Homologies and Heterodoxies between Mexican and Canadian Art:

Diego Rivera and Lawren Harris

by

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Abstract

A sociological analysis of the "rules of art" within two early modernist artistic movements: the Tres Grandes in Mexico and the Group of Seven in Canada; with reference to the two major producers: Diego Rivera and Lawren Harris; and, based on insights provided by Pierre Bourdieu's framework.
A. Introduction

Aesthetic modernism made its debut in late 19th century Europe, and diffused to other societies within a 40 period. In most countries its perspective was merely transplanted and reproduced. Two exceptions were Canada and Mexico. In these countries a modern art, with unmistakable traits all its own, sprang up circa 1920. In Mexico it coalesced around the Tres Grandes; in Canada it was the Group of Seven. The art of both countries combined, often successfully, two seemingly incompatible elements: an international aesthetic vocabulary and a nationalist inspiration. This coupling is often a necessary element in post-colonialism.1

Canadian and Mexican artists adopted and re-created certain of the dominant tendencies of the modern art of their era, in particular Post-Impressionism2 (e.g., Cezanne, Gauguin, Rousseau) and Expressionism3 (e.g., El Greco and Ensor). Their re-elaboration of those tendencies was

1 As Fanon (1963: 178-179) explains:
If we wanted to trace in the works of native writers the different phases which characterize this evolution we would find spread out before us a panorama on three levels. In the first phase, the native intellectual gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the occupying power. His writings correspond point by point with those of his opposite numbers in the mother country. His inspiration is European ... In the second phase we find the native is disturbed; he decides to remember what he is ... Past happenings will be brought up out of the depths of his memory; old legends will be reinterpreted in the light of a borrowed aestheticism ... Finally in the third phase ... the native, after having tried to lose himself in the people and with the people, will on the contrary shake the people ... he turns himself into an awakener of the people.

2 Painting that developed from Impressionism. Dominated by the work of Cezanne, Gauguin, and van Gogh. These artists rejected the naturalism and preoccupation with momentary effects of Impressionism. Gauguin explored the symbolic use of colour and line; Cezanne with pictorial structure, and van Gogh became the inspiration for Expressionism.

3 Denotes the use of exaggeration and distortion for emotional effect. Chiefly associated with any art that raises subjective feeling above objective observation, reflecting the state of mind of the artist rather than images that conform to what we see in the external world. For example El Greco and Ensor. Kandinsky was led from Expressionism to abstraction and a complete rebellion against the naturalism of 19th century art and its insistence on the supreme importance of the artist's personal feeling. A foundations of aesthetic attitudes, particularly American, in the 20th century.
often powerful and original: rather than mere reproduction it was a transmutation. The fusion was successful because the natural and cultural context from which those styles grew proved fertile ground. A nature (i.e., forms, colours, climates, landscapes) and a culture (i.e., post-colonial nationalism) refracted through particular political and economic histories. In each country that history was different.

Post-revolutionary Mexico sought mechanisms to promote social order, political stability and economic reconstruction at the same time that Mexican artists discovered modern art. Without this confluence the Mexican pictorial movement may not have existed. The Revolution inspired among Mexicans hopes for a new and better reality for their land and peoples; modern art taught Mexican artists to formulate that reality with new eyes. Canada was analogous: the newly created Canadian nation4 was absorbing thousands of immigrants and experiencing rapid urbanization and industrialization at the same time that Canadian artists discovered modern art. Modernization pushed Canadian artists out of the cities and into the country; modern art taught them to see that landscape with new eyes. Unlike the Mexicans who turned to a mythical pre-Columbian legacy as refuge from the dislocations of the present, and inspiration for the future, the Canadians found and created a wild, formidable and expansive hinterland.

B. The Social and Political Contexts

According to the archaeological record, the earliest migrants to North America came from Asia by way of the Berring Strait in the year 13,000 or possibly 18,000 BC. By 1492, 100 million people -- approximately one fifth of the human population -- inhabited this continent. By the beginning of the sixteenth century most of these peoples were dead and their civilizations in ruin; meanwhile, the plunders, not the aboriginal inhabitants, have become known as the Americans. The first Europeans in the "new" world were the Spanish, then the French, finally

4 Canada was created under the British North America Act of 1867 by the British parliament.
the British. These three groups took the land from the aboriginal\textsuperscript{5} inhabitants, whose populations were in turn decimated by foreign diseases or warfare. The colonizers, referring to themselves as founding or charter groups, established the countries of Canada, the United States and Mexico.

1. Mexico

Mexico shares with Canada the experience of being a colonial outpost of European empires. Unlike Canada the initial European settlers were Spanish. With the Spanish Conquest of Tenochtitlán in 1521, the indigenous population of New Spain became subordinated to the Spanish resulting in what one observer describes as a "silence, which closed in on one of the greatest civilizations in the world, carrying off its words, its truth, its gods, and its legends (Le Clézio, 1993: 40)." The Aztecs, Maya, and Tarascans were succeeded by slavery, gold, the exploitation of land and men: the period of Spanish colonialism. Political and economic control was grabbed by the Spanish military and state bureaucrats; cultural life became the domain of the Catholic church. For many of the early missionaries conversion of the Indians to Christianity was the prime objective. Their influence was not only religious but also social. They did not confine themselves to the church but built schools and encouraged aesthetic as well as industrial education. At the same time, a new social group had arisen -- the mestizos: the legitimate and illegitimate offspring of Spaniards and Indians who were later to form a majority of the population. In the two centuries that followed, Spain ruled Mexico: the friars converted great numbers to Christianity, the Spanish built huge feudal estates, and although they retained some land under the encomienda system, the mestizo and indigenous populations were reduced to little more than serfs and peasants.

It is not by chance the Mexican muralists seized on Amerindian cultural history as a principal

\textsuperscript{5} The terms aboriginal and Indian are used to refer collectively to all the indigenous peoples existing in North American prior to the arrival of the European colonists.
subject matter. Mexico at the turn of the century was recovering from the throes of civil war and revolution; it was a society in disequilibrium. Hoping to stem the tides of internal violence, the post-revolutionary Mexican state not only initiated massive land reforms but sponsored the arts and funded universal education. With encouragement from José Vasconcelos a handful of young painters were assigned the task of decorating Mexico City's public buildings.

