

Canadian Military History

Volume 5 | Issue 2

Article 8

1-23-2012

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Recommended Citation

Butlin, Susan (1996) "Landscape as Memorial: A.Y. Jackson and the Landscape of the Western Front, 1917–1918," *Canadian Military History*: Vol. 5: Iss. 2, Article 8.
Available at: <http://scholars.wlu.ca/cmh/vol5/iss2/8>

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Landscape as Memorial

A.Y. Jackson and the Landscape of the Western Front, 1917-1918

Susan Butlin

In March 1917 the Canadian painter Alexander Young Jackson (1882-1974) was convalescing in England from wounds received while on active service in France. At the same time that Jackson was convalescing, two of his paintings, completed before the outbreak of war in 1914, were on exhibit at the Ontario Society of Artists' exhibition in Toronto, in a context far removed from that of the battlefield.¹ Writing about this show, the critic Estelle Kerr observed, "if it is true that the Canadian public are longing for war pictures, our Government should follow the example of France and England where the best artists are exempt from military service but granted permission to wear uniforms and circulate...in the war zone making pictures which will be of inestimable value." She concluded, however, that "the idea of a Canadian public longing for art in any form seems absurd."²

Despite this critic's disparaging remarks on the Canadian public's lack of enthusiasm for art, by November 1916 the Canadian War Records Office had already instituted a program to have artists record the war effort with the aim of providing for the Canadian people, "suitable Memorials in the form of tablets, oil-paintings etc., to the Canadian heroes and heroines in the war."³ It was not until August 1917, however, that Lieutenant A.Y. Jackson was chosen as the first Canadian to be assigned to duty as an official war artist for the Canadian War Memorials Fund. An examination of Jackson's career, both as an infantryman and later as a war artist at the front, reveals much about issues such as the war as



spectacle, and contributes to our understanding of the production of war art in the front lines.

The Canadian War Memorials Fund grew out of the Canadian War Records Office, established in 1916 to collect materials such as photographs, maps and diaries to preserve a historical record of the war.⁴ Both were established thanks

largely to the efforts of Sir Max Aitken, later Lord Beaverbrook, a wealthy expatriate Canadian and member of the British government. Ultimately, the CWMF employed some 116 artists who created more than eight hundred works of art recording Canadian effort and experience on the Western Front, in Britain, and on the homefront.⁵

A.Y. Jackson spent the first few months of the war travelling and painting in Canada with little awareness of the conflict raging in Europe. He later wrote of how he came to involve himself:

At the railway station one morning I heard the first news of the Battle of St. Julien, and all the wishful thinking about the war being of short duration was over. I remember a poster which ended any doubts I had about enlisting. You said you would go when you were needed. You are needed now.⁶

When A.Y. Jackson first enlisted in the Canadian army, in June 1915, he served as a Private with the 60th Infantry Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force. In November, after four months of basic training at Valcartier, near Montreal, he embarked for England and subsequently for the Western Front.⁷ One year

later, on 11 June 1916, Jackson was wounded in the hip and shoulder during an action at Maple Copse near Ypres in Flanders. He was subsequently invalided to England to recuperate. Following his convalescence in hospitals in Norwich, Brundell and Epsom, and a subsequent three months' light duty with the army post office at Hastings, Jackson was transferred to the Reserve Battalion at Shoreham.⁸

While at Shoreham, Jackson was visited by Captain Ernest G. Fosbery (1874-1960), a Canadian portrait painter.⁹ Fosbery told Jackson about the Canadian War Memorials Fund plan to recruit artists to record the war, and arranged for Jackson to meet and be interviewed by Lord Beaverbrook with the aim of Jackson becoming an official war artist. Several days later Jackson received orders to report to the Canadian War Records Office at 14 Clifford Street, near Bond Street, in London, for an interview.¹⁰ As Jackson later recounted, his conversation with Lord Beaverbrook was succinct.

"So you are an artist? Are you a good artist?"

"That is not for me to say, sir."

"Have you any of your work with you?"

