A STUDY IN CONVICTION AND FANTASY: 
A.S. BELANEY AND GREY OWL, 1888-1938 
by James Shortt 
1980
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Introduction

The purpose of this study is to provide a biographical sketch of Archibald Stansfeld Belaney or Grey Owl as he was more familiarly known. Emphasis has been placed on the years he spent at Prince Albert National Park and, to a lesser extent, Riding Mountain National Park. A chronological approach has been adopted so that the following questions may be resolved: what were the psychological and intellectual forces influencing his childhood and later adult life, what, if any, was his philosophy of conservation and does he, in fact, merit the title "conservationist" and finally, what were the results of his work?

For the most part documentary evidence has been the basis for formulating the answers to these questions. Such information was retrieved from various departmental files within the Public Archives of Canada and previously unpublished material from the Macmillan Publishing Company Archives in Toronto, and the Interpretative Office of Prince Albert National Park, Waskesiu Lake, Saskatchewan. Additional material was obtained from the current historical files within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Provincial Archives of Ontario, the Saskatchewan Archives Office, and the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

A major problem in composing a biography of a well known and colourful figure is separating fact from fiction. For that reason oral history has not been relied upon as much as might have been possible. Though Belaney had literally thousands of admirers, his friends were few in number and could, in his own assessment, "be numbered on the fingers of one hand." Since he was such a mysterious person, the stories
surrounding his life and work are perhaps better known than the truth. Time has taken its toll on the memories of those who were acquainted with him. Questioning individuals about a contemporary whom they worked with or befriended is always a risky venture and the historical validity of such interviews is bound to diminish with the passage of years.

The Canadian historical community has tenaciously refused to recognize the interest or significance of Grey Owl. Academic studies of the man are almost non-existent. Carl Klinck's celebrated Literary History of Canada devotes less than a page to this author, in spite of acknowledging him as "our greatest writer of the thirties." Margaret Atwood in Survival ignores him completely, preferring to concentrate on the less popular, more obscure, authors. At present Professor Donald Smith has produced two worthwhile, albeit brief, inquiries into his life and work: "Grey Owl," Ontario History, vol. 63, September, 1971 and "The Belaney's of Brandon Hills: Grey Owl's Canadian Cousins," Beaver, vol. 306, winter, 1975. The most comprehensive source yet is Lovat Dickson's, Wilderness Man: The Strange Glory of Grey Owl. This study of Belaney is generally historically accurate—thanks to the assistance of researcher D.B. Smith—but it is flawed by a somewhat distorted, overly sympathetic, treatment of Belaney. The popular literature on Grey Owl is quite large and since his death articles have appeared in periodicals as diverse as Rod and Gun and the Canadian Geographical Journal.

The text of this work has been broken into seven chapters. The primary chapter outlines the emotional and intellectual environment in which Archie was raised. Chapter two discusses his first and very harsh exposure to the Canadian frontier, and the shift in values away from his British origins. The necessity for developing a new identity is examined here. The third chapter returns Archie to Canada and introduces Anahareo, the woman who was to have such a profound effect.
The fourth and fifth chapters discuss Belaney's gradual transformation from trapper to conservation publicist. This change unfolds against the background of his emerging career as a native author and "naturalist" within the National Parks Branch. Attention is also paid to his declining mental health which, it is suggested, resulted from a combination of early experiences and uncontrolled abuse of alcohol. Chapter six details his continuing work for the government and increasing success as an author coincident with two highly acclaimed tours of England. The concluding chapter examines the totality of Belaney's labours and attempts to place him in an historical perspective within the Canadian conservation movement.
I The Formative Years

Archie Belaney's ancestry can be traced back to the early years of the 19th century to Scottish farming stock. He was named after his grandfather who was the youngest in a family of five sons and became a comfortable merchant in Georgian London. At about age 30 he married a woman of some means. They had three children: Ada, Carrie and George Belaney. Archibald Belaney died before his only son had completed school. Perhaps the lack of fatherly discipline lead George to be less than the gentleman his social station demanded. By age 21 he had left his job with Huth and Company, a prosperous tea and coffee import house. A subsequent individual effort at the business of selling these stimulants in thirsty London met with dismal failure. His lack of business acumen, irresponsibility and penchant for drink forced the firm of George Furmage Belaney and Company to close their doors by the spring of 1880.

With financial disaster came social problems. A young woman with whom he had become enamoured while visiting friends in Suffolk had become pregnant by him. She is said to have had little money and less education. Her parents were naturally concerned over the fate of their daughter. Failure to marry her would undoubtedly lead to scandal or worse still legal prosecution. Certainly if his mother discovered his position, she would most probably sever the allowance she had been paying him since the collapse of his own business. Fearing the consequences, George Belaney married Rose Ethel Hines on April 13, 1881. This marriage was doomed from the beginning and it is no surprise to find that George abandoned his
wife within months of their union. The child for whom this arrangement had been so hastily concluded died before the age of two.

Belaney's real romantic interest was linked to another woman whom he met at approximately the time he married Rose Ethel Hines. It is unlikely that George's mother ever knew that he had been forced to marry Ethel, a woman he did not love and for whom he cared little. When her son introduced Elizabeth Cox to the family Mrs. Belaney's only concern was that before any marriage took place, George must find a respectable career.3

This stipulation was only a minor difficulty for George, who had always been able to manipulate his mother. He was the only male child and bore a resemblance to Mrs. Belaney's late husband. Possibly because of this resemblance he was easily able to convince his mother to invest financially in an American fruit farming venture which he was planning. In the late autumn of 1885 George, Elizabeth and Gertrude, their child of the previous spring, settled in Florida. In addition Elizabeth had convinced George to allow her younger sister Katherine, or Kitty as she preferred, a fragile child of twelve, to accompany them. George's orange grove was a brief success. In his free time he rewarded himself with hours of carefree hunting. When he eventually left England for good he gave his mother several valuable pieces of his taxidermal work.4 Good fortune, however, favoured him only fleetingly and in 1886 after less than a year in America Elizabeth became ill and died. Crushed by the loss, he returned to his former irresponsible ways, becoming in the words of his sisters, "a drunkard."5

Elizabeth's younger sister, Kitty, now became the woman of the household. It seems she served as a blend of domestic, mother to Gertrude. Ultimately she became George's lover, and eventually, Grey Owl's mother. George's business collapsed and in the early spring of 1888 he was forced to sell out.
As in the past when financial difficulties rose George looked to his mother for relief, which she always gave despite his sisters' protestations. He anticipated this occasion would prove no different. Consequently in the summer of 1888, George and Kitty Cox departed for Hastings. At this point he married the fifteen year old Kitty. At the same time he abandoned Gertrude, his three year old daughter. Both these acts were designed to make his existence more palatable to Mrs. Belaney. To ensure that she would not discover what an utter cad he was, he introduced his fifteen year old wife as an American, formerly named Kitty Morris.

In Hastings George and Kitty lived in a respectably furnished accommodation at thirty-two St. James Road provided by Mrs. Belaney. There Archibald Stansfeld Belaney was born on September 18, 1888. Less than a week later, his birth was recorded in the local registry office with George carefully concealing his penury by emphatically stating his occupation as "planter." For a brief spell Hastings appealed to him. As long as his mother continued to keep him in the style to which he had become accustomed, there seemed little reason to seek employment.

He must have felt something for Kitty with whom he stayed for two more years. This marriage produced a second son, Hugh Cockburn, in 1900. But late Victorian Hastings had its limit of entertainment for George who once again desired to travel. The responsibilities of a wife and two small children did not apparently concern him, or if they did, travel was the surest way to avoid them. According to Lovat Dickson, Belaney's publisher and agent, and to date the only living person able to verify this, George was approached by the family's solicitors and offered a regular stipend each year provided that he leave England immediately and never return. By this arrangement everyone would benefit. Kitty, modestly supported by Mrs. Belaney's savings, would be allowed to go her own way with the youngest child Hugh. Archibald, the
favourite of the two children, would be properly raised by Ada, Carrie and Mrs. Belaney. Finally, the direct costs of maintaining George's family would be considerably reduced, thereby sparing his mother further financial worries. By Archie's fourth birthday an agreement was made. George returned to North America; Kitty, now a young woman of nineteen and not at all unattractive, gradually drifted away from the influence of the Belaney woman and remarried within a few years to a comfortably placed bank clerk. The results of this happier marriage was a boy, Leonard, who even to this day bears an incredible resemblance to his famous half-brother.

If one wished to debate the contentious issue of whether physical environment or heredity forms the dominant influence on an individual's development, then the town of Hastings was about as likely as China to produce a "Red Indian dedicated to conservation," as the press would later describe him. A contemporary tourist advertisement proclaims that Hastings has been "popular with visitors since 1066," and certainly it was popular at the turn of the century. Each year thousands from the larger metropolitan areas descended upon the town to enjoy the moderate climate, aquatic sports, and more reasonable prices than could be had in popular Brighton. The town has changed little since then. The preserved ruins of the Norman Castle continue to overshadow the commercial core. The streets are steep and narrow, and imminently worthy of investigation for the numerous historical plaques dotting the walls of the houses. The architecture of the older areas, a blend of Tudor, Georgian and Victorian, remains for the most part unaltered by time or the land developer. Hastings remained a largely conservative parochial society heavily dominated by the Church of England.

At the impressionable age of four Archie was left with his grandmother and aunt. Throughout his childhood in Hastings he nurtured a fantasy—not of a sea captain or pirate as might
be expected—but of an Indian in the wilds of North America. Since the housing needs for the two aunts, grandmother and Archie were lessened by the departure of George, Kitty and Hugh, Mrs. Belaney sold her house at fifty-two St. Helen's Road in 1895. Slightly less prestigious lodgings were obtained at thirty-six St. Mary's Terrace. For Archie this was the third move within the town in almost as many years. The new home had one decided advantage; namely, its proximity to St. Helen's woods lying a mile to the north. This 30 acre tract of land became his refuge and it was here that his interest in bird and mammal life emerged. Here, too, he began to fantasize about the life of the Indian.

Archie's need to develop this fantasy becomes more understandable when one considers his home and school life. The dominant influences of his childhood were three women. They undoubtedly loved him but could only partially provide for his emotional needs. Certainly the absence of his parents, particularly his father, must have lead to cruel teasing from his elementary school friends. The fact that his mother had left with his younger brother must certainly have given rise to some degree of sibling jealousy. By the time he was ready to enter Hastings Grammar School he must have been questioning his own self-image and identity. Whatever emotional support he had received from his surrogate parents, Ada and Carrie, had probably pretty well dissolved by his 11th birthday.

Young Archie developed some ability at the piano. Such an interest was probably initially pursued to appease the women, but became a skill which he would periodically call upon to entertain himself and friends in Canada. Of greater significance was the mysterious rapport he cultivated with the flora and fauna of St. Helen's woods and other municipal park lands. It was here that he was happiest; sometimes alone, sometimes in the company of his mother's two trusted collie dogs. For hours at a time he would tramp about the park observing, listening and studying the wildlife. On a
number of occasions he would return to the house with biological specimens which he would care for as lovingly as another child would care for a cat or a dog. Reptiles, especially snakes, fascinated him. Often one or more could be found in his pockets, others he preserved in bottles of spirits. This rudimentary interest in natural science was most probably inherited from his father whose taxidermy collection was scattered about the household.

Throughout primary school Archie had done well and it was expected that he should continue on to the local Grammar School. Had it not been for his grandmother's affluence and the family's social position he would likely have been denied entrance. At school his circle of acquaintances was broadened somewhat; his interest in the "west" and the "frontier" increased as he became exposed to the popular, albeit distorted, literature in vogue at that time; and finally, he began to question the family about his father's whereabouts. The Hastings Grammar School was a highly competitive institution. A student was expected to produce better than average grades to eagerly participate in extra curricular activities. Each year the spirit and sympathy of "the old school tie" and the tradition of "playing the game" were inculcated into the youthful minds of the freshmen class. Such school spirit was largely lost on Archie. He maintained his aloof nature making only two or three friends throughout his entire stay. Particularly inspired by his history and geography instructors he did well academically. According to his half-brother Leonard Scott-Brown he was so successful that, "mom felt embarrassed at the end of term when the prizes which were usually books were distributed, since Archie often took all of them."15

During the first three years of his post-primary education Archie read avidly. Writers such as Henty, Haggard and Kipling, all of whom were sanctioned in the name of Empire, became his favourites. When he was unable to obtain these "respectable"
adventure stories he settled for and eventually began to prefer, those described as "penny dreadfuls." These works invariably dealt with the Indian-white battles of the American frontier. The plots of these novelettes were notoriously redundant and inaccurate. Such stories were full of scenes of rabid natives, usually Apaches, raiding innocent wagon trains pillaging and burning and then departing into the sunset leaving only the echo of their warwhoops. Shortly afterwards the brave cavalry forces arrived on the horizon eager to meet out punishment on "the heathen." These troops were inevitably lead or guided by a brave Métis scout. He was usually granted the noble cunning, stealth and wildlife knowledge of the native, and his physical characteristics were a blend of the best from both races. The conception of mixed parentage allowed the authors to portray him as at least partially "civilized," respected by the whitemen, feared by his native brothers and altogether a very decent sort of individual. To Archie he appeared the superlative of both worlds, an idealized father. His romantic vision eventually grew into an enormous fantasy which he publicized as a writer and emulated throughout his adult life.

At age fourteen Archie had been enrolled in the Grammar School for three years. During that time he befriended few of his classmates. While his peers actively engaged in cricket and football, a common socializing process within the school system, he studiously avoided them. Instead he tended to look for companionship among the junior grades finding there Harry Hopkins or "Hoppy" as he was called, William Dyer, Percy Overton and George McCormick. Of these George McCormick and his large family became his closest allies. There were two reasons for this: first, the proximity of their houses which were separated by a narrow pathway linking their gardens; second, the friendly relaxed environment of the McCormick household which must surely have been a relief from
the cold, sterile atmosphere of his aunts' residence. Though the McCormick family already numbered twelve and despite the fact that George was three years younger than Archie, he was welcomed into their house as the 13th member. Mr. McCormick senior by all reports seems to have had an exceedingly patient temperament. He helped the boys erect a wigwam in the garden where they camped on the warm summer evenings. He turned a blind eye to Archie's penchant for homemade bombs, the targets of which were the school laboratory and accidentally a window in their house. Young Belaney's fixation with firearms from rifles to derringers was also ignored.

The presence of at least one of the numerous travelling American "Wild West" troupes would also have stimulated his interest in the frontier and the wilderness. The existence of these actors, the majority of whom reputedly were from the United States, offered further reinforcement for his delusion that his father was a scout or guide somehow involved with taming this "wild" west. Three years prior to completing Grammar School the local press announced the August visit of "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show." The prospect of seeing "100 redskin braves," representatives of most every tribe in the American southwest, or the "verile muscular heroic manhood of the mounted warriors of the world," do a genuine reenactment of "the attack upon the Deadwood Stage Coach," was too much for Archie to resist. It is not difficult to imagine him sitting as close to the action as possible, having paid his three shillings, sweets in one hand perhaps a programme in the other with his vivid imagination racing in between. This was an event he would not easily forget. Years later he would make both oblique and direct references to his own and his father's employment within Colonel Cody's itinerant show.

Perhaps because Archie was ahead of George academically, or because of his height which approached six feet by his fourteenth birthday, his relationship with George and to a
lesser extent Percy, a neighbour of the McCormick children, was always one of leader. Archie insisted on being in control and felt uncomfortable when he was evenly matched or bettered. The three of them would descend on St. Helen's Wood, Percy and George hiding themselves in the shrubbery while Archie tracked them with all the pretended stealth and cunning of the native scout. Gradually Percy became bored with these repetitive charades and drifted away from Archie's influence. George however remained his loyal friend. Together they spent hours exploring the surrounding countryside or fishing for trout in the numerous local streams. During these days Archie's knowledge of wildlife and natural science increased. He especially prided himself on his ability to mimic the "hoot" of an owl. When wishing to attract the attention of George or his two pretty sisters he would preface his appearance by creating this sound.

But the beaver fascinated him the most. So deeply ingrained was this interest that at one point George, under Archie's leadership constructed elaborate beaver dams and lodges across the stream that flowed through St. Helen's Wood. Their game ended when the puzzled farmer with a cattle pond further down the stream system began investigating the cause of his diminishing water supplies.25

By 1905, at age seventeen, Archie had completed his education at the Grammar School. With that he and his contemporaries were expected either to continue on to university or to seek appropriate employment. Neither of these possibilities appealed to Archie. His confidant, George, now seemed more inclined to taking part in school sporting events than gathering mushrooms or poaching trout from a neighbouring estate in Gessling. However Archie had enjoyed directing George's interests and therefore modified his own to accommodate his young friend. Though Archie abhorred sports he did interest himself at George's prodding in running and rowing. He even appointed himself George's coach and trainer. The
result was a vigorous training schedule of jogging in Alexander Park, a long thin tract of land in the centre of Hastings ideally suited for such a purpose. The combination of Archie's bellowed instructions and George's perspiration led to a happy finale which Mr. McCormick still justifiably recalls with misty eyes: "I swept the running and rowing awards." But George was still a boy of 14 and in the midst of his schooling. Archie, years older and supposedly wiser, should have been more concerned with finding employment than maintaining boyhood camaraderie, at least that was the opinion of his aunts. They were determined that this child, the unfortunate product of their wayward brother's tangled relations, should reverse the tainted Belaney image and become a respectable member of Hastings society. Obtaining employment within the area was not a difficult problem. Though he may have lacked ambition in this direction his grandmother and aunts did not. Family status seemed to guarantee that a clerkship could be arranged. While the town was by no means growing rapidly since its economy was geared to the seasonal tourist trade, it was nevertheless expanding to the north and east. Such development gave rise to a number of related building trades and among them the half dozen local timber merchants.

In 1903 Cheale Brothers, 502 Old London Road, was a small but going concern, judging by the large advertisement in the municipal directory for that year. By 1905 the firm had expanded enough to employ Archie, a good looking and educated young man. Belaney's exact duties with the company are not known. It is most probable that because of his education he was assigned the task of bookkeeping or possibly recording and evaluating the loads of maple, pine, oak and walnut which crowded the yard. He disliked both the daily routine and his employers and was restless and uncomfortable. Each working day became more unbearable than the one which proceeded it.
Throughout the brief period which Archie worked for Cheale Brothers he wore moccasins which were not, surprisingly, considered an oddity by his employers. After a few months on the job he announced his intention of emigrating to America. This prospect horrified his aunts especially when they reflected on the sad effect that America had had on their brother. A compromise was reached. It was agreed that he would continue to work for Cheale Brothers, and if in the spring he still insisted, arrangements would be made for his departure. But the women were adamant in their opposition to the United States. If he was so intrigued by the western frontier then let him try Canada. It was, after all, British in tradition and heritage and therefore considerably more civilized than the lawless Republic to the south. Besides, if the publicity posters could be believed, it possessed "the last best west." Moreover, there were relatives living on the prairies and possibly from them Archie could learn the rudiments of farming, a respectable if humble way of life.

The months flew by with Archie probably daily tabulating his savings and carefully monitoring the price of trans-Atlantic Steamship fares. He bade his employers farewell by playfully lowering a small bag of gunpowder down the office chimney with predictable consequences, a departure which neither party likely forgot. For the McCormicks and his grandmother he reserved a more conventional goodbye; and so too for Ada, Carrie and probably his mother. In the late afternoon of March 30, 1906, Archie Belaney, whom the school’s historian described during the year of his entry as "behaving more like a Red Indian than a respectable grammar school boy," sailed for Canada.

When studying the life of a person as enigmatic as Grey Owl, a psychoanalytic approach can yield important insights. It is the contention of this manuscript that Archibald Belaney’s lonely childhood had a critical significance on his subsequent development as an adult. It has already been noted
that his youthful personality took shape in the absence of both parents, under the influence of his grandmother and two maiden aunts. There can be little doubt that the disappearance of his father, and the virtual absence of any father figure, had a pronounced effect on Belaney's emotional development.

Belaaney was raised by three women; his grandmother and two maiden aunts. Of the two sisters his Aunt Ada, the younger of the two, had the most prominent influence. Having met her as an old woman—after Grey Owl's death—Lovat Dickson depicted Ada Belaney as a frustrated person with little emotional warmth. It seems likely that she made her young charge feel unwanted which could only have nurtured his alienation. There is certainly evidence that by the time he reached adolescence that he tended to be an introvert who neither identified with his aunts nor his peers.

By the time he had finished Grammar School his only real achievement lay in his ability to amuse himself with the plant and animal life of the municipal parklands. His interest seems to have been largely ignored or merely humoured by his schoolmates. Whatever academic success he had experienced was not achieved for purposes of recognition or positive reinforcement from his instructors but out of fascination with the subject material. By a greater understanding of history and geography, particularly that of North America, he could produce a more coherent and credible—when called to relate it—explanation of his father's existence. It may well be that his upper school years proved harshly disappointing. The intense interest in wildlife and North American Indians nurtured throughout elementary school was undoubtedly greeted coolly by his teachers. Such a reception reinforced his feelings of rejection since the same response had been present in his home life. In reply to this rejection he became even more dependent upon studying and perfecting his native and natural history knowledge. Yet the psychological support
derived from this unrelenting interest in imaginary events linked to his father, fostered by academic pursuits or fanciful entertainment, created a damaging cycle. The more he explored the life of an Indian or Métis scout and their innate wisdom in the wilderness—the role in which he idealized his father—the more he undoubtedly compared himself to this man who by now had assumed truly heroic proportions. The resulting comparison led in turn to feelings of inferiority and doubts of his own worth. He had, to cite Erik Erickson's notoriously familiar phrase, "an identity crisis." This inability to meet and resolve the conflicts and crises of childhood and adolescence from the perspective of achievement would definitely direct and influence his later life.

If Belaney's self image suffered from his eccentric interests then so did his relationships with friends, family and peers. The overwhelming impression of his school acquaintances was that Archie was a solitary figure. His was a solitude that few tried to penetrate, and he rarely seems to have sought to change it. By deliberately avoiding the comraderie of sports or other socializing events he became increasingly alienated from the normal social lives of his peers. The recurrent fantasy of the scout which he acted out ad nauseum in St. Helen's Wood drove away those contemporaries who had approached him. By choosing a boy considerably younger than himself and therefore less threatening as closest companion, he provided further reasons for rejection by his own age group. The absence of a clear family structure expected by a conservative community probably increased his level of unacceptability. This lack of acceptance of which Archie was both creator and victim served to drive him further inward. At age eighteen he existed in an anxious fantasy world peopled largely by creations of his own imagination; where he was accepted.

The fact that he spent a great deal of time at a neighbour's home suggests the deficiency of affection in his own
home. Certainly "the quality of the maternal relationship," which is universally conceded as critical in the emergence of an individual's personality seems suspect. At age four his father had disappeared from his life. All that remained were several stuffed mammals and vague responses to innocent questions. Worse still was the departure shortly afterwards of his mother. The fact that she took his younger brother Hugh must have saddled him with enormous feelings of abandonment and rivalry. It is not difficult to imagine Archie's painful perplexity: why did she leave? why did she take him instead of me? When his mother remarried before he left England the rejection complex might have taken on added dimensions. Not only was she ignoring him but now she had slighted the image of his idealized father. Moreover if his mother displayed any affection, her second marriage and the subsequent new half-brother must have made it the source of additional competition. It is significant to note that throughout his life he never mentioned this woman, preferring instead to portray his aunts as his parents.

By the date Archie left for Canada to see the frontier, and the natives with whom he had so fiercely come to identify, his basic psychological make up was complete. In discussing the many formulations of what constitutes a "healthy" personality, Marie Jahoda a prominent neo-Freudian argues that such an individual; "actively masters his environment, shows a certain unity of personality, and is able to perceive the world and himself correctly." By that definition Archie Belaney was anything but well adjusted.
II The Frontier Confronted

Archie landed in Halifax in early April 1906. He probably remained in Nova Scotia for a few weeks until the early summer. The maritime Micmacs, the first Indians Belaney was to meet, seem to have fascinated him, since he returned from Ontario to Digby, Nova Scotia, in order to enlist in the First World War. Furthermore, in his autobiography he states that he returned to eastern Canada in order to establish a beaver colony, an idea given to him by a Micmac Indian. By June the complexion of Halifax and area would have altered substantially from the previous spring when he had arrived. Thousands more immigrants would arrive weekly many prohibited from doing so before because of ice conditions or passage time tables. To have himself suddenly surrounded by a swelling group of Europeans many of whom were Anglo Saxon in origin was the last thing Archie wished. To escape he boarded a train for Toronto where connections could be made for the north and the west, the true frontier. At the date of his arrival Toronto was the hub of commercial activity for central Canada and a stronghold of English Canadian values and British traditions. In this atmosphere and with his educated upbringing it is unlikely he remained unemployed for many days. Lovat Dickson suggests that for a few weeks he found employment selling "gent's furnishings." Such employment must have been painful. To be within rail distance of what was then described as the frontier was powerful allurement. In late summer he left the congestion and stifling heat of Toronto to go as far west as his savings would take him. As it turned out the rail line on which he
was travelling ended before his meagre finances were exhausted. During the first decade of this century the portion of Ontario in the region of Temiskaming was just beginning to be exploited. The primary attraction here was mining, particularly the silver around Cobalt to the north. When the "get rich quick" prospectors had left, disappointed in most cases, and the serious companies began in earnest to extract ore, a related form of commerce emerged, the local tourist industry. The largest body of water in this area is Lake Temagami which to this day annually attracts thousands of sportsmen.

