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Intellectual Space, Image, and Identities in the Historical Campus: Helen Kemp's Map of the University of Toronto, 1932¹

E. LISA PANAYOTIDIS AND PAUL STORTZ

*Though separated from them by time and space ... we can communicate with them in one of the greatest of all ways: by entering into an appreciation of their art ... And through their art we can break down a little, a very little, of that wall of strangeness which keeps us apart from the people who have gone before us.*²

In 1932, Helen Kemp, a fourth-year pass student in English literature at the University of Toronto, designed and animated a decorative map of the university campus (Figure 1). Published by J.M. Dent and Sons at a cost of 75 cents, the map was replete with humorous anecdotes about undergraduates and professors. It was touted in the campus and the local press as “depicting a wealth of intimate detail” about university life. An advertisement in the University of Toronto’s student newspaper, the *Varsity*, introduced Kemp’s map as “a Bird’s Eye View of Old Varsity.” It asked: “Have you seen the new pictorial Map of the University of Toronto drawn by Helen Kemp (4th year Vic)? Whether you can’t find your way around the Campus, or whether you know your way ... you can’t afford to miss this map.”³ In jest, the *Varsity* reported on comments from fictional student “Percy Dementia Praecox” and “Professor Amnesia,” both of whom had viewed the map and reflected on its potential benefits.

1 We would like to thank the staff of: the E.J. Pratt Library, Special Collections, at the Victoria University Library at the University of Toronto; and the Map Library at the British Library, London, for their helpful assistance. We would also like to thank Harold Averill at the University of Toronto Archives for his outstanding support and for comments on an earlier draft of this paper. We also acknowledge the anonymous reviewers for their helpful feedback. Part of this research was made possible through a Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada Standard Research Grant.

2 Helen Kemp Frye, “Art for Everyman.” Originally broadcast 1 November 1938. Typescript 8pp., p. 2. Helen Kemp Frye Fonds, (F12) Pratt Library, Special Collections, Victoria University Library, 1992/4(9). Hereafter Helen Kemp Frye Fonds.

3 Helen Kemp, “University of Toronto Map” (1932), University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA), B1986-1044. On the artistic conventions of “bird’s-eye views” and their potential for historical research, see: Tom McKay, “Bird’s Eye Views,” *Exchange*, 29, 2 (Spring 1987). “It’s a Bird’s Eye View of Old Varsity,” *Varsity*, 5 December 1932, UTA, Department of Graduate Records (hereafter DGR), Helen Kemp Frye, A1973-0026/194(57).