"I have been in the infantry for over two years and cannot carry it with me."¹¹

After this initial meeting with Lord Beaverbrook, Jackson sought out a number of articles in the British arts magazine *The Studio*, which focused on his work. These described him as the "coming man" and, in a subsequent interview, so impressed Beaverbrook that on 13 August 1916 Jackson was given the honorary commission of Lieutenant. Thus, Jackson became one of only two official artists (the other was British artist Richard Jack) with the Canadian War Memorials Fund to that date, and the first Canadian artist in the program.¹²

In addition to offering an honourable escape from active service, a motive not to be underestimated or disparaged after the massive loss of life during the battles of Ypres and the Somme, a commission as a war artist offered Jackson an "opportunity to paint again." During his earlier service as an army private, Jackson's artistic experience was employed only in drawing "a few diagrams and enlargements from maps" of the sector of the front line in which he served. "I had no chance of doing any sketching," he later

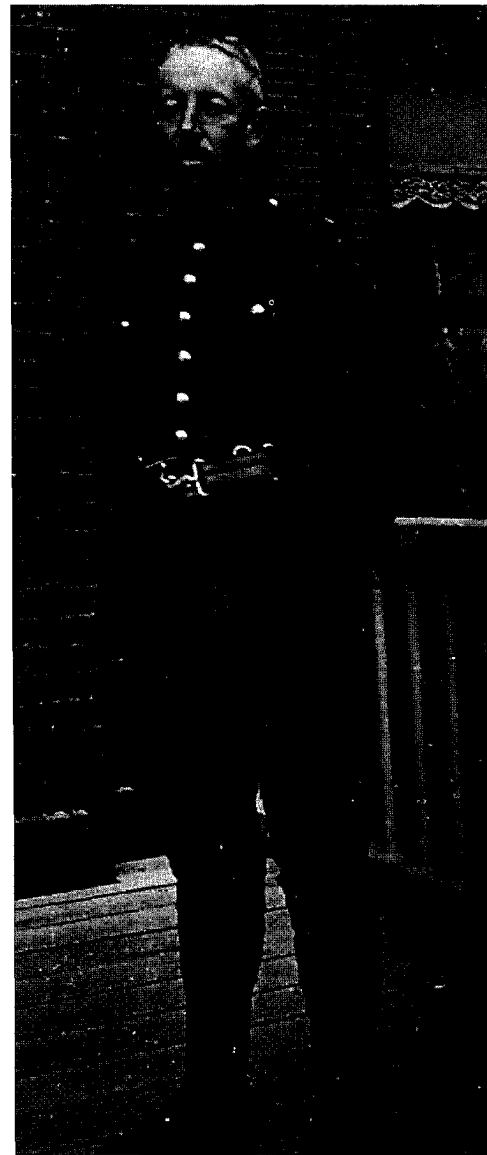


Figure 1: A.Y. Jackson, Montreal, 1915.
(National Gallery of Canada Archives)

explained.¹³ Jackson revealed his attitude toward his new posting as a war artist when he recalled, "if the others [war artists] had been in the ranks for two years they would know when they had a cushy job."¹⁴

In early September of 1917, while waiting for permits which would allow him to travel to the front line, Jackson was occupied in painting a portrait of Victoria Cross recipient Private J.C. Kerr.¹⁵ By 30 September, Jackson had returned to the Front.¹⁶ On arrival in France, already battle hardened after his two years in the trenches, Jackson later recalled that he had "nothing to

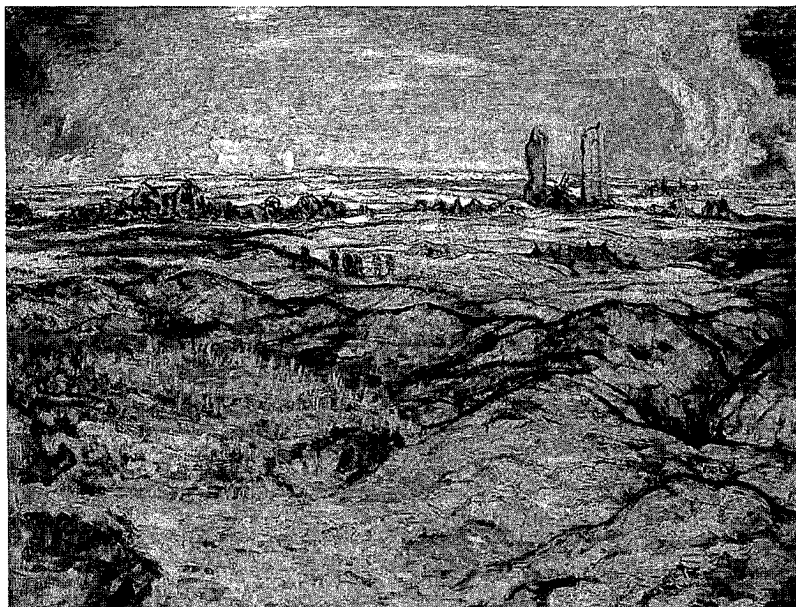


Figure 2
 Cit  Jeanne d'Arc:
 Hill 70 in the Distance (1918)
 A.Y. Jackson
 (86.7 x 112.5 cm; Oil on canvas;
 Canadian War Museum CN 8205)