It was into this setting that Archie manoeuvred himself by the autumn of 1906. He probably felt some guilt over not continuing towards the prairies, the original plan devised by his aunts. From here he wrote them a hasty note indicating his whereabouts. 37 It was one of the few communications they received. Northern Ontario was then a harsh community which left little leeway for those unable to cope with the environment. The culture shock and abrupt realization that this was the frontier about which he had dreamt so often must have been quite substantial. It is unlikely that he had much money when he arrived in the Temiskaming area. Bill Guppy, a long time resident of the area, recalls that upon alighting from the train, Belaney promptly asked for a job. In his reminiscences Guppy noted Belaney's accent which he judged to be "Cockney." The visual impact of this young man on Guppy was most interesting.

Facing me, towering over me, was a good looking youngster, with sharp cut features, darkish hair cut short and parted on the right side, a firm chin and a lively smile. I judged him to be about eighteen years old, or maybe a pretty husky seventeen. He was an inch or two over six feet in height, long and lithe, and was dressed in rough working clothes - heavy boots, corduroy trousers as worn by labouring men, leather belt, an old jacket, a cotton shirt, a red handkerchief tied around his neck, and an old dented felt hat tilted sideways on his head. 38
Guppy found himself attracted to Archie whose only desire in life appeared to be to learn as much about the land and guiding and the Indians as possible. But work was scarce in Temiskaming. Many men Archie's age had come north as prospectors hoping to return home fabulously wealthy. For the majority it meant unemployment in a matter of weeks and an eventual dejected return home. Because he was impressed by Belaney's sincerity and even more by his respect for the land—respect not widely shared by the many youths who came to grab and get out—Guppy agreed to hire him. There would be no wages. The best he could expect was hard work and simple room and board. In return Guppy agreed to show him the basics of running a trap line in the winter and guiding on Lake Temagami the following summer. This set of conditions suited Archie. 39 Over the course of several months Guppy taught his eager pupil everything he knew. At the end of that long winter Archie had mastered the woods.

During the first winter in this region he travelled extensively on Lake Temagami. Amongst Lake Temagami's many islands was Bear Island, an Ojibway Indian Reserve, with its own Hudson's Bay Company post. While no record of Archie's first impression of the Bear Island natives exists, it has been suggested that the chapter entitled "A Day in a Hidden Town" from his final book Tales of An Empty Cabin is a picture of his first exposure to this tribe. However, the story's geography and the description of the people and their dwellings, not to mention their apparent shock at seeing "white people!" 40 seem to preclude this hypothesis. It is more probable that his first meeting with those Ojibways called into question his idealized notion of North American Indians. The reserve had problems. Not far enough from the larger centres of white society to preserve their own traditions and culture, and not close enough to expect some form of compensation, they existed in an unenviable cultural no-man's-land. The Ojibways were threatened by a progressively
encroaching white society. The new white society—represented by the Hudson's Bay Company and lodges—tolerated the Indian because of his ability on the trapline and as guide or wealthy sportsmen. But there was little real acceptance and "they were" as Belaney would write a few years later, "outcasts in their own country." 41

It is almost certain that this first picture of frontier Indian life proved a rude awakening. He must surely have compared these people to both the characters of the cheap novelettes on which his imagination had been forged, and of course to those "noble savages" he had witnessed in Colonel Cody's travelling troupe. These people were not the tall and erect stereotypes of his imagings. Neither did they constantly wear feathers in their hair, paint their bodies with symbolic paint, nor address all whitemen as "long knives." 42 Some were old and stooped, dressed in Hudson's Bay Company goods; some were without teeth and malnourished. The sad irony of this brutal reality lay in the fact that years later—as Grey Owl—Belaney suppressed this grim but accurate picture of Indian life. Instead, he created an image of an Indian of his fantasy. It was this idealized version of Indian life to which he tenaciously held.

Belaney carefully began to adjust to the reality of Canadian Indian life. As this adjustment preceded his personality and physical appearance underwent a subtle transformation. He consciously suppressed his English accent and instead cultivated a "Canadian drawl" seasoned with whatever Ojibway expressions he had absorbed. His skin weathered and the sun bronzed his face. He took to wearing his dark hair long, and disposed his work boots for moccasins. 43 These changes in his appearance gave him at least a regional look, if not the countenance of a Métis. To the untrained eye of the tourist he very likely appeared a perfect example of a mixed-blood. However to the experienced he was still a young
Englishman. This is clearly demonstrated by an event which occurred two years after his arrival in Temagami. On a wager with some local friends Archie boasted he could cross Algonquin Park during the winter of 1908-09 without the warden service apprehending him. Approximately halfway across his feet broke through a beaver dam. His feet became dangerously wet in sub zero weather. Mark Robinson, the chief ranger in the park nursed Belaney back to health. He described him as "an educated cultivated young man who enjoyed talking of forest and wildlife endlessly."  

In the summer of 1908 Archie secured part-time employment at the largest resort hotel on the lake, the Temagami Inn. It was the first of many built on this lake by Dan O'Connor, the "King of Temagami." When the autumn came and Guppy and the other guides returned to Temiskaming in the south, Archie announced his intention of wintering in Temagami. He felt confident about his ability to survive in the woods, having spent many instructive months under the watchful eye of Guppy and his friends. He had also recently befriended one Tommy Saville, an Englishman by birth, "who knew the Indians and their ways as few men did." Tommy served as an excellent introduction to the local Indian community. Archie's work at the Temagami Inn also placed him within easy paddling distance to the Bear Island reserve.  

At age twenty Archie was rapidly approaching his peak of physical maturity. With that came the natural yearnings for sexual fulfillment. But his aunts had made him distrust the female sex; so much so that he would later write they "had made him hate women." Throughout his adult life he had difficulty sustaining relationships with the women whom he chose as wives. It seems reasonable to surmise that much of this difficulty was conditioned by his troubled relationships with the most prominent women in his childhood.  

In his dealings with the management of the hotel Archie had become the favourite among the dozen or so employees.
No small part of this favouritism was derived from his ability to entertain both public and staff with the piano. On long cool summer evenings the sounds of popular tunes or Boer war victory songs brought back from Africa by the Canadian volunteers could be heard drifting across the lake. For variety from the toe-tapping, thigh-slapping impromptu kind he would suddenly become serious and incongruously drift into the melancholic repetition of Beethoven, Mozart, or Chopin. It was a talent which made him the center of attention—a position he enjoyed and cultivated.

During the summer of 1908 he also befriended a local Indian girl, who was also employed at the hotel. Angele Eguana was a full blooded Ojibway from the Bear Island reserve. She was not a particularly intelligent nor pretty woman. These were factors which Archie undoubtedly considered. Because of the feelings of resentment he harboured against the women who had raised him, any woman with whom he would associate in his adult life would be compelled to accept a submissive role. The less socially or intellectually presentable they were, the easier it became for him to feel comfortable in the role of lover or husband. Between 1908 and 1910 Archie courted Angele. The strict moral code of the tribe prevented him from simply taking her as his mistress. In the summer of 1910 they were married by a holidaying American clergyman.

According to friends at the beginning of their life together Archie and his shy, simple wife were regarded as "happy." But Archie saw little of Angele. He delivered the local mail between Temagami and Temiskaming and operated a trap line. In the autumn of 1910 Angele proudly announced her pregnancy. One can only imagine Archie's reaction. In the past any children he had known served only to heighten the competition for the affection he craved. A child would divide or at any rate reduce, the amount of attention he could expect from his wife. Moreover the presence of children im-
plied responsibility and settling down. This was the last thing Archie wanted.

By 1911 Angele, devoted and faithful as she was, had pretty well exhausted her usefulness as far as Archie was concerned. She had taught him all the Ojibway he could assimilate and had provided him with the obligatory wilderness clothing of buckskin. Her happily proclaimed pregnancy became, in his mind, a threat to his wilderness existence. Besides these doubts the entire question as to his identity and whether or not he was contented in his lifestyle must surely have concerned him. The woodsmen he had met when he first came north, the Indians of Bear Island and lately Angele were realizations of his boyhood dreams. But this reality did not, and never would, completely mesh with his fantasies of the frontier and the Indian. His disappointments are evident in a diary published in his old Grammar School magazine appropriately called The Hastonian. Here the Indians north of Abitibi Lake were referred to as "full of whisky...they carried their nerve right with them, but no soap apparently...they seemed about half-civilized." The bulk of the article outlined a number of his adventures. His closing paragraph probably provides the truest reflection of his state of mind in the winter of 1911.

.....This thing of hunting and living in the bush generally is not what it is in the books. It looks very picturesque and romantic to wear moccasins, run rapids and shoot deer and moose, but it is not near as interesting as it seems, to be eaten up day and night by black ants, flies and mosquitoes, to get soaked up with rain or burnt up with heat to draw your own toboggan on snowshoes and to sleep out in 60 or 70 degrees below zero.....A man who makes his living in the bush earns it.

Faced with an unwanted child and disillusionment, Archie ran. It was a tactic he would repeat again and again when his marriages became too oppressive. His inability to maintain interpersonal relationships can be directly traced to his unfortunate childhood and his domineering aunts.
Without advising Angele of his intentions, he simply dis­appeared shortly after the birth of their first child, Agnes, in April of 1911.

Archie had been in Canada for five years. Because of his present domestic situation and since his grandmother for whom he had some feeling had recently died, he decided to return to Hastings. He had left there originally to seek an identity in a land with which he had empathized since his earliest childhood. In returning to his birthplace he was not attempting to rekindle the past but merely re-evaluate his goals. Besides he did have some form of identity that other Hastonians would probably find interesting. His career to date was not unlike those of his school chums in the wilder­nesses of India and Australia. His return to Hastings must have been a minor event known to few neighbours. During his stay in Canada Archie had not kept up any correspondence with the few friends he had. Even his immediate family heard from him rarely. George McCormick, his childhood com­panion, was by now a young man of twenty, a bank clerk appren­tice. His past friendship was rewarded by a gift of a pair of moccasins and many colourful tales of the north and the Indians. Archie must have appeared quite a character, clad in moose hide slippers with a comfortable old loose suit and wild sombrero. Undoubtedly much of this image was perpe­tuated to torment his aunts who must have found his dress and behaviour utterly repellent. The novelty of being back in England and the change of pace in Hastings rapidly dissi­pated. His aunts still refused to accept him for what he was. As they saw it he was unemployed and his work experience as a professional guide and packer was hardly a marketable vocation in Hastings. His mother, now living in the south of England with her family, had little time for him and clearly favoured her youngest son, Leonard. It was such a painful rejection for Archie that years later he still har­boured a good deal of jealousy if not outright malice toward
this brother. Suspended between the two societies of Canada and England he found it impossible to fit into either. He was not only a man without a country but worse still an individual without identity. Forced by his own anxiety to make a choice he opted for returning to Canada. At least there, his achievements could be measured on a scale devised and recognized by his peers. It was here that he was readily accepted and Angele could be depended upon to provide whatever affection he wished.

A critical point in his life had been reached. According to Margaret McCormick, a sister of George, Archie had commenced to explain his origins to anyone who enquired as simply that, "his mother was an American and that his father had spent many years in America." This is significant for it illustrates the creation of a new identity. Since his lonely childhood had led to the total denial of a more conventional "personal identity," the assumption of a new or "negative identity" was an attempt to obliterate an inadequate childhood while providing some basis of hope for the future. In the early autumn of 1911 he returned to Canada.
III Anahareo

Archie arrived back in Temagami before freeze up. Whatever explanations he offered to Angele facilitated his entry into the bush for the coming season. Pathetically faithful she did not question his past abandonment of she and their child, now almost eight months old. Between the time of his return and his second departure for England in 1914 he was rarely seen. This was due to the shift of his trapping operations to the more virgin territory surrounding the town of Biscotasing. "Bisco," as he would later call it, was to provide a happy if riotous time clearly recalled in Pilgrims of the Wild. He decided to run his trap line in this region, fifty miles west of Temagami, because of the plentiful supply of furs. Fortunately the closely knit native society helped support his wife and child when he was absent. When questioned later about this disregard for Angele and the child he lamely argued that, "he did not believe the child was his."

In the two years preceding the First World war Biscotasing was a wild town by frontier standards. It was a situation in which Archie thrived. In 1912 he managed to obtain a job as a forest ranger within the recently created Missassauga Forest Reserve, approximately 120 miles west of Biscotasing. He worked there during the summers of 1913 and 1914, and during the winters ran a fairly successful trap line. His experiences as forest ranger figure prominently in Tales of an Empty Cabin. Belaney was in his element on these long summer days. The people with whom he worked, who he later described in his books, were the heroes he read
about as a boy—the epitome of masculinity and woodsmanship.

In those years immediately before the First World war a former member of the local ranger crew wrote this account of Archie.

We thought he was a whiteman with a streak of Indian in him. He was a great showman, showing off with all kinds of Indian stunts and was adept at throwing knives. He was in his glory when reciting original poetry, and after giving one of his pieces he would say "that's Bill Shakespeare, Tennyson or Browning etc. and laugh." He seemed a remarkable likeable man, who, even in those days wanted to hide his past. The other men put him down as a McGill man, and the rumour was that he belonged to a prominent Montreal family....He seemed to have Indian characteristics about some work, but when it came to a canoe trip, he excelled.68

During these years Archie seems to have effectively forgotten about Angele and Temagami. To satisfy his desire for companionship he took a young Indian woman, Marie Girard, as his lover. 69 Perhaps she saw in this man some form of security or protection from a society that in those days was anything but tender. In the spring of 1914 when they emerged from the winter's trapping Archie again found himself about to become a parent. The opening of the fire ranging season on the Mississauga River provided a convenient pretext for his departure. When he went into the bush that summer it was the last time she heard of him. She died a few years later of tuberculosis and perhaps the romantic might add, a broken heart.

News, and particularly European news, took several weeks to reach Bisco. So it was not until the early autumn that he learned of the state of war between the British and the Austro-German Empires. It is not known how Archie reacted to this. There were no reproachful pictures of Lord Kitchener to remind him of his duty, or victory bond drives eager to solicit whatever money he could spare. It is not improbable that because the Commonwealth nations were involved some latent sense of responsibility roused in him the desire to enlist. He had served his English connection in 1911 but if
what the press claimed about the brutal "Hun" was true then maybe there was a real threat to Canada and his beloved wilderness. If that jingoistic logic was not sufficient then certainly the unwanted presence of two wives and two children and the desire for fresh adventure aided his decision.

McCormick who had emigrated to Canada, and secured a comfortable position as a clerk within the Montreal head office of the Royal Bank of Canada, recalled that one autumn afternoon Archie visited him.

He was dressed as an Indian and was staying in a sleezy boarding house near Bonaventure Station. I tried to get him to come to my house for a meal but he said he couldn't and then disappeared. That was the last I ever saw of him.70

Clearly Archie was in a hurry to put as much distance as possible between himself and the responsibilities incurred in Biscotasing and Temagami. Surfacing again in Digby, Nova Scotia, Belaney succeeded in burying his recent past. There on May 6, 1915, he joined the Canadian Expeditionary Forces destined for France. It is one of the many curiosities of his personality that after going to this amount of trouble to evade his moral and legal responsibilities he scribbled a hasty note to the local Hudson's Bay factory in Temagami, asking him to inform his wife that he was about to go overseas.71 How Archie spent his time between the hasty farewell to George McCormick and the date of his enlistment—about six months—remains a mystery. The fact that he returned to the area of Canada that he had first seen as an immigrant youth may suggest that he was visiting friends.72

The war was a cruel experience for Belaney. With his hair sheared to regimental length and his physical activity reduced to parade drills, his native image wore off as quickly as the tanned healthy appearance of his face. Not only did Private Belaney have to embrace a new disciplined lifestyle, but he could no longer cultivate the dress, manners
and sentiment of the Indians with whom he had come to empathize so completely. By June he and the other Digby recruits were ordered to Aldershot for assignment to their individual units. By early 1916 Archie found himself transferred to the Thirteenth Battalion, "B" Company number six platoon. Lieutenant William McFarlane, his commanding officer at the time, described him years later as,

.....quite striking with well chiselled rather aesthetic features. He had certain Indian characteristics and did not conceal, but rather took pride in his Indian origin.

The years in the Canadian north had given him an excellent eye and an above average proficiency with a rifle. Because of this or perhaps because he deliberately sought the position, he was made battalion sniper-observer. The technique of killing became more personal here; you were closest to the enemy trenches and knew when your target had been hit; you could hear the pitiful pleas of men stranded on the wire or the dull thump of gas cannisters being released when the wind conditions were favourable. It was during this utter carnage, this "passionate prodigality" as one memoir would describe it, that Belaney became totally disillusioned with civilization. He never spoke of the war when he returned to Canada. Only once did he confide to Anahareo that while drinking his memories of this period, "play hell with me at times."

Between 1915-17 Archie was gassed twice and wounded twice; once in the left wrist and later in the right foot. It has been suggested because of the location of his second wound, which ultimately lead to an honourable discharge, that he had deliberately maimed himself. This allegation is not supported by the opinion of company officers. Discipline over the battalion was strict, leading to a thorough investigation of any suspected self-inflicted wound. Moreover, as his commanding officer later recalled, "he was too intelligent to stick at a scratch and would have made a better job of (it)."

His wounds were duly recorded by the editors of his school
magazine and later his name was listed in the school's roll of services. Following a minor operation to remove the fourth toe on his right foot, he was returned to England to recuperate at the Canadian Convalescent Hospital in Bromley just outside of London. The hospital, within easy commuting distance of Hastings, probably facilitated the visit of his aunts and perhaps the McCormicks. One of his visitors was Miss Connie Holmes, a resident of the town. Her parents had apparently known the aunts for a number of years. Both the two old women and the attractive young girl were probably secretly glad about Archie's present situation. From the Miss Belaneys' perspective he had at last assumed respectability by volunteering. In addition his appearance was considerably more appealing in uniform than in the unconventional clothes of a frontiersman. They hoped that the war had made him realize how errant and unproductive his life in Canada had been. Connie Holmes who had known him as a boy found him altogether different from the shy, awkward teenager who had departed for Canada years earlier. Her visits to Bromley became more frequent. Whether he encouraged her affections or not remains to be seen. Miss Holmes later dramatically explained that their feelings were mutual to the point where, quite suddenly, they found themselves "violently in love." There can be little doubt that his personality was left unaltered by the war. He returned to England ill, nervous and unsure of himself. The combined subtle pressure from his aunts and the probably more overt tactics of Miss Holmes lead him to marry her in the summer of 1917. This was an absurd domestic situation considering his previous entanglements; but one, which in his state of mind appeared the best course of action. The brief period of military service provided him at least with a temporary identity in England. With his military career over because of injuries Belaney again lost his reference point for identity. And, once again, his life went into a period of crisis. He barely disguised
his indifference to his surroundings, preferring instead to
grow his hair long as army regulations would allow, and prac­
tice various Indian dialects on his new and doubtless con­
fused bride. With the arrival of autumn his wound had
healed nicely, and his spirit pined for the wilderness. Ul­
timately he was compelled to make a decision. There is no
evidence to suggest that he proposed that Connie accompany
him back to Canada. Nor did he offer a legal separation or
divorce; he simply treated her as he had others and quietly
disappeared.

Though judged unfit for active duty, he still wore a
uniform, and it was not until November 20, 1917, while in
Toronto, that he was officially demobilized from the 40th
battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces. Immediately
following his discharge he moved to northern Ontario.
Here he briefly resumed contact with Angele in December 1917.
At the time of their meeting, which must surely have been
awkward, as Archie had neither seen nor corresponded with
her since 1914, Angele was hospitalized in Haliebury, near
Peterborough, Ontario. He stayed with her for a total of
four days. The product of this reunion was the birth in July
1918, of their second child, Robert Bernard or "Benjamin" as
he was familiarly addressed. The combined pressures of
providing for his wife and children and the domesticated
life this demanded, plus his obvious "fear of another person"
provided him with the excuse to desert her once more.
Belaney would not see her or their second child for seven
years.

Before the war his happiest days had been spent in the
region surrounding the town of Biscotasing. It was there he
returned in January of 1918. The sad demise of Marie Girard
some years earlier and the fact that the child from that
union was being raised by a local family seemed to relieve
him of all responsibilities. His return stay at Bisco lasted
seven years, from 1918 to 1925 and seems to have been therapy
for him. The town's frontier mentality with trappers, loggers
and natives as the principle citizenry produced a rough and rugged social climate. It was one in which he relaxed and felt totally accepted. The utter isolation from the more civilized half of Ontario, coupled with the relative abundance of game and the amiable natives most assuredly reinforced the adoption of his new identity and denial of the old. In his spare time he often sought out the company of the local Indians with whom he discussed their lore and heritage. Because of his preference for nocturnal travel they dubbed him "Wa-Sha-Quon-Asin" literally meaning "he who walks at night" or "Grey Owl." It is important to observe here that in these years he began the irrevocable shift in values and empathy from his previous inadequate unfulfilled "white" life to the contented, secure productive life of a Métis. Playing the role of frontiersman or native scout before the war had been something of a game; now it became the very basis of his identity. When questioned as to his origins he would simply say his father was a Scot and his mother an Apache, and that he had been born near the Mexican-American border. This was a theatrical modification of his own thoughts on the ideal racial complexity of Canadian woodsmen. He had recorded these sentiments in a notebook presented to him by Lloyd Acheson, the supervisor of fire rangers for the Chapleau district of the Mississauga Forest Reserve. In 1920, he had written

...it is universally conceded that the best remaining woodsmen of today are the Scotch half breeds, the Scotch blood adding just the degree of thrift and direction that the Indian lacks.89

This childhood idol, mimicked through the imagination of an English school boy and later built upon as an adolescent, now became one with his own personality. It was an identity which he would continue in until his death.

Archie remained in the territory of Biscotasing for seven years. In the winter he ran a reasonably successful trap line and during the summer acted as a fire warden.
solitude and beauty of the Mississauga River, on which he travelled regularly, so moved him that years later he would return there to film a documentary at his own expense. This lifestyle permitted him to live adequately and enjoy a good time whenever he returned to Bisco. During these years because of loneliness or the company he developed a taste for alcohol, either "homemade" or commercially produced. His diary of the period clearly hints of his own illicit liquor production. Through the rate of fermentation and the resulting taste he was able to determine the day of the week, assuming he was aware of the date on which preparation of the concoction commenced. Thus one entry simply reads, "it is Thursday according to the brew." Later in his life the abuse of alcohol became a major problem.

With increased exploration and settlement the land around Biscotasing underwent marked alterations. Since the Great War the rail lines had spread north and west bringing with them a demand for Ontario timber, furs, and minerals. What had been wilderness when Belaney first arrived in 1912 now bore the unsavory signs of encroaching civilization. A conspiracy for greater profits by loggers, miners, amateur trappers and railroad gangs brutally assaulted his beloved wilderness. This unprecedented demand on the country's natural resources was an anathema to him. "There is another side," he recorded in his notebook, to this "march of Empire which inflicts such torture on the brainless beasts and people who have the prior right." The "frenzied and misdirected immigration scheme" of the early 1920s, was for Belaney the chief cause of game depletion and forest fires. Such fires he felt were ignited,

....by the continued carelessness of unintelligent vandals....who get into the country simply because they have so many dollars, can't talk English and don't happen to suffer from consumption or have a wooden leg.

By 1925 the surrounding territory had been so devastated by
amateur trappers and professional loggers that Archie felt compelled to return to Temagami where he knew he could get a summer job as a guide. Besides Angele was there. This was in spite of the fact that he had not seen her since 1918 and had yet to be acquainted with their second child, a son. Following the now familiar pattern he spent long periods in the bush guiding sportsmen and returning to his family for only the briefest periods. In the autumn of that year when he announced that he was going away, but "promised to return," Angele accepted it as inevitable and they parted friends. Whatever his intentions Archie never returned and, inconsequence, never learned of the birth of their third child, Flora, in March of 1926. Throughout his adult life Archibald Belaney had troubled relationships with women. In one way or another all the women in his life became recipients of his repressed feelings of hostility toward the women who had raised him.

The summer of 1925 had been a highly successful year from the perspective of the numerous lodge proprietors on Lake Temagami. Many had been compelled to hire additional youths from the regional and adjacent labour force. One of this group of young people was Gertrude Bernard, a Mohawk from the Ottawa Valley. Belaney's introduction to Anahareo whom he referred to as "Gertie" or "Pony" inaugurates an entirely new chapter of his life. She turned him from trapper to conservationist and author. Indeed there is much trouble in Dickson's later statement that, "she is inseparable from the Grey Owl story...without her it would be like Hamlet without the Prince." Totally oblivious to whatever emotional discomfort Angele might have felt, Archie and Anahareo began their relationship in the late summer. By Anahareo's description their meeting and subsequent life together was based on a strong physical attraction. She was then an attractive intelligent young woman of nineteen and he, "strong, tanned, mysterious and full of magical love...he was the
north's Lawrence of Arabia and St. Francis Assisi, the ultimate romantic hero come to life. For six months they corresponded and eventually she decided to visit him on his trap line then in Forsythe, near Doucet, Quebec. That visit originally planned for a week became a ten year affair. Within weeks of her arrival he sent his aunts a picture taken in 1926 scrawling on the reverse side that this was his wife.

