierre Morel, "Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de la littérature du Québec," in Pierre Morel ed, *Parcours québécois. Introduction à la littérature du Québec*, Bucarest: Cartier, 2007, 16.

story. Indeed, as Nora states, because a *lieu de mémoire* seeks to "capture a maximum of meaning in the fewest of signs," then it follows that the *lieu* has to have the "capacity for metamorphosis"[213] in order to exude or illustrate, in a fluid and shifting manner, the changing meanings we give to a story over the years. The value of a mythical story lies not only in how malleable it is, but how well it can portray an idealized image of the country. As Norman Knowles remarked in his study of Loyalist heroes, their status as such was enabled less by their achievements, than by "their ability to carry and convey the political, social, or cultural values of their promoters."[214]

The Fox story was a perfect setting for providing new iterations of the myths believed to form part of the Canadian identity, which was itself being intensely challenged in the 1980s. As we have discussed in previous chapters, the shaping of a narrative to highlight certain aspects over others is in itself a hegemonic process. As a form of imposed knowledge, hegemony is an integral part of the construction, promotion and shaping of national identity; it is "the creation of a particular structure of knowledge and a particular system of values."[215] The Terry Fox story as a carrier of Canadian myths, as a *lieu de mémoire* for the Canadian identity, is a hegemonic discourse about who Canadians are, discourse which is imposed and perpetuated through national commemoration.

To be fair, however, it is not just any story that could have been transformed the way the Fox story was. Embedded in it were crucial elements that allowed it to become such a powerful narrative of Canadian heroism. Take for example the Ken Taylor story

[213] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* Spring 1989, 19.
[214] Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 138.
[215] Benedetto Fontana, *Hegemony and Power*, 140.

which took place shortly before Terry Fox began his Marathon of Hope. Taylor was the Canadian ambassador to Iran who risked his life (both physical and professional) helping six Americans escape during the hostage crisis in November 1979. While Taylor's heroism was praised then, the arrival of Fox overshadowed Taylor's heroic feat: "Move over, Ken Taylor, Metro Toronto has just discovered a tamed, curly-haired all-Canadian hero who is 24 years younger and perhaps fitter then the showcase diplomat."[216] As this piece shows, Canadians do not seem to be able to celebrate two outstanding persons at the same time; Taylor had his short-lived moment of fame and public recognition, but he had to leave the spotlight for Fox, a younger and better looking hero. It should be noted though that Terry's heroism was sure to resonate more with Canadians in that it was something people could see themselves doing, it was believed to be within Canadians' reach.[217] Taylor's heroism was rooted in the (perhaps for some uninteresting) realm of international diplomacy, it took place somewhere else and it was far too heroic to emulate. Though his story was about helping people, Taylor himself did not have to struggle. To be fair, it has since emerged that Taylor's heroic plan was a CIA initiative and that Taylor himself was more of a "de facto CIA station chief."[218] If the constant battle against obstacles is part of the reason why the Fox story resonated so much with Canadians, then it explains why Ken Taylor was never recognized as a truly nationally accepted and celebrated hero, especially after it was revealed that Taylor's heroics were not as selfless and spontaneous as previously believed. The Ken Taylor story could not be

[216] Jon Ferry, "Fox Runs Into Hero's Welcome from Metro Throngs," *Globe and Mail*, July 12, 1980, front page.
[217] The idea that Fox's accomplishment appears more accessible has been repeated extensively. Arguably, however, it is beyond the grasp of many, if not most, to set about running across Canada, even on two legs, and to raise millions of dollars for a cause.
[218] See Ken Taylor's biography on the Canadian Encyclopedia website, available at http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/kenneth-douglas-taylor. Last accessed July 25, 2013.

easily reshaped as a *lieu de mémoire* for the Canadian identity, because so little of it could be made to fit foundational myths.

Steven Fonyo is another example of a Canadian who did something heroic without enjoying as much recognition as Fox. Fonyo, who also lost his leg to cancer, took up Fox's mission in 1985 and achieved his goal of running across Canada on one leg. Fonyo was able to raise close to 14 million dollars, but this was half of what Fox had been able to collect in less time and without succeeding. The public response to Fonyo was not as enthusiastic, and the passion he ignited through his hesitant and unpolished speeches was not as intense. So as one *Vancouver Sun* reader asked, "Why is it that we Canadians are much more comfortable celebrating Terry Fox, who died heroically failing to complete his marathon, and don't want to remember Steve Fonyo, who ran the entire distance?"[219] Fonyo was not as articulate and camera-friendly as Fox, and many during his run, reporters and cancer officials alike, said that he was brasher and less modest as well.[220] But most importantly, the reason why Fonyo's story could not be made into an identity-making Canadian narrative, despite his struggles and his efforts to physically unite the country was that "he did only one thing wrong: he didn't die."[221] Indeed, a dead hero will have more chance to stay a hero through the ages, because of a general tendency to idealize the dead and essentialize their life and memory: "Those who have died gallantly and unexpectedly (preferably while they were still young) often remain in America's memory as gallant and youthful, heroes in perpetuity. Those who live every