The work of the muralists was that of youthful rebellious artists within a young nationalist state emerging from a century of civil war and agrarian revolt. Many, in particular Diego Rivera, reinvented the beauty and harmony of the civilization their Spanish ancestors attempted to destroy. Paz (1993:11) explains in 1921 as Minister of Public Education José Vasconcelos initiated the muralist movement and:

decided to commission the best-known painters of the day to decorate the walls of various public buildings. The minister of a triumphant revolution, he dreamed of the rebirth of our people and our culture .... His summons to the painters corresponded to a vision of an organic art, so to speak that would be the natural expression of the new universal society that was beginning in Mexico and would spread throughout all of Hispanic and Portuguese America.

The works of the Muralists were as much state sponsored propaganda as individual artistic creation. The choice of subject matter rediscovered, recreated and created the social, philosophical and religious themes of pre-Columbian Mexico. The Mexican murals remain as internationally renown cultural testimony by and for the Mexican people. As Paz (1993: 131) remarks:

It is impossible to be indifferent to so many miles of painting, some abominable and some admirable. It is a painting that often irritates me but at times also excites me. It can be neither hidden nor disdained: it is a powerful presence in the art of this century.

2. Canada

Canada shares with Mexico the experience of being a colonial outpost of European empires.
Canada in contrast to Mexico attempted to socially isolate the indigenous population from European society by creating a reserve system. The process of indigenous conquest and colonization was different. In contemporary Canada there is no equivalent to the Mexican mestizo who comprises the majority of the population and can trace their ancestry back to and beyond colonialism. Indeed, Canada today with a population of approximately 27 million, is unlike Mexico in remaining an immigration country and accepting from a host of different countries roughly 20,000 immigrants per year.

Canada also differs from Mexico in that the initial European settlers were first the French and then the British. With the British conquest of New France in 1759, the French element became subordinated to the British resulting in what some observers (e.g., Jones, 1972) have depicted as the "social decapitation" of French Canadian society: the political and economic control shifted to the British, while cultural control remained; primarily under the guidance of the Catholic church. The long term outcome of this dramatic historical event on French-Canadians is an unbalanced ethnic/linguistic dualism at the base of Canadian society in which French Canadians have been described as the "white niggers of America" (Vallieres, 1971).

It is not by chance the Group of Seven seized on the Canadian landscape as a principle subject matter. Canada at the turn of the century was embarking on rapid urbanization from both internal migration and massive immigration, industrialization in Toronto and Hamilton region, as well as agricultural development and population settlement in British Columbia and on the prairies. At the turn of the century Canada was well on its way to becoming a prosperous, modern industrialized and stable democracy. An emerging Anglo-Canadian elite, located primarily in Toronto had, through the process of nation building, begun to develop vast fortunes. Their continued financial success depended upon political stability; the creation and persistence of the Canadian nation. What they needed was a means of promoting a Canadian cultural identity that could knit together across the east-west expanse of the country not
only the dominant francophone and anglophone elements, but the newer arrivals. Cultural development at this stage was relatively easy given that up to this point in its limited history the Canadians were culturally underdeveloped. As Lower (1977: 419) remarks:

At the end of the century, it must be admitted, Canada was culturally still backward and provincial: it was a land, Canadians hoped, with a future, rather than a past. That seemed to entitle them to be philistine about everything not of an immediately practical nature. Good poetry, like good manners, would come in time. When there was more leisure and more wealth, these things, which every proper society ought to have handy somewhere, would sneak in unobserved. Canada was a comfortable but static country, a poor relation in the Anglo-Saxon world, a case of arrested development, where it would hardly have been logical to look for significance in any field. Canadians were wise in looking to the future, for they did not have a great deal else to look to.

To appreciate the impact of nationalist sentiment on the formation of Canadian cultural policy a look at the events of the 1920s and 1930s is instructive. This period sees a explicit attempt to define Canadian culture while simultaneously responding to a perceived threat of U.S. cultural domination. A wide range of critics and activists formed volunteer cultural organization and while they operated without official status to the state they hoped to formulate a Canadian culture that would promote social and political stability. For them, culture was the handmaiden of democratic citizenship. The outcome of their many activities was the "cultivation of lecture circuits, travelling film projectionists, travelling art exhibits, radio forums, drama leagues, adult education, magazines, and conferences.(Acland, 1997: 228)" Lobbyists from within this cultural infrastructure succeeded in gaining government sponsorship for the creation of the National Gallery in 1882.

C. The Muralist Movement and Diego Rivera.

Important tourist sites, located primarily in the historic centre of Mexico City, and produced in the main during the twenty years following the Revolution, the Mexican murals of the 'Tres Grandes' (e.g., Orozco, Rivera and Siquieros) tell a troubled yet jubilant tale of Mexico.6

6 The best examples of these are Rivera's mural painting through the 1920s and 1930s (e.g., all but the centre wall of the Palacio Nacional stairway); Orozco's murals (1929) at the Hospicio Cabanas, particularly "Man of Fire"; those of Siquieros at the Polyforum and the Portrait of Mexico Today (1932) in Los Angeles (Goldman, 1981); by all three at the Palacio de las Bellas Artes in Mexico City.
Commissioned by Jose Vasconcelos, then Secretary of Public Education the first of the murals were painted in 1921 in the chapel of San Pedro y San Pablo; followed closely by those in 1922 in the Bolivar Amphitheatre, the Colegio Chico and the National Preparatory School (Rochfort, 1993: 23). Monumental depictions of a pre-Columbian paradise, the horror of the conquest, the turmoil of revolution, and the promise of modernity, they are testimonials to the veracity of Mexican culture, despite its attempted destruction and upheaval. The murals are significant parts of Mexico's cultural heritage, and occupy a unique place in the history of the art of the twentieth century. One the one hand, in artistic form they are a consequence of European artistic movements of the early years of this century; on the other, in content they are a negation of them. As art historian Desmond Rochfort (1993: 7) one of the most recent chroniclers of the movement observes:

The Mexican muralists were neither artistically nor intellectually isolated from Mexican society. They played a central role in the cultural and social life of the country following the 1910-1917 nationalist revolution. Rather than a revelation of individual self, in the first instance the murals expressed a communality of national experience. The artists' murals could not be bought and sold, for they were created and commissioned as permanent fixtures in some of the most important public buildings of Mexico. As a public art, one of whose principal aims was to represent a notion of democratic cultural enfranchisement, the murals became a vital part of the patina of Mexican civic and national life for huge sections of the Mexican people.