There is little to imply that Archie was not ecstatic with the present circumstances. He was deep in his beloved wilderness, passionately loved by an Indian woman and engaged in what he did best—trapping. But the affection between Archie and Anahareo, was mercurial from the start. This was due to their independent personalities and inability to adapt to each others aspirations. In many ways the course of their life together reflects that of Heathcliff and Cathy from Bronte's Wuthering Heights. "Pony Hall" as their first cabin was christened became a rustic Thrushcross Grange and the emotions evoked within those log walls lead to the inevitable conclusion that they could neither live with or without each other. Despite this, or possibly just because of this stormy relationship, Anahareo would come to know Archie better than anyone. On those long cold nights deep in the forests of northern Quebec he would tell her fragmentary episodes from his past—perhaps eventually confiding in her the true story of his childhood. But Archie refused to take Anahareo on his rounds checking the traps and she found the boredom of waiting for him oppressive. At times he would be away for a week and in those periods she was completely alone. Within a year she found this existence intolerable and left to prospect in the area of Rouyn. Her departure in the early summer of 1926 would begin a cycle of such farewells and reunions. Ultimately they would find it impossible to maintain any sort of connection. In her several weeks absence Archie augmented his income through casual employment.
as a fire ranger in Oskelaneo, Quebec, about 350 miles to the east of Rouyn.

Finally in the winter of 1927 Anahareo convinced Archie to allow her to accompany him on his rounds. At this point in their lives they had moved into the richer fur bearing district of Abitibi further north and east of Doucet. She had forced herself to learn the grisly trade of trapping so as to be nearer to Archie. Anahareo performed her duties dutifully but by the spring season of the following year she revolted. She could not face the stiff twisted bodies of mink, ermine, beaver or others in the traps. She had attempted to convince Archie to give up trapping but her emotional and humanitarian logic made little impression. During the spring of that year Archie, against his better judgement, had decided to extend the season. Trapping in the period when the young have just been born is a risky venture. In the end it becomes a simple law of diminished supply for future seasons. With each pregnant or nursing female taken only one pelt is obtained but that year's litter and therefore future fur is destroyed. It was during just such a counter productive hunt that they stumbled upon the broken chain of a beaver trap. Surmising that the animal had drowned they found themselves left with her two kits. There was little debate as to the course of action which would be pursued, the beaver kittens were taken back to their camp. The arrival of these two playful pets heralds the most significant turning point in Belaney's career and in his association with Anahareo. The presence of McGinty and McGuiness as they were dubbed, serves as a springboard for launching his career as Canada's foremost conservationist author and publicist.
Belaney's attitude towards conservation is complex and contradictory. Its roots are to be found in the first summer he and Anahareo spent with the two beaver kittens. These animals endeared themselves to Anahareo. Archie's feelings for her and the obvious effect the animals had on her made him no less susceptible to their charm. As a result, before the winter hunt of 1928-29, Archie had resolved never to hunt beaver again. To him

...these persecuted creatures no longer appeared (to me) as lawful prey, but co-dwellers in this wilderness that was being so despoiled, the wilderness that was so relentless yet so noble an antagonist.104

It is rather curious, however, to note that the same privilege of clemency was not granted to mink, fox, or otter.105 One is tempted to question his sincerity towards conservation at this time. If he had found a litter of young fox might they not have become the focus of his concern rather than the beaver? Possibly because the latter animal was considered sacred by the Ojibways with whom he identified tribally, and because they were relatively easy to care for, they became the object of his concern. Noteworthy also is the image of the beaver, which was then as "Canadian" a symbol as are maple leaves are today. The identification with this animal, and its importance to Canadian development must have subconsciously reinforced his adopted identity as a heroic Métis frontiersman. Consequently the protection of these mammals must have taken on a more personal appeal. By becoming their champion
his identity became even more secure and his image more credible. Certainly Anahareo's obvious concern for the kittens, and through them the entire beaver population influenced his decision. But as indicated earlier his relationship with women was anything but normal lacking in every instance a sense of trust and respect. The epochal statement, "I'm off the beaver hunt for good," appears suspect at the very least when judged beside later diary entries of his intention to purchase, "2 doz. beaver traps, 2½ doz. H-W traps." This solemn oath to suspend further beaver trappings may have been simply a logical, but deceptive appeasement, for the vehement emotions of Anahareo.

By the late autumn of 1928 they had decided to leave the barren region of Abitibi and seek out a more congenial sanctuary for the beaver. By now Archie was hoping that someday he could become for these animals, what Michel Pablo had been for the plains buffalo. They selected an isolated region of Temiscouata County, Quebec, on the Touladi River, as the nursery for their experiment in bringing back the beaver to Canada. Throughout the previous summer and during the fall Archie had commenced to record some of his feelings as a trapper in the Canadian north. This was to be his first publication and Anahareo eagerly encouraged its production. Finding a periodical which would publish the story was not particularly difficult. Half a dozen Canadian magazines were then publishing the "descriptive narrative" style which characterized this first article. But publishing in Canada would merely be an acknowledgement of his acceptable lifestyle and fabricated origins. Since a Canadian publication would hardly be noted back home it is understandable that he sent the manuscript to his mother, after years of silence. By sending her this text with instructions to pass it on to a British publisher he forced his mother to recognize the identity which he had created and his rejection of his English past. This "literary punishment" evened the score as far as Archie was
concerned. It was the only time during his career that he would write to her. He ignored her financially troubled old age and made no attempt to contact her while in England, preferring to visit his aunts. The old woman who had dutifully forwarded the manuscript to the editorial board of *Country Life* later died, alone and impoverished.

The move to Temiscouata, Quebec, which was at least partially stimulated by a friend's exaggerated appraisal of the area's game resources, was completed by October. The following winter of 1928-29 was passed in comparative comfort. This was owing to the unexpected cheque from his first article published that spring. This particular winter is believed to have been one of the happiest periods of his life. Throughout his literature, notebooks, and letters there are consistent references to the encampment near the village of Cabano, and to the very memorable Christmas on Birch Lake. His two and one-half year residency in this area also saw the consolidation of his conservationist ideals. This complemented his firmly adopted native identity which none of the curious local population questioned. This is a critical point as Dickson observed; "...the project of bringing back the beaver required public support...It would attract more attention if an Indian rather than a whiteman were to start it." Even more noteworthy of this period is the encouragement his writing and lecturing career were given by the publishers of *Country Life*, who requested additional material. In answer to this request, during the autumn months of 1929, Archie began work on his first major piece, *The Men of the Last Frontier*. At this point money from his original publication had long been exhausted. In the summer months of 1929 the question of acquiring work was acute.

Another problem, the temporary loss of the beaver kittens, caused serious concern. With the arrival of spring McGinty and McGuiness were almost exactly a year old. Maturation, and the long winter restricted mostly to the confines of their
owner's cabin, had made them more restless than had been expected. Daily dips in the lake appeared to promote rather than discourage their wish to explore and follow their natural biological desires. Domestication of naturally wild animals, though not admitted, was something on which Belaney would build his career. Thus the death or disappearance of any of his beaver was always difficult to accept. In this case it provided a severe blow to his fledgling aspirations. While allowing the two pets daily exercise, he describes the painful conclusion to this first of many associations he would make with the "beaver people":

Soon they headed for the lake, two gnomelike capering little figures that alternately bounced and waddled side by side down the water trail, and we followed them to the landing as we always did...We watched the two V's forging ahead...until they disappeared into the dusk. Once, in answer to a call, a long clear note came back to us, followed by another in a different key. And the two voices blended and intermingled...in the stillness of the little lonesome pond. And that long wailing cry from out of the darkness was the last sound we ever heard them make. We never saw them any more.117

The sudden severance of the bond of Archie and Anahareo with the beaver was catastrophic. Both his career and relationship with Anahareo, who had regarded these pets almost as children, underwent a difficult time. A guilt-ridden search was immediately instituted but it came to no avail. Moody, listless days followed with no one willing to speculate about the fate of the animals. Finally, a beaver den was plundered for a fresh litter of kittens, two of whom were presented to the still mourning couple by Joseph Witestone, a friend from earlier days.

The replacements for McGinty and McGuiness were as affable though not as hardy. The male died shortly after being taken from the lodge and the female—later to become notorious under the name of Jelly Roll—barely survived. Without these animals Belaney's reputation as a conservationist would
vanish. The problem of obtaining an initial pair, however, with which to start a colony had at least partially been solved. The local population of Cabano found the two mysterious Indians and their pets an amicable, if odd, addition to the region. During the summer of 1929 one of the town's leading citizens suggested to Archie that he present a talk on wildlife, using Jelly Roll as a prop. The location selected was the small resort town of Métis-sur-Mer, a stronghold of wealthy English Canadian Quebecers and affluent Americans. This initial engagement was a stunning success, described by the appreciative audience as not so much a lecture but "a poem." From a monetary point of view it was far more profitable than his work as a trapper. But with this unexpected money the first serious fissures in his relationship with Anahareo began to develop. Archie was an extremely intense individual, so much so that when writing he totally blocked out any distractions. Sadly this included Anahareo and eventually this forced the couple permanently apart. In desperation she scribbled messages in his notebook trying to gain his attention. Ultimately she fled to northern Quebec, in search of a promising mining claim, not returning until the beginning of 1930.

If there is one recurrent difficulty in Grey Owl's career, it is his periodic struggle with acute depression. No doubt some of these depressions were precipitated by excessive use of liquor and tangled marital affairs. Others were triggered by feelings of guilt over the recent past and the subterfuge of his unhappy childhood. Nevertheless, it is an ironic fact that during these unsettled periods of emotional turmoil he produced his best work. In an early notebook he recorded that there were times when "loneliness is such that only high pressure activity keeps the mind from wandering into the black abyss of introspection." During these days he attempted to create a philosophy of conservation through correspondence with other interested people, and by producing
a series of articles for *Forest and Outdoors*. In June of 1930 he argued that only through,

>a genuine first hand knowledge of the life and habits of our four footed friends could really effective game legislation and a general willing observance of laws made for the express purpose of conserving wildlife be brought about.\(^{122}\)

During the following autumn he produced a two-part narrative devoted to describing the beaver and wildlife with which he was familiar. In the second half of this article he details how his attempt to protect a brood of ducklings from their natural enemy, an eagle, was unsuccessful. "I seized my rifle and raced out to the landing, to find the eagle gone and the brood reduced to three...The eagle scared by my shots immediately disappeared."\(^{123}\) This act—which must surely have provided Jack Miner with considerable justification for purchasing a new beaver coat—stands awkwardly against a further sentiment expressed later in the article.

>....Each of these creatures, however lowly, has his place in the cycle of wilderness life, and asks for nothing more than a place in the sun and the privilege of being allowed to fulfill his allotted task unmolested.\(^{124}\)

Clearly by the autumn of 1930 Grey Owl's philosophy of conservation was contradictory in manifestation and discriminatory in implementation. Nevertheless his writing style and subject matter were gladly accepted by the publishers of *Forest and Outdoors*. Some of these articles later formed book chapters in an expanded format.\(^{125}\) At this point it seems his editors set entertainment value above ideological consistency.

In addition to producing these articles, the emergence of a more complex philosophy towards the wilderness was aided by a brief exchange of letters with Edward Newton-White, a fellow conservationist.\(^{126}\) Newton-White, who described himself as having "sentiments which were practically socialistic,"\(^{127}\) praised Belaney for his conservationist ideals as
expressed in Forest and Outdoors. Together they debated the inherent evils of corporate apathy towards preservation and the prospect that someday they could, "join forces and produce a book on the pitiful conditions of the Indians and wildlife in Canada." That prospect was interrupted both by Anahareo's return from Quebec and the demands by Country Life that he finish the book he had promised them.

The Men of the Last Frontier, started during the autumn of 1929 and finally completed by March of the following year, was his first major work, and as such is indicative of his early writing style. Originally it had been entitled "The Vanishing Frontier" but the publishers felt the change of title would evoke a more exciting, adventurous, masculine atmosphere. The arbitrary nature of this editorial decision was something Belaney would never forgive. When he was made aware of the alteration, and of the changes to his prose, he vowed never again to deal with the firm. As an employee of the Macmillan Publishing House later explained to Dickson,

"...Grey Owl wasn't the slightest bit interested in the man who followed the frontier that moves back as civilization moves in. He is interested in the frontier itself and the title as he planned it."

This primary work which is almost completely narrative differs stylistically from later writing. Possibly because he feared the audience would not comprehend his message, the grammatical constructions, as well as vocabulary and punctuation, are far more conventional than those in Pilgrims of the Wild, The Adventures of Sajo and Her Beaver People, or Tales of An Empty Cabin. The dedication of his first work is somewhat ambiguous. It reads: "dedicated as a tribute to my aunt whom I must thank for such education that enables me to interpret into words the spirit of the forest, beautiful for all its underlying wildness." Presumably this referred to Carrie Belaney, generally considered the milder of the two maiden ladies who raised him. Through the dedication he may have consciously been seeking to gain her approval.
The firmness of his identification with the Métis frontiersman and native heritage is stressed throughout his work. Indeed in the prologue the picture of a typical European explorer, which may symbolically represent himself when he first came to Canada, is depicted as physically inferior to the native paddlers. This image rapidly gives way however, to lauding the life of the trapper and frontiersman, who, in his estimation, was really responsible for opening up the new land. The characters he describes become heroic figures, the very essence of manhood, so much so that they are able to "undergo without serious inconvenience, discomforts and hardships that would kill an ordinary man." Naturally because of his own fantasy, first among these men, judging by his anecdotes, are the Scottish half-breeds who perform superhuman feats of survival. In spite of their lifestyle which is "almost aboriginal" the Indian still retains the position of pre-eminence among dwellers of the frontier. It is only the cunning native who is able to survive inhospitable elements and catastrophe. The native alone, with perhaps a few whitemen, meaning himself, excels at the art of the still hunt. But he laments that the once noble life of the Indian has all but disappeared because of the encroaching white society. No longer are there great chiefs such as Tecumseh, Crowfoot, or Dull Knife to lead their people. The manner in which the red man had been treated in his own land was unjust. This was especially so since many had volunteered for service in the war. Some had become snipers—an obvious reference to his own military experience. In the end the problem is reduced to a clash in cultures:

.....the coming of civilization does not surround the northern tribes with prosperous farms or multifarious chances of employment.....it merely destroys their means of livelihood...Left to his own devices in civilization the Indian is a child let loose in a house of terrors.

The Right Honourable John Diefenbaker described Belaney as, "the greatest conservationist that Canada has had."
Such a description leads one to anticipate that his literary work should contain a well developed conservationist ideology, along with substantial recommendations on wildlife preservation. However, as an author Grey Owl is more concerned with relating colourful tales of the country and his own wilderness experiences. In fact, little more than one chapter of the ten deals directly with conservation and then only in the most cursory fashion. For Belaney the return of the beaver could only be promoted by limiting the number of occasional trappers. To that end, he suggests that legislation should be enacted "to remove all white trappers except those who could prove no alternative occupation, and had followed trapping as a livelihood previous to 1914." This would, he continued, necessitate a closed season of indefinite length, public support and cooperation from the provinces. Whether or not a racial qualification would be attached is unclear. Judging by his absurd belief that south-east Europeans were directly responsible for a significant number of forest fires, it is probably safe to assume trapping would be a luxury enjoyed by only a select group. Incompetent management was also sited as destroying wildlife and forest. Inefficiency and corruption led to their sacrifice to "the false gods of waste and greed." Reforestation was dismissed as of only limited value and could not adequately, "repopulate the dreary empty wastes." In the final analysis, The Men of the Last Frontier is very much a book about Archie Belaney's experiences from his arrival in Canada till Anahareo's departure in the fall of 1929. If there is an overriding theme or impression from this work it is his utter enthusiasm for the wilderness and his commitment to protect it, and hence his identity, at all costs. For him the frontier, or symbolically the trail, had become, not merely a connecting link between widely distant points, (but) an idea, a symbol of self sacrifice and deathless determination, and ideal to be lived up to, a creed from which none may falter.
Gordon M. Dallyn who was associate editor of *Forest and Outdoors* in the early thirties and deeply concerned about the Dominion's conservation policy was a personal friend of James C. Campbell, the Director of Publicity for the National Parks Branch. It was to this man that Dallyn suggested the possible recruitment of Grey Owl for a program of conservation within the framework of the National Parks. Campbell agreed to investigate the potential of this man and his pets. As a result of this alliance, a film crew spent almost ten days with Archie, Anahareo, Jelly Roll and since May, the faithful Rawhide. Coincident with that filming session, later edited and distributed under the title "The Beaver People," the editorial board of *Country Life* had that summer, consented to publish *The Men of the Last Frontier*. Furthermore, they urged him to submit additional material along the same lines. Thus with the coming of the winter of 1930-31 Archie plunged eagerly into his autobiography, *Pilgrims of the Wild*. The more his literary career progressed, the less satisfying Anahareo found their relationship. In November of 1930 she left. Weeks later, alone and morose, Belaney confessed to Newton-White of his personal "bereavement."

Of what particular value Grey Owl could be to the National Parks Branch can best be assessed by reviewing the purpose and ideology of this government agency and the level of conservation awareness within Canada in 1930. Historically Canadians have had little regard for wilderness preservation. Canadian sympathy and enthusiasm for wilderness values in fact lagged behind their United States neighbours by at least two generations. Since the arrival of Europeans the frontier had been progressively pushed back with the wilderness becoming the object of hatred, fear, conquest and ultimately manipulation. With the alteration of the frontier landscape the flora and fauna of these regions underwent a definite change, most simply noted as diminishing in numbers and variety. Until the closing years of the 19th century,
Canadians by and large, had no conception of conservation. The vast size of the nation with its disproportionately small population gave rise to, or at least reinforced, the belief in unlimited natural resources. Since Macdonald's National Policy, the economic life of Canada had been based on the successive and growing exploitation of diverse natural resources along an east-west line. Finally, the British North America Act presented the provinces with jurisdiction over natural resources. Because of this, little continuity of thought or unity of action from the governments' involved, was forthcoming in the movement for conservation.

Perhaps most damaging of all the factors concerned was the stubbornly rooted belief in the infinite extent of the country's resources. This North American phenomenon has been aptly dubbed "the myth of superabundance." The foundation of this myth lay, at least partially, in popular acceptance of the impressions of the Canadian frontier by early explorers. For example, on his way to the Pacific in 1793, Alexander Mackenzie recorded a vast number of animals, concluding that they were so prolific that the land surrounding them was not unlike one gigantic stable yard. Shortly afterwards Daniel Harmon, a seasoned trader in the north-west, noted in his diary that in 1800 at Fort Dauphin he could easily observe five thousand buffalo. Similarly, the famous Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804 chronicled the huge herds of these and other mammals. Over one half century later, such wildlife was still present though in substantially decreased numbers. But by the turn of the century the buffalo had disappeared. The relentless butchery of these beasts for their hides led to the near collapse of the fur trade and the transformation of the once self-sufficient life of the Indian to one dependent upon welfare. The Royal Commission of 1892 reported that the conditions in Ontario were not unlike those in the west.

.....On all sides, from every quarter, has been heard the same sickening tale of merciless and
remorseless slaughter. Where but a few years ago game was plentiful, it is hardly now to be found; and there is great danger, that in the case of the buffalo even those animals which have become so numerous as to be looked upon with contempt will soon become extinct. The many places where game formerly abounded, large cities stand today. The clearing of the land, the cutting down of the forests, the railways, the ravages of wolves and the indiscriminate hunting of the human assassin and the use of dynamite and nets have all contributed to the general decrease of game and fish of this land. This is indeed a deplorable state of affairs.  

The shock-value of this particular report was substantial and led to the creation of Algonquin and Rondeau Provincial Parks in 1893 and 1894 respectively.

However, in contrast to these provincial parks the first national park was not constituted with wildlife preservation in mind. This is clearly illustrated in the case of Rocky Mountains National Park (1887) in Banff, Alberta. From this land mass Prime Minister Macdonald foretold, "large pecuniary advantages to the Dominion and the enhancement of the prestige of Canada abroad." The proximity of the Canadian Pacific Railway and several planned hotels for visitors to the local hot springs seemed to guarantee this prophesy. Clearly the purpose behind this park, and those created shortly afterwards, was solely one of tourism. The encouragement of visitors to Banff and later Yoho and Glacier National Parks, and the profits to be gained from such a venture, became the overt manifestation of the National Policy as applied to the parks. Scenery, hot springs, and mountain air became the trade goods for the public who were graciously conveyed to and from these areas by the Canadian Pacific Railway. The identification of national parks to encourage tourist trade became firmly entrenched in the Parks Branch. This identification did not change perceptively until 1911.

The commercial attitude of parks administration was never more clearly indicated than by James B. Harkin, the
the first Commissioner of National Parks. Within his own
diary under the heading, "Memorandum on the Dominion Parks:
Their Value and Ideals," he recorded his view of their func-
tion. Such areas for him became,

the peoples' share of the natural beauty of the
mountain, lake and stream. Their mission is to
serve that innate desire of every individual to
seek relief and repose and refreshment of mind and
body in the open air and sunshine among the flowers,
trees and hills. 162

Continuing he noted that "tourist traffic is one of the lar-
gest and most satisfactory means of revenue a nation can
have."163 The values Harkin attached to the existence of the
parks were almost diametrically opposed to those associated
with the preservation of wilderness areas and the conservation
of the indigenous flora and fauna. "Parks," he wrote were
"in reality national recreation grounds;" because of that he
favoured the extensive development of roads within them which
would result in "a large expenditure of money by motorists."164
The national parks also had therapeutic value. A trip there
was the surest means of ridding oneself of "rust and disease."165
Belaney envisioned parks as a form of escape for the poor
downtrodden city dweller. In this he was supported by his
assistant F.H.H. Williamson, later Controller of the National
Parks, who felt access to such areas would "halt the moral
and physical decay"166 of the urban workers. To Harkin then,
the existence of a national park provided commercial, educa-
tional and social advantages. Significantly, no mention of
conserving wildlife in natural wilderness areas was espoused
by him or endorsed by the government.

The concept of preserving wild animals in a semi-wilder-
ness area was first given some support through the government's
purchase of the Michel Pablo buffalo herd for settlement in
Rocky Mountains National Park.167 Because this herd represented
eighty per cent of the remaining bison in North America, it
was undoubtedly felt that their presence would be an additional
tourist attraction. Between 1905 and 1911 the government
purchased more than 700 of these animals. So successful was this unique transaction that an entirely new park near Wainwright, Alberta, was created to house the remnants of the once massive prairie herds. The notion of preserving endangered species is important since the same logic would later be called upon for the hiring of Grey Owl and his beaver. The protection of critically reduced species in a controlled sanctuary was further advanced by the adoption, in 1912, of more stringent regulations governing the fish and game within the existing parks.168

A second major step in the conservation of wildlife came in 1915 with the successful fencing of 21 pronghorned antelope in southern Alberta.169 A special preserve was legislated for them appropriately called Nemiskam National Antelope Park. This region was so ideally suited to these animals that within ten years they had naturally increased to a significant 235 head.170 Other successes followed quickly. Legislation was enacted to prevent the extermination of the dwindling number of musk ox, and a reserve for the pathetically few remaining wood buffalo was drawn up.171 Wood Buffalo National Park did not come into existence until 1922. The creation of this park illustrates a trend active during the post war reconstruction period operative until the creation of the Canadian Wildlife Service.172

Bird life had also become a source of concern to the federal government during this period. On both sides of the international border all types of game and birds were hunted. So intense was this hunt that by 1900 certain species were extinct, and others rapidly approaching that state. The killing of insect consuming birds resulted in damage estimates to Canadian agriculture as high as $80,000,000 annually.173 Some of these were killed for "sport," others for food, while many were destroyed simply for their plumage, then, the fashionable adornment on a woman's hat. Prolonged and bitter negotiations were opened up between the provinces and Ottawa
and their counterparts in the United States. After considerable debate and much revision, the Migratory Bird Act became law in both countries by July of 1918.\textsuperscript{174}

The preservation of fur bearing mammals received considerably less attention that the protection offered fish. Their welfare, if considered at all, was viewed as an attendant benefit of designating an area a national park or forest reserve. No precise legislation outside of these regions guaranteed the conservation of their numbers of the preservation of specifically endangered species. Animals yielding a pelt were considered an essential part of the native economy, to say nothing of the commercial dealings of the Hudson's Bay Company. For that reason their preservation was looked upon in clear economic terms with little or no heed paid to the conservation. In the mid-twenties the price of furs in Canada had plummeted from pre-war records of beaver at $25.00, marten at $20.00 and mink at $10.00 to $3.00, $.75 and $.25 respectively.\textsuperscript{175} The demand, however, remained high. Even with the lowered prices per pelt the total fur sales for the year ending in June 1929 approached $18,745,473.00.\textsuperscript{176} This figure represented the destruction of a staggering volume of animals. A vast number of these furs were provided by the expansion of the railroad, which an informed citizen explained, "conveyed a mob of traders overrunning the north country like a plague."\textsuperscript{177}

In 1930 Forest and Outdoors,\textsuperscript{178} the voice of the Canadian Forestry Association, and principal organ for conservation of game and forested areas concluded that, "the complete extinction of valuable fur bearers living in a wild state is now only a question of time if measures are not quickly taken for their preservation."\textsuperscript{179} Yet no plausible solution was suggested by this periodical or its readers. This was due to the basic incompatibility of publishing a popular periodical devoted to the out-of-doors with all that that implied, and developing and preselytizing a congruent philosophy of wildlife
protection. In 1930 *Forest and Outdoors* printed playful editorial suggestions that the camera should replace the gun on the hunt, juxtaposed against the numerous advertisements for firearms, coupled to exciting stories of men "seeking the spice of danger" when hunting grizzly bears, appears less confusing. In reality this publication, whose monthly circulation in 1928 was in excess of 10,000, had little conception of the need or means of conserving pelt producing mammals in their natural habitat. The consistently argued solution of "fur farming similar to a branch of mixed farming" betrays not only ignorance of the problem but disregard for methods of trapping.