[219] "Letters to the Editor," *Vancouver Sun*, July 2, 2001, A9.
[220] See Ben Tierney, "Fonyo close to the end of the rainbow," *Montreal Gazette*, May 4, 1985, B5.
[221] "Letters to the Editor," *Vancouver Sun*, April 19, 2005, A14.

day fail."[222] One could argue that this is in part why the Terry Fox and Steve Fonyo stories differ so greatly: Fonyo is still alive and had plenty of time to ruin our 'gallant' memory of him.[223] Sally Chivers acknowledged this in her discussion of Canadians' collective forgetting of Fonyo, stating that the runner's many run-ins with the law "remove[d] him from the pedestal next to Terry Fox…"[224] Fonyo is remembered, then, as a "failed national hero"[225] because his story, like that of Taylor, was not malleable enough to be made into a Canadian narrative whose primary purpose was to project a specific version of the Canadian identity.

At the basis of our argument in this chapter is that national heroes such as Fox are the embodiment of specific values, which are deemed important and representative at a specific time, for a specific culture and/or society. Whether heroes are wholly imagined, in epic narratives for example, or are real individuals who performed heroic deeds, Moses Hades argues that "they must nevertheless have reflected and in turn influenced the ideals of the community out of which they grew and to which they were addressed."[226] In other words, historical, social and political contexts create a specific hero and shape the story a certain way. In his study of Robert E. Lee's memory, Thomas Connelly has argued that the image of the lauded Confederate general was able to survive for so long because "it has reflected, or represented, the southern and national response to the meaning of the

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[222]Alan Edelstein, *Everybody is Sitting on the Curb. How and Why America's Heroes Disappeared,* Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1991, 44

[223]Steve Fonyo has had several run-ins with the law; he was arrested several times for fraud and misdemeanor, he was an avowed alcoholic who would relapse more often than he would quit. He now currently lives in B.C., scraping by, trying to pay his bills and stay out of trouble. See the fascinating documentary on his relatively recent wedding on YouTube at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DTABFlq9MeE.

[224] Sally Chivers, "Ordinary People. Reading the TransCanadian Terry Fox," *Canadian Literature* 202 (Autumn 2009), 89.

[225] "One-legged runner Steve Fonyo guilty of assault, fraud, perjury," *Toronto Star*, September 6, 1996, A4.

[226] Moses Hades and Morton Smith, *Heroes and Gods,* 7.

Civil War."[227] The survival of the southern spirit, in this case, has allowed, if not required, that this hero be continuously celebrated.

The study of heroic characters tells us much about them as individuals and about the nature of heroism but most importantly, it can also illustrate in very symbolic and meaningful ways how a society understands, elaborates and projects its identity. And what the Terry Fox story tells us about the Canadian identity is that it remains undefined and unclear, though resting on long-standing foundational myths. The repeated use of the Terry Fox story to promote one particular version of the national identity at one particular time in its history can be read as a response to growing challenges to that identity. The survival of the Fox story in our history, however, should not be taken for granted. Just like any narrative of heroism, just like any *lieu de mémoire*, there need to be constant efforts made to remember. Hence the legacy of Terry Fox depends on our willingness to commemorate him and our everlasting adherence to Fox's particular brand of heroism. So long as his story can resonate with what we assume to be the Canadian identity, then Terry Fox will continue to be called one of the few national heroes.

[227] Thomas L. Connelly, *The Marble Man. Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977, xiv.

CONCLUSION

THE MEMORY AND LEGACY OF TERRY FOX

We spent some time in the previous chapter discussing Steve Fonyo, the young amputee runner who succeeded where Fox did not, but failed miserably, it seems, at everything else. On May 28, 1985, 20,000 people cheered Fonyo upon his arrival to B.C. Place Stadium[228] after running across Canada. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney commented that "Steve Fonyo's personal triumph [was] a matter of national pride."[229] But less than three years later, after a few run-ins with the law and unfortunate choices and concomitant national headlines, it seems those who had the means to commemorate Fonyo began instead to actively forget him, effectively striking him from national memory. When Rick Hansen returned from his worldwide wheelchair fundraising odyssey in 1988 and pronounced his first speech, he acknowledged his "indebtedness to Fox," but failed to mention Fonyo who happened to be in attendance.[230] In the 1990s, his hometown of Vernon took down a sign that read "Home of Steve Fonyo",[231] effectively deciding that Fonyo, the "tarnished hero," no longer meant anything to the town. The few honours he received for his heroic feat, in comparison to the multitude of accolades received by Fox, have been taken away, the Order of Canada stripped from him because

[228] Leslie Scrivener, "20,000 great Fonyo with tears and cheers," *Toronto Star,* May 28, 1985, A01.
[229] "It's over: Fonyo dips artificial leg in Pacific," *Montreal Gazette*, May 30, 1985, A1.
[230] Tim Harper, "Fonyo raised millions, can't outrun trouble," *Toronto Star*, January 5, 1988, A16.
[231] John Armstrong, "Tarnished hero Fonyo still battling ghost of Terry Fox," *Ottawa Citizen*, January 5, 1998, A1.

of "multiple criminal convictions."[232] There are of course no statues of Steve Fonyo, no movie about his life, and certainly no annual ritual to honour his legacy.