Of the three muralists, Diego Rivera (8 December 1886-25 November 1957) is perhaps the most celebrated figure. Bertram Wolfe (1969: 6), Rivera's friend and biographer, provides a telling account of the artist:

Diego's person and bulk were fabulous. His life was fabulous, his accounts of his life more fabulous still. His fecundity as an artist was fabulous, too. His talk, theories, anecdotes, adventures, and his successive retellings of them, were an endless labyrinth of fables. His paintings on the walls of public buildings in Mexico are one long, beguiling fable concerning his world, his time, his country, its past, present, and future.

Diego Rivera, ideologue, storyteller, and trickster par excellence is possibly the painter
most often associated with the Mexican movement. His infamous public persona gave much rhetorical support for it, and his work embodies its ideological leanings: idealization of pre-Columbian Mexico, the Mexican Revolution, and modernization. For example, Leon Trotsky in "Art and Politics in Our Epoch" (1938/1992: 110) writes:

Nurtured in the artistic cultures of all peoples, all epochs, Diego Rivera has remained Mexican in the most profound fibres of his genius. But that which inspired him in these magnificent frescoes, which lifted him up above the artistic tradition, above contemporary art in a certain sense, above himself, is the mighty blast of the proletarian revolution ... Do you wish to see with your own eyes the hidden springs of the social revolution? Look at the frescoes of Rivera. Do you wish to know what revolutionary art is like? Look at the frescoes of Rivera.

Rivera’s habitus -- artistic talent, disposition and class origin -- was also an excellent resource for his part as fabricator of modern Mexican culture. His father was a municipal councillor in Guanajuato, a small but prosperous city about 220 miles north of Mexico City. From an early age Rivera was artistically inclined and connected. He was sent off to San Carlos art school in Mexico City at the age of ten. He left Mexico for Madrid in 1907 at the age of 20 on a state sponsored artistic scholarship. He was introduced to the Spanish painter Eduardo Chicharro y Aguera in a letter from Gerardo Murillo (Dr. Atl). He departed Madrid in 1909 for Paris and returned to Mexico City in 1910 on 20th November – the date marking the beginning of the Mexican Revolution. Rivera’s visit home, the object of which was a showing of his recent work to the Mexican elite, is rather short lived and he returned to Paris almost immediately. Nineteen-fourteen brings his first and only Parisian solo show that receives two positive and one rather negative review. During this European apprenticeship his work is influenced by Cezanne, Picasso, and Rousseau. As Rivera (quoted in Wolfe, 1969: 59) explains: Then began for me a series of misty days ... One museum after the other, one book after the other, I swallowed. So it went till 1910, the year in which I saw many pictures of Cezanne, the first pictures of modern painting which gave me real satisfaction. Then came pictures of Picasso, the only one for whom I felt a kind of organic sympathy. Then all the pictures of Henri Rousseau, the only one of the moderns whose works stirred each and every fibre of my being.

In 1912 Rivera was settled in Paris among a group of Mexican painters including Zarraga, Dr Atl, and Roberto Montenegro (Ades, 1989: 127). Rivera may have been one of the most daring
stylistically, and it was during this period that he fully committed himself to Cubism, and became close friends with Picasso. As Rivera (1960: 106) tells us:

Picasso and I became great friends. He brought all his own friends to visit my studio. Picasso's enthusiasms for my work caused a sensation in Montparnasse. Being accepted by the master of Cubism himself was, of course, source of tremendous personal satisfaction to me. Not only did I consider Picasso a great artist, but I respected his critical judgement, which was severe and keen. In Paris, Picasso and I used to have the best times, especially when we were by ourselves. Then we would say things about other painters which we would never tell anybody else. We would walk through the art galleries and take off on other artists' styles on the backs of match boxes. In a spirit of pure mischief, we would often play tricks on our women acquaintances, among whom I had acquired a terrible reputation.

Over the next three years he became a recognized member of the cubist movement. With the outbreak of World War I, he and Picasso, amongst other cubists (e.g., Gris, and Severini) stayed on in Paris. It was during this period that he painted his an undisputed cubist masterpiece Zapatista Landscape of 1915.

The painting like contemporary Picasso's sets a still life that, rather than being framed as in a window, floats as in the air against a landscape. Into this cubist discourse on reality and its representation, Rivera introduces specifically Mexican objects: the rifle, sombrero, serape, and volcanos. Although a highly successful painting, the Mexican imagery sees to foreshadowed Rivera's abandonment of Cubism. As Rivera (1960: 114) later remarked:

Even the landscapes I did from life in Europe were essentially Mexican in feeling. I recall that, at this time, I did a self-portrait in order to bring into focus the inmost truth about myself. The clearest revelation, however, came from a cubist canvas, "The Zapatistas" (sic), in which I painted in 1916 (sic). It showed a Mexican peasant hat hanging over a wooden box behind a rifle. Executed without any preliminary sketch in my Paris workshop, it is probably the most faithful expression of the Mexican mood that I have ever achieved.

The imagery also suggests strongly that Rivera was responding to political events in Mexico: the entrance of Zapata and Villa into Mexico City in 1914. With this painting we see a reawakening of the Mexican in Rivera, but he did not return to Mexico until 1921. During the
interim he rekindled his earlier interest in Cezanne, married, and travelled to Russia, southern France, and Italy.

It was during his seventeen months sojourn in Italy, persuaded to do so by "Alberto Pani, the Mexican Ambassador to Paris, and Jose Vasconcelos, Rector of the University of Mexico" (Rochfort, 1993: 25) that he mastered the fresco. The Italian experience also furthered his exploration of art based on (Rivera, 1960:114):

the conviction that life was changing, that after the war nothing would be the same... The society of the future would be a mass society. And this fact presented wholly new problems. The proletariat had no taste; or rather its taste had been nurtured on the worst aesthetic food, the very scraps and crumbs which had fallen from the tables of the bourgeoisie. A new kind of art would therefore be needed, on which appealed not to the viewers; sense of form and colour directly, but through exciting subject matter. The new art, also would not be a museum or gallery art but an art the people would have access to in places they frequented in their daily life -- post offices, schools, theatres, railroad stations, public buildings. And so, logically, albeit theoretically, I arrived at mural painting.

Coincidentally with the downfall of Venustiano Carranza, and the rise of Alvaro Obregon Rivera returned to Mexico. Upon arrival in Mexico he set to work with the other young Mexican painters on Vasconcelos's commissions. The mural of the 1920s fall broadly into two groups: those directly commission by Vasconcelos during his term in office until 1924, ones reflecting his ideological, aesthetic and philosophical idealism; and those that move away from this towards an openly political and populist vision. Rivera's first mural Creation falls within the first grouping.

