

Picturing E. Pauline Johnson / Tekahionwake: Illustration and the Construction of Indigenous Authorship

CAROLE GERSON AND ALIX SHIELD¹

Abstract: Illustrations—both drawings and photographs—appeared in most books by E. Pauline Johnson (1861-1913), Canada’s first prominent Indigenous author, from their first publication in the early twentieth century through various reprints and editions into the twenty-first. This article examines the evolution of these images as we address the choices made by her publishers with regard to moments and modes of illustration, with special attention to her two most popular volumes, *Legends of Vancouver* (1911) and *Flint and Feather* (1912). Focusing on the interior illustrations that were read along with the texts, we consider how these drawings and photographs contributed to the construction of Johnson as an Indigenous author and to the interpretation of her stories and poems by those who prepared her books, given that her publications were directed to a mainly non-Indigenous readership.

Contributor biographies: Dr. Carole Gerson (FRSC) is Professor Emerita in the Department of English at Simon Fraser University. She has published extensively on Canada’s literary and cultural history with a focus on early Canadian women writers, from well-known authors such as Pauline Johnson and L.M. Montgomery to more obscure figures who can be found in her two databases: Canada’s Early Women Writers (<https://cwrc.ca/project/canadas-early-women-writers>) and the more inclusive Database of Canada’s Early Women Writers (<https://dhil.lib.sfu.ca/doceww/>). She was a member of the editorial team of the *History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l’imprimé* (2007), and co-editor of volume three (1918-1980). Her co-authored book, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)* received the Klībasky Prize in 2001. In 2011, her study, *Canadian Women in Print, 1750-1918*, won the Gabrielle Roy Prize for Canadian criticism. In 2013, she received the Marie Tremaine medal from the Bibliographical Society of Canada. Her most recent book, co-authored with Peggy Lynn Kelly, is *Hearing More Voices: English-Canadian Women in Print and on the Air, 1914-1960* (Tecumseh Press, 2020).

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¹ We are grateful to the Faculty of Arts and Social Science at Simon Fraser University for the retirees research grant that supported preparation of this article, and to Rare Books and Special Collections in the Bennett Library at SFU for the scan that appears as Figure 6.

Dr. Alix Shield is a white settler of English and Scottish descent. She currently works as a Term Lecturer for the Department of Indigenous Studies at Simon Fraser University (SFU), which is located on the unceded territories of the Musqueam, Sḵw̱x̱wú7mesh, Tsleil-Wauthuth, and Kwikwetlem First Nations. Shield completed her PhD in English at SFU in 2020; her dissertation is titled *Kwaskastahsowin ("Put things to right"): Case Studies in Twentieth-Century Indigenous Women's Writing, Editing, and Publishing in Canada*. She received a SSHRC CGS Joseph-Armand Bombardier Doctoral Award (2016-2019) and was recently awarded an Emerging Open Scholarship Award by the Canadian Social Knowledge Institute (2021). Currently, she is working on republishing E. Pauline Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver*—retitled *Legends of the Capilano*—with the University of Manitoba Press and in collaboration with descendants of the Capilano family.

Introduction

“What is the use of a book without pictures?” asked Lewis Carroll’s Alice in 1865 (1). This question arose directly from the era in which *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* first appeared, when the technological advances of what Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa Surridge characterise as the “Victorian revolution in printing” (4) normalised the inclusion of illustrations in popular literature. Although text-focused literary scholars have long regarded illustrations as secondary to the words they accompany, “pictures” now receive sufficient scholarly attention to inspire Paul Goldman’s declaration that “Illustration Studies” constitute “a new academic discipline.” Two features of his argument that concern us here are that “interpretation” is the “central purpose of illustration” and that “The ‘moment’ chosen by an illustrator or an author is a matter of interest and a point for discussion.” From their first publication in the early twentieth century, illustrations—both drawings and photographs—appeared in most books by E. Pauline Johnson, Canada’s first prominent Indigenous author. This article examines the evolution of these images as we address the choices made by her publishers with regard to moments and modes of illustration. Focusing on the interior illustrations that were read along with the texts, we consider how such visualisation contributed to the construction of Johnson as an Indigenous author and to the interpretation of her stories and poems by those who prepared her books for publication, given that her work was directed to a mainly non-Indigenous audience.²

Emily Pauline Johnson (1861-1913) was the daughter of an English mother and a Mohawk (Kanien’kehá:ka) father. She was born and raised at Six Nations of the Grand River on Haudenosaunee territory and was educated to respect her two cultural heritages. After

² As the archives of Johnson’s early publishers are no longer extant, we have based this article on other available resources.

the death of her father in 1886 she became a self-supporting author of poetry, stories, and non-fiction, as well as a charismatic stage performer of her own work, often using the name Tekahionwake (“Double Wampum”), which she borrowed from her paternal grandfather. Most of her some 165 poems appeared in three volumes published during her lifetime: *The White Wampum* (London: John Lane, 1895), *Canadian Born* (Toronto: Morang, 1903), and *Flint and Feather* (Toronto: Musson, 1912 and many later editions). While much of her prose remains uncollected, one volume, *Legends of Vancouver* (1911), was issued towards the end of her life and two more appeared shortly after her death: *The Moccasin Maker* (Toronto: Briggs, 1913) and *The Shagganappi* (Toronto: Briggs, 1913).³

Today, most critics view Pauline Johnson as a figure of resistance for her declarations against injustice in such poems as “The Cattle Thief” and “The Corn Husker” and her assertion of female agency in stories like “A Red Girl’s Reasoning.” However, during her lifetime, her majority audience of Euro-Canadian readers and listeners valued her publications and recitations for their contribution to what literary critic Terry Goldie has described as “indigenization” (13-17), in that her work enabled settler Canadians to feel at home by giving them Indigenous stories that they could appropriate into their desire to belong to the places to which they or their families had immigrated. The following discussion examines how the illustrations in Johnson’s books assisted with this process by replicating romantic stereotypes of Indigenous peoples and vistas of empty, unoccupied landscapes, and by depicting Johnson herself as an intriguing entry point into Indigenous culture for non-Indigenous readers.