Steve Fonyo has been largely forgotten, despite the fact that he raised some $13 million for cancer research and successfully ran across Canada on one leg. It is only natural that the memory about Fonyo would have eventually faded, but there is an obvious lack of what Nora calls a "will to remember."[233] In comparison, the great commemorative emphasis on Terry Fox certainly illustrates how memory can be kept alive, when people do wish to remember. It shows that memory is highly selective, and that the commemorative process is about choices made in what is deemed to be worthy of remembering, what is considered to be widely (or wishfully) representative, and that which possesses some normative or prescriptive value for the future. Canadian governments, and arguably the Canadian public as well, thus have decided that Fonyo would not be a part of Canadian history, perhaps because he did not fit the idea of heroism defined by the constructed image of Terry Fox and because his story was not an inspiring narrative of survival against all odds.[234]

The examination of the Terry Fox story has confirmed that the process of commemoration is fundamentally hegemonic: only a few get to shape the past for the many who consume it in the present and will continue to consume it in the future. These 'few' can also choose to forget the past, as was the case for Steve Fonyo. In the preceding

[232] See for this http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/01/25/fonyo-orderofcanada.html. Last accessed August 2, 2013.
[233] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History," 19.
[234] Though one could argue that Fonyo's story is in some way a true narrative of constant struggle, given the multitude of problems he continues to face even today.

pages, we spoke of the Canadian media, the national, provincial and municipal governments, the Terry Fox Foundation and family, the Canadian Cancer Society, and how they were all able to enjoy some level of influence over the memory of Terry Fox. We have established that the memory of Terry Fox was shaped by the media, by the people who commemorated him, and by his own family and that the discourses which emerged from these manipulations showed a hegemonic view of key debates in Canadian society.

But for our examination of the Terry Fox story and its commemoration to be truly a study in 'public memory,' we must also take the 'public' into account. Hegemonic discourse is one thing, but how effective this discourse is in shutting down other interpretations and in perpetuating a certain vision for the future, is another. This concluding chapter will thus focus on what Canadians remember about Terry Fox. His memory is not contested in itself. His story may have been used to carry different messages, but Fox was far from being a controversial character and his commemoration did not create a massive festival of exclusion. We thus look at how Fox is remembered in terms of the substance and texture of that memory rather than for the debates or conflicts it created. We consider here whether Terry Fox's public memory was, and is, effective in telling his story and carrying its multilayered meanings. Before discussing the public reception of Fox's commemoration, however, let us briefly touch upon public agency in the commemorative process itself.

The 'public' in the story

To begin with, one must note that the Canadian public did have a say in the commemoration of Terry Fox. As we saw in Chapter 2 for example, Vancouverites participated quite actively in the campaign to take down the Memorial Arch at B.C. Place. If we understand the process of commemoration to be essentially a "struggle or negotiation between competing narratives,"[235] it then follows that this process requires the participation of the public to which the commemorative materials are directed. This negotiation can take many forms; in the story of Terry Fox for example, the Vancouver public took to their pens to voice their concerns and to try to influence the remembering of the past. According to John Gillis, the discussions surrounding commemorative projects "are essential to the democratic processes by which individuals and groups come together to discuss, debate and negotiate the past and, through this process, define the future."[236] It is by partaking in the commemorative process that the 'public,' in all its diversity and heterogeneity of course, can effectively have a say in how the past is remembered. The Canadian public enjoyed some level of influence in Vancouver, but one particular story will illustrate how this 'public' was able to play a significant role in the commemoration of Fox, enough to change ages-old rules about how Canada commemorates its past.

Soon after the Marathon of Hope ended, the *Toronto Star* launched a campaign asking its readers to send requests for the issuance of a stamp in the name of Terry

[235] Daniel J. Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, 69.
[236] John R. Gillis, "Memory and identity: the history of a relationship," 20.

Fox.[237] Traditionally, individuals had to be deceased for more than a decade before being considered for a stamp. To ask that Fox be featured on a stamp while he was still alive was thus no small request. In early October 1980, Conservative MP John Kushner petitioned the government, stating that no one in Parliament was "against the sentiments of Terry Fox", only to be told that "the Commons has no jurisdiction over the issuing of commemorative stamps."[238] The Canadian public, though perhaps mostly Torontonians, apparently badgered Minister André Ouellet for months, but he "had refused to comply with the many public requests for a stamp tribute to Fox, citing Canada Post stamp selection guidelines."[239]

By March 1981, however, the *Stamp Advisory Committee* was beginning to consider overlooking a few guidelines to please the Canadian public. Agreeing that Fox had reached heroic status and was worthy of a stamp, and given the seemingly continuous insistence of the Canadian public, the committee was now contemplating the idea:

> Le comité étudie la possibilité d'émettre un timbre commémoratif en l'honneur de Terry Fox s'il venait à mourir prochainement. Il est convenu que si la population demandait l'émission d'un timbre avec une telle insistance que les Postes décident d'en émettre un, cette vignette devrait être un timbre commémoratif ordinaire (et non un timbre à surtaxe) et être émis à une date d'anniversaire…l'année suivant son décès.[240]

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[237] "Fox's Response to Stamp Announcement," *Toronto Star*, June 26, 1981, Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426-9-25.
[238] "House rejects bid for Terry Fox stamp," *Globe and Mail*, October 8, 1980, 8.
[239] "Fox's response to stamp announcement," *Toronto Star*, June 26, 1981, retrieved in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426-9-25.
[240] Postes Canada, Réunion du comité de consultation des timbres postes, March 18, 1981, in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426, vol. 9-24, no. 000915, File 1, 1982-1996.