Insert Figure - Creation. Encaustic and gold leaf, 1922-23. Bolivar Amphitheatre, National Preparatory School, Mexico City

Like all of the early murals, although inspired by nationalist sentiment there is little directly Mexican content. Instead it falls within the classical imagery of the Greco-Roman tradition and European aesthetics: a Judeo-Christian allegory in Italian and Byzantine style.
In this first mural, we have seen the weight of the ages upon Rivera's brush. He has yet to "cross the divide separating that past from the world of Mexico's revolutionary present" (Rochfort, 1993: 33) and unshackled his Mexican artistry. Of the mural Rivera (1960: 131) comments:

The mural covered a thousand square feet. Each figure was twelve feet tall. The process I used was the ancient wax encaustic. I laboured continuously for an entire year until the spring of 1922. Yet, though my interpretation of the Creation was essentially progressive, I was dissatisfied when the work was done. It seemed to me too metaphorical and subjective for the masses. In my next mural, begun in 1923, in the courtyard of the Education Building, I would come closer to my purpose.

Insert Figure - The Embrace. Fresco, 1923. East Wall, Court of Labour, Ministry of Education, Mexico City.

The Ministry of Education murals are a massive testimony not only to Rivera's artistry, but to the Mexican people and a critical social satire.

Insert Figure - Night of the Rich

At the time of completion in 1928 there were: 235 individual fresco panels, of which 116 were principal works. Together they covered an area of 15,000 square feet ... The murals are divided according to the architectural subdivisions of the building. Based on the colonial model, it was designed with two adjacent courtyards, each with two floors. On the ground floor of the first courtyard, which he entitled "The Courtyard of Labour" Rivera painted images depicting themes of labour characteristic of the different geographical regions of Mexico ... In the second courtyard, which Rivera called "The Courtyard of the Fiestas", he painted frescoes on the themes of Mexican traditions of popular religious and political festivals. (Rochfort, 1993: 51)

At the same time as the Ministry of Education Rivera was also working on murals at the Agricultural College at Chapingo. The buildings are just outside Mexico City, and were the properties of a former Mexican president. They were nationalized after the revolution and
turned into an agricultural school. Land reform is of particular significance to the Mexican revolution.

Insert Figure - The Liberated Earth with the Natural Forces Controlled by Man. Fresco, 1926. Chapel, north wall, Autonomous University of Chapingo, Mexico.

The opportunity to do the murals thus had great resonance with Rivera's politics and also provided a representational link to Mexican ancestry. Rivera (1960: 139-141) describes his depiction of Nature and the Chapingo murals:

My symbol for Nature was a colossal, dreaming woman. Securely clasped in her hands was an equally symbolic phallic plant. Around her I depicted the elements, Winds, Water, and Fire, formerly uncontrollable, now, at the bidding of Nature, willing servants of man. I used as my model for Nature the voluptuously beautiful nude figure of Lupe Marin. I used her again, this time pregnant, to represent The Fecund Earth. ... The Chapingo frescoes were essentially a song of the land, its profundity, beauty, richness, and sadness. The dominant tones were violet, green, red, and orange. The work covered almost fifteen hundred square feet of wall space.

In 1927 Rivera is invited to Russia, and ends his "marriage" to Lupe Marin, returns to Mexico in 1928 to complete his work at the Ministry of Education, and marries the then eighteen year old Frida Kahlo.

Insert Figure - Diego and Frida on their wedding day, 21 August 1929.

In the last murals completed at the Ministry of Education he turns to the theme, in The Courtyard of the Fiestas, of revolutionary justice and produced highly idealized revolutionary visions. One such depicts, not incidentally, his new wife Frida Kahlo at the centre.

Insert Figure - Distribution of the arms. Fresco, 1928. West Wall, Courtyard of the Fiestas, Ministry of Education, Mexico City.
During the 1920s Mexican muralism was primarily interested in creating an image of the Mexican people as they emerged from the turmoil of revolution. The dominant imagery was a populist political concern. By the closing of the decade the muralist turned to a national cultural focus. A revisioning of the country's history. From 1929-1935 we find Rivera completing his last great mural in Mexico City, one the main stairwell of the National Palace. As Desmond Rochfort (1993: 85) remarks:

The mural was monumental in scale and painted on three adjoining walls in the National Palace, overlooking the imposing colonial building's main staircase. Rivera subdivided the overall them in relation to the architectural disposition of the walls. The largest of the three walls, the central one, displays the part of Mexican history that Rivera regarded as more widely and objectively known, namely the period from the Spanish conquest of Mexico in 1519 until up to and including the revolution. On the two adjoining walls, Rivera painted other periods of Mexican history. On the right, he depicted the pre-Columbian world, while on the left he painted a panorama of modern-day Mexico as he saw it. Physically, the two side walls act as thematic prologue and epilogue to the main historical drama of the dominating centre wall.

Rivera's utopian social vision is evident on the right-hand wall, depicting the world of pre-Columbian Mexico.

During the early 1930s Rivera and Kahlo travelled to San Francisco, Detroit, and New York. In 1933 the Rockefeller family commissioned, and then cancelled, due to the inclusion of Lenin's portrait, Rivera to paint a mural at Radio City. Diego an Frida left the United States surrounding by controversy.

After the Rockefeller centre fiasco, Rivera returned to Mexico in 1934 into a sort of exile from the muralist movement. There are at least two reasons: the Mexicans thought he had sold out to rich America and capitalism, and his political life was in turmoil based largely on his alliance with Leon Trotsky. Much of Rivera's work during this period is easel painting.

Insert Figure - Man at the Crossroads, 1933

Insert Figure - Natasha Gellman, 1943
After a trip to San Francisco to paint a mural for the San Francisco Golden Gate Exhibition, Rivera returned to mural painting and the National Palace in 1942. From this period onward, Rivera's work emphasizes, indeed idealizes, the themes of Mexican history. Desmond Rochfort (1993: 171) reports:

it was an involvement that increasingly looked inwards and backwards; it was often nostalgic and highly idealistic. Indeed, the paradox of Rivera's later murals is that while his work of the 1920 and 1930s closely reflected the impact of contemporary events and thinking, the murals that he created during the 1940s and 1950s increasingly distanced themselves in content as well as style from such realities.