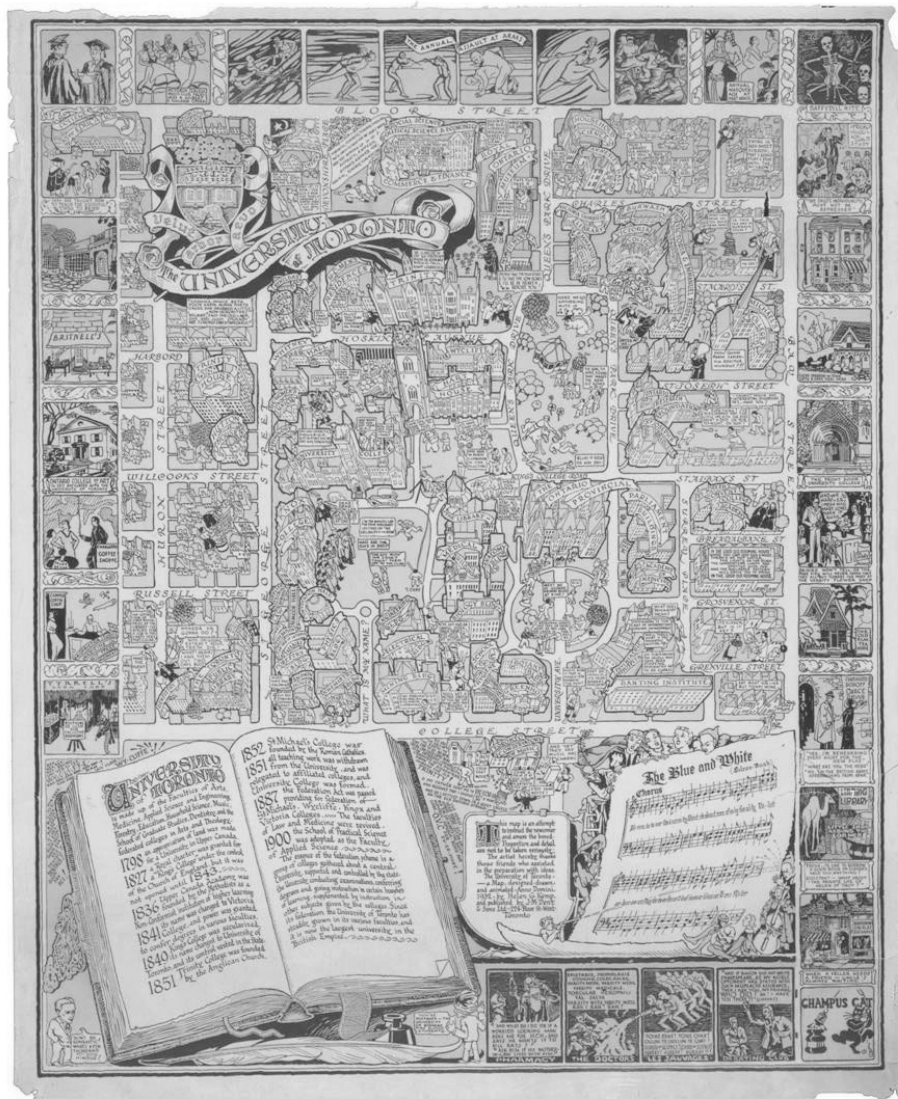


Figure 1: Helen Kemp, "University of Toronto Map" (1932).
University of Toronto Archives (UTA), B1986-1044]

INTELLECTUAL SPACE, IMAGE, AND IDENTITIES IN THE HISTORICAL CAMPUS

Percy Dementia Praecox, '36, was reported to have said: I can't be too thankful that I found this in time to save me from suicide next May. I discovered to my horror, that I had been taking lectures at the Household Science Building, thinking it was the Physics Building. Now that I know the truth I feel sure that, with my brains, I shall have no difficulty in getting an "A" in my examinations. What a Calamity has been Averted!

Professor Amnesia enthusiastically noted, "What a boon! If this young lady would only make a companion map showing the location of the Professors' Rooms, my cup would be full. It is so distressing not to be able to remember where one's room is after one has with difficulty located the Building."⁴

Although aimed at the undergraduate audience, the map had a wider circulation, being prominently reviewed in the local press. *Saturday Night* magazine remarked on the fine lettering and design, and marvelled at the jocular comments by students and professors that were strewn throughout the map. The magazine pronounced that Kemp "is gifted with a rich sense of humour." The *Globe* called the map a "magnificent achievement ... cartoons, colour topography, showing all the buildings, streets, resorts, and most of the diversions of the U. of T. The scene mentally viewed from an aeroplane, has been constructed with finite ingenuity ... The perspective is excellent. The cartoon scenes are cleverly executed ... the colours ... skilfully disposed." A number of newspapers also noted the map's striking similarity to the witty pictorial maps published by the Underground Railways of London. *Canadian Forum* (hereafter *Forum*) dedicated a full-page advertisement to the map by illustrating a small segment and even reproducing several amusing anecdotes. The ad noted, "Incidents such as this make the Map a more cheerful companion and a perpetual reminder of the many happy memories of University Days." While recognizing the aesthetic and technical aspects of the work, all descriptions of the map were quick to comment on the various witticisms from undergraduates and professors as "richly humorous and particularly worthy of note."⁵

4 For a discussion on the visual construction of professors as "absent-minded," see E. Lisa Panayotidis, "Constructing 'Intellectual Icebergs': Visual Caricature of the Professoriate and Academic Culture at the University of Toronto, 1898-1915," in *Historical Identities: The Professoriate in Canada*, edited by Paul Stortz and E. Lisa Panayotidis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), Chapter 12.

5 *Saturday Night* Magazine, 19 December 1932, UTA, DGR, Helen Kemp Frye, A1973-0026/194(57). Helen Kemp Frye Fonds, "Pictorial Map of the University," Box 4(1); "Map of University is Done in Cartoons: Magnificent Achievement Made in Colour Topography," *Globe* [n.d.]. "Helen Kemp is Designer of University Map," *Varsity*, 9 December 1932, UTA, GRF, Helen Kemp Frye, A1973-0026/194(57). Helen Kemp Frye Fonds, "Pictorial Map of the University," Box 4(1), "Print Map of the University: Publishers Issue Work of Fourth Year Co-Ed at Victoria," *Toronto Star*, 5 Dec 1932. *Canadian Forum* XIII, 149 (February 1933): 200. "Helen Kemp is Designer of University Map," *Varsity*, 9 December 1932, UTA, DGR, Helen Kemp Frye, A1973-0026/194(57).

In jubilant colours of cream, brown, red, and green, and with its well-wrought calligraphic script, the two-by-three foot map was narrated visually and linguistically to great effect. It was not only an “object-in-use” but was a way of imagining the geographic, social, and intellectual space of the university. Intended “to instruct the newcomer and amuse the bored,” Kemp’s map was a light-hearted look at “university life” as well as an amalgam of the public and private ritualized activities of campus and student life, and the social and intellectual spaces in which they were enacted. Through humour, Kemp illustrated the significant scientific achievements and discoveries at the university (such as the recent discovery of insulin) and the religious divisions amongst colleges on campus, for example between the “high” evangelical status of Trinity and the “low” evangelical status of Wycliffe. Kemp also demonstrated nuanced understandings of the layered political and socio-cultural remnants of old Toronto society and its British antecedents on and off campus.