Minister Ouellet finally abdicated "devant la pression populaire et [permit], à l'encontre des règles établies, l'émission d'un timbre honorant le jeune marathonien."[241] Because of the immense popularity of the runner, Canada Post requested more artistic submissions than usual and submitted two potential stamp designs for the Fox family's blessing prior to approving the stamp itself.[242] In March 1982, Canada Post issued the commemorative stamp featuring a shadow of Terry Fox. Minister Ouellet stated that "the Cabinet got around the tradition by authorizing a stamp commemorating the Marathon of Hope…and not strictly speaking Mr. Fox personally."[243] Expecting a higher than normal demand,[244] 44 million stamps were produced, a quantity never heard of for a commemorative stamp: "Seuls les timbres de Noël émis spécialement pour l'abondant courrier des fêtes peuvent prétendre à des tirages plus forts."[245] Conversely, however, a philatelic journal would report a year later that, among its readers, "The least popular stamp was the Terry Fox commemorative with 61 votes," although not citing any reasons for this result.[246]

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[241] « Notes philatéliques », by Denis Masse, in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426-9-25.

[242] Postes Canada, « Notice de timbre commémoratif, 30 sous », in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426, vol. 9-24, no. 000915, Dossier 1, 1982-1996, Terry Fox, 13 avril 1982. A *New York Times* article stated that the artist who designed the winning image for the Terry Fox stamp was also chosen to design a stamp on the celebration of the constitution's patriation. See Samuel Tover, "Commemorative marks Canadian milestone," *New York Times*, May 9, 1982, D34.

[243] "Canada finds a way to honor Terry Fox with a stamp," *New York Times*, June 27, 1981, 9.

[244] A newspaper article indeed reported that "Although the Fox commemorative had an edition of about 50 million copies, some dealers are forecasting that official first day covers, particularly those franked with plate blocks, will be commanding some hefty premiums in the not-too-distant future. Their prediction is based on the worldwide publicity that Fox's heroic Marathon of Hope received and desire by millions of non-collectors to obtain a souvenir of the outstanding young Canadian." Unidentified newspaper article, "Terry Fox commemorative heads list of Canada top modern issues" in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426-9-25.

[245] « Notes philatéliques », by Denis Masse, in Fonds Denis Masse, National Archives, Ottawa, R7426-9-25.

[246] "Fox issue voted year's worst," *Canadian Stamp News*, vol. 7, no. 21, March 15-29, 1983, front page.

Fox's popularity thus did not translate into a similar interest for the stamp among collectors. But it remains that without the public's insistence, this stamp would have been produced much later than it was. So while we discussed hegemonic discourse disseminated by the media, governments and the Fox family in previous chapters, it should be noted that the Canadian public too was able to shape the story and memory of Terry Fox.

Do Canadians remember Terry Fox?

We have discussed briefly how the public was able to intervene in the commemorative process. But what about the remembering entailed in this process? How did Canadians respond to these commemorative materials? The institutions that produce these materials have, in theory, a double mandate: to encourage wide acceptance while, in the meantime, "discouraging dissent."[247] But this double mandate can only be achieved with great difficulty, considering how subjective perception and reception can be. As H.V. Nelles puts it: "…what actors and audiences chose to remember is another matter."[248] There are alternate readings of memory markers, as "even the most commercial of history products contain the suppressed collective memories of subordinate groups embedded within it…" and it is up to us to "recover the meanings and memories encoded in these narratives."[249] Whatever the intent of the commemorators, be they filmmakers, authors, sculptors or those who commission memory works from them,

[247] Lyn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration. Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia,* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1997, 10.
[248] H.V. Nelles, "Historical Pageantry and the Fusion of the Races at the Tercentenary of Quebec, 1908," *Histoire Sociale* 29 (1996), 415.
[249] David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18(2) Spring 1996, 15.

the moment the public memory material is made 'public', it and its meanings belong to everyone.

While power allows some to make their voices heard and influence how the past is commemorated, this does not mean that commemorative materials are received passively by the public. The meaning purposely embedded in a particular representation of the past may not be interpreted as it was intended to be, especially given that the 'public' is not a homogeneous block. Popular reception is the key to an effective commemoration: "It must steer emotions, motivate people to act, be received; in short, it must become a socio-cultural mode of actions."[250] These emotions, whether positive or negative, play a part in the perenniality (or lack thereof) of any commemorative materials. The reception of commemoration by communities can indeed determine the effectiveness and perhaps the longevity of a monument. As Patrice Groulx rightfully remarked, "La boucle qui conduit de la mémoire individuelle à l'identité collective se referme par l'adhésion du public à cette histoire."[251] Hence however forceful the efforts in commemorating a particular image of Terry Fox, the Canadian public remains free to interpret that image in whichever manner it wishes. In this particular case, the memory of Fox that remains seems rather superficial: Canadians generally know who he is, but some do not know exactly what he did. Let us now examine what national surveys tell us about Canadians' knowledge of Terry Fox.