Insert Figure - Huaxtec Civilization, 1950. Fresco. National Palace

D. Content of the Group of Seven, Description of Harris

At approximately the same time (i.e., 1920s) as Rivera and the Tres Grandes, the Group of Seven emerged onto the Canadian art scene. These seven young artists, mostly from commercial art backgrounds, especially from Toronto’s Grip Ltd., were to become the forces of modernism in anglo-Canadian art and nationalist pride in Canadian society.

Insert Figure - Group of Seven at the Arts and Letter Club, Toronto, 1920. From left to right: Varley, Jackson, Harris, Barker Fairly (nonmember), Johnston, Lismer, MacDonald (Carmichael is absent). Note that Harris is at the end of the table smoking and is counterposed by Johnston and MacDonald at the other end. These three were definitely the

7 The Group of Seven was founded in Toronto. Their first collective exhibition was held in 1920. The original members include: Franklin H. Carmichael, 1890-1945; Lawren Harris, 1885-1970; A.Y. Jackson, 1882-1974; Frank H. (Franz) Johnson, 1888-1949 (showed only in the first exhibition); Arthur Lismer, 1885-1969; J.E.H. MacDonald, 1873-1932; F.H. Varley. 1881-1969. Tom Thomson (1877-1917) was an influence on and an important predecessor to the Group, but died before they were formed. Emily Carr (1871-1945) was influenced by and a prominent successor to them. Carr's work depicting the abundance and rhythm of the British Columbia forest and it native history are thought to have been inspired by A.Y. Jackson's Skeena River subjects (Mullen, 1994: 162). The evolved into the Canadian Group of Painters (Colgate, 1943).

8 Harris is listed among the charter members of the Arts and Letters Club, founded in 1908. The Club was an informal association of professionals in the creative arts and lay members and businessmen interested in the enjoyment and promotion of cultural activities (Adamson, 1978: 20).

Their principal ideas were "grandeur and beauty, a sense of the sublime, vastness, majesty, dignity, austerity, and simplicity (Murray, 1994: 12)." The Group of Seven chose Canada's natural environment as their subject. It was their belief that Canada's wilderness embodied the special nature of Canada. This interpretation found much sympathy with the Canadian public and reflected dominant themes in Canadian culture. For these Canadians the natural wilderness of Canada, its pristine drama, austere vastness and need for protection against the onslaught of urbanism and industrial capital became an organizing myth for the development of a distinctly Canadian collective conscience.

Their work expressed a deep reverence for the natural world. All were naturalists who, whenever possible, abandoned the city for the countryside. The Canadian wilderness expressed, for these painters as well as their contemporary audiences, an untrampled space of freedom from the maddening crowds and infinite promise or release and creative expression, as well as sanctity, contemplation and harmony. In the same way that the Tres Grandes helped create our ideas of Mexico, so too did the Group of Seven for Canada. The legacy of this was the creation not only of a internationally recognized unique movement in twentieth century art, but also helped to create a new and autonomous Canadian imaginary.

As Housser (1929: 216) future father-in-law of Harris, as well as friend and chronicler of the movement predicted:
The message that the G of 7 art movement gives to this age is the message that here in the North has arisen a young nation with faith in its own creative genius. British North America in the first fifty years of its confederation gave indication of such a faith in almost all fields except the creative arts. Culturally it chose to remain a mere outpost of Europe. To-day, so far as painting is concerned this is no longer true. At home the significance of it dawns slowly. The significance will appear as Canadian genius becomes respected abroad. When the genius of other lands is drawn to us for inspiration instead of ours being drawn to the old well-mellowed cultures of Europe, then will the fetters of the past be struck off, and we shall know that "the sweetest songs yet remain to be sung."
Housser was responding to the Canadian art scene during the late nineteenth century, where although some variety existed, European implanted academic styles and landscape subjects dominated. As with their peers throughout the world, turn of the century Paris was the destination for every young aspiring Canadian artist and Barbizon academic and impressionistic styles were beginning to make appearances. There were only two art societies of any historical note: the Ontario Society of Artists in Toronto founded in 1872, and the Royal Canadian Academy founded in 1880. Somewhat of a prodigal son of this latter group, the National Gallery of Canada was created by government initiative in 1882 (Davis, 1973), and held a rather low key not for its first twenty-five years. Renewed economic prosperity after the turn of the century, and direction from the Advisory Arts Council (AAC) gave the National its long awaited jolt to become an institution of reckoning.

The Group of Seven was supported by the National Gallery as well as important private collectors and other public galleries. The National Gallery took the Group's work to the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924. This signalled their position as the "official" Canadian art movement. A belief supported and perpetuated by the Ontario cultural establishment and anglophone Canada generally (Davis, 1973). As Ann Davis (1973: 385) remarks:

the Group of Seven did not originally choose the National Gallery as a means to disseminate their message. Rather the gallery chose the Seven as the best Canadian painters of the time. Then the relationship changed. At the time that the rebels needed help in getting their work shown abroad, the National Gallery needed help in mounting just such a foreign exhibit. Without cognizance of their power or formalization of their intentions, the Group acquired control beyond their aims and effectively ruled Canadian art and the major artistic institutions well into the 1940's and occasionally beyond.

Dr. J.M. MacCallum, was the "godfather to the movement since its beginning" (Housser, 1926: 38). It was he, an avid outdoorsman, and art connoisseur who first commissioned Harris's work, convinced him to take up studio space in Toronto from Montreal, introduced him to A.Y.
Jackson, and provided the north-country cottage for the all of the painters' sojourns into the wilderness. It was primarily MacCallum, but also Sir Edmund Walker, then President of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, and others whom Harris refers to as "modest millionaires" (cited in Housser, 1926) who bank-rolled the movement. According to Murray (1994:14):

A key figure in the process was Dr. J.M. MacCallum, an ophthalmologist who loved the outdoors. He invited Thomson and members of the Group to his summer cottage on Georgian Bay. And then there was a place to work: the Studio Building in Toronto, put up by Harris and MacCallum in 1913, provided a centre.

Of the Group, perhaps Lawren Harris (1885-1970) is for some the most celebrated figure. Harris's habitus, like Rivera's, provided excellent conditions for his part as catalyst and founder of the new Canadian movement. Harris's family lived in Brantford, Ontario and came to Canada during the early years of the nineteenth century. His father was secretary of the A. Harris, Son and Co Ltd a manufacturer of farm equipment that later was to become Massey-Harris Co and the fore runner to Canada's farm equipment giant Massey-Fergusson. The Harris family was very wealthy.