Frontispiece Photographs of Johnson

By the first two decades of the twentieth century, when most of Johnson’s books were published, frontispiece photographs of authors were common, especially in the case of recognised poets. According to Margaret Ezell, the practice of opening books with images of their authors was established early in the seventeenth century to memorialise deceased authors in posthumous publications. She argues that over the course of the century, the shift toward engravings of living writers marked a move toward the creation of personal bonds between the reader and the corporeal author: “literary author portraits as a genre, posthumous or living, ... changed from asserting a classical, monumental presence to that of a casual contemporary pose, with authors who make eye contact and invite you into their

³ The most complete edition of her poetry is *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose*, edited by Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag (U of Toronto P, 2002). A new edition of *Legends of Vancouver* is being reissued as *Legends of the Capilano*, edited by Alix Shield and forthcoming with the University of Manitoba Press. Biographical information about Johnson can be found in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* and Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather: The Life and Times of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (HarperFlamingo Canada, 2002).

world and their text, ... features associated with the creation of our concept of celebrity” (43). During the nineteenth century, the development of photography heightened the appeal of frontispieces, which often included a reproduction of the author’s signature to enhance the illusion of authenticity (Groth 190). Hence, it is scarcely surprising that early editions of most of Johnson’s books included frontispiece photographs, many accompanied by her autograph. In line with Janine Barchas’s argument that the frontispiece image is “a cultural artifact of the printed book” that deserves greater “literary study” (27), we argue that examining Johnson’s frontispieces in sequence raises intriguing questions about patterns of representation that also invoke the history of photographing “Indians” as part of the salvage enterprise.

Johnson’s first book, *The White Wampum* (1895), contains no authorial portrait, in line with the practice of its publisher, John Lane, for whom artistic design took precedent (Gerson, “Postcolonialism” 429-32). As Johnson’s career progressed into the next century, publicity photographs of her wearing her performance costume frequently appeared in the press and on programs and flyers, one of which was selected as the frontispiece for her second book, *Canadian Born* (1903) (see figure 1).



Figure 1: Frontispiece photograph of Johnson, *Canadian Born* (1903)

This full-length profile of Johnson exudes self-confidence with her chin raised and her outward gaze and includes her familiar autograph, “Faithfully / E Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake.” However, the last two books published during her lifetime, *Legends of Vancouver* (1911, hereafter *LV*) and *Flint and Feather* (1912, hereafter *FF*), featured a very different image (see figure 2). In this headshot she is again profiled in costume with a feather in her hair and her signature bear-claw necklace, but her eyes are cast down. The texture is soft and the pose is a calm, compliant profile. Both photographs are signed: “Yours Faithfully / E. Pauline Johnson” in *LV*, and “E. Pauline Johnson / Tekahionwake” in the second and subsequent editions of *FF*.



Figure 2: Photographs from *LV*, *FF*, *Pauline Johnson and Her Friends* (in order)

This photograph was taken during the same session as the image in Walter McRaye’s *Pauline Johnson and Her Friends* ([1925]; photograph dated 1909), but the latter presents a more assertive figure, in sharper focus and looking upward. While McRaye’s choice seems to us to be more attractive with its air of self-assurance, we recognise that *LV* and *FF* were produced when Johnson was known to be dying and the pose might have been her choice. It was admired by its audience, according to the anonymous reviewer of *FF* who declared, “The frontispiece portrait of Miss Johnson shows a face full of delicate feeling and poetic fire” (“Library Table”). This image, which appeared in all editions of *LV* and *FF* issued through 1943, partakes of both patterns highlighted by Ezell: the earlier tradition of memorial portraits gracing posthumous books and the enduring association of authorial portraits with celebrity.

To some extent, Johnson’s frontispiece portraits in her performance costume accord with the popularity of salvage photography of Indigenous people posed in their regalia, from motives that ranged from ethnographic documentation to exploitive romanticism (as demonstrated by Bush and Mitchell). In the introduction to *Copying People: Photographing British Columbia First Nations 1860-1940*, Daniel Francis discusses how such photographs were staged according to the desire of the person holding the camera, who was usually

non-Indigenous (1-9).⁴ Of course celebrity portrait photography is always staged, usually with the direct involvement of the subject, who might wish to be perceived as elegant, or soulful, or brainy, or as the reader's best friend. In a sense then, Johnson's frontispiece photographs are doubly staged to display her as a rarity of her day: an Indigenous woman author. Curious, then, is the absence of images of Chief Joe Capilano from *Legends of Vancouver*, whom Johnson always acknowledged as the source of most of the book's stories. Although he was a well-known local figure whose photograph appeared frequently in the Vancouver press, his face would not appear within this volume until 2016.

Following the success of *LV* and *FF*, two additional titles by Johnson were published in the fall of 1913, after her death the previous March. One would expect images stressing her Indigeneity to appear in these collections of stories, whose titles proclaim the ethnicity of their author. Yet *The Moccasin Maker* features a frontispiece of Johnson fashionably attired in a fur-trimmed coat and co-ordinated hat (again looking downward), with the caption "E. Pauline Johnson (The best photograph of her in existence. Taken in 1904)." *The Shagganappi*, a collection of boys' stories dedicated to the Boy Scouts, bears a frontispiece titled "The Great Totem Pole (see page 83)," which is actually a photograph of the house of Chief Wakas in Yalis (Alert Bay).⁵ This book's only image of Johnson, placed near the end, is captioned "Miss Johnson on the Cariboo Stage on her 650-Mile Stage Drive / Miss Johnson sitting in front with driver," and the scale is such that the figure of a woman in a large hat is barely discernible. Perhaps the familiarity of Johnson's name and reputation was felt to obviate the need to represent her stage image in these two books.