serve as a guide" for what he was to paint. "I had no interest in painting the horrors of war and I wasted a lot of canvas," he wrote. Yet, "the old heroics, the death and glory stuff," were not an option either. "There was no more 'Thin Red Line' or 'Scotland For Ever,'" he wrote, and "the old type of factual painting had been superseded by good photography." Also, Jackson felt that the "visual impressions [of war] were not enough," and were "ineffective" in painting the experience of war.¹⁷ In truth, Jackson seems to have spent his first months as a war artist groping for a style that he deemed appropriate to the grim circumstances of the Western Front.

His first work was produced while in the Vimy-Lens sector of the Front, where he had earlier served with the 60th Battalion. (Fig.2) Lens was a coal mining town on the Douai Plain located "east of the escarpment of which Vimy Ridge is a part, and which lies just to the south."¹⁸ The countryside around Lens, described by Jackson as "exciting...for an artist," inspired several of his favourite paintings.¹⁹ Jackson was intrigued by this area of startling contrasts "in which permanent lines had long been established...[while] back of them was a swath, about five miles wide, of seemingly empty country, cut up by old trench lines, gun pits, old shell holes, ruins of villages and farm houses. In the daytime there was not a sign of life."²⁰

Despite his experience as a front-line soldier, Jackson's first work as a war artist by no means

reflected the harsh realities of the front line. While he rejected the earlier canon of war painting which tended to romanticize battle in "death and glory" epic paintings, Jackson's first depictions of the front line were, nonetheless, picturesque landscapes or sensitive studies of ruins. The artist recalled that his work from this period "[mostly] consisted of charming landscapes."²¹ Jackson's series of sketches and paintings of the ruined church and landscape of *Ablain Saint-Nazaire* (fig. 3), not far from Vimy Ridge, is lyrical in feeling when compared to the artist's later, more severe images of front-line trenches and shell holes in the vicinity.²²

Jackson later recalled that on one occasion the War Records Unit was billeted in "an isolated house near the railroad station" in Poperinghe. As it turned out this was "not a comfortable location as German bombers were around every night trying to get the station."²³ In early November he visited the Belgian city of Ypres with the Scottish painter and fellow Canadian War Records artist D.Y. Cameron, and recorded the rubble that had once been the city of Ypres.²⁴ (Fig. 4) Significantly, in *Houses of Ypres* Jackson depicted war-damaged, yet humble homes, instead of the more grand remains of Ypres' medieval Flemish Cloth Hall, recorded by other CWMF artists.²⁵ In focusing on the skeletal remains of homely dwellings in which men and women had lived and worked, the artist evokes the destruction of ordinary life with particular force, yet in a remarkably understated way. The



Figure 3 (bottom left)
Ablain Saint Nazaire (I) (1918)
A.Y. Jackson
(21.7 x 26.7 cm; Oil on panel;
Canadian War Museum CN 8211)

Figure 4 (top)
Houses of Ypres (1917)
A.Y. Jackson
(63.5 x 76.2 cm; Oil on canvas;
Canadian War Museum CN 8207)

Figure 5 (bottom right)
Gas Attack, Liévin (1918)
A.Y. Jackson
(63.7 x 76.4 cm; Oil on canvas;
Canadian War Museum CN 8197)

rhythm of the soldiers on horseback, picking their way past the wreckage of bricks and timbers that once were homes but might now be a graveyard, contrasts sharply with the painting of *Ablain Saint-Nazaire* (fig. 3), with its picturesque portrayal of the ruined church fraught with Romantic associations. While both paintings epitomize the horror and destruction of the war, in *Ablain Saint-Nazaire* the artist excludes the realities of battle around it. The painting *Houses of Ypres*, as one Canadian art critic observed in 1919, “is a record of a different sort; it tells more about Ypres as a town that was than many a larger picture.”²⁶ Clearly, this work represents a turning point in Jackson’s approach to painting the front-line landscape. Increasingly thereafter, with few exceptions, his war paintings expose the harsh reality of the front in scenes of destruction.