[250] Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *American Historical Review* 102.5 (December 1997), 1390.
[251] Patrice Groulx, *La marche des morts illustres. Benjamin Sulte, l'histoire et la commémoration*, Gatineau : Asticou, 2008, 32.

Public reception is a difficult aspect of public memory to measure and aptly demonstrate. We have relied here on public opinion surveys to help us get a sense of what Canadians remember of national hero Terry Fox. These surveys were commissioned by the Historica-Dominion Institute, the Canadian Council for Unity and the Association for Canadian Studies and were conducted either by marketing firms Ipsos Reid or Léger Marketing. They were all conducted between 1999 and 2012 and usually polled a representative sample of Canadians ranging anywhere from 1,000 to 3,500 individuals.[252] While it is difficult to assess public reception of a monument, surveys can ask a sample of Canadians exactly what they think. But surveys are an imperfect source too, it must be said. The wording of questions may tilt responses one way or another; the very moment at which respondents take the survey may affect their responses; and these responses may be interpreted in many different ways.

The information one can extract from public opinion surveys is often times limited. Take for example Historica-Dominion's surveys on how well Canadians know their history, released every year on Canada Day.[253] While they are inevitably deemed newsworthy because they dramatize our ignorance of Canadian history, these surveys have been repeatedly castigated by historians[254] as inadequate in their approach to answering the question "Do Canadians know their history?" Nevertheless, this type of survey gives us some idea of what Canadians remember about Terry Fox and a sense of

[252] Except for a survey by Ipsos Reid which took the form of a dedicated website that collected voluntary submissions: in this particular case, 28,000 Canadians responded. See http://www.ipsos-na.com/news-polls/pressrelease.aspx?id=705. Last accessed May 30, 2013.
[253] See their website at https://www.historica-dominion.ca/content/polls. The earliest Canada Day polls available date back from 1997.
[254] See for example Penney Clark, "Introduction," in Penney Clark ed., *New Possibilities for the Past. Shaping History Education in Canada,* Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2011; or Hector Mackenzie, "Memory Lapses: the Use and Abuse of History," *Canadian Issues* (Summer 2013): 32-34.

the slowly diminishing strength of his legacy. Survey results indirectly show Canadians' attachment towards and recognition of Terry Fox as a national icon, demonstrating in some ways that Fox' commemoration was effective. But as we will see, while Canadians' knowledge *of* Terry Fox may be widespread, knowledge *about* him is either minimal, or simply fading away.

In 1999 the Dominion Institute (now Historica-Canada) and the now defunct Council for Canadian Unity asked Canadians to nominate their greatest heroes[255] on a dedicated website and Terry Fox came on top of the list, with 28,000 Canadians placing their votes.[256] The firm Ipsos-Reid was asked to conduct a telephone survey at the same time to find out how Canadians defined the term heroism. Among the 1,500 Canadians polled on this question, more than 25% stated that the quality of courage was at the heart of the definition of heroism, which explains in part Fox's place as Canada's top hero. Terry Fox emerged in a similar list in 2004, when the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) launched a nation-wide survey to determine who was the 'Greatest Canadian.' The CBC aired a special program in several installments, listing the fifty finalists and providing a more in-depth description for the top ten. Canadians were asked to vote again to rank the top ten in order. In the end, Terry Fox was voted second greatest Canadian after Tommy Douglas and before Pierre Elliott Trudeau.[257] Four years later, the Dominion Institute and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada

[255] Only individuals who were born in Canada and had passed away were considered.
[256] See the detailed analysis of this poll on the Ipsos Reid website at http://www.ipsos-na.com/news-polls/pressrelease.aspx?id=705. Last accessed May 30, 2013. Also discussed by James Cudmore, "Nation's greatest heroes," *National Post*, June 30, 1999.
[257] See the announcement for the 'winner' at http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/arts-entertainment/media/media-general/and-the-greatest-canadian-of-all-time-is.html. Last accessed May 31, 2013.

commissioned another poll to ask some 3,114 Canadians what "people, places, events, accomplishments and symbols that Canadians think define their country."[258] This time, Trudeau and Wayne Gretzsky were ranked before Fox. Even in his home province of British Columbia, Fox came in second after Trudeau. In the space of a decade, then, Terry Fox's popularity, though quite strong, was slowly losing ground, if the survey results are any indicator.