In confronting this crisis Commissioner Harkin recorded in his diary that:

.....this (fur bearing animals) is too valuable a source of revenue to imperil and the Parks Branch has been collecting information on the subject which is considers demands the establishment of breeding sanctuaries in the north.

In spite of his avowed sentiments over the purpose of the parks as primarily one of tourism, he was obviously favourably disposed towards the sanctuary or reserve idea for pelt yielding mammals. The same benefits of protection already extended to other types of wildlife in various parks could presumably be offered these animals. This would safeguard a rapidly dwindling source of government revenue. The presence of Grey Owl, and his professed desire to return the beaver to their rightful numbers by creating a reserve for them, seemed to blend well with the personal ideas of the National Parks Branch most senior administrative officer.
Belaney made a favourable impression on Campbell of the Parks Branch. The hundreds of feet of film taken in Cabano by Bill Oliver, the departmental photographer, provided ample evidence of the potential for this strange man's vision. Campbell, as Director of Publicity for the department, immediately recognized the possibilities of installing Grey Owl in one of the national parks. Harkin, his superior, agreed but also identified the value of determining whether beaver could be successfully reared in a reserve or sanctuary atmosphere. If this prototype breeding station was a success it could potentially become the model for larger ones in the north. Armed with this logic Harkin approached T.C. Crearar, The Minster of Interior, in December of 1930, for approval of this scheme.

Before Belaney now known to visitors at the Cabano Camp site and the editors of Forest and Outdoors as Grey Owl, was to be offered a position of naturalist within the Parks Branch two significant developments emerged. The first of these was a further refinement of his conservationist philosophy and the elaboration of his assumed native identity. This was achieved by the rapid production of no less than nine articles for Forest and Outdoors throughout the winter before joining the department. In the narrative, "King of the Beaver People," he related how Rawhide, the mate to Jelly Roll, entered his life. This story clearly illustrates his confusion over developing a personal philosophy of conservation, since the second beaver had been nursed back to health after being liberated from a muskrat trap—a trap he had set—
and during the critical spring reproductive season. An equally awkward manifestation of his conservationist ideals was the admitted plunder of an occupied beaver lodge from which he extracted two of a litter of four. This was undertaken to spare the animals from being later trapped by others. Unfortunately the kittens perished under his care. It is possible that he obtained these new born animals purely for the benefit of visitors whom he was then eagerly encouraging to visit. Such public exposure undoubtedly made him feel important, and reinforced his desire to be accepted and have his achievements acknowledged. In a subsequent article entitled "Who Will Repay?" the problems of conservation were approached in a more pragmatic fashion. He bemoaned the disappearance of the frontier, warning that, "if stringent and immediate steps are not taken this rapidly disappearing wild environment to which Canada owes her start in life will soon become a thing of the past." The receding frontier and the decline in wildlife became synonymous; the only hope of salvation rested on educating the average citizen as to the need for conservation.

....You cannot legislate people into line on an issue of this description but you may educate them into it. The matter rests in the hands of the Canadian citizen himself. The people themselves must be stirred to a full realization of the national importance of Game and Forest conservation and made to feel their responsibility.

In the same article as he had previously argued in Men of the Last Frontier, he specifically, and incongruously, given his own behaviour, called for "absolute protection of all fur bearing animals...with air tight laws to enforce it...later seasons could be opened and closed as conditions demand." In this, his most articulate argument for conservation no suggestions to an alternative, nor even a condemnation of, the leg hold trap appears. Evidently at this time the methods of trapping did not concern him.
Of the several articles penned between the time he was introduced to officials of the Parks Branch and the date at which he accepted their offer of employment, over two-thirds deal with the native way of life and his reflection of this lifestyle.

Some of Belaney's literary admirers must have marvelled at his writing ability which seemed, in many ways, to conflict with the picture of the self-taught Métis. After his death in 1938 many felt that he had perpetrated a fraud; pretending to be something he never was. However, the Métis identity which he projected as an author was, from a psychoanalytic perspective, one means by which he compensated for the severe inferiority complex inherited from his unhappy childhood.

Throughout Belaney's writings we find emphasis on his own exploits. His preoccupation with his own adventures is illustrated in "A Day in a Hidden Town," which was republished in his final book Tales of an Empty Cabin. The predominant theme of this tale is his own unique office as guide for a party of American tourists. His pre-eminent position within this group is constantly emphasized throughout through the multiple role of guide and interpreter. The author depicts the Indians expressions of shock at seeing "white people" who are easily identified as "Americans - long knives." This scenario seems a trifle absurd since he also indicates that this was the 20th century, and all the women were clad in Hudson's Bay Company plaids. Doubtless this dramatization of the meeting between an isolated Indian band and a group of whitemen was culled from his childhood memory of western adventure stories. In those plots it was quite acceptable, if not demanded outright, for the "long knives" or "pale face" to address the "Injun" in "forked tongue." In a following article, "A Mess of Pottage," he continued to impress upon the reader his native heritage by constantly referring to himself and the native population of Canada in the first
person plural. At the same time he briefly acknowledges his Apache origin and his respect for the Ojibways of the north who taught him his bushlore.\footnote{192} Very likely, as with the previous story, the selection of the Apaches as his mother's tribe was the result of recollecting the plots of western novelettes he had consumed in bulk as a youth. In a final article in 1931, "Indian Legends and Lore," he deplores the decline of old Indian values, and in "speaking as an Indian,"\footnote{193} hopes that some of their heritage can be maintained by present generation natives. Less attention to his native origins and more to his knowledge of the out-of-doors is the theme of "White Water"\footnote{194} and "The Perils of Woods Travel."\footnote{195} Both of these articles provided the reader with the impression of his masculinity and proud native, or at the very least, Métis heritage. As a result by the time Archie Belaney had been hired by the National Parks Branch he was well known within Canada as "Grey Owl the native author."

A key event contributing to the formation of his personal image and the public's perception of him occurred before he moved to Manitoba's Riding Mountain National Park. In January of 1931 the Canadian Forestry Association, which owned and published Forest and Outdoors, planned its annual meeting for that month in Montreal. They asked him to deliver a lecture on conservation to the assembled members. This he did and with a great deal of success in spite of certain nervous misgivings. The acclaim he received from the audience is significant. As members of the Canadian Forestry Association they were presumably in the vanguard of the conservationist lobby. Their endorsement of his lecture undoubtedly boosted his pride tremendously. More noteworthy, however, was the press coverage. The press described him as "a full-blooded Indian of Apache descent," who had at one time, "lived in Arizona on the shores of the Rio Grande...and later toured England and the United States with Colonel Gill Cody's circus."\footnote{196} Upon
that he never claimed to be an Indian. This is no longer considered a credible defense. It is critical to observe here that at this time he never denied this story or others circulating about his background.

As Grey Owl's status as a writer and naturalist increased so did the probability that he would never reveal his English ancestry. Quite suddenly his writing career had brought him beyond the heroic proportions of the Indian guide he idealized as a child. The real events of his past became blurred while the aspects of his fabricated background assumed the clear focus of hard fact. By 1931, he had constructed an entirely new childhood and adolescence for himself. For the next seven years Belaney would do little to alter this elaborately constructed identity. Fantasy and reality came to overlap in his mind and he could no longer distinguish between them. And this confusion became increasingly evident during his years with the National Parks Branch.

By 1931 senior officials within the Department of Interior had concluded that the installation of Grey Owl in an appropriate park would be of considerable publicity and conservation value. As a result, that February, they offered him the position of "naturalist" within Riding Mountain National Park. His stay in this park pushed his career as author and conservationist to previously undreamt of heights. But with success his personality became increasingly tormented. Throughout these years he suffered from egomania and chronic depression. Amongst these problems chronic abuse of alcohol was only one symptom. From here to the end of his life Belaney trod a difficult path in which reality blended with delusion.

Corresponding with Superintendent James A. Smart, Belaney outlined his needs. These amounted to "a small log shack which must be near a water supply and possess a stove and bunk." Such a simple request was easily met. Shortly after his arrival wardens within the park had constructed a comfortable, and by comparison to previous accommodation,
luxurious cabin. When completed, the dwelling was L-shaped with a main room measuring approximately twenty feet by sixteen feet and an annex of about ten feet by twelve feet. Of greater concern to him though, was the selection of a suitable body of water in which to raise the beaver. The lake on which he would reside "must," he wrote, "have sheltered spots, a creek flowing in the larger body of water, a shoreline composed of peaty soil, earth or muskeg and abundant stands of poplar." In reply to these stipulations Smart suggested that he should immediately travel out to the park in order to consider possible sites. It is indicative of Belaney's mental state and declining relationship with Anahareo, that such a voyage was out of the question, because he could not leave the beaver as he could, "trust no one to watch them."

Since a meeting was impossible, Smart suggested a number of lakes indicating on a map their positions. For one reason or another all of them proved to be unsuitable. In the case of one known as Audy Lake he bluntly rejected it, stating: "...it is out of the question as in the spring migration the males would be out of the park boundaries in a day, headed straight for an Indian reservation." This statement suggests a mere realistic attitude to the Indian who was so often heavily idealized in Belaney's writing. He was obviously aware that, like his avaricious white counterparts, the Indian too, could be guilty of trapping through the crucial mating season.

During this period his perceptions of the nature of the conservationist work in which he was to be engaged became clearer in the initial letters with the Parks Branch. He proposed that if other beaver were already in the park then he should be permitted, "to build small cabins at all suitable places where beaver could be trained to advantage." Clearly he equated the role of naturalist with that of animal trainer. Domesticating these animals hardly suited the existing programs
of preservation for wood buffalo, plains bison, antelope or musk ox. It is not unlikely that the government had decided to engage him on the sole consideration of his publicity value. After he had arrived in the park and selected a lake he considered as ideal, Superintendent Smart reported to Ottawa that the location was perfect for "photographic work." The fact that the exigencies of a comprehensive fur conservation program had been sacrificed for the benefits of park promotion did not concern Belaney. By being permitted or even encouraged to train wild beaver with his own, he preserved his unique identity and sense of importance. Such a position and the awe or respect it commanded from the visiting public was highly coveted by him, and would become even more so in the years ahead. But aside from guaranteeing him employment and public affection, the beaver had by now assumed definite human traits. It is no exaggeration to say that he had become dependent upon them for companionship. This is suggested in his refusal to visit the park prior to moving there. He wrote that he worried, in his absence, "they might leave me."

In mid April Archie boarded a train in Cabano, and with a specially constructed metal tank for the beaver set out for the west. Anahareo had returned the previous January, but the man she had left months before was now even more engrossed in his work. At Toronto, on the way to Manitoba, she left him once more to pursue her elusive "Eldorado" in the gold fields of northern Ontario. The transfer of Grey Owl and his pets to Riding Mountain National Park did not spark a great deal of interest in the national press for two reasons: first, he was at this time still a relatively unknown figure, second, and according to Belaney, Premier Tashereau of Quebec, "who was looking for re-election was severely criticized by the opposition for allowing him to leave." Since Tashereau was directly allied to the Federal Liberals under Mackenzie King, it was obviously to their advantage to downplay the
removal of Grey Owl from Quebec. In spite of Anahareo's absence he appears to have been quite content. From entries in his diary one is given the impression that he was taking his work quite seriously. The exact nature of his duties were probably similar to those of a warden, though the majority of his time seems to have been spent observing and recording the behaviour of the beaver. In this atmosphere he coined the later widely recognized address "Beaver Lodge." 208

The beaver, brought thousands of miles from the east, adapted well with Jelly Roll and Rawhide producing a litter of three in late May. Conveniently ignoring his earlier plea for a halt to the destruction of all fur bearing animals, he proceeded, with the blessings of the Superintendent, "to destroy coyotes or other predatory animals which might interfere with the beaver." 209 With the perceived enemy thus held at bay the task of raising, or more accurately in the opinion of his superior, the job of "domestication" 210 of park animals, could begin in earnest. In June Belaney also began to raise two pairs of young elk and moose.

This policy of domesticating the beaver and since June two pairs of elk and moose, was, in the case of the former a more destructive process than had they been allowed to mature naturally within their environment. By weaning the beaver kittens at an early age he precluded the normal development of defensive instincts towards both their natural forest enemies and man. By appointing himself mother to the kittens he upset what probably would have been a healthy interdependent relationship between progeny and parent. Feeding them condensed or whole cow's milk, 211 rather than allowing the mother to nurse the offspring led to disastrous results. Of the three kittens born that year at least one, if not all, died. The death of the first in July upset Belanay considerably. If it was found that in fact he could not rear beaver in a government sanctuary, then his value as a conservationist
and indeed his entire scheme would have to be seriously ex-
examined. Desperately seeking an answer to this inexplicable
death he wrapped up the animal's intestines in a can and
dispatched them to Ottawa hoping that the cause could be
determined there. Superintendent Smart sent off a covering
letter shortly afterwards cautioning his friend Campbell,
for whom the package was destined, that a "gas mask might
be required when opening the container."\(^{212}\) No cause of
death was ever established due to the content's advanced
state of putrification upon arrival at branch headquarters.
Commenting on this, Campbell painfully related to Smart that
the can had regrettably arrived, "previous to your letter."\(^{213}\)

Possibly because of the difficulties experienced with
this initial litter, or perhaps due to the sudden return of
Anahareo, after less than three months Belaney was dissatis-
fied with his existence and looked about for some alternative.
It is not inconceivable that he simply disliked the park it-
self and preferred a transfer to one in a more remote setting.
Certainly the less abundant waterways of this region, as com-
pared to Cabano or familiar parts of Ontario, formed some of
the dissatisfaction. The lack of water routes had prevented
him from utilizing his beloved canoe. This mode of transpor-
tation gave Belaney considerable pleasure and he confessed he
was "bull-headed,"\(^{214}\) about the necessity of finding a new
location where he could canoe. In order to assure his trans-
fer he developed the theory that the water levels in the
park were generally too low for the beaver. This pretext
for a change in location stood in stark contrast with his
earlier assessment of the area to Smart:

> When he had stated that the conditions were such
> that they could not have been better even if
> he had manufactured them to a preconceived plan.\(^{215}\)

While at Riding Mountain National Park the proximity of his
cabin to the townsite was a problem; Archie frequented the
local bar.\(^{216}\) During this period he developed a drinking
problem. Riotous evenings resulted in administrative reprimands. Though he temporarily swore off liquor there is little doubt that complaints from Park administration played a part in Belaney's dissatisfaction with his life at the park. In late July he appealed to the government for a change of location. By mid-August he had been given the authority to look over Prince Albert National Park as a possible alternative. From the government's position they felt conditions in Prince Albert were very little better than Riding Mountain. But under his sustained urgings they agreed in mid-September that the entire beaver program should be shifted to Prince Albert, five hundred miles to the north west.

Prince Albert National Park was the latest addition to the Dominion's park lands. Created by an Order-in-Council in 1927 it was officially opened by Prime Minister Mackenzie King on August 11, 1928. At the date of Belaney's arrival the total land area of this reserve approached 1,860 square miles. The territory itself was considerably different from that of Riding Mountain National Park. The land elevation was higher, approximately 1800 feet above sea level. The numerous rock out-croppings were not dissimilar to his beloved northern Ontario. Because of its geographical position straddling a height of land between the North Saskatchewan River to the south and the Churchill River to the north, most of the numerous lakes and rivers gradually drained into the lower elevation of the Churchill River. At one time the park region had abounded with game and fur bearing mammals which supported the resident Cree and Chipewyan bands. But in spite of its critical position in the middle of the traders' and explorers' axis of east-west transportation, it was not until the late 19th century that the Hudson's Bay Company actually erected a post within the area later to become Prince Albert National Park. In December of 1886 a temporary post was erected on Deer Lake (Waskesiu). Originally this area was judged to be "a valuable fur producing country," but by November 1891 it was decided to reduce substantially operations in this area. The trade season of 1891-92 was the
last for this post, most probably because of the scarcity of pelts and the shift in operations by the company to the south end of Montreal Lake.  

The ruthless competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and independent traders had decimated the park area of fur bearing animals. Those species which did manage to survive soon came under renewed threat by logging companies. At one time the Prince Albert Lumber Company, the largest of these, employed up to 2200 men in sixteen separate camps. Millions of board feet of spruce were harvested annually by this company and its competitors. The most productive years for the Prince Albert Lumber Company were during the Great War when a total of 124.47 square miles of the park region came under the axe. This figure is significant as it represents almost 25 per cent of the park area, which since 1914 had been incorporated into the Sturgeon River Forest Reserve. A series of disastrous fires from 1913, but particularly in 1918-19, consumed a vast amount of the territory. Such destruction compelled the lumber companies to forsake this region for more lucrative ones to the east.

The subsequent creation of the park a few years after logging operations had ended was not undertaken as a conservation measure. Rather, the park was seen as a way to stimulate tourism in the neighbouring town of Prince Albert. With the collusion of the local Liberal association and the Prince Albert Board of Trade, Prime Minister King, the member for that riding, was persuaded to legislate the Sturgeon River Forest Reserve and a subsequent addition as a National Park. Such a move was heartily endorsed by the local merchants. The official government position for the purpose of this new park was simply viewed as one, "serving every outdoor requirement from a commercial and recreational standpoint." It was no surprise, then, that for the seven years Grey Owl was domiciled here his superior, Superintendent James Wood, occupied an ex officio seat on the Prince Albert Board of Trade.
It was into this commercial environment that Belaney ventured in the autumn of 1931.

His impressions of the park were favourable from the outset, as were his feelings towards Major Wood, the recently appointed superintendent. Over the course of his life here he developed considerable respect for Wood, who perhaps more than any other Parks Branch employee, truly understood Belaney. From their first meeting he related to Archie in a manner that the latter could not only accept but respect.

The development of this rapport was partially due to his new superior being coached by other officials, who had already experienced less than satisfactory dealings with Grey Owl. By the time he had arrived Wood was well acquainted with "the inside line on handling (him)." For that reason the relationship was amicable from the beginning. From a practical standpoint the superintendent was enthusiastic about the whole scheme. Protecting the forested areas of the park was the major task of the warden service and therefore the reintroduction of these animals [the beaver], "would mean storage of large amounts of water.....thereby providing additional facilities for fire fighting." But there was a more important factor involved in permitting him to settle here. His presence and work, which was to be widely advertised, would guarantee large amounts of publicity for this park whose annual visitation rate had reached only a maximum of 30,000 in 1931. With the onset of the depression for the years ahead. Thus favourable advertising, of whatever type, was regarded as beneficial to the maintenance and operation of this park. This assumption becomes more credible when Campbell, an intimate friend of Wood, confided a short time later that, "(he) is of the greatest publicity value to anything we have ever done."

The move from Riding Mountain to Prince Albert had been achieved by November 1931. Anahareo, who had returned in the
late summer, accompanied him with Jelly Roll and Rawhide. Preferring not to provide prairie opposition members with a point on which to criticize the government, his movement there occurred with as little public knowledge as possible. The cabin in which they were to live was constructed to his specifications and "at a considerable amount of trouble." During the initial visit to Prince Albert the previous August, he had selected a location on the west side of Ajawaan Lake, in the north west region of the park. The cabin was erected at the base of a bluff and occupied a commanding view of the lake. For the convenience of the beaver it was deliberately built as close to the water's edge as possible. It was hoped that they would eventually begin construction of a lodge within the actual building. Belaney's idea that the beaver should live with him in his cabin was probably conceived while in Riding Mountain National Park. However, there the style of the cabin and the distance from the water prevented the realization of this plan. When completed, the new home was a solid spruce log structure, slightly smaller than the previous dwelling. A curious large opening in the floor was the beaver entrance, it amounted to nearly one quarter of the building's area.

The first winter spent on Ajawaan was a happy one for Anahareo who discovered in February that she was carrying his child. For Archie it was a hectic time. In addition to his appointed duties as official "Caretaker of Park Animals," he had commenced work on a third book, Tales of An Empty Cabin, having briefly laid aside his progress on Pilgrims of the Wild. The combination of the responsibilities of his position, the unexpected, and from his position, probably unwanted, pregnancy, plus the continuous requests of publishers, placed him under pressure with which he was incapable of dealing. He became depressed and irritable. Combined with these immediate pressures Belaney had also to contend with the
suppression of his past. To avoid dealing with it he buried it deeper in his mind, thereby slipping further and further into an existence based on delusion. Initially pretending his background to be of mixed parentage was an extension of a childhood fantasy. However, by the winter of 1932 the maintenance of this image was more than a means of perpetuating a permanent fantasy: it was a way of life for him. At times it became a challenge to distinguish between the realities of his life and the fantasy he lived. If ever the fabricated Grey Owl was to become unmasked, then the genuine Archie Belaney could not expect to survive. In the end he knew both white and native admirers "would be sadly disappointed." Unable to contend with his present situation, he quarrelled with Anahareo more regularly, particularly after drinking sprees in Prince Albert, or after consuming the generous harvest of his own "still."

From the beginning of his association with the department, his role was viewed in terms of publicity alone. Consequently, during the first spring within the park, little time was wasted before a film crew arrived to capture the activities of his pets. The first of these sessions according to Wood was a complete success:

"....*Bill* (William Oliver) is well pleased with his shots and says everything he's got is entirely different from before (in Cabano and Riding Mountain)...*Jelly Roll* had a number of new stunts and acted wonderfully well during the period."

No effort was spared on this occasion for the filming of "Strange Doings in Beaverland" and "Grey Owl's Neighbours." During the production of the former, the roof of Beaver Lodge was temporarily removed to afford additional lighting required for the interior shots. With increased public exposure he was asked by local charities to present lectures on wildlife, conservation and the park. Clearly his function within the park and department was one of publicity agent. Belaney
himself probably realized this since he regarded publicity director Campbell as his, "superior at head office," rather than Wood or someone else associated with the warden service.

During these local lecturing engagements he continually practised his presentation and stage image and by the date of his first British tour these had been perfected. His preoccupation with work, and the recently formed habit of sleeping during the day and writing through the night, had driven yet another wedge between him and Anahareo. In response she convinced Wood that an additional cabin above the original should be constructed. This would house herself and the child, in at least a more hygenic, if not communicative atmosphere, away from an active family of beaver.

In August of 1932, Belaney's only child by Anahareo, was born in Prince Alberta. Shirly Dawn, as she was christened, exerted a strange effect over her father. This was probably a reflection of his unresolved feelings towards Anahareo, and confusion over the responsibilities of parenthood. Unlike the three previous children born to faithful Angele, and the one to Marie, he never ignored this child. For at least a few months her birth appears to have produced a quieting effect on their relationship. Her presence and demands for parental attention provided Anahareo with a distraction from the monotonous, rhythmic scratching of Archie's pen. "Living with a person who is writing," she had concluded earlier, is "worse than living alone." And the physical beauty and tranquility of Ajawaan did not offset the inadequate nursery conditions. Once more, and before Shirly Dawn was a year old, Anahareo had taken her and left Archie. For the main part of her childhood Anahareo did not keep her daughter with her. Until she was a young woman, she was raised by a kindly local family named Winters who became trusted friends of Belaney. Whether or not the split between Archie and
Anahareo was caused by, "my nerves and the strain of last year," a comment made by Archie the first anniversary of their child's birth, is unimportant. What is relevant is that this breach was irreparable and that Anahareo's absence directly affected both the quality and quantity of his literature.

As with the women before her Belaney's relationship with Anahareo was effected by a childhood spent with his aunts. Though they continued to coexist on friendly terms and he generously dispatched money to Anahareo whenever she seemed in need, his disillusionment was barely disguised. It is in this sentiment that one notes a very clear entry in his notebook of the period after her departure: "...the most beautiful romances are those that are unfulfilled, once completed they too often fall into the realm of the commonplace." But in spite of loneliness and depression, he was becoming progressively more conscious of his image. This was especially evident when during the previous year the Macmillan Company of Canada had published his first book, The Men of the Last Frontier. He therefore felt it prudent in cautioning Anahareo about displaying the fact that they were separated. The local Prince Albert papers, he argued, were "hostile" to him.

As in the past, her absence stimulated him to work on his writing. The self-imposed temperance had long since vanished, and during this period the sporadic abuse of alcohol became a form of reward for his creative diligence. Since the British publication of Men of the Last Frontier, and more recently, the Canadian edition, he had divided his labours between Tales of An Empty Cabin and Pilgrims of the Wild. Anahareo's exist demanded a renewed priority for his literary time-table. For that reason and so he could recapture and preserve all the fond memories of their once intimate relationship, he ceased to be concerned with Tales of An Empty Cabin.
Instead all his efforts were marshalled on completing Pilgrims of the Wild, which he had done by the late spring of 1934. Unquestionably it was to be his finest work. As an autobiography it possessed a subtle duplicity. It was not only a narration of his fabricated life, but also a revealing glimpse of aspects of his actual life, albeit carefully limited to a few passages. The existence of this "shadow autobiography" undoubtedly explains why he requested Hugh Eayrs of Macmillan's to compose the forward, for reasons he confessed, not of egotism but of "self-defense." There was a great deal more truth to this comment than his publishers could ever guess. Belaney must also have considered that Eayrs' respected endorsement of the work would put to rest irritating rumours that he had a ghost writer.