Harris was packed off to a private boarding school (i.e., St. Andrews College) for his initial schooling. He also attended the University of Toronto, at a time when higher education in Canada was the prerogative of a minority. His social background was by Canadian standards highly privileged. Harris was a man of independent means. According to F.B. Housser (1926: 34-36) chronicler of the Group of Seven, who was later to become Harris's father-in-law in 1934:

In the course of a conventional education, we find Harris at Toronto University, filling his note-book with pencil sketches of his fellow freshmen and various members of the faculty instead of listening to professorial lectures. One of these illustrated notebooks was left by accident in the class-room where it was picked up by a professor intelligent enough to see that this student was wasting his time at college. He called at the family residence and stated his opinion, and the incident ended by Harris being sent to study painting in Germany.
Harris spent the years 1904 to 1908 studying art in Berlin. Of this period little has been documented. Harris (cited in Harris and Colgrove, 1969: 219) describes his Berlin experience thus:

I spent three years in Europe when I was 19, 20 and 21 -- most of the time studying in Berlin in large private classes. These classes were the usual academic kind, drawing in charcoal and painting from the model mornings and evenings. Afterwards I went to the older parts of the city along the river Spree and painted houses, buildings etc. -- small water colours. Also went the rounds of the public and dealers galleries. Modern paintings interested me most. I remember however while I was strongly attracted to them I did not understand Gauguin (sic), Van Gogh and Cezanne. My whole conditioning was academic.

Insert Figure - Interior of a Closet, 1906

One of the earliest of the limited number of Harris's works s' student years is the watercolour Interior of a Clothes Closet. A study probably done in Harris' Berlin residence. The subject matter was the stock and trade of nineteenth and early twentieth century art students. In its dark tones, the painting reflects the realist aesthetic then popular within the Berlin art world; an aesthetic training that would serve him well on his return to Canada.

Harris (cited in Harris and Colgrove, 1969: 20) describes his experience on returning to Canada:

When I returned from Germany and commenced to paint in Canada my whole interest was in the Canadian scene. It was in truth as though I had never been to Europe. Any paintings, drawings or sketches I saw with a Canadian tang in them excited me more than anything I had seen in Europe -- were like sign posts pointing my direction.

On his return to Canada he continued pursuing his art. Many of Harris's early Canadian works were winter and autumn cityscapes of downtown Toronto.

On this aspect of Harris's life relatively little published material is available but Larisey (1993) is an excellent resource. Further research into this at the National Archives and the Carmichael Gallery of Canadian Art will be necessary to fill the hiatus.
Of these early Canadian works Harris (quoted in Housser, 1926: 36) remarks:

> These pictures ... were painted in quite a different manner, technique, arrangement, and spirit from any work I had done before. I was far more at home in them than any place else and naturally forgot the indoor studio-learning of Europe, being simply dictated to by the environment and life I was born and brought up in! It is blasphemy, ... to wilt under the weight of ages; to succumb to second hand living; to mumble old dead catch phrases; to praise far-off things and sneer at your neighbour's clumsiness ... The irrepressible ... creates ceaselessly fresh moulds for its future identity.'

(excerpted from *Contrasts*, by Lawren Harris, published 1922)

Old Houses, Wellington Street was first exhibited in 1911 at the Ontario Society of Artists exhibition, and is the first of Harris's urban compositions of the 1910-19 period. The painting is typical of Harris: tree screened house fronts parallel the painting's surface, while minimal figurative elements are in profile. While the end units fade into the shadows Harris floods the centre front in the harsh sunlight typical of a Canadian winter day. The painting draws, although significantly departs from, Harris's Berlin realist training.

During this early period he also did some illustrating for *Harper's Magazine*, and met in 1911 two other artists, J.E.H. MacDonald and Tom Thomson. This threesome instigated the new Canadian movement.

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10 Chilvers (1990: 464) provides a brief but adequate description of Tom Thomson (1877-1917): "Canadian landscape painter, one of the main creators of an indigenous Canadian school of painting. Most of his career was spent as a commercial artist, and it was only in 1914 that he was able to take up painting full time. Much of his painting was done out of doors, notably the fluently spontaneous oil sketches he produced in Algonquin Park. Among the more finished paintings, the most famous is the bold and brilliantly coloured "Jack Pine" (National Gallery, Ottawa, 1917), which has become virtually a national symbol of Canada. Thomson's career ended tragically when he was mysteriously drowned in Algonquin Park, but his ideals were continued by the artists who formed the "Group of Seven, to whom he was an inspiration".
In 1913 during a visit to an exhibition of Scandinavian art in Buffalo at the Albright gallery, Harris and MacDonald found renewed inspiration in landscape painting. In the show were 165 works by 45 artists, including Edvard Munch and Andres Zorn. Gustav Fjaestad's work of snow covered tree seems to have been inspirational for Harris (Adamson, 1978: 53).

Insert Figure "Spruce and Snow, Northern Ontario", 1916 (Source: Murray :64)  

The synthetic and almost abstract manner of northern European early modernists provided Harris with a suitable style and subject matter. The northerners' use of colour and form were both contemporary and relevant to Harris's Canadian context. These works were also compatible with Harris's own theosophical outlook and his acceptance of Kandinsky's\textsuperscript{12} metaphysical theory.

Harris's re-encounter with the Scandinavians in 1913 buttressed his belief that: the purifying and regenerative powers supposedly emanating from the North which, he believed, would activate a specially North American fountainhead of creativity to replace the former European sources of inspiration. (Greenwood, 1979-80: 70)