During his time near the front lines, Jackson worked largely from quick sketches which included “abbreviations for tones and colour,” described by the artist as his “notes made on the line.”²⁷ Returning to England by December 1917, Jackson then used these sketches to work up his canvases in his studio on Charlotte Street in London.²⁸

During the late winter and early spring of 1918 Jackson once again returned to France, temporarily attached to the 3rd Canadian Artillery Brigade at Liévin. On first arriving there Jackson later recalled, “as a war artist I did not get much of a welcome until they found that earlier I had been in the line with the infantry, then they could not do enough for me.”²⁹

Jackson’s dramatic night painting *Gas Attack, Liévin* (fig. 5) was inspired by the experience of viewing a night-time gas attack in the spring of 1918 with a fellow CWMF artist, the British painter Augustus John. Jackson was assigned to act as “conducting officer” for John who was collecting material for a large mural that had been commissioned by the War Memorials Fund.³⁰ As Jackson later recalled, “I went with Augustus John one night to see a gas attack we made on the German lines. It was like a wonderful display of fireworks, with our clouds of gas and the German flares and rockets of all colours.”³¹ Jackson’s three small sketches for *Gas Attack, Liévin* (fig. 6) contain shorthand notes in which the artist describes the placement of the vivid reds and greens they saw in the flares on the horizon.

As spectator to the event, his notes convey his impressions of constant movement and colour:

Sudden bursts of flame...coloured glow...lashing toward enemy lines, old house silhouette. Bright green lights behind clouds shining through gas clouds, grey rolling along horizon...Below star a shower of orange...gas clouds, cool greys.³²

Gas Attack, Liévin is significant because it addresses one of the inherent contradictions of war art. Here Jackson reveals the dramatic beauty of the awesome night attack. The true horror of the panorama comes with the knowledge of the title’s meaning. When later exhibited in Canada in the autumn of 1919 with the Canadian War Memorials Exhibition, *Gas Attack, Liévin* was singled out for praise by the critic Barker Fairley. The critic acknowledged the “useful purpose” and broad appeal of the large, visually stirring “battle canvases” by other artists, which physically dominated the show, as a “necessary source of satisfaction to [a] large section of the public.” However, he noted that such canvases put all smaller canvases at an “unfair disadvantage.” He observed, “it requires a distinct effort of the mind to turn from one of the large death-or-glory pictures to A.Y. Jackson’s...‘Gas Attack near Liévin’ and to realize that the latter is smaller only in a purely spacial sense, not smaller in intention or treatment.” According to this critic, Jackson was one of the few CWMF artists who did not devote themselves to “gallery pictures with one eye on the public.”³³

The location of Jackson’s painting *A Copse, Evening* (1918) (fig. 7) was given by the artist as “somewhere near the Souchez Valley, West of Liévin.”³⁴ In the painting, searchlights scan the sky overhead while, to the right, a line of soldiers tread through a wasteland of water-filled shell holes and charred trees. The words of Canadian painter Frederick Varley, writing home to Canada in 1919, convey the horror of the Western Front and bear an uncanny resemblance to Jackson’s painting *A Copse, Evening*:

You follow up a plank road and then cut off over festering ground, walking on the tips of shell holes which are filled with dark unholy water. You pass over swamps on rotting duck-boards, past bleached bones of horses with their harness still on, past isolated rude crosses sticking up from the filth, and the stink of decay is flung all over.³⁵



Figure 6 (left)
 Sketch for Gas Attack, Liévin
 (1918) — A.Y. Jackson
 (25.2 x 16.0 cm; Graphite on
 paper; Canadian War Museum
 CN 14890.9)