The chronology of this work commences with his days in Biscotasing, the details of the previous years having been conveniently ignored. In a fairly daring manner he mentions Bill Guppy, "the King of all woodsmen," though he failed to acknowledge his tremendous influence. His childhood existence in Hastings receives only two oblique references both relating to his knowledge of English. The irregular use of this tongue he compared as much like adorning himself "in a stiff and ceremonious suit of Sunday best." The vision of a young Archibald with hair slicked back and suit crisply pressed is all too evident. His ability at the piano and the earlier days of entertaining the guests and employees in Temagami clearly emerge through the introduction of an unnamed character who also possessed some talent at the keyboard. A final and highly intriguing comment about his English heritage occurs when he recounts a conversation he had with an imaginary Indian, encountered in Cabano: "....civilization had surely gotten in its work on him. He had a broad Cockney accent." The most revealing or possibly risky remark within the entire work occurs during the narration of events surrounding
a mild crisis in his early association with Anahareo. She was upset and he was perplexed as to the root of her discom­fort, since, "I had been the most appreciative husband, not at all indifferent or unattentive as the real Indians often were." If anyone at Macmillan's had been confused by the evident distinction between himself and genuine or "real" native, it was probably dismissed as a reference to his Métis origins. Whether these were intentional hints or subconscious slips of the pen is, of course, open to debate. Perhaps he enjoyed the competitive nature of the ruse, to see just how far he could go without actually revealing himself. Possibly he wished to be unmasked then caught and punished, like a naughty school boy playing a prank. As an adult Belaney craved the attention which he had not been given as a child.

The publication of Pilgrims of the Wild meant a great deal to him. In the preface he compares its success or failure to a poker game enjoyed by a novice who freely admits the potential for "disastrous possibilities." Because of this intense personal stake in the book his over anxious correspondence with the publishers concerning its publication becomes more comprehensible. How Belaney came to be originally associated with Hugh Eayrs of The Macmillan Company of Canada remains speculative. It is not unlikely that Lloyd Roberts, the son of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, acted as liaison between the two men. The younger Roberts had first heard of Grey Owl in 1929 while employed as a parliamentary correspondent in Ottawa and sometime contributor to the Christian Science Monitor. So enthralled was he with this romantic figure that he went to Cabano to meet him. He returned to Ottawa a short time later with some of Grey Owl's manuscripts and with instructions to find a publisher. Eayrs was intensely nationalistic and to him this man's work appeared the essence of being "Canadian." In 1931 he had published Men of the Last Frontier and encouraged his new
author to produce more. By 1934, the date of his submission of *Pilgrims of the Wild*, their friendship was on a firm footing. In offering the manuscript which he had originally titled "Tales of a Tenderfoot," he confided to Eayrs,

I wish to be known as what I actually am and am proud of being a genuine woodsman of the old school...I hope you understand me I am not particularly anxious to be known at all; my place is back in the woods; there is my home and there I stay. But in this country of Canada to which I am intensely loyal and whose natural heritage I am trying to interpret so that it may be better understood and appreciated here, at least, I want to be known for what I am.266

There is needless to say a certain irony in his desire to be known for what he was. This wish combined with an apology for the manuscript's condition—of which he was obviously proud—was, in fact, a strong plea for recognition. The ploy of appearing humble, uneducated and uncultured was used consistently throughout his career as a means of eliciting positive reinforcement and acceptance by others.

The success of failure of this work reflected what he visualized as the acceptance or rejection of both his real and imaginary life. For that reason his obsessive almost paranoid concern over its publication becomes clearer. Eayrs had suggested upon receiving the completed manuscript that a young British publisher, Lovat Dickson, should be approached as his agent in London. Eayrs felt justified in directing Belaney towards this little known publisher because of the deep personal and professional friendship between them. After some misgivings, due to his previously unsatisfactory dealings with *Country Life*, Archie agreed. Both Eayrs and Dickson—and particularly Dickson—were to have a profound effect on him. In no small way they were responsible for maintaining his Indian image and fabricated identity. Of the two Belaney clearly preferred Eayrs who he felt was not only friendly but trustworthy.267 Dickson he never genuinely befriended,
in spite of their many business dealings. To his very last months he still considered this man's commercial relationship to him as one characterized by, "a grafting attitude...and cutthroat terms." Dickson was immediately impressed upon reading the manuscript. In corresponding with Eayrs he frankly expressed his aspirations for all concerned. "I do hope that we are going to get away to a big thing with this book, not only for my own sake but for his as well." He enthusiastically set about planning the publication of this work for the Christmas season of 1934. Little did he know how insistent the author would be in reading, altering and appending the proofs. These were details which frustrated his publishers but ones which he felt necessary to guarantee the book's success. In the beginning Dickson had tried quietly to ignore the textual alterations Belaney wished to have made. To Archie this was simply an attempt "to monopolize and dictate." If such an attitude was not promptly changed then the contract with Dickson would be cancelled and the British publication rights awarded to Macmillan of Canada. Under this threat Dickson, and to a lesser extent Eayrs, realized that tact and patience, liberally seasoned with flattery, were the tactics to be employed in dealing with this author. Had it not been for the intervention of Eayrs Belaney quite probably would have executed this threat. Eayrs valiantly defended the integrity of Dickson and assured the cantankerous writer: "I shall not let you down...I council you once more to continue your trust in me."

In spite of such assurances and similar ones from the now prudent Dickson, Belaney remained feverishly anxious over the book. Throughout the late summer and early fall he besieged his publishers with demands for alterations, and assurances that he could read the galleys before printing. The "letters after letters" which had arrived at Macmillans did so in Eayrs' opinion because, "he is a child of the wild, entirely
Somewhat paradoxically this "child of the wild" exhibited a high degree of business acumen when discussing royalties, serialization and distribution. After weeks of frenzied correspondence and negotiation during which Eayrs, "as inundated with wires and letters to the business and the house, (so that) no day went by that we didn't have either a wire or letter or both," the manuscript was finally ready for print. Belaney had allowed no changes in the text. The title which Eayrs had suggested, namely, "Pilgrims," was expanded with Archie's consent to Pilgrims of the Wild. It was felt that for the American market the shortened version might erroneously be equated by prospective readers as a work dealing with the Pilgrim Fathers. However the precise transcription of the text with its peculiar punctuation and grammatical structures was critical to Archie who wrote his solicitor, "... it is not fiction and therefore subject to reinterpretation only by those that underwent the experiences." His insistence upon reading the proofs as a form of reassurance delayed publication from the initially planned October 1934 to January 1935. In November of 1934 serialization of the work had been eagerly snatched up by The Illustrated London News and The Canadian Magazine.

Both publishers recognized Belaney's literary abilities once Pilgrims of the Wild was finished. In the weeks that followed the completion of his autobiography they urged him to undertake a children's book. Dickson expressed a great deal of confidence in him, judging his abilities to be comparable to another "Henty, Fenimore Cooper or Dr. Doolittle." Besides, if such a work was completed before the following December then they could capture the Christmas book trade, since that season was traditionally the most lucrative for authors and agents. As a result, having just finished his second book, Belaney eagerly plunged into a third. The
Adventures of Sajo and Her Beaver People if not his best work was certainly the most popular. It was also according to him, "some of the hardest work I ever did in my life."\textsuperscript{280} The plot, which centres around two young Indian children raising and caring for two pet beaver kittens, is clearly symbolically autobiographical. The roles of Shapian and Sajo are easily identifiable as Archie and Anahareo respectively. Gitchie Meegwon who is given the character of the children's father is probably based on the personality of Bill Guppy, under whom the author reveals, "my first trap trail was laid."\textsuperscript{281} The beaver kittens on which the story centres are dubbed Chilawee and Chikwanee, doubtless synonymous with the once thriving McGinty and McGuiness. The family's log dwelling at "The Place of Talking Waters" is almost certainly a combination of Beaver Lodge and the earlier cabin on Birch Lake. Altogether this story formed a pleasant emotional \textit{déjà vu} for Archie. The influence and happy memories of his once loving relationship with Anahareo are quite evident. Not surprisingly the juvenile protagonists of this tale are happy in their youth. Such a contented childhood was something of which Archie had been permitted only to dream. Originally the book had been called "The Adventures of Chilawee and Chikwanee." In spite of the profound sentimental value he attached to it, he permitted the title to be altered.\textsuperscript{282} Moreover, because he was unsure of how the book would be received he conceded that he did not "expect the same latitude in grammar, punctuation and construction that had been accorded his own story."\textsuperscript{283} For the edification of his young audience, one and one half dozen crude sketches were included. They were not unlike those he had penned as a young boy in the margins of various adventure books.\textsuperscript{284} The work was completed in a highly emotionally charged two month period,\textsuperscript{285} and was comfortably in the possession of his publishers by December of 1934. In 1935 both Pilgrims of the Wild and The Adventures of Sajo and
Her Beaver People were released to a fervent British public. Almost overnight he was proclaimed the literary sensation of the decade.

Since his placement in the park Grey Owl had become a local, if not national, celebrity. Much exposure had resulted through the wide distribution of his four films—a fifth was shot during the summer of 1934. Considerable publicity had also been gained through the many visitors who flocked to the cabin site each summer. The fan mail had become so voluminous even before his first appearance in England, that it became necessary to store it, by the sack, in a large tent behind Beaver Lodge. Such correspondence was impossible to answer, and each year an undetermined amount disappeared into the beavers' den for their constructions. It is difficult to assess the effect this massive and concentrated attention had on his personality. Belaney had craved the attention and affection of others, and had been denied these elementary needs as a child, and to a lesser extent as an adolescent. Certainly the fact that he had laboured almost exclusively from 1932-35 on his two major works enhanced whatever feelings that were not displayed in his character. Intense prolonged anxiety over his literature, wreaked a tremendous toll on his physical and emotional state. Alcohol became an increasingly important method of achieving solace. For weeks at a time he would disappear from the park, a not unwilling prisoner of the local bootleggers. His finances became so chaotic that he was forced to turn the management of these over to Wood. The superintendent in doing the best he could to control him, and probably because of their friendship, shielded him from the disciplinary action of senior government officials.

Belaney's psychological problems seem to have intensified in January of 1935. There is evidence that he thought of writing an autobiographical fiction on a Half breed man's struggle with what he refers to as "the demon rum."
The following excerpt from a letter to his publishers outlines the project:

....I have great plans. I am going to write a novel "Halfbreed," a breed, something of a drunkard and his adventures in civilization, and the eventual return to native environment. There will be some pretty forceful satire on some aspects of civilization and booze will play an important part and just about wreck the halfbreed. His wife an educated cultured Indian girl with high fallutin' ideas and English accent tries to drag him up to her level, but its no use, every so often, down he goes, hitting a new low each time. In a sanitorium, where he ends up, she thinking to "save" him visits there as a last resource. In his delirium he sees in her modish attire and Europeanized ways the incarnation of the civilization that has troubled him and put him where he is and seeks to deceive him by wearing an Indian face and he tries to kill her. The only time she can get near him is when she appears dressed in the head shawl and plaid dress of an Indian woman...Recovering he leaves civilization for good this time, but before he is made to realize that it is not civilization that is wrong but himself. She goes native with him. It will be just a question who is more obnoxious, the atavistic halfbreed with the blood of two races alternately predominated, a poet and gentleman when sober, a savage when drunk - or the snobbish full blooded Indian girl trying to be white...It will be made into a picture with (him) taking the roll of the halfbreed. I will give a very life like and convincing portrayal of the battle with the demon rum...After the publication I will probably have to go and live in Bolivia with a bodyguard. I have much to say in it and some will not see us as we see ourselves.291

This document offers insight into Belaney's mind and aspirations three years before his death. Two facts emerge from the letter: first, he is evidently pleased with his success as an author. Second, he appears to be aware that he, or rather his literary character, has a drinking problem. It is possible to argue that alcohol provided both a form of escape and a method of deliberate self-destruction. Such behaviour can be seen as an expression of rage against parental figures, in this case his aunts. He could console
himself, he cared little, since it was they who made him drink. There seems little doubt that the perpetual feelings of inferiority and insecurity of his childhood, and the inability of that environment to satisfy his needs, fostered the dependence upon, alcohol.

His wife's visit and "Europeanized ways" prompts an attempt on her life. It is possible that this encounter portrays a suppressed distaste for Anahareo's unconventional lifestyle. It seems likely that the fact that she did not behave in a manner that he imagined an Indian mate "should" had become a definite source of irritation. Presumably the traditional Indian wife is represented with the head shawl and plaid dress of the woman, the only costume or behaviour which can afford her access to him. His light hearted comment towards the conclusion of this lengthy communiqué, to the effect that after publication he might need a "body guard" suggests that much of what he had to say was autobiographical. For what other reasons could the prospect of residing thereafter under guard in South America be contemplated? Once more the desire to be caught or punished, a sad commentary on his tortured personality is suggested. Attention in any form seems to dominate his aspirations, even now, after he had achieved a degree of recognition. No reply was ever prompted by this letter. Possibly Eayrs and his staff dismissed it as another rambling transmission from Archie.

Throughout the first three years of service in Prince Albert National Park he became successively more withdrawn. Anahareo, who had left to go prospecting shortly after the birth of their daughter, remained away. She returned in the summers but was never present during the cold lonely winters. Her general absence most assuredly affected his behaviour and mental health. With his companion of former happy times gone, it was expected that he would befriend fellow employees of the Parks Branch. Such friendships never
developed. Though a regular member of the park staff, Belaney commanded privileges normally not awarded other personnel. The friendship with Superintendent Wood and the lenient treatment of repeated indiscretions must surely have caused jealousy, if not outright hostility, between the other employees and Grey Owl. The other wardens did little to disguise their animosity and generally regarded him as a "loner." This disdain became mutual with Archie judging his co-workers as nothing more than "prairie peasantry." Attempts at forming relationships were invariably difficult and almost always unrewarding. Those select few whom he did consider as true friends, he wrote Mrs. Winters, "are not many, they go on the fingers of one hand and are rather widely scattered." To anyone who befriended him he was intensely loyal, expressing his affection in his generous nature during the Christmas season.

During these years Shirley Dawn, his daughter was often neglected by Belaney. She bore a striking resemblance to Anahareo and as his relationship with the mother declined, so did his relationship with their child. His utter alienation from the other children of former relationships made reconciling what fondness he had for Shirley Dawn difficult. Rarely did he refer to the child by her christian name, substituting instead such dubious impersonal titles as "the reptile," "the wee beastie" or "the pig." The attempt through nomenclature to blunt the emotional impact of the child's existence indicates his inability to cope with such a responsibility. The fact that the girl was the product of a once deep and intimate union, as opposed to the mere convenience of the previous alliances, made no difference. Whatever emotional support that might have been acquired through a closer association with the child was supplanted by the constant presence of the beaver, to whom he reacted as a parent. Indeed, the first pair of kittens that had come
to them years earlier were related to more as offspring than pets. This became the model for future behaviour. During the fondly remembered Christmas on Birch Lake, Archie had purchased for the animals, "a clown on wheels that made a noisy clack-clack when pulled by its long orange-coloured handle, and a bunny with a tinkly bell also on wheels." Unless he wished them to consume such toys he, and for that matter Anahareo, were treating their pets in a manner which would have been more suitable to children. However when Shirley Dawn did arrive the role had lost some of its novelty, with neither adult wishing the responsibility of rearing the genuine progeny. Belaney chronically complained of his financial situation. To the poor woman raising his child he furnished a meagre allowance of twenty dollars a month. Not surprisingly, resources could always be procured for the bootleggers, whose wares he repeatedly promised never to touch again. As his relationship with Anahareo soured his concern for the child waned proportionately. His visits to the Winters' became less frequent and her existence was totally omitted in the vast correspondence with his publishers. Archie's plans for the child's future financial security, diminished with the relationship to Anahareo. In his initial will he had bequeathed 50 per cent of his estate to the child but after his marriage to Yvonne Perrier this bequest was reduced substantially.

There can be little doubt of the depressing loneliness of these years. It is not difficult to understand his growing addiction to alcohol in this social climate, particularly during the isolated winters, when the beaver, his only companions were less active. As a defense against his alienation Archie installed a radio and gramaphone in Beaver Lodge. However, the comfort they provided was limited. Sometimes music made him feel more morose and reflective. To a favoured secretary at The Macmillan Company he lamented:

When I hear Charles Danyon or Jessie Crawford in
their organ recitals over the radio some nights, I can think only of those unforgotten days long ago, those wild and sometimes lonely, but always happy days in the great dim, Cathedral pine forests of the Mississauga.305

Periodic forays were made into the townsite of Waskesiu to exchange records with a neighbour.306 Moreover on a few occasions he would slip unobserved, into Prince Albert to play the piano at the home of a trusted friend.307 The reawakening of his childhood interest in music is noteworthy since he was shortly to utilize this as a mood synthesizing technique while on the stage in Britain. It is not known how much he ruminated on the past, of the sea and Hastings, of George McCormick's happy family, and of his own less enjoyable life with Ada and Carrie. Undoubtedly, the suggestion by his British literary agent for a publicity tour of England must have stimulated such memories.
VI England: The Triumphant Return

As an expatriot Canadian in London, attempting to make a success in the highly competitive publishing world, Lovat Dickson found his situation challenging, if not financially rewarding. Over the course of a few years he had shifted from one publishing house to another, in the process of increasing his business connections and experience. Eventually he decided to create his own firm, Lovat Dickson Limited.\(^{308}\) This venture complemented the previously conceived periodical Lovat Dickson's Magazine. Dickson's friendship with Eayrs, as mentioned earlier, had resulted in the former, "turning Belaney his way."\(^{309}\) Although never intimate the relationship between these two men, which commenced with Dickson's endorsement of Pilgrims of the Wild, was always lucrative.

In no small way Grey Owl and Lovat Dickson Limited became interdependent. Having appraised the autobiography, he realized the potential publicity benefits which would accrue, if this author could be persuaded to tour Britain reciting passages from the book, or his own material on natural history. The anticipated profits directly accumulated from such an engagement were undoubtedly also considered. Dickson first suggested this venture in the early summer of 1933. In spite of his cautious attitude towards his new British publisher, Belaney eagerly agreed with the plan. The notion of returning to England and possibly even Hastings, as not only an author of some distinction, but as an Indian, or at least a half-breed, was too enticing. He must have contemplated with pleasure the effect this homecoming would have on his aunts,
who had done everything in their power to discourage the lifestyle which he was about to publicize. A confrontation with these women would mean revenge. Now as never before they would be compelled to accept him and recognize his stature, if not love him. Archie's comments about the upcoming trip varied, depending on with whom it was discussed. To Anahareo concern was expressed over the cost of transportation, in spite of the fact Dickson had agreed to cover such expenditures. He did not wish to travel third class as: "it would look like hell in the papers." But he was keen on the trip commenting to Anahareo:

I want to do it because he is another step towards final success, and it will pay later in book circulation.310

The following year the proposed tour appeared even more attractive and was likened to a holiday, rather than business.311 But such enthusiasm would soon evolve into fear.

By the autumn preceding his departure, the agitation had grown to near phobic proportions. It is not difficult to visualize his restlessness over whether or not he could succeed in convincing the public of his halfbreed ancestry. The possibility of meeting an old school chum or service comrade plagued his sleep. To shore up what he must have realized was not an infallible identity, he had applied in 1934 for naturalization papers.312 If that was not enough, he had implored Superintendent Wood to have him registered as an Indian,313 which would legitimize his background in the eyes of the government. The question remained though, would the public accept him as Grey Owl? To ensure that, he set about planning his first public appearance in England. For more than a year he read widely on subjects not necessarily germane to his lectures, but by which he sought to create an air of complexity.314 Such an impression was easily formed by the audience who expected the man in buckskins to speak as quaintly as he dressed. It was a calculated manoeuvre designed to
elicit as much praise and amazement as possible from the assembled audience. The ploy was to work remarkably well. In the weeks before he departed he had rehearsed the stories that were to bestow upon him such acclaim. In addition, he recorded in his notebooks appropriate responses to questions he felt the public might pose. For example, in reply to a potential query relating to his knowledge, he inscribed in a blend of fact and fiction:

...I'll answer that question at once. I never went to university. I was grounded in English, biology and geography by an ever blessed aunt. I built on that by sheer study, but only after many years during which I spoke little but Indian.315

Of as much concern as mental preparation was his physical appearance. To him this was crucial. It would add credibility to his lectures and convince even the most cynical of his native origins. His publishers favoured displaying the native half of his life, since this would act as "a great drawing card."316 In this respect both publishers and Belaney were equally culpable in misleading the audiences by deliberately playing up the notion of his full-blooded background, in spite of published accounts of his Métis ancestry. The fact that Dickson and Eayrs supported the portrayal of the native image drove him further away from reality. Before leaving Canada, a buckskin costume had been made. In the spring he had explained to Campbell that new buckskin clothing was imperative and that he was arranging to have the skins made into clothes according to his "ideas and fit."317 The beadwork embroidery of maple leaves which came to characterize these buckskin garments indicated his intense identification with the Canadian frontier. It also points out his confused knowledge of traditional aboriginal embroidery patterns. By selecting a recognized symbol of Canada he was able to achieve success and acceptance by both Indians and whites. In the process he became rather like a "super-Indian." To
facilitate the production of his wardrobe the department was requested to furnish "procelain beads and three or four spotted eagle feathers."\textsuperscript{318} This application indicates not only his lack of knowledge surrounding traditional native garb,\textsuperscript{319} but also his continuing inability to accept the picture of Canadian natives as they actually existed. His vision of the Canadian Indian had been shattered upon his exposure to the Bear Island Ojibways. But the realities of their physical appearance and that of other tribes was something he would never satisfactorily reconcile with his idealized depiction of the "noble savage." His future British audiences clung to the distorted image of North American Indians as he himself had as a boy, as a people uniformly characterized by a fierce visage, abundant feathers and colourful paint.\textsuperscript{320} Arriving in England in full regalia, he reinforced the view the public already possessed of North American Indians. From his own perspective it was the only manner in which he could appear in England. The prescribed boundaries of his fantasy allowed for no deviation. Out of deference to the Ojibways—whom he described as his "foster people"\textsuperscript{321} —and their reverence for the beaver, he completed his tour attire by recording in his notebook: "wear beaver bones in hair."\textsuperscript{322} The image was complete—to the British public he would be Grey Owl the Indian Naturalist and author. He fashioned himself as a strange mixture of volatile Apache and stealthy Ojibway, part Scottish and part native, the very champion of his childhood.

In October of 1935 he landed in Southhampton. The fears concerning whether the British public would accept him proved groundless. His anxiety remained at a fever pitch throughout the tour but within a short time from his London debut he had become the literary and oratorical sensation of the decade. The months of practice and rehearsal and his specifically designed orchestration, which required the
musical accompaniment of a pianist playing Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata, among other selections, guaranteed a stunning success. A journalist covering the events of his tour noted the effect of these refinements:

......while the lecturer was speaking there was a background of specially selected music from a room behind the platform.....the intensity levels were carefully rehearsed beforehand....His beautiful method of telling his story with a sympathetic train of soft music as accompaniment is unique.

The results were electrifying. His audiences and the press vied with each other in lauding "this modern Hiawatha." The Yorkshire Evening News claimed he was "the most romantic figure ever to visit England." The Times compared him to a thoughtful philosopher. The Western Morning News reflected the description of many dailies in depicting him as, "the distinguished Red Indian naturalist." The Cambridge University student paper felt confident in dubbing him "the oracle of the occident." The Daily Sketch and Huddersfield Daily Examiner invested Belaney with both political and regal titles. He became "the wilderness ambassador," or simply, "King Beaver." Ironically the Sunday Mail compared Grey Owl to "a person who might have been conjured out of the pages of Fenimore Cooper's The Deerslayer.

As each successful engagement was succeeded by another, Grey Owl's popularity grew proportionately. By November of 1935 he was not merely "Chief Grey Owl of Beaver Lodge," but "Protector of Wildlife in Canada." In this capacity he must have indeed been busy, "living," as the Yorkshire Gazette faithfully informed its readers, "in a little log cabin in North Saskatchewan one thousand miles from civilization." Through Dickson's careful management, it was no surprise that this first tour reached a peak just before the Christmas shopping season. The results of this calculated timing were reflected in book sales. This included a wide distribution and Pilgrims of the Wild was put into braile.
In mid November of 1935 book dealers listed 35 "best-sellers" on their inventory. The Adventures of Sajo and Her Beaver People was ranked as number three. Pilgrims of the Wild, which a reviewer praised as "the nearest thing to a beautiful fairy tale that contemporary literature has produced," had also become a favourite by Christmas. By December, it is no exaggeration to say that Grey Owl's appeal and subsequent book sales were seriously challenging more thoroughly established authors, such as Dorothy L. Sayers, John Masefield and the humorist P.G. Wodehouse.

The effect of this exposure on Belaney's personality was catastrophic with his behavioural reaction manifest in various ways. The overriding characteristic of these weeks was the relentless consumption of alcohol as a means of combating his extended anxiety. Sometime later Dickson complained to Eayrs of the trying time he had had during this initial engagement.

You know how I suffered during that long three months it was never possible to leave him alone. I had stalwart support in my two young friends Peter Bower and Billy Whitaker but there was not an hour day or night, waking or sleeping, through all the time when I did not feel as though I was walking on the edge of a precipice.

Eventually his agent became so exasperated that he threatened his charge "with a good sock in the jaw" if he did not behave himself. Strangely enough he found this tactic worked. When not intoxicated, it is clear that Grey Owl was enjoying the role of native emissary. On at least two occasions he physically threatened members of the media with his notorious throwing knives. This was evidently in response to vague racial slurs towards native people.

The greatest significance of this tour was his visit to Hastings where he delivered a lecture at the White Rock Pavillion. One can only speculate on what his feelings must have been. However, from a personal perspective he must have ranked it amongst the most important engagements of his career.
To return to the town that he felt had cast him off as a youth, to come back, and be accepted on his own terms, meant the fulfillment of a fantasy. This lecture, like those before it, proved a smashing success. The following morning, still reeling from this conquest, he drove up to number 24 Wellington Road in complete costume for the triumphant reunion with his aunts. He stayed briefly. There was little affection or acceptance from these women. The intervening nineteen years since the war had made them more eccentric and their nephew more bitter. He never saw or wrote them again.