Still, a year later when the Institute asked one thousand Canadians who were the most recognizable Canadian icons, Terry Fox came out as the most familiar face, with 89% of Canadians able to identify him in a picture.[259] Following him closely were Quebec singer Céline Dion, hockey great Wayne Gretzsky and Pierre Trudeau, who were also what we may call television personalities.[260] The same survey revealed that only four Canadians out of ten could identify John A. Macdonald and fewer than 8% correctly identified Frederick Banting. The fact that Fox is recognizable does not necessarily mean that Canadians continue to consider him Canada's top hero. Fox's Marathon of Hope was an entirely televised phenomenon, which could explain why a great number of Canadians were able to properly identify the runner. Terry Fox is a household name (and a legally protected name as we have seen in Chapter 2) that continues to be equated with heroism, courage and cancer research. But surveys such as these show that he also continues to be one of Canada's best known celebrities. Consider also the survey we mentioned in

[258] See this survey available at https://www.historica-dominion.ca/sites/default/files/PDF/polls/canada101_part1_en.pdf. Last accessed August 3, 2013.
[259] See this survey available at https://www.historica-dominion.ca/sites/default/files/PDF/polls/factum-canadian-icons-en.pdf. Last accessed August 3, 2013.
[260] This survey also shows that only 72% of Quebecers were able to identify Fox, compared with anywhere between 89% and 98% for the rest of Canada.

Chapter 1, where Fox was at the top of the list of *famous* people Canadians would invite to a BBQ.[261]

Surveys thus do confirm that people remember Fox, which in itself points to the effectiveness of the commemorative efforts. As late as June 2012, a survey commissioned by the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) indeed revealed that 89% of Canadians said they remembered what Terry Fox accomplished.[262] But we would suggest that this effectiveness needs to be qualified. Indeed, while people may remember Fox and what he did, results to an unrelated question in that same ACS survey reveal that the knowledge some Canadians have of Fox is hazy at times. Indeed, Canadians were also asked to name two Canadian Olympic athletes and Terry Fox actually made the list.[263] What this can tell us is that the name of Fox is known, but his story may be starting to fade in people's memory, to the point where he is associated with a sporting event that has nothing to do with him.

If we look more closely at these surveys, one particular point emerges. Younger Canadians seem to be less inclined to recognize Fox as top hero or even be aware of what he accomplished. As far back as 1999, the Dominion Institute survey data revealed that among those who had nominated Fox as Canada's greatest hero, a majority were 35 years old and older.[264] Interestingly, in that same survey analysts noticed that a great proportion of Canadians who nominated Frederick Banting, ranked second after Fox, were under the

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[261] Available at: https://www.historica-dominion.ca/drupal/sites/default/files/PDF/Downloadable%20Poll%20Factums/Final_Factum_English_BBQPoll.pdf. Last accessed May 30, 2013.
[262] See survey results available at http://www.acs-aec.ca/pdf/polls/Confederation%20project_13386-074A.htm. Last accessed August 3, 2013.
[263] Ibid.
[264] See http://www.ipsos-na.com/news-polls/pressrelease.aspx?id=705. Last accessed May 30, 2013.

age of eighteen.[265] Hence Canadians who saw Terry Fox run seemed more inclined to vote for him, while younger Canadians, having to pick amongst those great Canadians who passed away, perhaps chose Banting because they learned about him in class.[266] As we mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 1, in the Dominion survey asking Canadians to identify their favourite BBQ invitee, young Canadians were more likely to name Mike Myers and Wayne Gretzsky.[267] Among the Canadians who identified Fox as an Olympic athlete in the 2012 ACS Survey, 9% of them were in the 18-24 age group, the highest proportion.[268] And when asked whether they recalled what Terry Fox had accomplished, Table 1 below shows that Canadians between the ages of 18 to 24 were the least likely to remember.

[265] Let us remember that a 2009 survey also showed than Frederick Banting was the least recognizable Canadian icon, with only 8% of Canadians able to identify him in a picture. That is to say, some of Canada's heroes may be very well known for what they did but not what they look like, while Fox is definitely recognizable but some people seem to only vaguely remember exactly what he did.
[266] If this is the case, this would mean that teachers do not have much time to spend on Terry Fox when teaching Canadian history.
[267] "The Ultimate Canada Day BBQ: Terry Fox (38%), Wayne Gretzky (36%) and Céline Dion (33%) Would Top Canadians' Guest Lists," Press release issued on June 30, 2010. Available at https://www.historica-dominion.ca/node/992. Last accessed October 17, 2012.
[268] See survey results available at http://www.acs-aec.ca/pdf/polls/Confederation%20project_13386-074A.htm. Last accessed August 3, 2013.

Table 1 - Canadians' opinion of whether they remember what Terry Fox has accomplished, by age

	TOTAL	18-24 years old	25-34 years old	35-44 years old	45-54 years old	55-64 years old	65 years and older
TOTAL AGREE	89%	81%	88%	91%	89%	89%	94%
Strongly agree	59%	47%	52%	64%	61%	60%	63%
Somewhat agree	31%	34%	37%	26%	28%	29%	31%
TOTAL DISAGREE	5%	8%	7%	4%	5%	8%	2%
Somewhat disagree	3%	5%	3%	2%	3%	5%	1%
Strongly disagree	2%	3%	4%	1%	2%	3%	1%
I don't know	4%	8%	3%	5%	5%	2%	1%
I prefer not to answer	2%	3%	1%	0%	2%	1%	3%

Source: Some results on Canada's 150th and sports in Canada, Association for Canadian Studies, June 28, 2012.