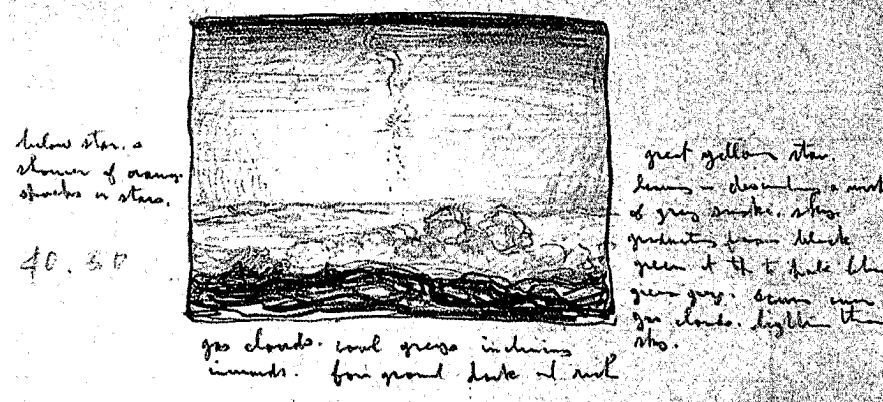
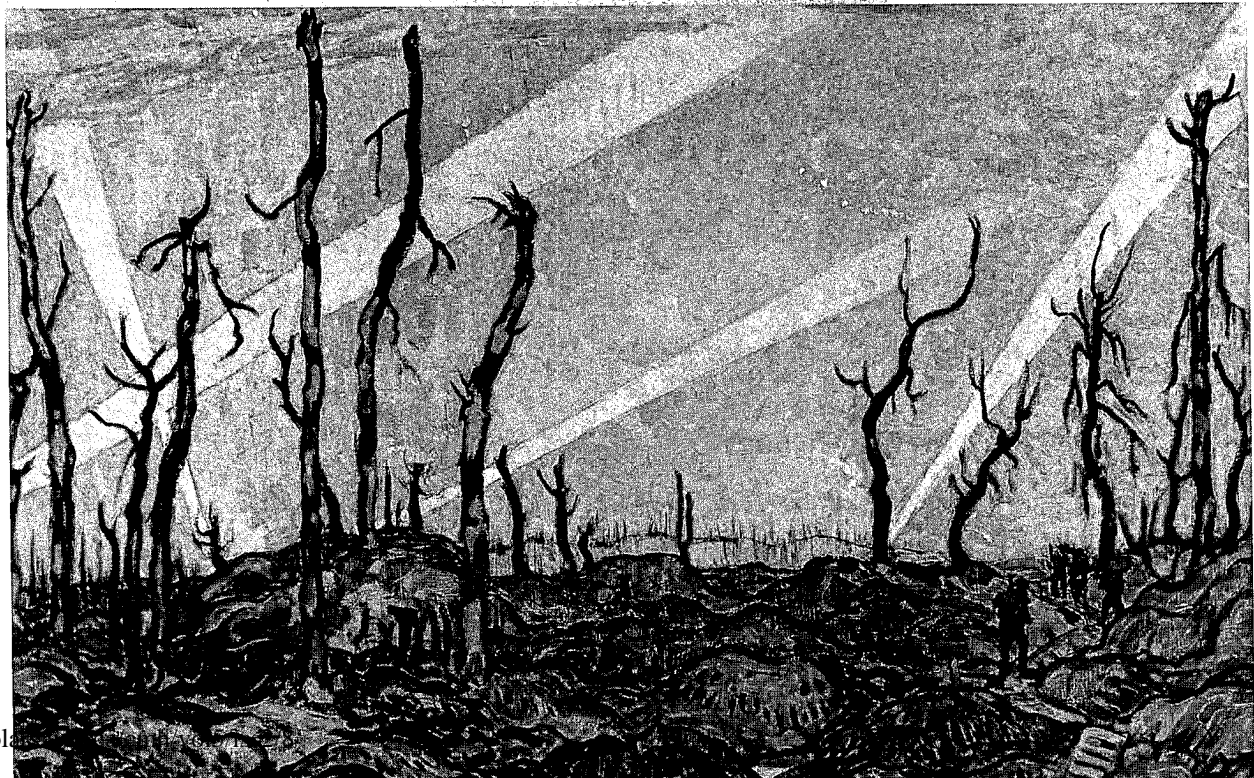


Figure 7 (below)
 A Copse, Evening (1918)
 A.Y. Jackson
 (86.8 x 111.8 cm; Oil on
 canvas; Canadian War
 Museum CN8204)



"This must be one of the most enduring pictures in the collection," one critic declared, "it owes its success to...its glacial light prospect...a phosphorescent beauty and almost a fascination that yet in no way detracts from the grimness of the conception."³⁶ Significantly, *A Copse, Evening* clearly expresses the change that occurred in Jackson's way of painting the landscape of war, from a decorative style detached from the surrounding brutality, early in his career as a war artist, to a more mature interpretation of the landscape, evident in *A Copse, Evening*. This painting signals his concern with depicting the bleak devastation of the front lines, and its impact on the troops and inhabitants of the war zone. As Jackie Adell observed, Jackson's intention in *A Copse, Evening* "is to focus upon the vulnerability of men," within the shattered landscape.³⁷