Here the local, in this case geographical, context is put forth as a universalistic theme of

\begin{itemize}
  \item Of this painting Murray (1994: 64) remarks: In 1913, Harris and MacDonald saw a large exhibition of modern Scandinavian painting at the Albright Gallery in Buffalo. They were most attracted to the work of Gustav Fjaestad and Harald Sohlberg. Fjaestad's winter scenes, with their high foreground fields of snow and delicate, finely harmonized colour schemes, may have influenced Harris's winter landscapes, as here. Art historian Jeremy Adamson calls Harris's winter landscapes decorative, since the forms are highly stylized. The brushwork, which is composed of arbitrary patterns that stress the two-dimensional nature of the work, and the juxtaposition of thick strokes of complementary hues, were more likely influenced by the painstaking divisionist technique of the Swiss Impressionist Giovanni Segantini (1858-1899), who applied thin strokes of impasto paint, leaving a space between each stroke, which he filled with complementary colours. Despite these diverse sources, Harris created a winter scene with a strongly Canadian quality. The austere tone, lyrical colour, and structural treatment are typical of his work during this period. The sky in the background seems to have been influenced by Thomson, who had used a similar effect in The Pointers, and later in The Jack Pine. Yet both of these works of Thomson's recall Harris in the square shape of the canvases, the generally decorative quality, and boldly interwoven strokes of paint. Clearly the two men influenced each other. After Thomson's death, Harris wrote warmly of his remoteness, genius, and reticence.
  \item Chilvers (1990: 239) explains Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944): "A Russian-born painter and writer on art, one of the most important pioneers of abstract art ... Kandinsky was one of the most influential artists of his generation both for his painting and for his writing. His progress towards abstraction proceeded alongside his philosophical views about the nature of art, which were influenced by theosophy and mysticism. He did not completely repudiate representation, but he held that the 'pure' artist seeks to express only 'inner and essential' feelings and ignores the superficial and fortuitous. His chief works setting for his theories ... are "Concerning the Spiritual in Art, 1912".
\end{itemize}
America, albeit the northern part of the continent, bringing forth a new stage of civilization. A viewpoint not unlike Rivera and Vasconcelos's ideas that the unique qualities of the Mexican American would herald a new civilization.

In 1918 Harris discovered Algoma, in northern Ontario, a landscape suited to his vision and the style he developed. During the years 1917 and 1922 Harris returned every autumn to Algoma and Lake Superior. These places are the sources of his most renown works. His interpretation of the landscape is based upon theosophic beliefs: the search for spiritual fulfilment through immersion in the vital forces of nature. Algoma was to provide Harris inspiration for his most famous and enduring landscape period.

In 1921 Harris travelled to Halifax, Nova Scotia. These paintings differ markedly from the earlier street scenes of Toronto and landscapes. They are also the first to have a direct connection to social-political context. In 1925-26 Harris returned to the subjects of houses. Of the six canvases, Miner's Houses, Glace Bay, is perhaps the most compelling and significant.

The green, grey colour scheme, and bleak row houses conveys a thorough-going depression. While the sunlight, so often in Harris's work a source of mystical light, is ominous. The picture is the most haunting Harris's work. Here, and in the next work Glace Bay, more than anywhere else is seen the influence of German Expressionism.
This pen and ink drawing was first published in *Canadian Forum*. has obvious connections to Edvard Munch's *The Scream* (1895) and is Harris's only social-realist image. This was not the kind of imagery Harris was at all comfortable with and it is curious why at this point in his life, and not for example after his nervous breakdown in 1918, or his divorce in 1934. One possible explanation is during the 1920s the Cape Breton area of Nova Scotia was rocked by some of the largest and significant worker strikes in Canadian history. And while the earlier street scenes of Toronto may have portray the homes of Canada's working class they do so in a happy light. Those from Glace Bay show a greater sadness. As Housser remarks (1926: 185-86):

were painted at a period in Harris's life when so distinct a change is marked in his work that everything since done may be easily divided from that which went before. This change shows itself outwardly by an abandonment of the decorative two-dimensional design for that of solid three-dimensional form and restrained colour. Less obviously, it is apparent by the plus quality of a philosophic idealism and more emotionally considered surfaces ... a bitter note appears ... the spirit of them cries for change, and holds in disrespect and contempt the glorification of acquisitiveness ... (these) canvases are shattering to any form of shallow idealism. A naked material fact stares us in the face presented with so much humanity that one reads clearly the experience of the painter in his work. So intense a portrayal of subject could not have been achieved without leaving scars upon the emotional nature of the artist. For the realization must have force itself upon Harris that (this was) ... the daily life of more than one half of the human race. It must also have been made plain to him that it likewise symbolized a consciousness of spiritual poverty in a very large portion of the remaining half of mankind since were man conscious that he possessed the spiritual resources with which to meet and right (such) ... conditions he would do so.

From 1921 to 1926 Harris spent the summers sketching along the shore of Lake Superior. In the fall of 1922 Harris began studies for one of his most renown paintings "North shore of Lake Superior". Some critics consider North Shore, Lake Superior the most remarkable work of

13 Housser (1929: 186-187) describes North Shore, Lake Superior: "As a contrast, from Halifax in the summer of 1922, Harris went in the fall to the north shore of Lake Superior where the solitude is creative and the spaciousness elicits the soul's expansion. In Algoma where he had his first contact with the country above Lake Superior, he gives us, as in his shacks, a decorative objective rendering of autumn mostly, though by no means always, in two dimension. At times he trusts himself farther. As the spirit of Algoma drew him, he comes out from the riotous wood-interiors into the more open country and beings to feel in and around the landscape. The hilarious colour-motives of the woods are surrendered for expanse and form. On the north shore of Lake Superior this is developed. A solemn and austere note enters. Light as a spiritual quality is introduced. There is a settling in, a restraint, a different application of paint, an evener rhythm, and a more careful moulding of forms. The mood is peaceful and back of this peace is a conception about life, for the mood is sustained through canvas after canvas. We get panoramas, rocky, weathered coastlines and skies of white-grey coldness and silver or golden light. Artists in all ages have painted nature from a spirit of devotion toward her but Harris paints the Lake Superior landscape out of a devotion to the life of the soul and makes it feel like the country of the soul. All of his landscapes are lofty and large in conception. Forms are moulded and felt without a suggestion of sensuality".
Harris's career.

Insert Figure - Harris, North Shore, Lake Superior, 1926 (Source: Murray, 1994:154)

The stump is set high on a rocky shore above Lake Superior. On the horizon are bands of yellow light, consistent with Harris's theosophical mysticism, which may represent an "occult life-essence." Harris (quoted in Murray, 1994: 154) spoke of the great North, with its "loneliness and replenishment, its resignations and release, its call and answer -- it cleansing rhythms." In 1933 the painting won the Art prize at the Pan-American exhibition of contemporary painting at the Baltimore Museum of Art. It was quickly recognized as a classic statement of the Canadian North. In his later painting of Lake Superior, Harris's forms became increasingly abstract; although, he continued to express, quite possibly an even more intense spirituality.