Legends of Vancouver

This collection of fifteen stories, published in 1911 and based on the oral narratives that Chief Joe Capilano (Sahp-luk) and Mary Agnes Capilano (Lixwelut) of the Sk̓w̓x̓w̓ú7mesh Nation had shared with Johnson, is perhaps her most successful work to date. A selection of her stories that had recently appeared in the *Daily Province Magazine* (the Saturday section of Vancouver's *Daily Province* newspaper), *LV* has remained in print for over a century and has been reissued (including unique editions, sub-editions, and additional impressions of existing editions by different publishers) approximately thirty times. The first edition was printed privately as a fundraising effort to support Johnson (as she slowly died of breast cancer) by her supporters who called themselves The Pauline Johnson Trust Fund. This group included Vancouver journalist Isabel McLean and the *Daily Province's* Lionel Makovski and Bernard McEvoy, whose opening "Preface" would remain part of the book for many decades.⁶

⁴ While Johnson is absent from this discussion, Francis includes the photograph of Chief Joe Capilano that appears as Figure 5 in this article.

⁵ We thank the staff at the Museum of Anthropology on the Vancouver campus of the University of British Columbia (UBC) for this identification.

⁶ See "The Pauline Johnson Trust Fund" (pamphlet).

The cover of the first edition featured an embossed profile of a Plains Indian chief wearing a feathered headdress and regalia, a stereotypical, generically “Indian” figure that does not represent Chief Capilano or the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh Nation. In a letter dated 1 July 1913, Pauline’s sister Evelyn explained: “The pictured head on the cover is merely a conventional drawing of an Indian’s head. Many persons think it is a picture of Chief Joe Capilano who related the legends to my sister.”⁷ This first edition was a basic effort, without illustrations. The 1912 Thomson Stationery Illustrated edition (identified by Linda Quirk [“Labour” 225] as the second edition), included three additional stories narrated by Mary Capilano, as well as photographs and line drawings. It also incorporated the previously mentioned signed frontispiece portrait of Johnson (looking downward).

Especially intriguing are this edition’s drawings depicting a selection of Northwest Coast First Nations artifacts, each signed with the initials O.B.A. They are placed somewhat haphazardly at the end of some legends, often without a clear connection to the contents of the stories themselves (see figure 3). In contrast to the photographs included in Johnson’s books, which were usually attributed to their creators and were cited in the “List of Illustrations,” the creator of these drawings was never named. With the help of an avid Johnson collector,⁸ we identified the artist as O.B. Anderson, whose article, “In the Indian Past: Rapidly Vanishing Indian Lore,” appeared in the August 1912 issue of *British Columbia Magazine*. Here, Reverend Anderson (a Baptist pastor)⁹ details his time spent as a missionary among the Tsimshian peoples at Port Simpson (known today as Lax-Kw’alaams), where he “made a careful study of the Indians and their tribal customs and folklore” (619). Echoing the language and beliefs espoused by salvage anthropologists and ethnographers, Anderson offers a glimpse into the destructive mindset shared by many early twentieth-century missionaries working in First Nations communities, as in his description of “the unsophisticated Indian patriarch” who maintains an “unswerving allegiance to the ancient fetishism of his fathers, which no sacrificial missionary effort can ever wholly eradicate” (619).

⁷ See Evelyn Johnson to James Goulet, 1 July 1913, box 11, E. Pauline Johnson fonds, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University.

⁸ Our thanks to James Gibson for his assistance with this research.

⁹ See “Baptists Report a Year of Great Progress,” *Daily Province*, 8 July 1910, p. 8, and “Wedding Bells,” *Westminster Daily News*, 19 July 1912, p. 8.