Jackson was not to visit the front lines again during the last half of 1918. Returning to London in the spring of that year, Jackson worked up his canvases from sketches made in the field. In October, Jackson was notified that he was to be sent to Siberia, in his capacity as a war artist, with the 4000-strong Canadian contingent of the Allied forces fighting the Bolsheviks.³⁸ Within 24 hours of receiving this notice Jackson was on his way back to Canada where he was to collect extra equipment and await further instructions. In November, while the artist was preparing for the expedition to Russia, peace was declared with the signing of the Armistice. Delays prompted an exasperated Jackson to write in early January 1919, "I have been in readiness to proceed to Siberia for the last six weeks and as practically the whole expedition has gone and left me here with no further orders it looks as though they do not intend to have an artist with the force."³⁹ Jackson's participation in Siberia never materialized, and the artist later recalled: "all I got out of it was twenty tubes of white paint." Among the many influences his war experiences may have had on his later work, the artist mused that, "it was probably this [white] paint that was responsible for my becoming a snow painter as I had to find some use for it."⁴⁰

Jackson spent several months in Halifax during the late winter and early spring of 1919, painting the returning troopships with fellow Canadian artist Arthur Lismer (1885-1969).

Jackson's disappointment at the collapse of the Siberian trip suggests a longing for the excitement of the front lines. He wrote to Eric Brown, the director of the National Gallery and a key official with the Canadian War Memorials Fund, "I would of course [have] preferred the Siberian expedition but the purpose of it seems very indefinite and may mean nothing but garrison duty in Vladivostok...if the Siberian force appears...to be in for a serious campaign it should be possible to follow on."⁴¹ Jackson was not called to go to Siberia and in April 1919 he returned to Montreal to be discharged from the army.⁴²

After an absence of four and a half years, an adjustment to civilian life and a return to painting the national landscape awaited him. Jackson later recalled of this period in his life, "I set about trying to revive my interest in painting the Canadian scene, and to regain the excitement which had sustained me in the months before the war."⁴³

In August 1919, after a successful debut in London, England and New York City, the CWMF exhibition was first shown to the Canadian public at Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition. The show was attended by 107,865 Canadians over two weeks and the galleries were "crowded continuously with returned soldiers who spent hours living again through the scenes depicted and describing them to their friends."⁴⁴ Jackson, however, was dismissive of the exhibition, describing it in a letter to Eric Brown as "a lot of stuff which sprawls over too much canvas...and [was] of unhistoric importance."⁴⁵ Jackson's paintings of the war on the Western Front elicited an enthusiastic reaction from critics and the public. His friend and colleague Arthur Lismer later wrote of Jackson's work, "some of his loveliest canvases were painted in the First World War...he saw...not the struggle of men in action, but rather the sad and wistful aftermath."⁴⁶

The impact of Jackson's time as a war artist on his post-war artwork was significant. The chaotic atmosphere of the front haunts Jackson's work following 1919. The artist, on returning to Canada from France, was not satisfied to "paint anything that was serene" but wanted "to paint storms and...things that had been smashed up."⁴⁷ Their experience within the chaos and mechanistically destructive environment of the

front had caused many artists, whether modernist or traditionalist, to realize the limitations of their styles. This clearly was the case with Jackson, who, early in his appointment as a war artist, had questioned the ability of traditional painting to capture the experience of trench warfare. Doubtless also, his exposure to modernist British trends in painting, particularly the work of Paul Nash and other artists participating in the CWMF program, had an impact on his work.⁴⁸

The bleak landscape of the front lines gave Jackson a new appreciation of the barren and rugged Canadian wilderness he was to paint after the war, as one of the founding members of the Group of Seven. In setting out to paint this landscape, Jackson employed the same methods and techniques he had used in recording the devastation and beauty of the Western Front. The muddied, sombre colours of no-man's-land and the trenches recur repeatedly in Jackson's post-war canvases.⁴⁹

Jackson's paintings of the Western Front not only brought the war to visibility for the Canadian public, but more importantly, offered up unsentimental depictions of the war for examination. Seeing and knowing informed these works. Thus, Jackson's paintings of the fields of battle are neither myths nor stereotypes. His direct experience as a front-line infantryman assisted in the creation of paintings that made the war intelligible to the public and helped to articulate a field of vision with which to view the experience of the war.