Through a historical and cultural analysis of Kemp’s map, this paper critically examines the spatial design and underlying representational logic of the map to show the intersections among social space, community, identity, and educational experience as ways to understand the meanings they held for their audiences. *Seeing* and ultimately *representing* are shaped by how we experience and imagine social space in a particular historical time and place. As philosopher of urban space and everyday life, Henri Lefebvre noted: “Each historical moment generates its own unique type of space, a space which is specific to its forces and relations of production.” Alternately, images, such as Kemp’s map, are more than atemporal renderings of “real” geographic spaces. Maps allow for meanings to be imposed on the world; they order priorities and naturalize hierarchies of place.⁶

Geographers Daniel Dorling and David Fairbairn have argued that “there can be no neutral map of a place and certainly no neutral map of the world.” Kemp’s map represented a subjective version of the university in the early 1930s as the normative experience of students and professors. Kemp’s approach to the map was complex, with multiple ideological and aesthetic intentions, often with competing purposes in mind. No map is value-free – at the point of production and utilization it serves the explicit purposes of its author and its audiences. The space of the university (and beyond) was abstracted and generalized to display only those aspects that are deemed significant by both the maker and reader/viewer.⁷ Reader/viewers made sense of the map within their own interpretive frameworks. In this study, we are con-

6 Janin Hadlaw, “The London Underground Map: Imagining Modern Time and Space,” *Design Issues*, 19, 1 (Winter 2003): 26. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 38.

7 Since the map incorporates both text and image, we use the term “reading/viewing” when referring to it.

cerned with Kemp's subjective and conflicted understandings about university life, as well as the broad socio-cultural patterns of higher education in time and place that shaped her ideological and aesthetic intentions. In analyzing the map, we are not looking for the one "true meaning" of the various symbols, text, and animation but "equally plausible, though sometimes competing and contesting, meanings and interpretations." Kemp's map was not just a cartographic "measure of a place and the relationship between places [and] quantifiable data ... [but] aims ... to give us the quality of a place or of the viewers' sense of it."⁸

While researching how university campus maps construct particular spaces, places, and identities, and in this case how they visually narrate the higher education experience, we draw from contemporary interdisciplinary theories in cartography, cultural geography, and visual culture studies. The map is a complex ideological/historical text. We intend to illustrate the richness of new critical ways of approaching what has often been relegated to at worst "ephemera" and at best merely entertaining visual material hardly worth serious interpretive consideration.⁹ It is not only vital to recognize "how much information maps can carry, but . . . how maps *shape* that information."¹⁰

Kemp's map is a critical and valuable source in its own right but other documentary sources are required to gain some contextual understandings of the animated images represented within it (and others like it). Kemp's map functioned within a given socio-cultural milieu. Accordingly, we incorporate art historian Norman Bryson's notion of visuality as "vision socialized;" that is, vision is informed by the interests and desires of the reader/viewer and by the social relations that exist between the perceiver and the perceived. Kemp's

8 Daniel Dorling and David Fairbairn, *Mapping: Ways of Representing the World* (Essex: Longman, 1997), 76. Ward L. Kaiser and Denis Wood, *Seeing Through Maps: The Power of Images to Shape Our World* (ODT Inc.: Amherst, MA, 2001), 4. Stuart Hall, "Introduction," in S. Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997), 9. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 124.

9 At least over the past decade, many critical socio-cultural studies of map-making and the historical contexts in which they have been produced have used diverse interdisciplinary methodologies. Several instructive examples are: Dorling and Fairbairn, *Mapping: Ways of Representing the World*; D. Cosgrove, ed., *Mappings* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998); J.B. Harley, "Reconstructing the Map," in T.J. Barnes and J.S. Duncan, eds., *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text, and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1992), 231-47; and P.D.A Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980). In Canada, two important studies comment on the relationship among space, history, and the politics of difference: Daniel W. Clayton, *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000); and Cole Harris *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).