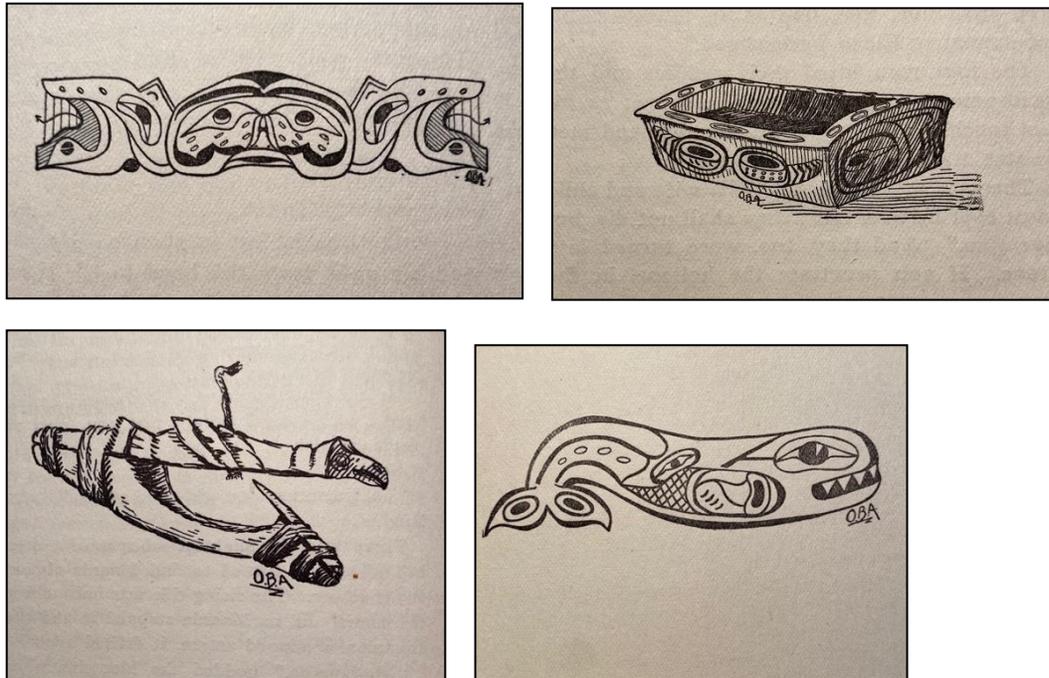


Figure 3: Line Drawings by O.B.A. Top left: “Conventional design” found on food and root baskets (appears in “The Recluse”); Top right: Food dish (appears in “The Siwash Rock”); Bottom left: Halibut hook (appears in “The Lost Salmon Run”); Bottom right: Salmon just about to spawn (appears in “The Grey Archway”)

Anderson identifies this patriarch as a Tsimshian Elder named Comx Clah (also known as Arthur Wellington Clah), whom R.M. Galois describes as a “repository and transmitter” of his heritage (147); during his time at Port Simpson, Anderson sketched some of the totems, canoes, and other objects from the community, about which Comx Clah shared contextual information. Of the seventeen drawings included in the 1912 article, eight re-appeared in *LV* and would remain through ensuing editions and printings (from Saturday Sunset Presses and Geo. S. Forsyth in 1912 and 1913) until publication was taken over by McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart in 1914.¹⁰ Though most of the drawings are not directly relevant to the stories to which they have been added (for example, a drawing of a traditional Tsimshian food dish appears in a story about Sk̓w̓x̓wú7mesh fatherhood), these images nonetheless evoke the lives and work of West Coast First Nations peoples, thereby arguably strengthening the connection between Johnson, an outsider to this region, and the contents of her narratives. In contrast, the story “Deadman’s Island” includes a line drawing of gold panning tools (a pick, shovel, and pan), also signed O.B.A, which is the only illustration not taken from Anderson’s article.¹¹

¹⁰ For detailed descriptions of the different versions of *LV*, see Linda Quirk, “Labour of Love: *Legends of Vancouver* and the Unique Publishing Enterprise that Wrote E. Pauline Johnson into Canadian Literary History,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2009, pp. 201-51.

¹¹ This image appeared in *BC Magazine*, filling the final page of F.S. Wright’s “The Sanctuary,” March 1914, pp. 145-47; p. 147.

With McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart's new edition of 1914 (the sixth, according to Quirk), all traces of Anderson disappeared except for the unsigned drawing of gold panning tools stamped onto the front cover. Whereas the cover designs of most editions of Johnson's work carry overtly Indigenous associations, we can only speculate about the reasoning behind this seemingly frivolous choice. Perhaps it refers to the mention of gold-panning and the consequences of the white man's greed upon Indigenous peoples near the beginning of "The Sea-Serpent," which Chief Capilano situates at the time "when first the white gold-hunters came" (*LV* 51). This point of contact, which occurred during his lifetime, may have underscored the importance of preserving these stories as an act of resistance and of telling them to Johnson as a form of cultural safekeeping.

The Thomson edition of 1913 was also the first to illustrate the stories with photographs. All attributed to Bishop & Christie, these include "The Lions (The Two Sisters)," "The Siwash Rock," "Capilano Canyon," "The Capilano River," "Entrance to the Narrows," "Kitsilano Beach," and "The Seven Sisters, Stanley Park." All we know about these photographers is that the business partnership between J.C. Bishop (a picture framer) and D.H. Christie ran a photography "supply house" with "photographers on staff" that was active in Vancouver from about 1910 to 1921.¹²

While Johnson's stories recount the engagement of Indigenous people with most of these sites, these scenic photographs all represent them as uninhabited—a practice in line with the perceived "extinction" of Indigenous peoples in the face of modernisation (Karpinski). The image of a vacant "Kitsilano Beach" ignores the fact that this area was occupied until 1913, when the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh inhabitants of the traditional village known as Seńákw were forcibly removed from their reserve to allow the city of Vancouver to expand¹³ (see figure 4). However, such views served to authenticate or substantiate landmarks mentioned in Johnson's stories and would have been particularly attractive to those purchasing *LV* as a souvenir item, with the photographs enhancing its appeal as a guidebook to the region. Moreover, these pictures fulfilled the terms of Bernard McEvoy's "Preface," which commends Johnson for adding "a gracious mantle of romance" (*LV* vii) to the local landscape with stories about "our" mountains, forests, and beaches rather than about the people who had long lived there.

¹² See David Mattison, "Bishop and Christie," *Camera Workers, 1858-1950* and various advertisements in Vancouver's *Daily Province*, 28 April 1917, p. 6; 19 May 1921, p. 5; 15 November 1921, p. 6.

¹³ See <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/little-known-history-of-squamish-nation-land-in-vancouver-1.5104584>. Accessed 7 May 2021.