This trip had provided considerable attention. More than one-quarter million individuals had attended Belaney's performances. The propertied and classless alike had flocked to his lectures; learned societies requested his presence; and the nobility flattered him. One eventually painted his portrait. A number of women became completely enamoured with this striking figure. Before departure his commitment to Anahareo seems to have waned considerably, and for that reason he had little reason to discourage the affections of others. In addition to Dickson's maid, with whom he flirted rather successfully, "a number of feminine fanatical admirers" emerged during the first tour. One of these became utterly obsessed, faithfully following him from lecture to lecture. Apparently she felt they had something in common, aside from pleasing looks, as Dickson later related,

"...she always carried about her a live little marmoset which ran round her shoulders all the time and lent an exotic air to her appearance...."

Belaney must have been interested in this woman, since in the following summer he invited her out to Beaver Lodge to be his "secretary."

Besides the public affection and recognition, the financial remuneration from these lectures was more than adequate. According to Dickson after debts and expenses had been settled, the profits from this tour amounted to two thousand
pounds apiece. This figure is probably conservative. The heavy prices charged daily at the performances could result only in a handsome profit over and above operating costs. But to ensure an absolute financial victory, his agent took the precaution of arranging for the sale of signed copies of his works and "souvenirs," after select performances. By all accounts the trip was highly successful, and despite his perpetual state of anxiety, Archie was more than satisfied with its success. This was to be the apogee of his career. The subsequent successes experienced in the two years before his death were only the denouement. "I feel," he wrote to Eayrs before sailing to Canada,

.....that it (the tour) has been epochal. From now on things commence and will more swiftly on, carrying us on the crest of a wave that already seems to have swept me into the realm of almost phantasy.

By the spring of 1936 Belaney had returned to his beloved "Beaver People" and the wilderness. But the English tour had changed him drastically. The multiple pressures of the fear of being unmasked, the welfare of the beaver, and declining relationship with Anahareo had placed him under a tremendous strain. The excessive use of liquor while in England had at least been controlled enough so that no performance was cancelled or ruined. Once back in Canada, though, there was no Lovat Dickson to keep Belaney sober and no immediate need for restraint. His behaviour reflected this. In April 1936, commenting on the unenviable situation of coping with the persistantly drunken writer Wood lamented to Campbell:

I might say we had rather a difficult time with him after his arrival in Prince Albert. He is still under a doctor's care and still very weak, although he is not drinking....My own opinion is that he has had sufficient, 'white life' experience to last him for some time. I think he feels the same way about it.
A large portion of this debilitating conduct must have been caused by the realization that his relationship with Anahareo was finished. Their hostility was sustained by a mutual addiction to alcohol.\textsuperscript{359} Their arguments commenced as domestic disagreements but became progressively more serious until Anahareo attempted to strangle him\textsuperscript{360} or "playfully" fired "a revolver at his moccasins or Dawn's."\textsuperscript{361} Given his hostility to women it is not out of character that in any information offered about his personal life, Anahareo is depicted as the cause of all strife, while his role in such confrontations was never mentioned.

The magnitude of his disreputable behaviour had become so great by June that an official reprimand was the result. J.B. Harkin, the Commissioner, who had originally approved his employment in the Parks Branch tactfully outlined the departmental position on his activities.

\textellipsis Realizing the strain attached to your work the department has been inclined to disregard certain shortcomings on your part.\textellipsis Circumstances, however, have arisen in recent months which necessitate my calling to your attention the fact that employees of the Dominion government, must, at all times, be discreet in their personal conduct. The work in which you are engaged, together with the high position you now hold in the field of conservation, demand that your conduct be absolutely beyond reproach.\textsuperscript{362}

Less than a week after Belaney received this warning, Wood rushed once again to his defense and assured his superiors that, "in all probability things will be different from now on."\textsuperscript{363} In fact there was little change. As the autumn approached it had become obvious that he and Anahareo would separate permanently. Even with her brief and irregular appearances at Beaver Lodge he confessed to Mrs. Winters of feeling "tired and unhappy."\textsuperscript{364} In October Anahareo bade Archie farewell and ended the most longstanding relationship of his adult life. Though it had been a sporadic relationship at times it had given he and Anahareo much pleasure. Certainly
this is evident in her biography Devil in Buckskins: My Life With Grey Owl. With the publication of three successful books and the completion of the hectic tour in Britain, Belaney's life was irrevocably changed. It is sadly ironical that though he now commanded considerable attention as an author and lecturer, Belaney was increasingly introverted and unhappy. As noted earlier the loneliness of his childhood and adolescence can be traced to the cold home of his aunts. Now as an adult, highly successful in his chosen career, his alienation became more acute.

Recognition extracted a cruel price from him. By his 48th birthday he found himself suspended in a cultural void—he was neither White nor Indian—and he was painfully caught in the no-man's land of a public figure whose personal life had been neglected. Though his desire for public recognition and acceptance furthered his physical and emotional isolation he came to learn that fame and love are not the same thing.

His personal problems were exacerbated by the continuous demand for his presence at various clubs and organizations. He began to display signs of acute megalomania; his writing career was everything to him. No longer was he content to be regarded as simply, "the best outdoor writer there is....and the greatest authority on Canadian wildlife and forest lore living today." Instead he wished to be acknowledged as the leader and spokesman for the natives of Canâda. In a letter to John To-To-Sis, a prominent Cree Chieftain from the Poundmaker Reserve, he advised the Indians to consult him before undertaking any action vis-à-vis the federal government's Indian policy. "Do not," he advised them, "become poor imitations of whitemen." He added; "....think how foolish a whiteman looks who tries to pretend he is an Indian." His confidence in the role of negotiator between the two societies stemmed from the warm reception he had received from these people during the convention commemorating the signing
Soon after the first tour, Dickson and Eayrs had urged him to complete *Tales of an Empty Cabin*, started four years earlier. By the end of August the manuscript was finished. Because his publishers wished to bring it out immediately he agreed to forgo reading the galleys. He was, however, insistent upon selecting and arranging the photographs for inclusion. Throughout the autumn he infuriated his publishers with his constant addition of photographs. He demanded the frontis piece of the book feature him in full regalia. Dickson immediately spotted the incongruities of such an image.

I thought he was making a mistake in dressing himself up in war bonnet, tomahawk and blanket for the cover of the book....The English conception of Grey Owl is as a humanitarian, a man of simplicity and peace, and I contend the war-like regalia will contradict the impression the English people treasure at the moment.

No amount of debate could persuade Belaney to change his mind.

The quality of *Tales of an Empty Cabin* is considerably inferior to that which had been demonstrated in his previous endeavours. The style remains predominantly descriptive—narrative. As with the other books, this one suggests changes in his personality. In the preface there are suggestions of continuing guilt over his masquerade as a Métis and fear of discovery.

.....Most aspiring authors get their punishment at the very outset; mine, no doubt, will come later when it will hit the hardest and I am waiting for the crash any time now....

The impression of underlying anxiety about his post continues to be more clearly manifest in his suggestion that a day might arrive when he would wish he had remained an obscure woodsman instead of becoming an author. Furthermore, he argues, he can never divulge everything, since to do so invites unnecessary risk.
Some tales I cannot tell you, lest in
telling I forever lose the power to make my
happy shades, my ghostly congregation, those
well beloved wraiths of yesterday come back
to me.374

There are but a few oblique references to his past with Ana-
hareo, indicating perhaps just how far apart they had grown.
His unhappiness over their separation is awkwardly hidden.
Comparing himself to a reed Belaney wrote that "if not broken"
he bent "at times quite dangerously."375 Referring to the
"House of McGinnis,"376 and that unforgettable winter spent
with her, "that now seems so very far away,"377 he equates
it to a dim memory like, "reaching out for hands that are
vanished."378 The title of the work itself is very probably
a reflection of the emotional vacuum in his life.

The text is divided into three principal sections of
fourteen, four and eight chapters respectively. Some of these
had already been published in periodicals.379 In "The Sons of
Kee-way-keno" he praises the Spartan training of native youths.
He wishes the audience to assume his own education had been
like this. The conceit evident in "Men of His Calling"380
may have been one reason that the editors at Random House
Publishing Company judged the literary merits of the piece as
only fair. It was not unlike a repeat of a Winnie-the-Pooh
plot, "chasing your own footsteps."381 The plot of "Nemesis"
is utterly removed from the normal character of his writing.
A not implausible explanation is that it was an extension or
projection of his own guilt. Alternatively, he might have
been reading E.A. Poe's The Pit and the Pendulum near the
time of composition. Aside from mentioning the protagonist's
escape "from the very edge of the pit,"382 the imagery of the
pendulum is conveniently transferred to a kitchen clock and
"the persistent unearthly rapping"383 of the old man's steel-
shod walking stick. "The Sage of Pelican Lake" was a tribute
to Louis Lavallée, a long time squatter within the north-west
corner of the park on Pelican Lake. He was reputed to be of Anglo Saxon origin, and one of the first whitemen in northern Saskatchewan. This man was the quintessence of the frontiersman and Belaney undoubtedly admired him. He writes of a conversation with "The Sage;"

During the evening we talked....on those subjects of interest to woodsmen....such as the lay of the land, the price of fur, prohibition and so forth....

The selection entitled "The Mission of Hiawatha" was regarded by editors as simply "a confirmation of Longfellow's knowledge of Indian lore." "It was nice," they felt, "that Grey Owl approved" but they obviously made this statement tongue-in-cheek for they advocated dropping the selection in order to eliminate the "arrogant seal of approval." The short chapter "A Letter" was dismissed as uninteresting as were "Canadiana" and "Beaver Lodge." The lengthy narration, "The Tree," which is, indisputably, the best chapter within the book, was republished by Dickson as a prelude to the second tour. As with Tales of An Empty Cabin Belaney wished the cover of this shorter publication to be graced with his picture in a war bonnet. The third and final section entitled "Ajawaan" is just a refurbishing of the essence of Pilgrims of the Wild. In spite of contemporary advertising, this was his most feebly constructed book. In reality it was a group of short stories, written in fleeting moments of sobriety, during the early summer of 1936. Neither "did it hang together like Pilgrims of the Wild or Sajo," but as Dickson observed, "it lacked humanitarian appeal and in parts betrayed the egotism of the author."

His future activities in National Parks suggested a compulsion to further his own image. In the spring of 1936 he disclosed to Dickson future film plans boasting that, "the National Parks has promised five or six thousand buffalo and 200 Blackfoot Indians for a stampede and Buffalo hunt next
That venture he felt would create the momentum necessary for filming *The Adventures of Sajo and Her Beaver People* and any other novels he might write. The end result of what Archie estimated to be five years' labour would, "make us all rich." In a draft letter, presumably for Harkin, he recorded his priorities for the future.

I can see so far ahead....I am going to immortalize the Mississauga, the Canadian north and the North American Indian....I mean to make success after success.....give me the time and the opportunity to do it.

To realize such grand visions he set about producing, directing and starring in two movie productions. "The Trail," which dealt mostly with the wintering techniques of the Indians, and "Mississauga: Men Against the River," a narration of this river system and the men who travelled it. His publishers agreed to finance both films, but after the production of the winter film they withdrew their offer, citing monetary difficulties. Belaney immediately appealed to the government for financial backing but was rejected by the Department of the Interior. In the end he assumed the cost of the summer film, because, in his words, its production was "vital to (his) spiritual welfare." In both movies the image of Grey Owl, the Indian and woodsman without equal, are paramount. Since Archie was not responsible for the costs of this film he treated the time involved as more like a holiday than business. He drew heavily on his bank account, and on location near Biscotasing gave large sums away to old friends without ever expecting repayment. During the spring of 1937 at least one thousand dollars disappeared in a matter of days. This extravagance worried Superintendent Wood who feared Grey Owl would have nothing on which to live in later years. But Wood and Grey Owl's publishers could never know how important it was for him to have the admiration of these local people. It was pitifully crucial for him to be the centre of attention and the recipient of thanks; he felt compelled to buy friends
with gifts of cash.

During the shooting of the Mississauga, the costs of which he bore alone, a semblance of sobriety seems to have prevailed. This was in sharp contrast to the previous film, and the later editing of the winter film which seems to have been done when he was evidently drunk. The location of this production was very dear to him. For that reason, aside from his own inflated view of himself, Grey Owl dominated the picture. This was to be expected though, since in the planning stages he had pointed out to Dickson, "I must be technical director and have full charge of whitewater scenes and all settings." The actual footage mirrored his express desire to be in charge. The sound track was made and remade until he was satisfied with his voice. The whitewater scenes, according to one observer were, "hogged by Grey Owl and if any of his cohorts did a bit of river work better than he did, well then that little fit didn't appear in the film." The completion of the film provided the justification for a celebration that Biscotasing probably had not seen before or since.

After the final separation from Anahareo, Beaver Lodge which, once viewed as a haven, was desolate and lonely. In correspondence that summer with his publishers he complained of everything from ill health to forest fires. To Eayrs he flatly stated that, "he was plunged into a deep melancholy." The presence of some of the Winters' children did little to cheer him. Nor did he take any notice of the structural improvements being made to Beaver Lodge. On occasion he appeared rude to visitors, especially those who attempted to smoke cigarettes. These he would not permit, and instead asked them to smoke one of his many pipes, carefully soaked in a tea pot to improve the quality of the smoke. Discarded cigarette ends, he had discovered, were devoured by the beaver and made them violently ill. Even the prospect of a return engagement
in England and an initial exposure in the United States failed to excite his feelings as follows:

.....Can't go on with this frustrated, unfulfilled, static, vegetating life.....Beaver Lodge is truly a refuge but at times a cell!.....Something wanting; like some grave deficiency in diet that undermines the body, so this is undermining my mentality.402

The most probable cause for his agitated state in the late autumn of 1936 was the lack of female companionship. This is the most likely explanation of his sudden correspondence with the ever faithful Angele. Possibly he considered resuming this relationship after years of neglect. It is indicative of his state of mind that he felt the renewal of this union was possible. Equally demonstrative of just how far his mind had separated from reality was the insistence that she employ the title "Grey Owl" and avoid his "evil" name.403 The fact that his past was not only habitually denied, but now judged to be "evil" or hateful, illustrates the depth of the disturbance in Belaney's.

In December of 1936 Tales of an Empty Cabin had been released in Canada, Britain and the United States. During this month, perhaps believing the addage that a change was better than a rest, Belaney had departed for Ottawa. The actual purpose of this trip was to elicit government financial support for the films he would make in 1937. It is doubtful that the prospect of meeting a woman motivated this travel. This was due to the fact that he was preoccupied with an unrequited love for a woman he had never seen. The object of this infatuation—which had lasted months, if not years—was one Olga Pavlova, a popular Ukrainian folksinger often heard on the Regina radio station. It is easy to visualize Archie sitting alone at his table in the depths of winter, listening and dreaming of the feminine voice that drifted midst the annoying hisses and pops of his crustal radio. It is not known when, or indeed even if he ever met this woman.404
infatuation seems to have been firmly rooted by the time of his trip to Ottawa, a fact Eayrs explained to his British counterpart.

...He still harps on this question of wanting to settle down and get married to this lady, this Ukranian, who, as I have told you is still married. That doesn't seem to matter to the Chief. He also has a wild idea of using her (she is a singer) as a prelude to his own lecture when he goes on tour.405

Whatever fascination this women held for him promptly evaporated when Archie met Yvonne Perrier.

When in Ottawa on this occasion Campbell of the department had arranged for Grey Owl to be housed in a cottage in the Gatineau. It was hoped that a peaceful location such as this would prevent the occurrence of any unhappy events or damaging publicity. From here Archie ventured into the city to negotiate with government officials about his film plans, and also to socialize. On one such occasion he met and became involved with Yvonne Marie Blanche Perrier. Yvonne was of traditional Montreal working class stock and when they met she was employed as a domestic and companion to Dr. Elizabeth Shortt of Ottawa. What she may have lacked in intellect was easily offset by her pretty appearance and kindly manner. Throughout early December Archie courted her diligently, drawing heavily on his financial resources406 to win her. During this courtship he behaved like a perfect gentleman sometimes taking tea with the Shortt family. He disliked not being able to call by the front door, but agreed to a compromise of entering by the side as opposed to the rear entrance.407 Ultimately he proposed to her and on Christmas Eve 1936 they were married in Montreal. She was the fifth woman in his life and the fourth he would call his wife. Within a week of their union he filed a codicil to his will naming her as a principle beneficiary, which effectively obliterated his past, however pleasant at one time, with Anahareo.408
The impending marriage to Yvonne threw his publishers into a dilemma, Dickson quickly identified the effect this would have on book sales, suggesting, "we shall not announce a fresh marriage, if there is one, in England Anahareo is just as much a hero to the English people as Grey Owl." From Archie's position the less publicity over his marriage the better. In fact he attempted to keep his plans well hidden, swearing Eayrs to secrecy and employing an alias while on his honeymoon in Montreal. This may have been a precaution against retribution from Anahareo. She was likely regardless of the past, to feel some sense of rejection and perhaps even bitterness. In early 1937 Archie and his new bride settled into Beaver Lodge. In the opinion of one observer the local population tended to sympathize with Anahareo, in spite of her own excesses, when he returned to the park with his latest companion. Except for the riotous time during the February production of the winter film, the presence of Yvonne appears to have very briefly restored some sort of moderation to his life. During the spring he commented on this to his solicitor.

......Everything is okay here and we are getting along splendidly with an improvement in both mental and physical health on my part.....The joy of a new, free, happy life with Yvonne is establishing a great foundation for the future.

But the bliss of this new relationship wore off as quickly as his optimistic appraisal of the future. At the date of completion for the Mississauga documentary the following summer, his life had once more degenerated into the familiar pattern of excessive drinking and brutal outbursts of rage towards his mate. The situation had declined to a point where, just prior to the second tour, Eayrs assessed "the drink question to be worse than ever."

The problem of Belaney's erratic behaviour was not the only one plaguing his publishers. Of an equally delicate
nature was his insistence that Yvonne, who could be called "Silver Moon," was to accompany him. That demand terrified Dickson. As he had explained earlier to Eayrs, "...Anahareo is as much a hero to the English public as he is. They would welcome her on lecture platform even more than they would him." He therefore advocated portraying this situation in as palatable a light as possible. "When Yvonne comes over here she must come as his secretary and not as his wife." Thus in advance of the second tour of England and first exposure to the American lecture circuit, the production plans had been agreed upon by author and publishers. There was no question about keeping his marriage and weakness for drink a secret, since if either news became known the results would be "fatal." To effect this deception separate cabins were booked on a trans-Atlantic cruise ship "Montrose" under the names Grey Owl and Mrs. McNeil. Eayrs expressed some moral anxiety about this arrangement, especially if the berths were not in close proximity to one another.

I hope to God they are close together because if not passengers will have their voyage enlivened by Heap Big Chief jumping, if not from precipice to precipice and crag to crag, at least from cabin to cabin.

The problem of his alcoholism was confronted head on by Dickson. He told Belaney frankly that he would not tolerate a repeat performance of the indulgence which had caused so many problems during the previous trip. This threat coupled with the engagement of a new chaperone, whom Archie evidently immediately befriended, suggested a successful tour. But there was another reason for his sudden respect for sobriety and desire to present as clean an image as possible. In the spring, months before departure, Eayrs had become aware of Grey Owl's tremendous fear of Anahareo. To his British comrade he wrote,

......As for Anahareo he is definitely scared....
There must be some passages that neither you or
I know about because his mortal fear in regard to the English trip is that in some way Anahareo will either come over there financed by somebody else, or from as far away as here start pulling wires which would wreck his tour of England. His anxiety over Anahareo dissipated gradually while he was in England during the warm autumn of 1937.

If the first tour had transformed Belaney's personality it had equally altered his zealous agent's conception of publicity and profit. The primary motivation for the return engagement became one of anticipated revenue, which in the end amounted to a considerable sum for both parties. To capitalize on his star author, Dickson had planned and organized for months in advance. Such intense labour could only result, he predicted in Eayrs, in making "this three month tour a pretty profitable period for him; not to say ourselves." Outlining his strategy he advised Grey Owl that the tour would commence with a month's engagement at the Polytechnic. "This would convey" he wrote,

the sense of a crowded house of people striving to get tickets and not being able, the feeling that you are a success and that psychology makes you talked about and from London your name and success radiate throughout the country.... You speak on this tour nowhere where there is a population of less than 50,000.

Perhaps it was the latent threat that Dickson might cancel the tour, if Belaney did not "behave," or the stabilizing effect of Yvonne's presence that made this venture so successful. Whatever the reason Belaney worked diligently, and in his promoters crude metaphor, "like a nigger." On no occasion did he give in to the pressure and seek relief through alcohol.

For the three month period between mid-September and mid-December he delivered one hundred thirty-one lectures in 33 cities. In larger more lucrative centres like London at the Polytechnic, he addressed audiences for 38 consecutive days, often speaking twice daily. This tour, like the original, was a total success. However there was an essential
difference between the two trips, namely, the character of Belaney. The 16 months between visits had changed his style drastically. No longer was he the humble, sometimes awkward, novice at the lectern. In the opinion of a Macmillan Company employee, "his success...plus inflated ego have made him rather a different Indian from the one who started in the lecture game." Certainly the pomp and high opinion of himself accounts for the rather casual, and in one diplomat's assessment, too lengthy, command performance for the Royal Family. But so victorious was the final tour that the prospect of expanding the lecture circuit into Europe, Africa and Australia—considered months earlier—now seemed highly probable. A few days before Christmas Belaney sailed for New York. This was the last he would see of England and the final time the British public would hear his message from the wilderness.

Following the grueling British circuit and with literally just days intervening, an equally tiring, if less demanding, tour of the United States and Canada started. The negotiations for this initial exposure to the American market had been undertaken much earlier, in December of 1936. Eayrs had acted as liaison between Belaney and American booking agents. Arrangements had been concluded with Colston Leigh and his "Bureau of Lecturers and Entertainment" to add Grey Owl to his list of speakers. Leigh, who managed Carl Sandberg, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Mrs. F.D. Roosevelt among others, was dubious of Grey Owl's marketability. Eventually he acquiesced after Eayrs pointed out how picturesque this man was in "buckskin and plume." Between January and March of 1938, 18 lectures were offered in locations as distant as Milwaukee and Toronto. The pace to which his itinerary demanded he adhere was too much for any individual to endure. By March he had been on the road for six months. The constant need to project an image which the public wished to view—and his promoters' advertisements promised—became too great a burden.
The chronic neglect of his own health was to shorten his life considerably. Over the years his hair had gradually turned white, an indication of abuse or age, kept carefully concealed through the liberal application of dye. At the conclusion of this travel he was approaching his fifty-first year and must surely have realized the fantasy could not be made to last much longer. Nor for that matter could he hope his own vitality would hold up after the many years of mistreatment. Before the completion of the tour he fell back on liquor as a means of coping with the strain of the tour. On March 26th 1938 his final pronouncement on the vanishing frontier and his beaver people was given in Toronto's Massey Hall. It was almost a forshadowing that, "at the close of the evening he received an ovation, the like of which (had) never been given to any other leaving lecturer." Archie returned to Ajawaan in the first week of April alone and severely depressed. He showed little interest in his wife then hospitalized in Regina, or in visiting his daughter, now almost six years old. His diet was mostly of a liquid nature punctuated by an occasional raw egg. On Sunday April 10 he requested to be taken to Prince Albert's Holy Family Hospital. Tow days later he drifted into a coma and never regained consciousness. He was pronounced dead at 8:25 A.M., April 13, 1938. He was buried on Good Friday on a height of land overlooking Beaver Lodge.
VII Conviction and Fantasy

Within twenty-four hours of his death the evening edition of the Toronto Daily Star plastered across the front page, "Grey Owl Really an Englishman!" Gregory Clark, the author of this exclusive story, suggested that, "if his life was not the greatest literary hoax of the century then it would prove one of the most extraordinary examples of self-dramatization on record." Such a condemnation is both incorrect and simplistic. Archie Belaney's life was far more enigmatic, in manifestation a blend of conviction and fantasy. In retrospect it is probably fortunate that he died peacefully in Prince Albert. Had he lived longer and been discovered, and subjected to scandal, the press rejection of him would have invariably led to public humiliation. As it was his death and the subsequent documentation of his real life thrust his publishers and government employees into a dilemma.

Dickson, who learned from the BBC of the passing of his best author, controlled his grief admirably. To Eayrs he wrote immediately of the necessity in continuing "to get as much as possible out of the Grey Owl books." Within two weeks though the financial prospects looked bleak, especially since the truth "would utterly kill book sales and ruin future plans." Valiant attempts were made to restore book sales to the pre-scandal level through the rapid publication of The Green Leaf: A Memorial to Grey Owl and later, Half-Breed: The Story of Grey Owl. Both these sympathetic works were composed and published by Dickson. But this ploy to resuscitate the image of Grey Owl, and to a lesser extent Lovat Dickson Limited, failed miserably, the sale of his books
having "practically stopped dead" in England. In Canada, where sales were slightly better, Eayrs continued to defend Belaney citing, for example, his extreme generosity. On other occasions he used his influence in Canadian publishing circles to ensure no biographies harmful to Belaney's image would be printed in Canada.