10 Kaiser and Wook, *Seeing Through Maps*, 82.

map embodies and invites particular ways of seeing that are ultimately difficult to reduce to linguistic terms. The “contents” of the images are not simple substitutes for words. Images complicate our understandings of how we come to know the past, what counts as an authoritative source/trace of that history, and what methods of interpretation we might use to examine them. We concur with Gillian Rose that the study of visual images “depend[s] on the pleasure, thrills, fascination, wonder, fear, or revulsion of the person looking at the images and then writing about them ... [I]nterpretation depends on the passionate engagement with what you see.”¹¹

Ultimately, Helen Kemp’s map fulfilled several functions. On a practical level, the map served to assist historical agents to navigate the expanding university campus in an efficient and timely manner. It also represented the social, cultural, and intellectual landscapes of the university, conceptually demarcating physical and intellectual colleges and disciplinary boundaries from the surrounding city of which the university was both a part and separate. Accordingly, the map “magnifies the idea of *place* as a critical contributor to education, especially curriculum and teaching.” Significantly, it exposed relationships among students, and among students and professors. For university dwellers¹² – students, professors, and staff – the map was a representation grounded in “geographic space” of a “literal reality,” visually evocative with personal meaning. While others, such as visitors to the campus, may not have intimately experienced the social and intellectual cultures of the university, by virtue of the map, the university on some level became “known.” Kemp’s map assisted in the formation of academic identities – “potent ways of saying who we are” – that asserted one’s rightful place on campus as well as inviting one to imagine themselves as a potential dweller. Social relations are inextricably intertwined with power relations, and Kemp’s map embodied a “social imaginary” that helps to “[make] sense of ... the practices of a society,” in this case university practices and policies.¹³

11 Norman Bryson, ed., *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), 4. For an interesting discussion of the relationships between word and image in the context of maps, see Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting & Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

12 William H. Schubert, “Reflections on the Place of Curriculum,” in *Pedagogy of Place: Seeing Space as Cultural Education*, David M. Callejo Pérez, Stephen M. Fain, and Judith J. Slater, eds. (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), ix. Interdisciplinary theories/practices that articulate and give insight into how we might interpret, understand, experience, and embody the physical “spaces” of schooling have had an important impact on contemporary educational thought. We draw our notion of “dwelling” from Martin Heidegger’s essay “Building, Dwelling, Thinking,” in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, translated by Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 143-162. Heidegger described *dwelling* as physically living in the world rather than simply “occupying . . . a lodging.”

13 Kaiser and Wood, *Seeing Through Maps*, 106. Charles Taylor, “Modern Social Imaginaries,” *Public Culture*, 14, 1 (Winter 2002): 1.

Helen Kemp: Student artist

There is nothing natural about a map. It is a cultural artifact, a cumulation of choices every one of which reveals a value.¹⁴

Helen Kemp was born in Toronto in 1910. She was educated at Riverdale Collegiate where she excelled in English and history, but consistently placed first in Art. She was described by her art teacher as a “worker who thinks.” Kemp also studied piano and music theory at the Hambourg Conservatory in Toronto where she became an accomplished piano recitalist who won two awards at the Canadian National Exhibition. Given her impressive talents in the arts, upon completion of her high school diploma in 1927, Kemp was awarded a one-year scholarship to the Junior Continuation course at the Ontario College of Art. In 1929, she enrolled in the Pass Course (general course) in English Literature at the University of Toronto, from which she graduated in 1933. During her junior and senior years, she became a member of the music club, debating parliament, Canadian Student Editorial Board, and staff writer for the College’s long-running student journal *Acta Victoriana*. In her junior year, Kemp met fellow student Northrop Frye with whom she had, in the words of one commentator, “a memorable relationship.” They married in 1937 and were together until Kemp’s death in Australia in 1986, where she was accompanying Frye on a lecture tour.¹⁵

Kemp’s early aesthetic interests were in part prompted by her father Stanley Heber F. Kemp, a graduate of the University of Toronto. Stanley Kemp was a commercial artist in Toronto with Grip Limited (a professional firm of designers and engravers) and later chief designer for the Crown Cork and Seal Company. A member of the “Guild of All Arts,” Stanley Kemp was friends with artists Tom Thomson, J.E.H. McDonald, and Arthur Lismer.¹⁶ Upon grad-

14 Denis Wood and John Fels, “Designs on Signs/Myth and Meaning in Maps,” *Cartographica*, 23, 3 (1986): 65.

15 Helen Kemp Frye Fonds, “Bio Material,” Box 4(7). Helen also attended the Art School on Saturdays at the Ontario College of Art. Helen received an “AHCM” (Associate Diploma in Music) from the Hambourg Conservatory. Northrop Frye, “Memoir,” October 1986, 1. Helen Kemp Frye Bio File, Victoria University/United Church Archives, ts 4 pp. Robert Fulford, *Globe and Mail*, 12 February 1997 (<http://www.robertfulford.com/Frye.html>). In the 1960s, Kemp was part of the “Picture Exhibitions Committee of Victoria College” (Helen Kemp Frye Fonds, Box 4[9]) and the “Victoria’s Women’s Associations,” where she served from 1959-1964.