Notes

1. Two of Jackson's landscape paintings were on exhibit at the Ontario Society of Artists' show held in March 1917. They were completed while the artist was travelling in Europe prior to 1914 and were entitled *Morning, Leeds, England*, and *Assisi from the Plain*. Hector Charlesworth, "Good Pictures at O.S.A. Exhibition," *Saturday Night* (Toronto) 24 March 1917, p.2.
2. Estelle M. Kerr, "Paintings at O.S.A.," *The Canadian Courier*, 24 March 1917, p.15.
3. Records Office, London Guildhall, Application for Registration in the matter of the War Charities Act, 1916, 7 November 1916, as quoted in Maria Tippett, *Art At the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p.26.
4. The Canadian War Records Office was established in London, England in March 1916 with its purpose to "prepare, collect, and preserve records of value for the narrative history of the Canadian forces serving in the war." It published *The Canadian Daily Record*, which furnished Canadian news to the troops, *Canada in Khaki*, and the *Canadian War Pictorial*. "Activities of the Gov't of Canada in Preserving Permanent Historical Records of the War," Beaverbrook Papers, BBK/E/3/30, House of Lords Record Office, London, England.
5. Tippett, *Art At the Service*, pp.17-27.
6. A.Y. Jackson, "Reminiscences of Army Life, 1914-1918," *Canadian Art*, Autumn 1953, p.6.
7. The 60th Infantry Battalion, Victoria Rifles of Canada, was recruited from Montreal and saw service in France between February 1916 and April 1917. Its battle honours include "Mount Sorrel," "Somme, 1916," "Flers-Courcelette," "Ancre Heights," "Arras, 1917," "Vimy, 1917," "France and Flanders, 1916-17." The Battalion was replaced in the field by the 116th Infantry Battalion in April 1917 and the men of the 60th were distributed among the other units serving at the Front. John Meek, *Over The Top! The Canadian Infantry in the First World War* (Orangeville, Ontario: John Meek, 1971), p.77; see also, A.Y. Jackson, *Paintings 1902-1953* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1953), p.31.
8. Charles Hill, *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1995), pp.61, 62, citing source as *Gazette* (Montreal), 29 June 1915; see also A.Y. Jackson, *A Painter's Country* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1958), pp.43, 44.
9. Tippett, *Art At the Service*, p.28.
10. Lord Beaverbrook to Sir Edmund Walker, 14 December 1917, National Gallery of Canada Archives (NGC Arch), Canadian War Art, 5.41C, Canadian War Memorials (General) File 1.
11. Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, p.45.
12. *Ibid.*, p.46; see also H. Mortimer Lamb, "Studio-Talk," *The Studio*, (London), LXII (September 1914), p.313, and LXI (February 1914), p.81. Eric Brown, "Studio-Talk," *The Studio*, LXIV (April 1915), p.211. Richard Jack was commissioned in November 1916 to depict the Canadians at the Second Battle of Ypres. His painting, *The Second Battle of Ypres, 22 April to 25 May, 1915* is in the collection of the Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.
13. Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, p.43.
14. *Ibid.*, p.48.
15. Lord Beaverbrook to Major-General Sir J.W. Carson, 18 September 1917, Beaverbrook Papers, BBK/A/238, House of Lords Record Office, London, England. *Portrait of Private J.C. Kerr, The Victoria Cross*, (1917), collection Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, CN 8192.
16. Jackson's sketch for his painting *Ablain St. Nazaire*, CN 9956, in the collection of the Canadian War Museum, is signed and dated by the artist, "30/9-1917."
17. Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, pp.47, 48.
18. "The area is better known under the name of Hill 70, if you are thinking of battles of that time." Major Robert F. Wodehouse, "Five War Paintings by A.Y. Jackson," manuscript, 1967, p. 1, Canadian War Museum Archives (CWM Arch.), Artist Files, A.Y. Jackson.
19. Jackson noted that the painting *Springtime in Picardy*, now in the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, was one of his favourite works from this period. Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, p.49.
20. Jackson, "Reminiscences of Army Life," p.9.

21. Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, p.48.
22. Jackson's signature and date on each of the works relating to Ablain Saint-Nazaire indicate that the artist was attracted repeatedly to this site, first drawing several views of the church in September 1917 and returning to paint it in March 1918. The sketches and paintings are dated, *Ablain St. Nazaire*, 30 September 1917, (CN 9956); Sketch for Ablain Saint-Nazaire, (b), date c1917, (CN 14890.2); Sketch for Ablain Saint-Nazaire (c), 30 September 1917, (CN 14890.3); Ablain Saint-Nazaire (I), 8 March 1918, (CN 8211); Ablain Saint-Nazaire (II), 8 March 1918, (CN 8212); all in the collection of the Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.
23. Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, p.48.
24. Jackson's sketch for *Houses of Ypres* is dated "Nov. 2nd. 17." 25. J. Kerr-Lawson's *The Cloth Hall, Ypres* (c1919), and A. Bastien's *Cloth hall, Ypres* (1914), both in the Canadian War Museum collection, show the destruction of the guild hall which had been one of the medieval architectural marvels of Northern Europe.
26. Barker Fairley, "Canadian War Pictures," *Canadian Magazine*, November 1919, p.10.
27. Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, p.48.
28. Lord Beaverbrook to Edmund Walker, 14 December 1917, "List of Artists and Their Proposed Works," NGC Arch., Canadian War Art, 5.41-C, Canadian War Memorials (General), File 1. "Hon. Lieut. A.Y. Jackson" is described as "just returned from France...is now commencing work. Will do paintings and etchings."
29. Jackson, "Reminiscences of Army Life," p.9. Liévin was a coal mining village near the city of Lens, an area Jackson had visited the previous Autumn. Both communities were located in a belt of devastated country five miles wide, captured by the Canadian in the summer of 1917. Wodehouse, "Five War Paintings," p.2.
30. Augustus John (1878-1961) was a British painter and graphic artist. John never completed the mural although his sketches for the work are in the collection of the Canadian War Museum. Wodehouse, "Five War Paintings," p.1.
31. Jackson, "Reminiscences of Army Life," p.9.
32. Text taken from *Sketch for Gas Attack, Lieven*, (CWM CN 14890.9).
33. Barker Fairley, "Canadian War Pictures," *Canadian Magazine*, November 1919, pp.8, 10.
34. Wodehouse, "Five War Pictures," p.4.
35. Frederick H. Varley to Arthur Lismer, ca. May 1919, as quoted in John McLeish, *September Gale: A Study of Arthur Lismer of the Group of Seven* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1955), p.67. Both Varley and Lismer were colleagues of Jackson and all three painters were later members of the Group of Seven which first exhibited in 1920. See also, Hill, *The Group of Seven*, pp.61-80.
36. Fairley, "Canadian War Pictures," pp.10, 11.
37. Jackie Adell, "British First World War Art and The Group of Seven: The Relationship Between the War Art of A.Y. Jackson and Paul Nash and its Influence on the Art of Lawren Harris," unpublished M.A. Research Essay, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1984, p.39.
38. Tippett, *Art At the Service*, p.76. Jackson returned to Canada from England in October 1918. Hill, *Group of Seven*, p.310.
39. A.Y. Jackson to Eric Brown, 5 January 1919, NGC Arch., Canadian War Artists, 5.42-J, A.Y. Jackson.
40. Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, p.50. Plans to send Jackson, and fellow CWMF artist C.W. Simpson, to Siberia were cancelled in December 1919 due to a shortage of funds and reductions in CWMF operations. Tippett, *Art At the Service*, p.94.
41. A.Y. Jackson to Eric Brown, 5 January 1919, NGC Arch., Canadian War Artists, 5.42-J, A.Y. Jackson.
42. Hill, *Group of Seven*, p.310.
43. Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, p.51.
44. Tippett, *Art at the Service*, p.90.
45. A.Y. Jackson to Eric Brown, 1 September 1919; as quoted in Tippett, *Art at the Service*, p.90.
46. Arthur Lismer, in Preface to *A.Y. Jackson: Paintings 1902-1953* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1953), p.6.
47. Tippett, *Art at the Service*, p.106, quoting from, Ann Davis, "An Apprehended Vision: The Philosophy of the Group of Seven," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1973, p.347.
48. Tippett, *Art at the Service*, p.108. Tippett observes the influence of the British painter Paul Nash (1889-1946) in Jackson's *First Snow* painted in c.1920. Jackie Adell observes that Jackson "believed Nash to be one of the most impressive artists of his time." Adell writes that Jackson's exposure to Nash's work may have dated from a *Country Life* article of January 1918 in which six war drawings were published. During this time Jackson was in London working up his drawings made on the front line. Adell, pp.29-30.
49. Jackson's painting *First Snow, Algoma* (1920), with its bare, blackened tree stumps, muted colour palate, and swirling snow, and *March Storm, Georgian Bay* (1920) are examples of this influence. For illustrations see, Charles Hill, *The Group of Seven: Art For A Nation*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada), 1995, plate 85, and figure 194.

Susan Butlin is an Ottawa-based art historian.