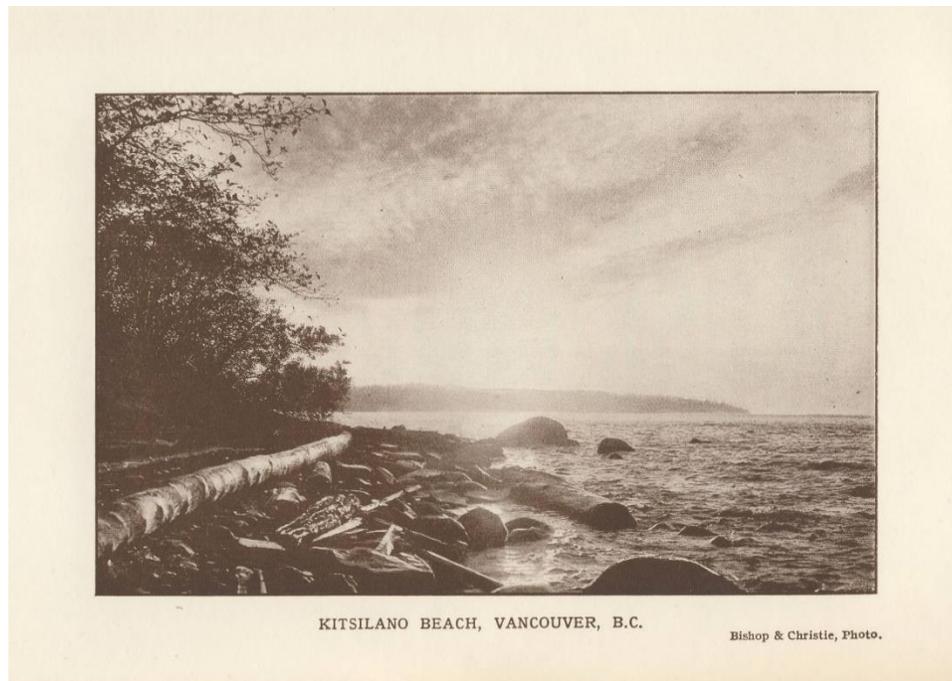


Figure 4: *Kitsilano Beach, LV, 1912; included in all editions of LV until 1949*

The 1922 new edition (illustrated) of *LV*, published by McClelland & Stewart, featured the visual work of Group of Seven artist J.E.H MacDonald, assisted by his son Thoreau MacDonald.¹⁴ Gerson has previously described this edition as “a masterpiece of Canadian book design with integrated title page, end-papers, stamped cover and dust-jacket. Some of the recurring images, such as diving lovers, sea serpents, and a canoe with four paddlers, are taken from the stories themselves,” while others reflect designs and motifs common to West Coast First Nations art (“Pauline Johnson and Celebrity” 231). Photographs in this edition include a mixture of the original Bishop & Christie pictures and newly added photographs by the Gowen Sutton Company, which specialised in postcards, capitalising on British Columbia’s many appealing vistas. Formed in 1919-1920, this business was comprised of photographers Frank Henry Gowen, who had opened a studio in downtown Vancouver in 1913, and Alfred James Sutton.¹⁵ Their work replaced several previous images (some with slightly different views of the sites),¹⁶ as in 1916 Frank Gowen had bought proprietary rights to photograph much of Stanley Park. Added to the book was “Monument to E. Pauline

¹⁴ Thoreau MacDonald, who enjoyed an illustrious career as a book designer, also created the cover stamp for the 1924 edition of *Flint and Feather*. See Linda Quirk, “Skyward Floating Feather: A Publishing History of E. Pauline Johnson’s *Flint and Feather*,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2006, pp. 76-77.

¹⁵ See Fred Thirkell and Bob Scullion, *Frank Gowen’s Vancouver, 1914-1931* (Heritage House, 2001).

¹⁶ While the original Bishop & Christie photograph of “The Seven Sisters” lacks people, the updated image by the Gowen Sutton Company includes a settler couple holding hands—likely for scale, to emphasise the immense size of the trees.

Johnson (Stanley Park),” showing the memorial at Johnson’s gravesite. Two years later, some photographs were changed for the second printing of 1924, which added illustrations by career photographer Leonard Frank. Frank achieved prominence with his stunning 1919 depiction of the mountains above Vancouver known as “The Lions”¹⁷ (the subject of Johnson’s story “The Two Sisters”), which appeared in this edition, along with his version of “Deadman’s Island.” All other photographs remained the same and would be retained until the sixth printing (1936), when the photograph of “Siwash Rock” by Gowen Sutton was replaced by one by Frank. With the ninth printing of this edition in 1949, the photographs disappeared.

Subsequent editions demonstrate different approaches to the representation of Indigeneity, in regard to both *LV* and its author(s). McClelland & Stewart’s updated edition of 1961 was illustrated with a new cover and internal drawings by North Vancouver graphic artist Ben Lim that are closely tied to specific stories. However, this version omits Johnson’s own foreword honouring Joe Capilano (the only edition to do so) and lacks an image of Johnson herself, thereby distancing her from a publication that was occasioned by the centennial of her birth. While the 1991 edition from Quarry Press (of Kingston, Ontario) likewise lacks photographs, this book is Indigenized with cover art and drawings by Stó:lō artist Laura Wee Láy Láy. Inspired by Wee Láy Láy’s Coast Salish culture, her designs incorporate “traditional ovoid and u-shape designs ... placed within a circle inspired by the Salish spindle whorl used to spin yarn for weaving blankets,”¹⁸ a celebration of Coast Salish artistry that indirectly acknowledges the Capilanos as the source of the *LV* stories. In yet another edition, issued in 1997 by British Columbia publisher Douglas & McIntyre, photographs returned the author to her book with archival images of Johnson and various Vancouver landmarks, many of them from the Leonard Frank collection at the Vancouver Public Library, including his now canonical photograph of “The Lions.” Surprisingly, while adding new photographs this edition failed to include a representation of Joe Capilano.

¹⁷ See Cyril E. Leonoff, *An Enterprising Life: Leonard Frank Photographs, 1895-1944* (Talonbooks, 1990), p. 32.

¹⁸ Afterword, Quarry Press edition of *Legends of Vancouver*, p. 134.