The government reacted quite differently to his death. Rather than defending him and their relationship they sought to negotiate the significance of his role within the National Parks Branch. This was due to the simple fact that their arrangement with him, prior to his death, was found to be considerably less than satisfactory. From the beginning of their endorsement of his beaver program those years, according to Campbell, had been characterized by "worry and expense." Originally the value of his scheme had been conceded, at least from the perspective of publicity. Certainly the faithfully recorded and widely disseminated address, "Beaver Lodge, Prince Albert National Park, Saskatchewan, Canada" was promotionally unique. Moreover, his own noted sentiments concerning the function his literature had for the government, namely, "use next book greatly to advertise the parks," seemed to rationalize his initial and continued employment.

But in later years his personal behaviour had declined to such an extent that senior officials viewed his work as a liability rather than an asset. Their dissatisfaction with him, in spite of repeated warnings, had ultimately led to a decision to terminate the program. While Belaney was in England Controller F.H.H. Williamson concluded that when he returned to the park in 1938, "he should be considered as separated from the department." There appeared to be no other course of action. Wood, who had protected him from the wrath of the department on previous occasions, managed his chaotic finances, ignored his drunkenness and accepted his tangled marital affairs, could find little on which to defend him. His persistent "irresponsibility" and "extremely high opinion
of himself" had, in the end, alienated the only government employee ever to offer him genuine friendship. His purpose in Prince Albert National Park was for publicity alone, yet his behaviour tended to nullify this advertising. As far as his duties within the park pertained his abilities were neither unique nor outstanding and could be performed, "by any intelligent person quite as efficiently."

For several weeks, and totally unbeknown to Belaney, the department debated the merits of perpetuating his position. By November of 1937 they had decided that there was little point in continuing the relationship—even on a seasonal basis. Consequently, from January 1938 when he arrived in New York until early April when he returned to the park Archie Belaney, the now famous Grey Owl, had been fired. The administration had elected to pursue this course of action before the general success of the second tour and specific applause from the command performance was known. Thus by April the decision which was still confidential had to be re-evaluated. This, coupled to his final lecture described as, "Back to My Beaver People," and the implication drawn from this of his eagerness to return to the park, eroded their resolve to dismiss him. Ultimately Ottawa decided that he should be reinstated though it was not until the actual day he arrived in Waskesiu that Superintendent Wood learned of this resolution. Ottawa feared substantial negative public opinion if they fired him and in the end this outweighed the adverse publicity generated by a continuation of his disreputable private life. When Wood announced his death less than a fortnight after this arbitration had been agreed upon, a number of senior officials must have sighed with relief, if not sorrow.

The fact that the government visualized Belaney's existence as one maintained purely for advertising and not as a genuine program of conservation is vividly demonstrated in
their handling of the situation. In spite of the publicity over his life and work, which filled the local and international press, the department wished to see "the whole project quietly fade out of existence." But despite this and the revelations about Belaney's English ancestry the image of this man so carefully cultivated for years, refused to die in the minds of many of his admirers. Letters from his faithful besieged the government inquiring as to the fate of Jelly Roll and Rawhide. Generous offers were made to care for these animals. Yvonne Perrier immediately petitioned the government in order to be appointed custodian of Beaver Lodge. Anahareo made the same request, though several months later. These requests were, not surprisingly, turned down. The governments' plans for Beaver Lodge and the beaver experiment had been reduced to "razing the shack and clearing up the area generally" once the public interest had subsided. No time table for the destruction of the cabin site was ever developed, nor was any index for monitoring the interest in this man devised. The animosity between the Parks Branch and the Grey Owl project continued for more than a year. As a result the government undertook no action, and it is possible that the war years protected the site with obscurity. Only over the last decade has historic interest in the Grey Owl cabin site revived and received serious attention.

Throughout the years of fame Belaney was consistently praised as a conservationist and "crusading animal lover." His private life, as opposed to the public image presented in literature or on the stage, does not reflect the definition of "Conservationist" in even the most flexible sense. At the risk of entering into a semantic inquiry over the implications of this word it is generally agreed that the term conservation, as applied to him referred mostly to fur bearing animals. Accepting that limitation it is confusing to observe his continued exploitation of other pelt yielding mammals, possibly
even beaver, after he had decided to suspend trapping these animals. Moreover, during the years of service with the Parks Branch he freely slaughtered any other creatures considered a threat to his beloved beaver. The conservation of other wildlife became secondary to the preservation of his pets. Not only did he advocate through his actions selective conservation but nowhere in his literature does he openly condemn trapping. Nor did he offer any alternative to the vicious leg-hold trap, by which, ironically, Rawhide made his entry into the world of Grey Owl. This incident was excusable, if not explicable, by Belaney's standards since the trap had been set for an evil otter. In the end it became simply a matter of degree. Which aroused more sympathy in him: the sight of a shattered forepaw of a beaver or that of an otter, mink, ermine, marten, fisher, muskrat, fox, lynx or coyote? If defense of his beaver was not invoked as the rationale behind the selective destruction of wildlife, then sustenance became the issue. The arsenal of weapons maintained in Beaver Lodge was kept only "to frighten bears away." Yet by his own admission he travelled beyond the park boundaries, "to get (my) winter's meat." Hunting was thus outside the perimeters of his own nebulous philosophy of conservation, especially when it involved survival as he implies here. This is of course absurd, given not only his adequate salary from the government but considerable wealth derived from book sales and later lectures. To suspend hunting for whatever reason would be a slight to his masculinity and projected image of the skilled native frontiersman. Based on that logic he was against the abolishment of hunting.

Grey Owl's eloquent praise of the Canadian Woods and his bovious literary and speaking abilities put him on the vanguard of the Canadian conservationist movement. However, the fact remains that his commitment to conservation was an inconsistent one. When called upon he often displayed considerable fervour for the protection of natural resources, but
all too often, this fervour was sporadic and inconsistent with his personal behaviour.

Part of Belaney's considerable popularity is explained by the fact that he had few rivals. Had there been a champion of forest animals who was, of Audubon's stature (with birds) then Belaney's endeavours might have been put in a more realistic—and diminutive—perspective. His period of activity was devoid of any competition. E.T. Seton predated his notoriety, while G.D. Roberts still wrote for an audience that could divine some literary merit in Charles Mair. The conservation-preservation exploits of Eric Collier and Jack Miner were published after Grey Owl's death. The absence of comparative personalities, coupled with his native appearance and wisdom about wildlife, endowed Belaney with the title of conservationist but he had neither a coherent philosophy of conservation nor an abiding commitment to it. However since there has been no attempt to alter this distorted image the myth that he was a great conservationist continues to the present day. Educational authorities feel justified in naming schools after him. There have even been theatrical productions praising his conservation work entertainment for the younger generation. Serious entrepreneurs toy with the notion of recreating his life through film. All of these factors contribute to the reinforcement of an incorrect assessment of his life's work.

If Grey Owl was not a legitimate conservationist, that is, in the sense of being adamantly opposed to the destruction of any wildlife, one might reasonably wonder how to categorize his labour. Based on his consummate narrative abilities and the definite lack, or when present, feebly expressed, thoughts on fur conservation per se, it is felt that through his literature he should more accurately be viewed as a "conservation publicist." Certainly his activities within the two National Parks reflect his desire and the government's to publicize
"reserve" like atmosphere of the parks. The five films of his beaver in these locations testify to his ability as a publicist and the department's wish to exploit this. In his literature and particularly Pilgrims of the Wild and The Adventures of Sajo and Her Beaver People the need for conservation was advanced in a fashion which captured the publics' imagination as no other campaign had. His works were chiefly designed for amusement but there was a latent promotion for conservation in all of them. Interestingly enough the only major intellectual work Belaney composed on the conservation of natural resources, entitled, "Conservation versus Big Business" remained unpublished. The essay was considered too technical and for that reason his publishers rejected it as it would not sell. A sudden shift to producing a congruent, cogent, argument for conservation invited financial risk and audience apathy.

The many visitors to Ajawaan and the many more who viewed the films of his work concluded that his position there must be that of conservationist. No one person or group had actually defined "conservation of fur bearing animals." At Prince Albert his activities as "conservationist" were almost solely devoted to the domestication of these mammals and yet these activities hardly justified the title. It is difficult to evaluate the success he experienced in rearing the beaver in a semi-wilderness state. However, it is known that some kittens perished probably because of the artificial milk fed to them. And some died later from diseases to which they normally would have been immune, had he allowed the natural mother to nurse them. There is no statistical information on how many beaver died under his care. It seems probable that many that did survive their early association with him would have fallen prey to other animals or man, having never developed a natural awareness of danger. At one time Archie claimed companionship with sixteen beaver. These combined with those already thriving in the park and the several pairs
imported from other National Parks, notably Jasper, resulted in an estimated 500 beaver by 1935 in the park area.\(^{472}\) A provincial ban on trapping plus the governmental protection accorded wildlife within the park had led to the doubling of this figure within five years.\(^{473}\) In 1943 the beaver population had become so numerous that they were regarded as a source of annoyance on the roadways.\(^{474}\) Ironically less than two decades after his death the Parks Branch was obliged to allow regional Indians trapping rights within the park during 1953-54. This was designed to reduce the excessive number of beaver.\(^{475}\) To place Belaney's career within the National Parks into its most accurate historical perspective he should be viewed as a blend of animal trainer, public entertainer, tourist promoter and publicist of the need for conservation of natural resources. His own thoughts and actions as a conservationist were full of contradictions. Throughout his life Belaney was a psychologically troubled man. His mental problems are inseparable from his alleged métier as conservationist of Indian or Métis origin. In fact his mental difficulties precipitated both his pose as a Métis and his subsequent employment with the Canadian National Parks. In attempting to come to term with the man it would be folly to ignore the implications of his personality.

Belaney's obsession with denying his own identity while relentlessly acting out another is particularly significant. At times he seems to have been incapable of freely distinguishing between reality and fantasy. The fact that he pursued his adopted identity with such conviction substantiates this promise. His dependence on self-fashioned delusions suggests a severely troubled mind.

Unquestionably the most significant factor relating to his psychological problems would seem to be his childhood. When it is considered as the basis for his behaviour in later years his actions become less perplexing. A difficult home life with no father figure and no constant mother figure, laid
the psychological foundation for a troubled personality, and through his adult years he purposely constructed a new identity for himself. This identity becomes most necessary when one considers the complete lack of acceptance, affection, or recognition accorded to him by his aunts. Responding to the rigidly cold atmosphere of their home Archie withdrew from the real world of Hastings and entered the partial fantasy land of the wild west, locally known as St. Helen's Woods. Few of his peers wished to accompany him on such expeditions. This was of little consequence since he preferred either his own company or the trusted companionship of the younger George McCormick. At the date of enrollment in the Hastings Grammar School the fantasy concerning his father, the frontier, and the life of the Indian was one he relied upon to escape the inadequate and unpalatable realities of his youthful existence.

His school experiences were anything but rewarding. Sporadic successes in history and geography were not attained for positive reinforcement but rather to provide a more comprehensive framework for his fantasy. Adolescence is generally described as a crisis point in an individual's maturation. For Archie it brought crisis without resolution. By the time he left for Canada he was a truly perplexed young man with no real conception of himself or appreciation of his own worth. He had even less notion of how to interact with others, nor did he possess a clear social or familial identity. He disliked almost everything and everyone in Hastings. His admiration rested on everything he read, witnessed or imagined about the wild frontier and the mystical people residing there. The emotionally cold attempts by his aunts to raise him "correctly" had produced a man whose values and aspirations were antithetical to their own.

Archie's first exposure to the frontier and the natives of the Temagami region jarred his fantasies considerably.
Both the white and native citizenry of the area did not match the characters so carefully conjured in his mind. The proof of this abrupt awakening lies in published accounts of his early years dispatched in the manner of a faithful alumnus to *The Hastonian*. The brutal realities of native life were something he could never fully come to terms with. During his years of notoriety he produced for the European and North American public a native image not unlike that which he had originally envisioned. For him this creation was both diplomatic and psychologically compelling. Portrayal of the truth would neither sell books nor lecture tickets, aside from being a considerably less grand fantasy. This harsh enlightenment plus the sudden attainment or reassurance of sexual identity by Angele induced him to return to England. This reappearance allowed a re-evaluation of the fantasy and also an opportunity to parade what limited identity as a frontiersman he had achieved. Hastings had changed little during his five year absence. The aunts made little effort to conceal their disapproval of his career. His mother was preoccupied with her own life and second husband. Even the once submissive George McCormick over whom he had wielded tremendous influence years before, seemed less attentive to the stories and exploits he now related. After only a few months Archie returned to Canada knowing that he could not survive in Hastings, but not entirely confident that the wilderness would prove less problematic. If nothing else though it was not as sociably demanding a society. On the contrary, he increasingly felt a part of the "group" and easily empathized with the fears and aspirations of the frontier community.

One major disadvantage of the country was his Indian wife Angele. The marriage to her was merely one of convenience. Subsequent periods of cohabitation with Angele seem to have been dictated by loneliness and the need for sexual gratification. It seems likely that he had very little feeling for her
and could offer no affection. Having not been the recipient of any significant attention or affection himself, it was hardly to be expected that he could freely give it to others. The same logic dictated the nature of his brief association with Marie Girard and to a lesser extent Yvonne Perrier. The treatment of all the women in his life reflected a childhood dominated by the female image. The sometimes brutish behaviour, paranoia over fidelity, and belief that women could not be trusted because of their "lipstick and other forms of disguise," was for him a means of avenging his childhood. Such conduct was legitimized though, for in his own mind by the aunts had spoilt his childhood "making a kind of devil out of me." The move away from Temagami and Angele to Biscotasing began the irrevocable shift in identity from white to Métis and later native. The unplanned pregnancy of his mistress Marie Girard coincident with the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 furnished the impetus to leave Canada once more. The second return to England was the long postponed confrontation with his identity crisis. The savage circumstances of the war and the emotionally fragile state which was the outcome led him to marry for the second time. Within weeks this union showed Belaney how incompatible his personality was to the society of Hastings. Again, he fled to Canada having finally and completely rejected his past life and English heritage. The happy, care-free post-war years in Biscotasing formed the backdrop for his new identity and as time went by he became increasingly unable to differentiate between the realities of his own life and the identity he had fabricated.

During these years he became successively more involved with the regional natives, studying their lifestyle and emulating their behaviours and mannerisms. It would be pleasant to agree with Dr. Donald Smith's thesis that Grey Owl's defense of the native image emanated from a genuine concern for these people. It is however, both unrealistic and incorrect to
support this contention. The apparent empathy displayed for the Indian and Métis and criticism of the paternal white society was expounded out of self-interest. By championing the native existence and berating the white men he reinforced his own identity. The protection of the Indian way of life became Belaney's protection of his own lifestyle. His attachment to their way of life became inseparable from the defense of his own and a manner of living which he observed was threatened with the "vanishing frontier"—the title of his first manuscript. Years later the maintenance of this alliance was undertaken simply as a means of augmenting his own stature and fame. In fact, since his popularity came to be largely based on a picturesque and quaint native appearance it would have been impossible to divest himself of this image without demaging his reputation. In the end he was concerned with the Indians' condition only as long as he was accorded the rank of "chief."479

The priority Belaney set for his literary endeavours confirms his desire to be regarded above the rank and file Indian. Soon after he completed Pilgrims of the Wild he had gleefully informed Anahareo that, "fame is coming....soon I will be able to write my own ticket."480 In this publishers were highly supportive, concurring between themselves that,

....he should be made to bang away with at least a book a year and a lecture tour every other year, as long as he can be made to last, and as a result he will become independently wealthy.481

Clearly the end result of his labours was viewed not in terms of salvaging the picture and virtue of the Indian, but simply to ensure that he was highly successful or "rich,"482 as he disclosed to his publishers. To him wealth became synonomous with power and power commanded respect. More significantly though, there was a guarantee of attention for which his need had never been entirely satiated. His publishers certainly facilitated the realization of this goal through the skillful production, promotion and distribution of his works. But both
his Canadian and English agents went further in forming the image of a native unrivaled by fellow tribesmen. Eayrs advised him not only on matters of dress, "arrive in buckskins for the benefit of the press," but counselled him on the content of his lectures.

.....You will stand and say precisely what you want to out of the fullness of your heart as a Canadian to his own....the keynote will be a ringing message as to what we have and are...

Dickson was even more efficient. The euphemistic assessment, "I built Grey Owl," accurately describes his efforts in portraying this man as a Hiawatha among 20th century natives.

Belaney's relationship with Anahareo was distinct from all others. Without her presence and emotional motivation for rearing the initial pair of kittens it is not very likely that he would have turned from trapper to conservation publicist. The fact that she could convince him to suspend killing one of the more valuable pelt bearing mammals and as such a critical source of income, indicates the immense influence she possessed. But from the beginning of their life together their mutually independent and mercurial spirits prophesized only the most irregular periods of marital bliss. They first met when he was nearing forty and she was a girl of nineteen. The difference in their levels of maturity was enough to spell disaster. A more critical consequence was his perception and expectations of the roles they would play. In all the previous heterosexual arrangements the woman was always submissive. Thus when they began living together he fully anticipated the same format would be demonstrated in this relationship. Anahareo failed to conform to the traditional pattern. On the contrary she displayed a strong streak of independence as evidenced by her repeated departures to go prospecting. Belaney internalized his feelings of rejection and anger. The suppression of these emotions and his obvious incapability of adapting tended to reinforce his reliance upon liquor. Archie never did acclimatize himself to Anahareo's
independent nature. In the midst of perpetual quarrels, separations and reconciliations became cyclical. Eventually the cycle was interrupted by the unexpected arrival of a daughter. This event, which to a normal couple would be proclaimed as a time of joy, crippled an already lame coexistence. Neither parent wished to take responsibility for raising the child nor the physical and emotional exercise this involved. Archie never really approved of Anahareo's behaviour. It was adverse to his conception of how an Indian woman should act and her refusal to care for the child, as he visualized she should, drove them further apart. This inability to adjust or accept his mate's needs and desires, coupled with his own repressed feelings of resentment dictated the collapse of their life together. An additional source of division was his literary career and subsequent lecture tours which he pursued with almost obsessional dedication. Belaney's work as writer and performer precluded any reconstructive communication between them. The mutual addiction to alcohol was an additional destructive force.

The most common description applies to Belaney's literary career by journalists covering the revelations of his true life was "hoax." Such condemnation was unfair. Only hours after his death one of the most popular authors for the British public was suddenly scorned simply because of the revelation of his genuine ethnicity. The meteoric decline of Belaney's career implies that had he written as an Englishman his books would have been received as mediocre offerings. But writing as a native gave these works more flavour, more credibility, simply more appeal. The fact remains, however, that whatever his race the man produced fiction of considerable literary merit. His works, particularly Pilgrims of the Wild and The Adventures of Sajo and Her Beaver People are in themselves praiseworthy and would be regardless of who composed them. The confusion over the appreciation of this man arose because the British public responded just as emotionally to
the disclosures of his past as they had to his books and lectures. His literature therefore became tarred with the same brush as his life, and with the denunciation of "fraud" as the outcome.

Perhaps it was his British ancestry that made Canadians and others—outside Britain—more tolerant of his transgressions and more receptive to accepting his books on the basis of literary merit. The reading audience outside Britain seemed able to look more objectively at the literature judged prejudicially by his own countrymen. For Canadians whether they recognized it or not his works epitomized the major theme in the country's literature and history, namely, survival. More relevant is the manner in which this motif is furnished. Unlike other animal stories, for example, The Wind in the Willows or The Jungle Book, Belaney's protagonists are not awarded complete human emotions, behaviour or powers of speech. They are not comparable in character to say Toad of Toad Hall who smokes a pipe, deports himself in tweeds and drives, or rather attempts to drive, a "motorcar." His animal characters are much more genuine. Their day to day existence is a struggle for survival, just as it was for the original inhabitants and later colonists of Canada.

Archie Belaney was a loner. But when he died he left a surprisingly loyal—if small—circle of mourners. His death affected all of them. Angele, who had waited faithfully for his promised return in 1925, finally remarried after the settlement of his estate in 1939. In the same year Anahareo married taking her new husband's name, Moltke. Yvonne Perrier remarried in 1940 to one William Clare, a young Indian who had periodically acted as custodian of Beaver Lodge when Archie was absent. Within months of Belaney's death Superintendent Wood was transferred from Prince Albert to Jasper, as a reward for his outstanding administration of the former. Both Harkin and Campbell retired from the Parks Branch in the
the early forties. In Toronto Hugh Eayrs, who had never enjoyed good health, eventually succumbed to a lengthy liver ailment after a long and highly successful career as guardian of the Macmillan Canada interests. Archie's aunts who had survived him, withdrew even further from Hastings's society to avoid the publicity generated by the nephew over whom they once had such great expectations. Both of these women died during the war years. Dickson was perhaps most directly commercially effected by the death of Grey Owl. By the following autumn it was obvious that Lovat Dickson Limited could not continue as a financially viable publishing house in the absence of "the best author of my list." The business was prudently sold and Dickson eagerly accepted employment as literary scout for Macmillan and Company of London.

Interest in Grey Owl continued to be evident in spite of lack of accurate information on his life and actual name. The thousands of books sold by Macmillan of Canada testify to the continued interest in the man and his writing since his death. Such sales figures presumably reflect a growing appreciation for the Canadian woods and suggest too a recognition of the need to conserve natural resources. For some readers his literature has become a means of escape from a world that he would describe as, "tired with years of civilization." The antidote prescribed was simple, "a single green leaf." In the final analysis though, Belaney's life and work remain complex. To the informed his private life conflicts harshly with the public image, yet it is with the latter that we identify. Through his literature we develop a feeling of companionship possibly even kinship. Northrop Frye argues that the Canadian identity crisis is not so much a question of "who am I?" as "where is here?" The literary merit of Grey Owl's work consists in his ability to answer this question. We might also ask "what is here?" One reply is the wilderness and the frontier of Grey Owl's legend from
which, Pierre Berton gently assures us, we all emerged. 496 In this connection Bill Guppy's reflection on Grey Owl seems particularly apt. He noted that with Grey Owl's death "the northern wild lost more than a skilled woodsman, naturalist and tamer of beaver—it lost its greatest advertiser." 497
Endnotes

I The Formative Years


2 The Macmillan Company Archives (hereafter cited as MCA) Toronto, Ontario, file Grey Owl Miscellaneous, Box II (B), Lovat Dickson, to J.A. Wood, April 28, 1938.


4 Author's Field Notes (hereafter cited as JSFN), Interview with Mr. G.R. McCormick.

5 MCA, Grey Owl Miscellaneous, L. Dickson to J.A. Wood, April 28, 1938.


7 Ibid., column 6.

8 L. Dickson, op. cit., p. 30.

9 JSFN, Interview with Mr. William H. Dyer. Mr. Dyer was the first person appointed to this position where he remained until retirement in 1956.

10 The predominance of organized religion within this town continued to the present day. There are no fewer than twenty denominations available for a population of 74,600 (1976). Of the forty-nine separate places of worship the Church of England is represented by 35.5%.

Many years later he recorded favoured composers throughout his notebooks. Beethoven's "Moonlight Sonata" was perhaps his favourite piece but the works of Schubert, Liszt, Chopin, Ravel, Mendelssohn, Tchaikovsky, Handel and the contemporary Gerschwin also interested him.


JSFN, Interview with Mr. Leonard Scott-Brown.

West Australian, April 30, 1938.

JSFN, Interview with Mr. Leonard Scott-Brown.

Years after these stories had been read and re-read Archie indicated his previous military experience as a member of the 285th Dragoons of the Mexican Scouts at the date of his enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces. Aberdeen Pictorial, April 21, 1938.

JSFN, Interview with Mr. W.H. Dyer.

Ibid., Interview with Mr. G.R. McCormick.

Ibid., Interview with Mr. Percy Overton.

West Australian, April 30, 1938.

JSFN, Interview with Mr. G.R. McCormick.

Hastings and St. Leonards Observer, August 15, 1903.

Weekly Mail and Times, August 15, 1903.

Hastings and St. Leonards Observer, August 15, 1903.

West Australian, April 30, 1938.

JSFN, Interview with Mr. G.R. McCormick.

See advertisement in Pike's op. cit., 1903.

JSFN, Interview with Mr. G.R. McCormick.

D.B. Smith, op. cit., p. 47.

West Australian, April 30, 1938.

II The Frontier Confronted


36 L. Dickson, op. cit., p. 54.
Dickson's contention about this temporary employment rests on a manuscript written by Belaney during the war which came into his publisher's hands during the posthumous controversy over his ethnicity. The story, which was only partially finished, concerns a young man's attempts to become a guide in Canada and the difficulties he experienced realizing this goal. The narrator of the story is significantly a clerk in a men's clothing store—presumably young Belaney himself.

For a telescoped version of this story see: Sunday Dispatch, April 24, 1938.


39 "Frontiersman, woodsman and lover of nature" was the phrase Belaney insisted his lawyer employ for the purpose of legal identification when his will and testament was prescribed on November 4, 1936. H.J. Fraser Papers, Saskatchewan Archives Office, Saskatoon (hereafter cited as HJF) Archivald S. (McNiel), Will and Testament, November 4, 1936.

His aunts made him distrust women; so much so that he would later write "they made me hate women." ASB, vol. 1, notebook 1932-1936.

The fact that they had been married by a clergyman who was not licensed to perform the ceremony in Ontario due to his United States citizenship and privileges of ordination raised a number of legal problems during the later contestation of his estate.
62 Erik Erikson, op. cit., pp. 172-175.