16 In 1906, while a student at the University of Toronto, Stanley Kemp completed a series of landscape drawings in *Torontonensis*, the university’s yearbook. Helen Kemp Frye Fonds, “Clippings,” Box 1(4). Stanley Kemp received a BA (1906) and a MA (1908) from the University of Toronto (UTA, DGR, A1973-0026/194[65]). At the request of author Blowden Davies, in 1955, Stanley Kemp wrote a brief memoir of his remembrances of Tom Thomson (Helen Kemp Frye Fonds, “S.H.F. Kemp on Tom Thomson,” Blowden Davies to Stanley Kemp, 3 December 1955, Box 5[2]). The “Guild of All Arts” was an artists’ collective founded by H. Spenser and Rosa Clark in 1932 that promoted the arts and crafts, health and nutrition, alternative education, and co-operative movements.

uation from Victoria College, with the aid of a Carnegie Committee of Canada grant, Lismer offered Helen Kemp a position in the Education Department at the Art Gallery of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario) and helped arrange for a year's work at the National Gallery of Canada.¹⁷ As part of this appointment, in 1933 Kemp was awarded a Carnegie Fellowship to study Art at the prestigious Courtauld Institute of Art at the University of London. On her training in art history, Northrop Frye would later write that "Helen was always primarily interested in the practical arts, and would have been better suited to a department of ceramics or textiles or furniture in the Museum, but those were the Depression days, and one took what was offered."¹⁸

Returning to Canada in 1935, Kemp worked as a contributing editor for the *Forum* and resumed her position at the Art Gallery of Toronto, now as supervisor of adult education. In that position, she conducted study groups and talks for children, sent out circulating art exhibitions, organized lectures, musicales, and film evenings, and delivered radio talks on a variety of topics.¹⁹ She resigned in 1941 to take up volunteer positions in the arts as well as in various journalistic projects. She served as first secretary of the Ontario Chapter of the Federation of Canadian Artists. Kemp devoted much of her time to committee work at Victoria College and later, when Northrop Frye became College Principal, took charge of various campus women's organizations.

Why Kemp undertook the university map is not entirely clear nor are her motivations in relation to the specific symbolic representations of university life.²⁰ We can, however, deduce several things from the existing documentary traces. The map was commissioned by J.M. Dent and Sons, and the choice of

17 These grants were envisioned as training programs for museum and gallery workers. The Canadian Carnegie Committee, charged by the Carnegie Corporation to decide on programs and administer funds, was composed of nine members drawn from the private sector, university administration, and art gallery officials from across Canada. The committee, chaired by president Robert C. Wallace of the University of Alberta, held its first meeting in September 1933. Other members of this influential committee were Vincent Massey, H.O. McCurry, and Eric Brown of the National Gallery of Canada.

18 Helen Kemp Frye Fonds, "Art Activities," Box 1(7). At the time, the University of Toronto had no Fine Art Department. See E. Lisa Panayotidis, "The Department of Fine Art at the University of Toronto, 1926-1945: Institutionalizing the 'Culture of the Aesthetic,'" *The Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* XXV (2004): 100-125. Northrop Frye, "Memoir," 1.

19 Helen Kemp Frye Fonds, "Radio Talks by Helen Kemp," Box 4(9). For radio talks given in her capacity as member of the educational staff, see "The Permanent Collection," 25 May 1937; "Children in the Gallery," 30 March 1937; "Art for Everyman," 1 November 1938.

20 Edward Casey provocatively asked: "Why take the trouble to represent what we already possess – what we see before our eyes and now feel under our feet?" (*Representing Place*, xiii). The question is not why we should want to represent landscape/place but ultimately "that we have no choice but to do so ... [as] to be a landscape at all, to be an integral part of the sensuously qualified place-world, is already to have entered the encompassing embrace of the representational enterprise" (xv).

Kemp for the commission was possibly influenced by her artist father Stanley who assisted Kemp with the lettering on the map. As the evidence suggests, Kemp availed herself of both her father's and Reg Thornhill's (family friend and commercial artist) advice on various aspects of decorative map-making. Looking for a career path following graduation, Kemp may have seen this a serendipitous opportunity to pursue a life in the graphic arts.²¹

J.M. Dent and Sons' reasons for commissioning the project may be roughly inferred. General editor J.F. White and his six-person editorial board managed the *Forum* between April 1927 – April 1934 during the time the map was produced. The members of the board – the associate editors – included university professors Frank Underhill (history), E.K. Brown (English), L.A. McKay (Latin), Peter Sandiford (education), and Felix Walter (classics). Artist Charles Comfort and writer Robert Ayre (the future editor of *Canadian Art*) rounded out the group. These editors showed a keen interest in art and literary culture and especially in cartoon depictions of intellectuals and intellectualism. While nothing is yet known about exactly who at John Dent and Sons commissioned the map, we can speculate that representing the space of the university – its professors, students, and disciplines – appealed to this group of intellectuals. Kemp's commission may have originated with a desire to deconstruct the campus and people therein, many of whom were depicted in the map as being unaware of the social and economic conditions around them.²²

Clearly, the maker of the map had a direct and intimate knowledge of university life.²³ Kemp seems not to have written about the map publicly except for acknowledgements and a brief statement of intent included on the map itself. In their correspondence between 1931-1933, Kemp privately mused to Northrop Frye (they were courting at the time) about the map. She first mentioned the map to Frye in July 1932: "I am working on a map of the university buildings – it is the most interesting thing I have had to draw yet and I think it is good. I have had to park on street corners – to draw buildings of which I had

21 Interestingly, on the top left side of the map, Kemp took care to include a rendering of the offices of J.M. Dent and Sons.