Hence Canadians' memory of Terry Fox is still relatively strong, but it looks like younger generations may be forgetting the details of the story. Those aged 18-24 years old did not see Terry Fox run, and did not partake in the massive 1980s phenomenon. One could point to the increasing difficulty for many small-scale local Terry Fox runs to find volunteers and participants[269] as giving some sense of a potentially dwindling interest in Fox and his cause. Alternatively, this decreasing interest could be explained by the ever-growing multiplicity of fundraising activities and causes, which makes it difficult for one particular initiative to achieve a level of success comparable to the Marathon of Hope. In any case, when it becomes up to young Canadians to take on the organization of these Runs, perhaps we will witness a slow decrease in the popularity of that particular form of remembering.

[269] See, among many examples, Barbara Stanyar, "Terry Fox run raises $60,000 despite poor turnout," *Ottawa Citizen*, September 16, 1985, A1 or "Un succès mitigé lors de la journée Terry Fox à Sainte-Foy," *Le Soleil*, September 21, 1992, C15.

In a personal interview, Bill Vigars, CCS representative and close friend of Fox, mused that the memory of Terry Fox was in great part dependent upon teachers. This worried him much because he wondered "What will happen to the next generation?"[270] Our research uncovered that Terry Fox is not present in Canadian history manuals, with one exception.[271] It is thus up to teachers to find the time, and supplementary sources, to teach Canadian children about Terry Fox. Some organizations have prepared lesson plans: the Terry Fox Foundation (in collaboration with Ontario history teachers), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the B.C. Sports Hall of Fame. We argued in Chapter 5 that even though the story of Terry Fox was remembered as one of Canadian unity, deep seated issues threatening this unity were replicated in the memory of Terry Fox. A similar observation could be made here. These efforts are made to help Canadians learn about Terry Fox, but they are in a sense localized. The Fox Foundation's lessons were developed with the Ontario curriculum in mind (and confirming perhaps a greater interest in learning about Fox in that province) and the B.C. Sports Hall of Fame lesson plan is arguably restricted to its visitors. The fact that most of these learning materials are

[270] Bill Vigars, personal interview, March 5, 2012.

[271] With the exception of *Spotlight Canada*, a textbook written by J. Bradley Cruxton and W. Douglas Wilson, the Canadian history textbooks listed for most classrooms in the country do not mention Terry Fox. We obtained the list of approved history textbooks either from provincial websites or through direct communication with education ministries employees. Among the textbooks used in Canadian high school classrooms since the 1980s (most of these are now in their fifth or sixth edition, all of which we consulted) are *Spotlight Canada* (J. Bradley Cruxton and W. Douglas Wilson); *Defining Canada. History, Identity and Culture* (Nick Brune); *Flashback Canada* (J. Bradley Cruxton and W. Douglas Wilson); *Canada. A North American Nation* (Paul W. Bennett); *Canada. A Nation Unfolding* (Garfield Gini-Newman et al); *Canadian History. Patterns and Transformations* (Ian Hundey et al); *Histoire du Canada* (Susan LeBel and Jeff Orr); and *Horizons. L'émergence de l'identité canadienne* (Michael Cranny et al). One could note similarly that recapitulative 'history' books do not necessarily give much space to Terry Fox. Take for example Angela Murphy's *Great Canadians*, in which 6 pages are devoted to Terry Fox, while there are 14 pages each for Tommy Douglas and Louis Riel, 17 pages for Nellie McClung, and 15 pages for Marshall McLuhan. See Angela Murphy, *Great Canadians. Twelve Profiles of Extraordinary People,* Edmonton: Folklore Publishing, 2005.

only available in English reflects how Quebec was never part of the Fox story, and will apparently not be part of the remembering either.

Fox's presence in historical documentaries, such as *BC Times Series*[272] or *La collection Histoire du Canada, 1939-2000*[273], may also be considered an effort in telling the story of the Marathon of Hope as part of a historical narrative. In the 1959-1986 installment of *BC Time Series*, entitled *Coming of Age*, Terry Fox's story is nestled between Premier Bill Bennett Jr. and the recession and solidarity movements across the province. Interestingly, even though Fox was from British Columbia, the documentary spends less than 30 seconds on him while discussing at great length the accomplishments of Jimmy Pattison, a Vancouver businessman. As for the *Histoire du Canada* documentary[274], Fox is featured in the 1973-1980 installment entitled *Les années turbulentes,* placed right after the Quebec referendum. His story is explained in greater details here, and states that "Terry Fox a démontré à chacun ce qu'une personne ordinaire avec de la détermination pouvait accomplir."[275] So if the memory of Terry Fox is to be perpetuated, it seems it will be through a traditional narrative and with a heavy reliance on teachers as carriers of that memory.

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[272] BC Times by David Paperny Films was a six part series on the history of British Columbia, from the arrival of Captain James Cook in Nootka Sound to Expo 86.

[273] As Brian McLean, Executive producer of the series explains, "the series consists of nine, 30-minute episodes that chronicle Canadian history from the on-set of WWII to the turn of the Millennium. It is designed specifically for use in schools and public libraries." Personal email, June 8, 2011.