Figure 5: Chief Joe Capilano, 1908.
North Vancouver Museum and Archives, Inventory no. 2849

In 2012-13, *LV* was reissued by Vancouver's Midtown Press, which marketed it as the one-hundredth anniversary edition, celebrating over one hundred years of publication. This publisher's production of parallel versions in French and English marked the first known effort to bring Johnson to the attention of francophone readers.¹⁹ Like the Quarry Press edition, this version endeavours to reconnect the text to the Capilanos and to West Coast First Nations more broadly. Its cover features a drawing titled *Haayitlik (Sea-serpent)* by Musqueam artist Raymond Sim. Also included are photographs that bring the stories into a modern setting, with a mixture of archival photographs and recent scenes of Stanley Park and Vancouver's contemporary cityscape. Of note is the addition of a picture of Chief Joe Capilano (see figure 5), included for the first time in *LV*'s history of publication, as well as images of the Squamish Nation Welcome Figure at Ambleside Park in West Vancouver and the Haida Village replica at the Museum of Anthropology on the UBC campus. In Shield's

¹⁹ The first French translation of Johnson's poems, prepared by Corinne Béoust, appeared in 2018 as *Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake: Poèmes* (Paris: Les 17 muscles de la langue).

forthcoming updated edition, authorship will be more clearly shared with the Capilanos, with the book appearing under Johnson's preferred title, *Legends of the Capilano*.²⁰ In addition to respecting the intentions of its primary author, this edition brings forward the contributions of Chief Joe and Mary Capilano and will include photographs of the Capilanos (rather than scenic views of empty, unpeopled landscapes). Effectively establishing that *Legends of Vancouver* represents the work of several contributors, this edition will replace the dominant narrative of single authorship with a focus on the collaborative process of the book's composition.

Flint and Feather

Issued in Toronto by Musson, Johnson's major collection of poetry first appeared in 1912 as quite a plain book, bound in respectable light blue cloth with *Flint and Feather* and the author's name, "E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)," stamped in gold on the front cover and the spine. Its only illustrations were two photographs: the previously discussed frontispiece profile (without her signature) and a photograph captioned "'Chiefswood,' E. Pauline Johnson's Birthplace" attributed to Galbraith, Toronto. For the second edition of 1913, Musson added six commissioned illustrations by J.R. Seavey, which stayed with the text into the late 1940s. While the author's photograph remained unchanged in this and subsequent editions, it was moved from the frontispiece to the prefatory "Biographical Sketch," preceding the photograph of Chiefswood. The third Musson edition (1917) reproduced a different photograph of Chiefswood and added one of Johnson's gravesite—"Cairn of E. Pauline Johnson in Stanley Park"—both unattributed. The so-called ninth edition of 1924 (identified by Quirk as the fourth impression of the fourth edition ["Skyward" 97]), replaced the photograph of the cairn with the "Memorial Fountain in Stanley Park ... Erected by Women's Canadian Club and dedicated May, 1922." These images of the sites of Johnson's birth and burial accorded with the fetishisation of authors' birthplaces and gravesites that accompanied poets from at least the era of Robert Burns, early in the nineteenth century.²¹ All illustrations disappeared when Musson reissued the book in an undated fifth edition, which appeared "sometime after 1943" according to Quirk ("Skyward" 79). Subsequent reprints remained unillustrated, with the exception of the 1997 edition from Iroquois Reprints in Ohsweken, the major village at Six Nations. Its illustrations include the unsigned photograph of Johnson and the Galbraith photograph of Chiefswood from the first edition of *Flint and Feather*, as well as a drawing by Mohawk artist Raymond Skye of two images of Johnson (in her costume and in evening dress) in front of Chiefswood. In addition to visually

²⁰ See Evelyn Johnson's letter to James Goulet of 1 July 1913, in which she wrote: "The name 'Legends of Vancouver' was given the book by the Trustees of the Fund in the hope that it would prove a better seller. My sister was greatly disappointed as she had called it 'Legends of the Capilano'—the tribe of Indians on the Coast."

²¹ See Leith Davis on Burns's birthplace and Samantha Matthews, *Poetical Remains: Poets' Graves, Bodies, and Books in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford UP, 2004).

asserting their connection with Johnson as the poet of their people, this book's editors added a memorial tribute to a deceased young admirer of Johnson's poems, along with her high school graduation photograph.

Such personalisation contrasts sharply with the necessarily commercial orientation of Musson's *Flint and Feather*. Although its illustrator, Julian (sometimes Julien) Ruggles Seavey (1857-1940) is now scarcely known, during his lifetime he was a recognised Ontario landscape painter. Born in Boston, he studied art in Europe before settling in Hamilton in 1879. He contributed 95 drawings to *Pen and Pencil Sketches of Wentworth Landmarks*, issued by the *Hamilton Spectator* in 1897,²² and a photograph of his studio appeared in another *Spectator* publication, *Hamilton, The Electric City*, where he is praised as "a successful art instructor" with "a national reputation."²³ Seavey subsequently directed the art department of the Hamilton Normal School from its opening in 1908 until his retirement in 1931. Nine of his works are held by the Hamilton Art Gallery and one of his paintings belongs to the National Gallery of Canada.

While Musson must have believed that Seavey's illustrations added value to Johnson's poems, from the perspective of today they not only reinforce stereotypes of their time (with all Indigenous figures wearing fringed buckskin clothing, braided hair, and headbands with vertical feathers), but also lack relevance and artistry. The prime position of the frontispiece went to "A Legend of the North Woods," depicting a ghost canoe paddled by a lone Indigenous woman, an event that does not occur in any of Johnson's poems.²⁴ In the drawing for "The Cattle Thief," the pursuers look more like Latin American bandits than the "English settlers" of Johnson's poem. The illustration for "Thistledown" depicts an Indigenous woman whose hand position suggests that she is blowing a wolf-whistle rather than bidding a sad farewell to her lover. With both "The Cattle Country" and "The Train Dogs," animals that should be lean and muscular (a coyote in the first and sled dogs in the second) have strangely barrel-shaped bodies. And with "The Song My Paddle Sings," which was Johnson's signature poem, Seavey's solo female canoeist (who does not resemble Johnson, who was never depicted with her hair in braids) seems to have a remarkably easy time steering through the dangerous rapids described in the poem.