III Anahareo
63 HJF, Court Transcript, June 12, 1939, p. 4.
64 Grey Owl, Pilgrims of the Wild, pp. 8, 9.
65 MCA, Grey Owl Miscellaneous, Isobel Le Duc to H. Eayrs, April 28, 1938.
66 The Hastonian, December 1913, No. 8, p. 11, carried Archie's address as c/o A. Duval, the chief warden of the Mississauga Forest Reserve.
68 Globe and Mail, April 25, 1938.
69 Lovat Dickson, op. cit., p. 99.
70 JSPN, Interview with G.R. McCormick.
71 JHF, Summary of Evidence by Angele Belaney, p. 1.
73 Thomas H. Radall Papers, notes from Dr. Donald B. Smith (hereafter cited as THR), interview with J.E. McKinnon.
74 Ibid., W.E. McFarlane to Thomas Radall, September 4, 1963.
75 Ibid.
79 Thomas H. Radall, op. cit., p. 152.
80 THR, W.E. McFarlane, to T. Radall, October 1, 1963.
81 The Hastonian, December 1919, No. 12, p. 2.
82 Daily Express, April 21, 1938.
83 Toronto Star, April 19, 1938.
84 Daily Express, April 21, 1938.
85 HJF, A.J. Rubenstei, and J. Nash to A.C. March, July 12,
1938. Connie Belaney waited for five years in the hopes that her husband would return. In 1922 she applied for and received a decree of nullity from the courts. The same year she remarried taking the name Cash.

86 JHF, Brief on Cross Examination of Angele Belaney, p. 3.
87 HJF, Court Transcript, June 12, 1939, p. 4.
88 Ibid., presumably this "fear" was in fact guilt over his estranged English wife.
89 ASB, vol. 1, notebook 1920, 1929-1930.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid., see also, Pilgrims of the Wild, Chapter 1.
92 ASB, vol. 1, notebook 1927-1931.
93 HJF, Court Transcript, October 10, 1939, p. 15.
94 Ibid., p. 24.
95 MCA, "Dickson," Box "C", L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, June 3, 1938.
98 Gertrude Moltke, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
100 Gertrude Moltke, op. cit., p. 18.
101 Ibid., pp. 28-30.
102 Ibid., pp. 74-75.
103 Grey Owl, Pilgrims of the Wild, p. 29.

IV The Transition: Trapper to Author and Conservation Publicist
104 Ibid., p. 49.
105 Ibid., pp. 60,77.
106 Ibid., p. 54.

109 JSFN, Interview with Mrs. Gertrude Moltke.

110 JSFN, Interview with Mr. Leonard Scott-Brown. Mr. Scott-Brown noted that Archie had not written to either himself or his mother after leaving for Canada in 1917.

111 MCA, Grey Owl Miscellaneous, L. Dickson to J.A. Wood, April 28, 1938.


113 E.G., Pilgrims of the Wild, pp. 129-147; and Tales of an Empty Cabin, p. xiii.


116 L. Dickson, op. cit., p. 167.

117 Grey Owl, Pilgrims of the Wild, p. 159.

118 Ibid., p. 176.


120 "Grey Owl- No Nature Fakir," Forest and Outdoors, vol. 26, No. 11, November 1930. The name "Grey Owl" had been formally adopted by Belaney for literary and speaking engagements by June, 1930. This signified the absolute negation of his previous identity and a firm commitment to living the future in the personality he had created, nurtured and now refined.

121 ASB, vol. 1, notebook 1920, 1929-1930.


123 Grey Owl, "Little Brethren of the Wilderness," Forest and Outdoors, vol. 26, Nos. 9, 10, September - October 1930.

124 Ibid.

125 E.g., Grey Owl, "King of the Beaver People," Forest and Outdoors, vol. 26, No. 12, December, 1930, closely

126 Belaney's opinion on "Big business" to the position held by E. Newton-White.

127 ENW, E. Newton-White to Grey Owl, September 27, 1930.
129 Ibid., E. Newton-White to Grey Owl, August 18, 1930 and September 27, 1930.
130 MCA, "Grey Owl Correspondence 1934," Box II (B), Secretary to H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, July 13, 1934.
132 Ibid., p. 1.
133 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
134 Ibid., p. 11.
135 Ibid., p. 17.
136 Ibid., p. 51.
137 Ibid., pp. 87-88.
138 Ibid., p. 206.
139 Ibid., p. 211.
141 Men of the Last Frontier, p. 151.
142 Ibid., p. 153.
143 Ibid., pp. 174-177.
144 Ibid., p. 166.
145 Ibid., pp. 152, 172.
146 Ibid., p. 78.
147 JSFN, Interview with Mr. Fergus Lothian.


149 ENW, Grey Owl to E. Newton-White, December 4, 1930.


152 Ibid., p. 99.


159 John Palliser, Explorations - British North America. The Journals, Detailed Reports and Observations Relative to the Explorations of the portion of British North America which, in latitude, lies between the
British boundary line and the height of land or watershed of the northern or frozen ocean respectively, and, in longitude, between the western shore of Lake Superior and the Pacific Ocean, during the years 1857 and 1858 and 1859 and 1860 (London: Queen's Printer, 1863), p. 14.

160 "Royal Commission on Fish and Game," Report, Ministry of Natural Resources (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1892), p. 189.


163 Ibid., p. 2.

164 Ibid., p. 13.


166 Ibid., p. 33.


168 PCP, Commissioner's Report, Dominion Parks Branch, 1912.


173 Janet Foster, op. cit., p. 128.

174 Ibid., p. 146.


177 Philip Godsell, "Aftermath of the Fur Feast," Forest and Outdoors, November 1931.
This periodical was also known as The Canadian Illustrated Forest and Outdoors.

A.A. McDonald, "Danger Ahead for Our Fur Trade," part I, Forest and Outdoors, November, 1930.

"Grey Owl - No Nature Fakir," Forest and Outdoors, November, 1930.


"Are Canadians Forest Conscious?", Forest and Outdoors, June, 1928.


JBH, vol. 2, Diary, p. 42.

V Recognition and Success: The National Park Years

Grey Owl, "King of the Beaver People," Forest and Outdoors, January, 1931.

Ibid.

Grey Owl, "Who Will Repay?" Forest and Outdoors, March, 1931.

Ibid.

Ibid., see also Belaney's comments on P. Godsell's article, "Spendthrifts of the Fur Supply," Forest and Outdoors, July, 1931.

JSFN, E.H. Blackmore to author, October 6, 1978. Philip Godsell a war-time acquaintance of Mr. Blackmore later wrote that Belaney had lifted many of his ideas on the Indians and the north's value to Canada. In the same letter Godsell alleged that his friend Hugh Eayrs had confessed to him that he had known all along that Grey Owl was not an Indian. Such a charge is not substantiated in Eayrs' personal correspondence.
191 Grey Owl, "A Day in a Hidden Town, Forest and Outdoors, April, 1931.
193 Grey Owl, "Indian Legends and Lore," Forest and Outdoors, October, 1931.
194 Grey Owl, "White Water," Forest and Outdoors, August, 1931. This was previously published in Men of the Last Frontier, under Chapter III, "The Trail."
195 Grey Owl, "The Perils of Woods Travel," Forest and Outdoors, September, 1931. This was published earlier under Chapter V, "On Being Lost," in Men of the Last Frontier.
196 Montreal Daily Star, January 24, 1931.
201 Ibid., March 18, 1931.
202 Ibid.
203 Ibid.
205 Ibid., Grey Owl to J. Smart, March 18, 1931.
206 Ibid., J. Smart to J.C. Campbell, May 16, 1931.
207 MCA, Grey Owl Correspondence Miscellaneous, Grey Owl to A. Eayrs, October 21, 1934.
Belaney requested the purchase of "double klim" or "whole klim" or other form of whole milk....to be used for raising the beaver. Such a diet for the young creatures was catastrophic since this milk was far too high in sugars and lactic acids for their digestion.
Among individuals familiar with the intimate details of Belaney's life in Prince Albert National Park there is considerable disagreement regarding his drinking habits. There seems little doubt that he was operating his own distillery, a common enough occurrence then in the "dry" province of Saskatchewan. This was a process
he had learned in his days in Biscotasing. The fact that he offered one of the wardens a recipe for his "homebrew" tends to confirm this.\(^a\) Moreover the notebooks dealing with these years indicate that he was continuing to monitor, by taste, the production of this "brew." One such sampling revealed a batch boasting "a good deal of authority."\(^b\) Finally, throughout his notebooks and correspondence one observes his habit of jotting down whatever was in his mind at the time. Thus in reference to his desire for liquor there are statements and addresses associated with bootleggers,\(^c\) and a curious six line ditty,\(^d\) perhaps indicative of his operation's location in respect to the cabin site.

a) PANP, Interview recorded with Les Holden by G. Short, anthropologist, University of Saskatoon.
b) ASB, vol. 1, notebook 1936 A.
d) "We'll build a little still somewhere
   In the side of the hill,
   And let the rest of the world go dry,
   He'll build a little nest
   Somewhere in the west and let
   The rest of the world go by."

244 MCA, Grey Owl Miscellaneous 1935-1936, Box II (B), J.C. Campbell to E. Elliott Booth, March 1, 1935.
245 A total of four films had been made by the summer of 1932.
   "Beaver People," Cabano, Quebec, 1930, nine minutes.
Grey Owl's Neighbours," Prince Albert National Park, 1932, ten minutes.
"Strange Doings in Beaverland," Prince Albert National Park, 1932, eleven minutes.

246 MCA, Grey Owl Miscellaneous 1935-1936, Grey Owl to
247 Gertrude Moltke, op. cit., p. 135.
248 ASB, vol. 2, Grey Owl to Mrs. Winters, August 21, 1933.
249 Ibid., September 5, 1933.
250 Ibid., Archie to Gertie, August 21, 1933.
251 Ibid., October 4, 1933.
252 Ibid., vol. 1, notebook 1932-1936.
253 Ibid., vol. 2, Archie to Gertie, October 4, 1933.
254 HJF, Grey Owl to A.C. March, October 23, 1934.
255 MCA, Grey Owl Correspondence Miscellaneous 1934, Box II (B), Grey Owl to E. Elliott Booth, July 20, 1934.
256 Ibid., Grey Owl to H. Eayrs, June 2, 1934.
257 Grey Owl, Pilgrims of the Wild, p. 12.
258 Ibid., p. 15, see also p. 207.
259 Ibid., p. 214.
260 Ibid., p. 250.
261 Ibid., p. 20.
262 Ibid., p. 197.
263 Ibid., p. XVI.
266 MCA, Grey Owl Correspondence Miscellaneous 1934, Grey Owl to H. Eayrs, June 2, 1934.
268 MCA, "Grey Owl Lecture Tour 1937", Box II (B), J. Wood to H. Eayrs, January 23, 1937.
269 MCA, Grey Owl Correspondence Miscellaneous 1934, L. Dickson to Secretary of H. Eayrs, August 10, 1934.
270 MCA, Grey Owl Correspondence Miscellaneous 1934, Grey Owl to E. Booth, n.d., n.p., August 18, 1934.
271 Ibid., Grey Owl to E. Booth, August 16, 1934.
272 Ibid., H. Eayrs to Grey Owl, August 23, 1934.
273 Ibid., H. Eayrs to Grey Owl, August 24, 1934.
274 Ibid., H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, September 10, 1934.
275 Ibid., August 24, 1934.
276 HJF, Grey Owl to A.C. March, November 7, 1934.
277 MCA, Grey Owl Correspondence Miscellaneous 1934, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, October 1, 1934; also October 5, 1934.
278 Ibid., L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, August 8, 1934; H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, November 9, 1934.
279 Ibid., L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, July 20, 1934.
282 HJF, Grey Owl to A.C. March, November 7, 1934.
284 MCA, Grey Owl Correspondence Miscellaneous, H. Eayrs to J. Wood, May 13, 1938.
286 This was called "Grey Owl's Strange Guests," 1934. It was generally composed of previous material with some additional new frames.
287 JSFN, Interview with Mrs. Gertrude Moltke.
288 PANP, "Confidential File J.A. Wood," J. Wood to J.C. Campbell, June 13, 1932; also J. Wood to J.C. Campbell June 18, 1935.
290 PANP, J. Wood to W. Foran, Sec., Civil Service Commission, April 17, 1934.
VI England: The Triumphant Return


309 MCA, Dickson 1937, Box "C", L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, August 9, 1938.
The following books were known to exist in the cabin during his occupancy. As they were all published prior to the first tour, it is assumed he read them and others as a form of preparation.

John C. Gifford, *Billy Bowlegs and the Seminole War*, 1925
T.H. Gillespie, *Is it Cruel?*. 1934
C. Kearton, *The Island of the Penguins*. 1932
Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book*. 1935
Alex Muntle, *Memories and Vagaries*. 1933
Lloyd Roberts, *Along the Ottawa*. 1927
George Seaver, *Edward Wilson of the Antarctic*. 1933

Belaney constantly bemoaned the loss of the natives' traditional lifestyle. Yet in his own portrayal of a typical brave he opted for the employment of manufactured beads rather than "the traditional and more skillfully utilized decorative dyed porcupine quills." Soliciting "spotted eagle feathers" from the department betrays a
similar confusion over native dress. The very fact that he made such a request, which was probably motivated by reading Chief Standing Bear's book, suggests his wish to be associated in tribal rank to this man. Personally Archie had no idea of what these feathers resembled or from which bird they originated. His employers were equally baffled and eventually borrowed some from an Ottawa museum. These feathers are simply those of an immature Golden Eagle, common to western Canada, and are characterized by spots in the tail plummage. At three to five years of age these disappear and at one time such distinctive feathers were highly coveted by the Plains Indians. Considering his previously exhibited attitude towards predatory birds obtaining these feathers would not have presented an insurmountable problem.

a. JSFN, Interview with Mr. T. Blackmore.
b. PANP, J.C. Campbell to J.A. Wood, April 28, 1936.
c. JSFN, Interview with Mr. Colin Taylor.

323 Glasgow Evening Citizen, November 28, 1935.
324 Music Opinion, February, 1936.
325 Glasgow Evening Citizen, October 29, 1935.
327 Times, November 2, 1935.
328 Western Morning News, October 29, 1935.
329 Unionana, November 13, 1935.
331 Huddersfield Daily Examiner, January 24, 1936.
332 Sunday Mail, November 3, 1935.
Canada's Weekly, October 25, 1935.
Newcastle Journal, November 18, 1935.
Yorkshire Gazette, February 7, 1936.
Baptist Times, January 2, 1936.
Newsagent and Booksellers' Review, November 16, 1935.
Shields Gazette, December 17, 1935.
Bazaar, December 24, 1935.
MCA, Grey Owl Tour 1937, L. Dickson to H Eayrs, April 27, 1937.
Ibid.
Sunday Chronicle, December 15, 1935; Sunday Express, April 24, 1938.
JSFN, Interview with Mr. and Mrs. George Head. This couple were neighbours of the Miss Belaneys and partially observed Archie's visit in 1936.
Sunday Mail, December 15, 1935, reported that Sir John Lavery had painted his portrait which later hung in the Royal Academy.
The House of Words, p. 167.
MCA, Grey Owl Tales of an Empty Cabin, 1936, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, August 20, 1936.
Ibid.
MCA, Grey Owl Tales of An Empty Cabin 1936, C. Alexandria Dick to L. Dickson, August 18, 1936.
Dickson, The House of Words, p. 170.
Huddersfield Daily Examiner, February 3, 1936.
This assumption becomes increasingly convincing when one considers the size of certain individual audiences, some of which approached 1500. See: Harrogate Herald, November 15, 1935.
Publishers' Circular, February 1, 1936.
355 Bookseller, January 22, 1936.
356 MCA, Sajo and Her Beaver People, 1935, Grey Owl to H. Eayrs, February 8, 1936.
357 PANP, J. Wood to L. Rotenberg, April 6, 1936.
358 PANP, J. Wood to J.C. Campbell, April 9, 1936.
359 MCA, Grey Owl Tales of an Empty Cabin 1936, Grey Owl to H. Eayrs and L. Dickson, May 9, 1936.
360 Ibid.
361 MCA Dickson 1937, E. Booth to L. Dickson, August 11, 1937.
362 PANP, J.B. Harkin to Grey Owl, June 24, 1936.
363 PANP, J. Wood to J.B. Harkin, June 30, 1936.
366 ASB, vol. 2, Archie to Anahareo, June 29, 1933.
367 HJF, Grey Owl to John To-To-Sis, September 20, 1936.
368 Ibid.
369 MCA, Grey Owl Tales of an Empty Cabin 1936, H.S. Winters to H. Eayrs, August 12, 1936.
370 Ibid., H. Eayrs to A.J. Putnam, September 14, 1936.
371 Ibid., L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, September 4, 1936.
372 Grey Owl, Tales of an Empty Cabin, p. IX.
373 Ibid., p. X.
374 Ibid., p. 10.
375 Ibid., p. IX.
377 Grey Owl, Tales of an Empty Cabin, p. XII.
378 Ibid., p. 10.
379 E.g., "A Day in a Hidden Town," Forest and Outdoors, April, 1931.
380 Grey Owl, Tales of an Empty Cabin, p. 18.
There was a good deal of irony in this request. The costume pictured on page 160 (Laurentian Series #26, Macmillan of Canada, 1975) was designed to convey the impression of chiefly rank and his maintenance of traditional tribal crafts. In fact all of these articles had been obtained in England during the first tour. While there Belaney had met a Mohawk by the name of Oske-non-ton who made his living by staging various plays associated with the native way of life. A musical version of "Hiawatha" was his most popular production. Oske-non-ton, detested Belaney, not only for being a fraud, which he recognized immediately, but for increasing the competition over bookings. This man had no agent comparable to Grey Owl's Lovat Dickson. When Grey Owl and Oske-non-ton met, the latter possessed a beautiful double-trained war bonnet. Archie became obsessed with owning this head dress and pestered the owner to part with it. No sum offered would convince Oske-non-ton to sell. However he did make Belaney another war bonnet, not quite as grand but nevertheless genuine. He also sold him a crimson blanket and bronze tomahawk blade. The handle of this weapon was skillfully carved from ashwood by a friend of Oske-non-ton, a Mr. Ted Blacksmore of Eastbourne, Sussex.

JSFN, Interview with Mr. T. Blackmore.
See for example, rear cover of the Macmillan Canada, 1975 edition which states, "many readers have come to regard Tales of an Empty Cabin as Grey Owl's greatest book."

MCA, Tales of an Empty Cabin 1936, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, September 9, 1936.

Ibid., Grey Owl to L. Dickson, May 4, 1936.

Ibid., Grey Owl to H. Eayrs and L. Dickson, May 9, 1936.

ASB, Vol. 1, notebook 1936 'A'.

MCA, Grey Owl Lecture Tour 1937, Grey Owl to H. Eayrs, May 14, 1937; see also, H. Eayrs to Grey Owl, May 17, 1937.

MCA, Grey Owl Tales of An Empty Cabin 1936, H. Eayrs to J. Wood, April 12, 1937; see also J. Wood to H. Eayrs, March 30, 1937.

MCA, Dickson 1937, E. Elliott to L. Dickson, April 14, 1937.

MCA, Tales of an Empty Cabin 1936, Grey Owl to L. Dickson, May 4, 1936.


MCA, Dickson 1937, E. Elliott Booth to L. Dickson, August 11, 1937.

MCA, Grey Owl Tales of an Empty Cabin 1936, Grey Owl to H. Eayrs, June 3, 1936.

JSFN, Interview with Mr. Stan Winters.

ASB, Vol. 1, notebook 1936, "A".

Presumably this evil name was "Belaney."

HJF, J.A. Branion and Company to H.G. MacDonald and Gould, June 9, 1939.

This letter was probably the basis of his undoing, since the North Bay Nugget had on their files the story of his life probably furnished by Angele prior to his death. Gregory Clark of the Toronto Star printed the real story
only hours after his death having received the necessary information from the North Bay Nugget reporter.

404 He named her as one of the co-executors for his final testament with a specific request that she be consulted in any matter pertaining to the education and maturation of his daughter.


405 MCA, Grey Owl Tour 1937, H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, December 4, 1936.

406 Ibid., December 22, 1936.


408 HJF, A.S. McNeil (Grey Owl), Codicil to Will and Testament, December 31, 1936.

409 MCA, Grey Owl Lecture Tour 1937, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, December 4, 1936.

410 Ibid., H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, December 22, 1936.

411 Ibid., H. Eayrs to J. Wood, December 22, 1936.

412 Ibid., L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, April 27, 1937.

413 HJF, Grey Owl to C. March, May 9, 1937.

414 MCA, Dickson 1937, E. Booth to L. Dickson, August 11, 1937.

415 Ibid., H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, August 26, 1937.

416 Sometime later Archie confided to Dickson that Yvonne too was of métis origin.

MCA, Dickson 1937, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, December 13, 1937.

417 MCA, Grey Owl Lecture Tour 1937, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, April 27, 1937.

418 Ibid.

419 Ibid.

420 MCA, Grey Owl Lecture Tour 1937, H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, June 21, 1937.

421 Ibid., L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, September 30, 1937.

422 MCA, Dickson 1937, H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, April 16, 1937. One is tempted to suggested that either he was afraid
Anahareo would expose his previous marriages, information he had given her early in their relationship, or that she was aware of his true background. Certainly he had told her about his aunts; possibly in a moment of remorse he confessed his genuine origins. The presentation of this information in either case would undoubtedly destroy the tour. Anahareo's professed ignorance over his actual ethnicity is comprehensible from a financial viewpoint, if for no other reason. In both her autobiographies Devil in Deerskins (1940) and Grey Owl and I (1972) she denies this knowledge.

423 The House of Words, p. 175.
424 MCA, Dickson 1937, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, February 26, 1937.
426 Ibid., D. Dickson to H. Eayrs, December 17, 1937.
428 Ibid.
429 MCA, Dickson 1937, E. Booth to L. Dickson, August 11, 1937.
431 MCA, Dickson 1937, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, August 11, 1937.
432 MCA, Grey Owl Miscellaneous, C. Leigh to H. Eayrs, March 2, 1938.
433 MCA, Grey Owl Tour, H. Eayrs to C. Leigh, December 2, 1936.
434 Globe and Mail, April 16, 1938.
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437 Toronto Daily Star, April 14, 1938.

438 MCA, Grey Owl Miscellaneous, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, April 14, 1938.

439 Ibid., April 28, 1938.

440 Ibid., May 20, 1938.


442 MCA, Dickson, Box "C", H. Eayrs to L, Dickson, August 1, 1938.

443 MCA, Grey Owl Miscellaneous, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, May 20, 1938.

444 The Beaver Lodge address appeared in his last three books.


446 PANP, F.H.H. Williamson to J.A. Wood, November 1, 1937.

447 Ibid., J. Wood to F.H.H. Williamson, October 19, 1937.

448 Ibid.

449 Ibid.

450 Ibid., F.H.H. Williamson to J. Wood, April 4, 1938.

451 Ibid., April 25, 1938.

452 E.g., PANP, G. Gordon to J. Wood, April 17, 1938.

453 E.G., PANP, J. Wood to G.U. Green, April 22, 1938.

454 PANP, Yvonne Grey to Hon. T.C. Crearer, May 19, 1938.

455 PANP, Anahareo to B.I.M. Strong, January 9, 1939.


458 E.g., Glasgow Herald, April 20, 1938.

459 PCP, vol. 5, file PA 300 pt. 1, J.A. Wood to J.B. Harkin, April 3, 1933. See also; Tales of an Empty Cabin pp. 297-298 for list of "enemies."
Tales of An Empty Cabin, p. 225.

Ibid., p. 54.

MCA, Grey Owl Miscellaneous 1934, Grey Owl to E. Booth, July 20, 1934.


E.g., The Grey Owl Public School, Scarborough, Ontario.

Toronto Star, October 6, 1978.

JSFN, Interview with Mr. "Budge" Crawley. Crawley Films of Toronto and Ottawa pay $500.00 annually for the option of filming Anahareo's narration of their life together as told in *Devil in Deerskins*.

MCA, Lecture Tour 1937, H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, December 28, 1936.

MCA, Grey Owl Tales of an Empty Cabin 1936, Grey Owl to E. Booth, May 6, 1936.

PANP, J. Wood to J. B. Harkin, February 6, 1935.

PANP, Address to the Prince Albert Kiwanis Club, n.d., n.p., c. April, 1940.

PANP, H. Knight to J. Smart, December 8, 1943.


Ibid., Grey Owl to Gertie, May 16, 1934.

See: Belaney's notebook referring probably to the layout of Pilgrims of the Wild where he recorded; "tell Gertie to ask Wm. Fleury for picture of me in chief outfit."


To reinforce this tribal rank throughout the years of fame, Dickson and particularly Eayrs, often addressed him as "my dear Chief."

ASB, Vol. 2, Archie to Gertie, June 29, 1933.

MCA, Tales of an Empty Cabin 1936, H. Eayrs to L. Dickson, October 29, 1936.

Ibid., Grey Owl to H. Eayrs and L. Dickson, May 9, 1936.

MCA, Miscellaneous, H. Eayrs to J.C. Stead, March 5, 1938.

Ibid., H. Eayrs to Grey Owl, March 7, 1938.

MCA, Dickson, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, August 9, 1938.

Since publication Pilgrims of the Wild and The Adventures of Sajo and Her Beaver People have been translated into; Czech, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Norwegian, Polish, Serbo-Croat and Swedish.

Margaret Atwood, Survival (Toronto: Anansi Press, 1972), p. 32.


MCA, Miscellaneous, L. Dickson to H. Eayrs, April 14, 1938.


JSFN, Mrs. C. McCarthy to author, November 13, 1978.

Since 1938, 29,441 copies of his works have been sold in Canada alone.

497 Hal Pink, op. cit., p. 103.
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