[274] According to Brian MacLean, the documentary is "designed specifically for use in school's [sic] and public libraries. It is the visual staple used to illustrate modern Canadian history in 3,150 of Canada's 3,500 high schools and each episode is watched by about 550,000 students a year. It is also borrowed by a further 350,000 annually from public libraries." Personal email, June 8, 2011.

[275] See Cathy Squire, *La collection Histoire du Canada, 1939-2000. Épisode 4: Les années turbulentes, 1973-1980,* VHS. Directed by Brian McLean. Ottawa: Epoch Multimedia, 1999.

The legacy of Terry Fox

At the end of it all, however, what remains and will remain of the memory of Terry Fox is his tremendous cancer research legacy, something Fox seemed to have wanted more than anything else. While his influence on the conception of Canadian identity is measured with difficulty, and his significance to Canadian youths might be dwindling, there are plenty of numbers available to quantify his cancer research legacy. During his Marathon of Hope, Fox managed to raise over 24 million dollars (counting the funds amassed during the Telethon organised in his honour) for cancer research in the name of the Canadian Cancer Society. Since then, over 600 million dollars worldwide has been raised in his name (and the Terry Fox Foundation). The first Terry Fox Run organised in 1981 counted 350,000 Canadians. Now there are Terry Fox runs in over 25 countries in the world, in more than 750 sites.[276] Even in Quebec, Terry Fox runs are held regularly although often times competing with local initiatives, such as the Marcheton for the Ligue du Cancer in Québec City or the Montreal Marathon.

Many have since tried to replicate the Terry Fox cross-country feat in some way or another in terms of fundraising. These efforts in fundraising, whether it is for cancer research, multiple sclerosis, or to end world hunger[277] have come to be what Chris Jones from the *New Brunswick Telegraph* calls a "virtual rite of spring."[278] Just in 1998, when Jones wrote the article, there were a few concurrent initiatives involving the idea of crossing the country in one way or another. As he explains,

[276] See http://www.terryfox.org/TerryFox/Facts.html. Last accessed June 3, 2013.
[277] Mary Hynbes, "Trouble tags Gaetan Bellerose's run around the world to publicize its starving millions," *Globe and Mail*, April 23, 1988, A17.
[278] Chris Jones, "Crossing Canada for a cause," *Telegraph*, June 3 1998.

> Erin McKnight and Marie Roberts are canoeing from Quebec to the NorthWest Territories on behalf of the Canadian Mental Health Association. Sheldon Kennedy, a former NHLer, is in-line skating across the country to raise money for abused children. Michael Coulis is pedalling his way from sea to shining sea for missing kids. And two Winnipeg teen-agers, BJ McGillawee and Dusty Molinski, want to embark on a cross-Canada road trip for Canadian unity, if only someone would donate a car.[279]

No one was able to replicate the success of Terry Fox, not even Steven Fonyo who accomplished his feat not long after Fox. According to Francine Dubé, going across the country has become "the Edsel of fundraising – shiny hopes, poor design and sometimes ridiculed…"[280] Such initiatives are another form of public remembering of Terry Fox, what an *Ottawa Citizen* reporter calls an actual fundraising 'industry'.[281] These may not all be successful, but it remains that this fundraising culture has certainly flourished since the Marathon of Hope.

What we tried to do in these chapters was not to deconstruct Terry Fox and question his heroic status. His legacy is undeniable, his significance in Canadian history unquestionable and his influence on the definition of the Canadian identity can be easily argued. What we sought to do, rather, is to explain how Fox was able to achieve such an exalted status. Terry Fox has been actively constructed as a national hero since the end of his Marathon of Hope, and through this process we have unearthed discursive constructions which served to express concerns and to further interests deeply entrenched in Canadian society and deeply significant for the Canadian identity. National heroes are

[279] Chris Jones, "Crossing Canada for a cause," *Telegraph*, June 3 1998.
[280] Francine Dubé, "The Edsel of fundraising; the benefits to charity in a cross-Canada trek are overrated, experts says," *Ottawa Citizen*, August 22, 1992, A1.
[281] Joanne Laucius, "Charity fatigue: why can't all that energy be put to something useful?" *Ottawa Citizen*, April 15, 2006, J3.

a pivotal element in the construction of national identity: "the existence of heroes (particularly those who have dedicated themselves to or sacrificed their lives for the nation) stands as a monument to the national idea."[282] Rachel D. Hutchins argues indeed that heroes provide us with a tangible elaboration of the national identity, in that they "provide the nation with concrete, human form."[283] One *Toronto Star* reader wrote in 1981 that because of Terry Fox, "Never again shall we ask: What is a Canadian?"[284] We would argue instead that it is by continuously asking that question that we can truly understand how national identity is constructed, shaped and re-shaped, taught and received. Through the story of national hero Terry Fox, we can learn about Canada, its history, its peoples, and its aspirations.

[282] Rachel D. Hutchins, "Heroes and the Renegotiation of National Identity in American History Textbooks: Representations of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, 1982–2003," *Nations and Nationalism* 17(3) 2011, 650.
[283] Ibid, 650.
[284] Letters to the editor, *Toronto Star*, July 3, 1981, A7.

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