22 For a discussion of the editorial groups involved in the *Forum*, see W.J. Fenrick, "The Intellectual as Activist: A Study of the *Canadian Forum* in the Middle 1930s," MA thesis, Carleton University, 1967. In the early 1930s, a virulent debate erupted in the left-wing English print media in Canada about the function of the artist in society and the meaning of a democratic education through the arts. The discursive debates which raged in the *Forum* and in more radical left-wing journals such as *New Frontier*, and the Progressive Art Club's *The Masses*, used art, especially caricature, as form of socio-political propaganda. Kemp would have been aware of these representations of intellectualism.

23 Geographer Thomas Saarinen noted that we all "carry maps of the world in our heads ... Often ... we centre the map around the region we live in as we know that the best." "The Euro-centric Nature of Mental Maps of the World," *Research in Geographic Education*, 1, 2 (1999): 136-178.

no photographs – Mary John’s for one. You remember, you were there one night.” She ended the letter by adding, “I am getting sleepy – I’ll be making my towers crooked tomorrow If I’m not careful.” Early in August 1932, Kemp wrote again to Frye that the map was as yet unfinished, citing it as a “big undertaking.” She continued working on the map, reporting a little over a week later that, after consulting with Thornhill, she would have to change the map around and “do all the buildings over again from a bird’s eye view instead of straight front view.” She provided a brief drawing showing the expected revision. Kemp added dejectedly, “So I’ll be parked here for another two weeks ... Of course it is fun making the thing, but a wee bit discouraging to undo what had taken quite a lot of time to get this far with.”²⁴

Toward the end of the summer in 1932, Kemp excitedly wrote to Frye about a map of Quebec she had seen at the Canadian National Exhibition (The “Ex”) where she was working: “I have seen the map of Quebec that was exhibited last year at the gallery, and is now at the Ex ... Beautiful, [b]eautiful things there – I shall spend much time looking – I am fairly breathless, I am so excited. I am *sure* I can do something good – I am going to work – I’m going to work dear man, and show you!” Kemp was referring to Samuel Maw’s (1881-1952) pen, ink, and colour artwork entitled “Map. City of Quebec,” which was shown in the Graphic Arts section of that year’s Fine Art exhibition.²⁵ At 33” wide by 25” high, Maw’s large folding bird’s-eye view map of Quebec City clearly influenced Kemp’s own conceptual and aesthetic approach to the university map. Kemp incorporated many of the features utilized by Maw in his historical and spatial interpretation of Quebec City including the choice of colours (although Kemp’s colour palette is considerably muted in tone), the naming of streets, the description of banners from above, the overlay of institutional symbols and emblems, the use of a decorative border, and particularly the use of an aerial perspective. Kemp also made use of Maw’s text boxes – “vehicles of narration” in Casey’s terms. In Kemp’s hand, they were not pedantic descriptions of historical and cultural events but amusing and often irreverent observations of the state of university life.²⁶ One prominent and noteworthy difference between Maw’s and Kemp’s maps is where

24 Kemp to Frye, 3 August 1932, Robert D. Denham, ed., *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 57. Mary John’s was a popular student hang-out and was depicted on the right-hand side of the map. Kemp to Frye, 11 August 1932.

25 Kemp to Frye, 28 August 1932, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939*, 76. 1932 *Catalogue of the Arts: Canadian National Exhibition*, Toronto, Canada: Canadian National Exhibition, Aug. 26 to Sept. 10, 1932, 93. “Map of the City of Quebec with Historical Notes,” drawn by S.H. Maw, Librairie Garneau, Limitee, Quebec, 1932. Samuel Maw was an English-trained architect and artist who had lived in Canada since 1912.

26 Since Maw’s map was first shown in Toronto galleries in 1931, Reg Thornhill’s advice to Kemp, in August 1932, to re-conceive the map in a bird’s-eye view perspective may have been a result of Thornhill’s knowledge of Maw’s work. Casey, *Representing Place*, 138.

Maw's City of Quebec was devoid of any human presence, Kemp's university campus was almost over-run with people – scurrying, debating, announcing, playing, and lively demonstrating the university as a culmination of personalities and dynamic social actors.