Insert Figure - Mt. Le Froy, 1929

During August and September 1924, Harris took his family on a two-month holiday to Jasper Park. It was his first trip to the mountains and a memorable one, as the Rockies were to stimulate him to reach new heights of pictorial power and spiritual insight. As Murray (1994: 156) remarks:

Mountains held a special significance for Harris. Besides their value as a mystic emblem, they seemed a symbol of artistic striving, and thus a worthy subject for a generation of budding abstract painters, of which Harris was one. Harris wrote that, if we viewed a great mount soaring into the sky, it might evoke within the viewer an uplifting feeling. 'There is an interplay of something we see outside of us with our inner response,' said Harris. 'The artist takes that response and ... shapes it on canvas with paint so that when it is finished it contains that experience.'
Harris's movements during 1929 are not clearly documented. In the fall of '29 travelled with Jackson to Metis Beach, east of the town of Rimouski in Quebec. At the harbour village of Father Point, west of Metis Beach, he discovered a subject that deeply attracted him: a concrete lighthouse of modern design.

In the summer of 1930, Harris and Jackson were invited to accompany the Canadian government supply ship Beothic on its annual voyage to the Arctic. It was Jackson's second trip to the far north. After his return from the Artic, Harris entered a spiritually unsettled period which affected his creative momentum. During 1933, Harris turned with greater concentration to his Theosophical studies, delivering lectures and writing articles for the Canadian Theosophist. In doing so he hoped to find the guidance which would lead him forward from the impasse he had reached. His deeper concern for occult values with which to reshape his life caused severe marital problems and led to his divorce in 1934. The break-up caused stain with many of their intimate friends, and late that year they left Toronto for Hanover, New Hampshire.

The transcendental quality of Harris's work from the late 1920s to early 1930s presages the abstractionism that dominates his later work. Harris's in the "ABC of Abstract Painting" remarks: (Cited in Harris and Colgrove 1969:87):

Through these four phases: copying nature, the decorative treatment, organization in depth, and purer creative work in changing the outward aspect of nature -- through these four phases the artist has learned mastery of outward fact; he has become in some degree master of moods; and he seeks to become one with ever purer means of expression.

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14 Most of the Harris quotes in this section are drawn from Harris and Colgrove, unfortunately they are not dated; instead the authors state "Writing was for him, a means of clarifying thought, of sorting out observations, and of sifting ideas. The text is made up of selections from his writings -- published articles, notebooks written between the years 1920 and 1960, and "Contrasts", a volume of poems published in 1922."
Thus he is led to the abstract, universal qualities that give a work a suggestion of eternal meaning, make of it a universal experience.

But the whole evolution from outward aspect to the one indwelling spirit has been a steady, slow, and natural unfolding through much work, much inner eliciting experience and contemplation.

and further (:91)

My purpose in attempting to paint abstractions is that there is at once more imaginative scope and a more exacting discipline in non-objective painting. I have had ideas insistently forming which could not be expressed in representational terms.

Insert Figure Abstraction, 1945 (Source: Harris and Colgrove, p. 103)

In the earlier abstract paintings of the 1930s and 1940s the rudiments of representation are still there, with triangle and circle replacing mountain and horizon; but the stylizing and simplifying of outline have been carried much further. In these canvases he had attempted to depict the formal organization and ordered harmony of the spiritual realm with he perceived with his inner eye beyond the outward appearance of nature. From the early Berlin scenes of 1908 through the Toronto house pictures, decorative snow compositions, Harris’s creative life was a continual "pursuit of form."

Insert Figure, Abstraction, 1967. Oil on canvas 63 1/2 x 44 3/4 inches.

In the last works Harris moves even further from representational art. The more dependent a picture is on representation, the more epigrammatic it is, and the more it stresses the immediate context, in space and time, of a particular sense experience. The effect of stylizing and simplifying is to bring out more clearly, not what the painter sees, but what he experiences in his seeing. Abstraction sets the painter free from the particular experience, and enables him to paint the essence of his pictorial vision, with each picture representing an infinite number of possible experiences. The units of the picture have become symbols
rather than objects, and have become universal without ceasing to be particular.

E. Summary
The satirical, materialist "revolutionary" Mexican muralist Rivera versus the mystical, idealist "counter-revolutionary" Canadian easel painter Harris -- however heterodox the personal dispositions, the forms and contents of their art, and their cultural contexts, there are homologies. Both pursued and were identified at a relatively young age as having exceptional artistic ability by socially influential people. Harris came from a wealthy family but had little interest in the game of money making. Rivera was from a politically and militarily connected provincial upper-middle class family but had no lasting interest in the game of politics. Both were major players in internationally informed but nationally self-conscious artistic movements. Both achieved fame in their lifetime and beyond.

Like many before them but in an era when such places were not accessible to the average american Rivera and Harris spent time as post-colonial apprentices to the European avant-garde. Both left disappointed but competent users of the international aesthetic vocabulary of modern art. Both returned home armed with the necessary artistic techniques, concepts, abilities, and social connections to reform their national art worlds. From dissimilar positions they fell along similar trajectories: from European training through nationalism to a universal particularism. For Rivera it was from cubism to Mexico's agrarian and social revolution to realist idealization of a mythic Pre-Columbian Mexico. For Harris it was from realism to Canada's cityscapes and vast wilderness to abstractionism.

Their societies were in search of a national myth and ripe for cultural development: a post-revolutionary society in search of closure and renewal, and a modernizing ethничally
heterogeneous one in search of a future and stability. Both inhabited societies undergoing industrialization, urbanization, modernization, housing a newly enfranchised, growing and heterogeneous population, and an expanding middle class. Both eschewed the field of power (i.e., the dominant faction of the dominant class) for one of culture (i.e., the dominated faction of the dominant class) among artists and intellectuals. The bourgeoisie in both countries sought and found in these two artists a cultural template for nation building.

List of Figures

1. Diego Rivera (third from left) and Jose Vasconcelos (second from left) at a political meeting in Chapultepec Park, Mexico City, 1923. Source: Desmond Rochfort (DR), 1993: 20.


5. The Liberated Earth with the Natural Forces Controlled by Man, 1926, North Wall, Chapel, Autonomous University of Chapingo, Mexico, DF. Fresco. Source: DR p. 79.


7. Diego and Frida's wedding picture, 21 August 1929.


17. Glace Bay, 1925. Ink drawing, dimensions unknown probably 4-8x5-10 inches as reproduced in Canadian Forum. Source: H&C, p. 34.


19. Mt. Le Froy, 1930. Oil on canvas 133.5x153.5 cm. McMichael Canadian Art Collection.


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