²² See <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.11833/7?r=0&s=1>.

²³ See <https://archive.org/details/hamiltonelectric00hami/mode/2up/p.36>. Dating is uncertain; some sources cite 1900, others 1908.

²⁴ The caption describes it as "from the painting by J.R. Seavey," but there is no surviving trace of the original work other than Seavey's copyright notice of 2 January 1913. See <https://archive.org/details/canadagazettepar463cana/page/2470/mode/2up?q=Seavey>, p. 2471.

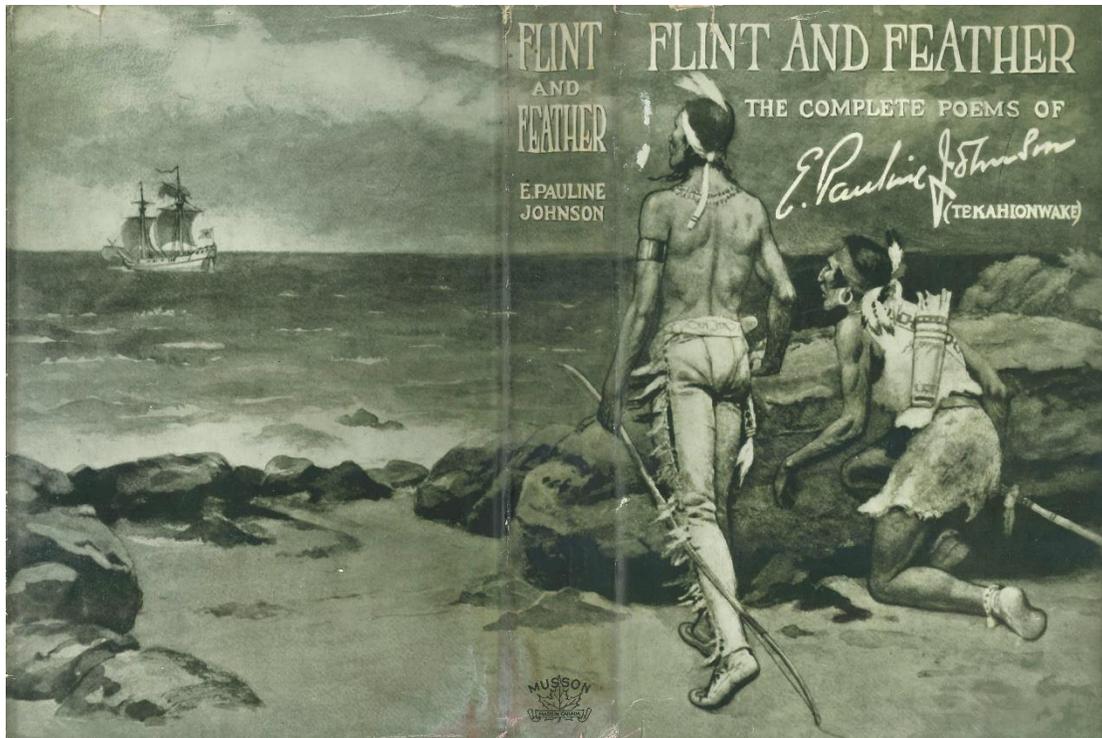


Figure 6: Musson dust jacket for *FF*, introduced in 1920

In the 1920s, Musson added two more illustrative features to *Flint and Feather*: a dust jacket picturing Indigenous figures, and endpapers featuring Indigenous men in a canoe. It is unlikely that either was composed by Seavey: both were unsigned (not typical for an artist of his status), and neither seems to reflect his style.²⁵ With the endpapers, the image of a canoe with six Indigenous occupants might have been inspired by J.E.H. Macdonald's earlier endpapers for *LV* (with an elegantly repeating theme of a canoe with four paddlers, drawn directly from the *Legends* stories), but Quirk convincingly argues that this was not by Macdonald ("Skyward" 76-78). What these two additions share with Seavey's work is that, like his frontispiece, they have nothing to do with Johnson's poems. The dust jacket is particularly inappropriate: it features two muscular half-clothed Indigenous men on the ocean shore, gazing in puzzlement at the arrival of an archaic European ship that resembles a vessel piloted by Columbus or Cabot (see figure 6). In the larger context of postcolonial studies, this picture might be regarded as prescient recognition of the significance of first contact; however, we assume that it was selected by Musson's marketers as a stereotypical demonstration of Indigeneity, without any sense of fidelity to the contents of the book or the identity of its author.

²⁵ Here we disagree with Quirk ("Skyward" 74-76) who suggests that Seavey was likely the artist.

The Moccasin Maker and The Shagganappi

The two posthumous collections of Johnson's stories, *The Shagganappi* and *The Moccasin Maker*, contain unattributed photographs, presumably selected with the aid of Walter McRae, Johnson's younger performing partner who inherited Johnson's copyright and arranged for the books' publication with Briggs/Ryerson in the fall of 1913. As four of these illustrations (one in *The Shagganappi* and three in *The Moccasin Maker*) had previously appeared with Johnson's stories and essays in the *Daily Province Magazine* in 1909 and 1910, it is likely that its editor, Lionel Makowski, was also involved. He later recalled that when he first published Johnson's work, he "enlisted the aid of a photographer friend named Edwards,"²⁶ one of the partners in the Edwards Brothers photography business then active in Vancouver. These images remained in the books' second editions of 1927.