Kemp's recounting of making the map revealed an emerging confidence with her skills and abilities as an artist. She expressed an oft-times high-spirited enthusiasm for the project but also a growing irritation at the lack of recognition and remuneration. Shortly after the completion of the University of Toronto map in December 1932, Kemp was commissioned to produce an animated map for author Perkins Bull's historical series of Peel County. She wrote that this "has not left me as verdantly exuberant as I used to be."²⁷ Considering her frustration with not obtaining what she (and her father) felt was an equitable wage for the new work for Bull, she wrote bitterly to Frye that "I didn't break my neck making a [university] map that took some four months of my time (to say nothing of three weeks of Daddy's) and netted me thirty-five dollars, ten of which I haven't received yet. Recognition rats! – and that goes for Snooks' ads on the back of the *Canadian Forum* too!"²⁸ Regardless of Kemp's pessimism directed at her recent cartographic experience, she became interested in another project. Elatedly writing to Frye, she recounted F. Louis Barber's (Victoria College's bursar and librarian) "bright idea" for her to design "a historical map of the St. Lawrence River with points of interest to be sold by the C.P.R. to tourists."²⁹

Reading/viewing Helen Kemp's map: University satire

We make our own history and geography, but not just as we please; we don't make them under circumstances chosen by ourselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the historical geographies produced in the past.³⁰

27 Kemp to Frye, 26 June 1933, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939*, 116, 119-120. William Perkins Bull (1870-1948) was also a lawyer and businessman, and his historical series (incorporating over a dozen books) spanned from 1931-1941.

28 Kemp to Frye, 13 July 1933, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939*, 132. Kemp is referring to the advertisement of her map in the *Forum* (February 1933). Stanley Kemp also did the lettering for the commission Helen undertook for Perkins Bull. See Kemp to Frye, 25 July 1933, 146. Kemp's father was very active in Helen's life. Her father was so incensed at the way in which Bull tried to convince Helen, unsuccessfully, to work for free and then later for a "mere pittance," that he wrote a letter which Helen copied in her own handwriting outlining explicitly what she would do for the fee of \$10 – the final agreed-upon price for the Bull map (131).

29 Kemp to Frye, 25 September 1933, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939* (1996), 173. Whether this idea was pursued is unclear, especially given that earlier in the month Kemp was offered a position by Arthur Lismer at the Art Gallery of Toronto.

30 Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 129.

The significance of Kemp's map must be contextualized within broader social and cultural forces both on and off campus. In the early decades of the twentieth century, decorative maps such as Kemp's and Maw's of cities and other spatial environments were not unique. They were part of a broader representation of modernity and its "new practices and institutional forms (science, technology, industrial production, urbanization), of new ways of living (individualism, secularization, instrumental rationality), and of new forms of malaise (alienation, meaninglessness, a sense of impending social dissolution)." As early as 1914, English mural painter and cartographer Macdonald Gill (1884-1947), the younger brother of Arts and Crafts designer Eric Gill, designed the *Wonderground Map of London* for the London Underground. Gill's decorative map visually signified the city's above-ground transportation system and its underground entrances. Significantly, Gill's satirical city of London was replete with a host of entertaining and colourful local characters that were conspicuously similar to the portrayal of the university dwellers in Kemp's map. In the early 1920s, Gill designed two drastically simplified maps for the London underground from his 1914 map. In these works, Gill did away with much of the background detail and essentialized the geographic layout.³¹ Information about London sites and other commercial activities were relegated to the back of the map. This transformed the map into a tool, devoid of extraneous information, that allowed the traveller to find their way around the city quickly.³²

Kemp's artistic construction pointed to an anti-modernist sentiment. As a cultural product, it reflected the rise of the graphic and illustrative arts in Canada (and in Toronto) as well as abroad. Accordingly, to social historian Angela Davis, the graphic and illustrative arts served as "an accepted and essential ingredient of modern mass communication." Historian Michael Saler's recent arguments about a clash between visual arts modernists, "formalists," and avant-garde "functionalists," and the revival of what he termed "Medieval Modernism," provides an important context through which to con-

31 Taylor, "Modern Social Imaginaries," 1. Gill was originally trained as an architect. He studied at the Chichester School of Art and the Central School of Arts and Crafts. See Frances Spalding, *20th Century Painters and Sculptors: Dictionary of British Art*, Antique Collector's Club, 203; and Grant M. Waters, *Dictionary of British Artists Working, 1900-1950* (1975), 130. That Kemp ever saw Gill's 1914 map is uncertain, but the fact that London Underground Maps had become important forms for British tourism, suggests that Kemp, while in England, or someone close to her, may have had some knowledge of these types of maps. For examples of these maps see: "A History of the London Tube Maps," <http://clives.members.easyspace.com/tube/tube.html#1902>. Gill's map was also shown at *Lie of the Land: The Secret Life of Maps*, exhibition at the British Library, July 2001-April 2002. The exhibition catalogue is April Carlucci and Peter Barber, eds., *Lie of the Land: The Secret Life of Maps* (London: The British Library Board, 2001).