The Shagganappi, which takes its title from the book's leading (previously unpublished) story, announces its Indigenous focus with a frontispiece photograph of a magnificent West Coast pole that connects with "Hoolool of the Totem Poles," a story also illustrated with a photograph captioned "Totem Poles of the North Coast." Staff at the Museum of Anthropology at UBC have identified the site of both photographs, likely taken between 1900 and 1910, as Alert Bay: the first depicts Chief Wakas's house and the second the community's graveyard.²⁷ The book's other two photographs refer to Johnson's travels in the interior of British Columbia. "His Majesty's Mails" is illustrated with "The Cariboo Mail," which had previously accompanied a different item in *Saturday Magazine* of 17 December 1910. The volume's final photograph places Johnson in the same region with "Miss Johnson on Cariboo Stage on her 650-mile Stage Drive," which appears within "The King Georgeman"—a story set in the Cariboo region that otherwise has little to do with this image.

The Moccasin Maker contains twice as many illustrations as *The Shagganappi*, with the majority relating directly to Johnson herself: her frontispiece portrait, her grave and Siwash Rock in Stanley Park, a sketch of "Miss Johnson's Mohawk Grandfather" that appears to be signed with the initial "H," and a photograph of "The Qu'Appelle Valley" with the subtitle "Miss Johnson used to give recitals here in the early nineties." This visual focus highlights the biographical nature of the volume, whose title is not directly taken from its contents. While most of Johnson's books opened with introductory tributes and biographical sketches, only *The Moccasin Maker* featured two preliminary pieces by leading Canadian literary figures: a rather apologetic "Introduction" by novelist Gilbert Parker (to whom the volume is dedicated) and a longer, more personal and effusive "Appreciation" by poet Charles Mair, whom Johnson recognised as a friend. This book's concentration on Johnson as a person is accentuated by its opening essay, "My Mother," her most autobiographical publication and the longest piece in the volume. Hence, the first-person voices of many of the subsequent

²⁶ See L.W. Makovski, "... and former Province editor recalls acquaintance," *Daily Province*, 10 March 1961, p. 19.

²⁷ Alissa Cherry of Museum of Anthropology at UBC, email to authors, 24 April 2019.

texts were likely read as Johnson's own, even though they represent fictional characters. Unique to this volume are two photographs that include Indigenous figures: "A Red Girl's Reasoning," a story set vaguely in the prairies, is illustrated with "Genuine Old Red River Cart" that includes a pipe-smoking Indigenous woman (whom readers might interpret as the mixed-race heroine's mother); "Mother o' the Men," set in the Yukon, is illustrated with "An Indian Dog Train" driven by a presumably Indigenous man wearing furs and moccasins.

When A. LaVonne Ruoff, an American specialist in Indigenous literature, brought out an annotated reprint of this volume with the University of Arizona Press in 1987 (reissued in 1998 by the University of Oklahoma Press), she emphasised its biographical nature by reducing the visual content to three images: a cover photograph of Johnson in her buckskin performance costume that dates from around 1892, a frontispiece photograph of Johnson in elegant evening dress, and the sketch of Johnson's father from the previous edition, thereby illustrating Johnson's shared English and Mohawk heritage. These choices accord with her editorial emphasis on recuperating Johnson for an American audience as a significant female author who portrayed "the experiences and emotions of two minority groups whose voices were little heard in the Canadian literature of [her] own day—Indians and women" (34).

Conclusion

In researching the illustrations for Johnson's books and the various individuals who created them, we found ourselves pursuing interweaving narrative threads as we considered "how illustrations signify, how they make their meanings and how these meanings are embedded in the historical moment of their production and reception" (6), to cite Julia Thomas's description of illustration studies. One narrative thread proved to be the history of scenic photography in Vancouver, as we traced the photographers whose pictures appeared in *Legends of Vancouver*. In this thread, Johnson's book served as a vehicle for displaying the work of prominent local photographers Frank Gowen and Leonard Frank, whose postcard-like views of unpeopled outdoor sites directed attention away from the author, her Coast Salish (Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh) sources, and the people whose stories she recounted. More complex is the narrative thread that concerns changing notions about the representation of Indigeneity. It is easy for us to criticise the stereotypes that characterised most of the images in the early editions of Johnson's books, which depended on generic markers such as feathered headdresses and overlooked regional and local distinctions. In her 1892 essay "A Strong Race Opinion" (*Collected* 177-83), Johnson castigated writers who failed to recognise Nation-specific distinctions, a situation that has improved in recent decades with efforts to ensure that the illustrations in her works more appropriately suit their contents. These two narrative threads contribute to the larger story of how Johnson's books have constructed their author by depicting her personally, with frontispiece photographs and pictures of her birthplace and her grave. In their focus on Johnson's agency, recent editions of her stories

and poems tend to select images that portray her as young and beautiful, rather than the pensive ageing face in the frontispiece photograph that accompanied her two major books through the first half of the twentieth century.

Current critiques notwithstanding, we acknowledge that, for the most part, considerable thought went into the various editions and impressions that we discuss. Working within an industry directed towards a mainly non-Indigenous market, publishers probably did their best to acknowledge both Johnson's Mohawk identity and, as with recent editions of *Legends of Vancouver*, the importance of these stories (and storytellers) to Coast Salish cultures and peoples. Moreover, their differing and shifting illustrations reveal how an evolving industry created a space for several significant Indigenous voices, according to the temper of the times. However the visual components of her books may have been read by Johnson's audience, keeping her work in print for over a century should be celebrated as a success and an indication of her ongoing relevance.

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