32 Gill also designed a 1939 map of London which depicted the location of University of London buildings, organized according to academic disciplinary boundaries.

sider the complex milieu of Kemp's map.³³ Kemp's artistic understandings and consequently the production of the map were very likely influenced by the contemporary belief in "education through the arts" and an attunement toward visual ways of knowing the world. A belief in the notion of art in everyday life as the panacea for the excesses of industrialization can be traced back to ideals expressed by nineteenth-century social-aesthetic advocates William Morris and John Ruskin.³⁴

Kemp's university map must also be read/viewed in light of a rich environment for arts and intellectualism at the University of Toronto that existed throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The map was in keeping with an already flourishing tradition of graphic and illustrative arts, and played a crucial role in recording/exposing university cultures, particularly when displayed in student journalism and increasingly in journals edited by university faculty members. Journals were critical in helping to construct and represent popular pronouncements on university and student life and the academic environment shaped by the professoriate. Student journals at the University of Toronto such as the *Rebel* (established 1917), *The Goblin* (1921), and *Epixstaxis* (the medical students' journal),³⁵ student newspapers such as *The Varsity* (1880), and even the University yearbook, *Torontonensis* (1898) routinely utilized visual caricature to sardonically comment on aspects of the educational experience and student cultures.

The student journals also poked robust fun directly at the professoriate. The University of Toronto faculty had strong links to local artistic movements and artists. Professors such as political economist James Mavor and German scholar Barker Fairley were deeply ensconced in contemporary artistic initiatives. Fairley, a friend and promoter of the Group of Seven, founded a literary and artistic journal that would later evolve into the popular and influential

33 Angela Davis, *Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 3. Michael T. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England: Meideval Modernism and the London Underground* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

34 On the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Canada and its effects on educational contexts, see E. Lisa Panayotidis, "The Bureaucratization of Creativity: The Art and Industry Controversy at Central Technical School, 1931-1949," *Journal of William Morris Studies* (England) XV, 2 (Summer 2003): 9-34; "'Artist, Poet, and Socialist': Academic Deliberations on William Morris at the University of Toronto, 1896-1925," *Journal of the William Morris Society*, 12 (1998): 36-43; and "James Mavor: Cultural Ambassador and Aesthetic Educator to Toronto's Elite, 1892-1925," *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* 8 (Fall-Spring, 1997-1998): 161-173. We concur with Saler that "arguments that claim the arts and crafts movement remained mired in the past and had little influence on twentieth-century England (and Canada) need to be rethought" (*The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, viii).

35 *Epixstaxis* was banned by the university administration in the mid-1940s because of its supposedly shocking (though objectively witty) caricatures. It re-appeared the following year under the new title *Nosebleed* ("Nosebleed" is an English translation of "Epixstaxis").

Forum. Alternately, artists frequented campus for a variety of professional and social functions. For example, Toronto artist C.W. Jeffrey taught freehand drawing, while Fred Coates taught modeling in Architecture. Coates was for a time artistic director of Hart House, as was Arthur Lismer. Other former Group of Seven members such as A.Y. Jackson and J.E.H MacDonald, and artists which included A. Scott Carter, Charles Comfort, and sculptors Frances Loring and Florence Wyle also frequented campus and lectured in the Hart House student art clubs or the Three Arts Club, founded by Dorothy Hoover who was a University of Toronto undergraduate and daughter of artist J.W. Beatty.³⁶ Artists of the journals (students) and many of the satiric targets (professors) were well-known to each other.

Robert Denham, editor of the Frye/Kemp letters, notes that the letters between Kemp and Frye provide rich images of the various academic, college, and arts and music communities in which they traveled. The letters also delineate a striking and exuberant portrait of Kemp that detailed her understandings of what constituted professorial and student roles and experiences and university lives in the midst of the depression-era economics. Kemp's implicit views on gender, proprietary, and the overriding importance of acknowledging "living beauty" in everyday life are exposed. Kemp is revealed as a curious, participant observer, if not a raconteur, of university life and surrounding communities. Her letters are a kind of diary in which she recorded the happenings of her class, the local arts and music scenes on and off campus, and the trials and tribulations of friends and acquaintances.

Kemp was not a mere chronicler, however, dispassionately describing the events before her; she was a critical spectator who offered up her own often scathing assessments of the world around her. In an illuminating example, Kemp recounted to Frye a discussion with friend Wilf Auger over Professor Charles Currelly's (1876-1957) apparent "disgust" of university life. "[He] thinks students never talk about their work, are crammers for the most part – especially [Victoria University] women[:] students in general are not intellectual." Kemp added that: "I had to agree for the most part, in fact I did quite a bit of the talking on the subject." Frye's observation that "there is only one refuge in Toronto for an ambitious adolescent, and that is the University" was an apt characterization of Kemp's frequently penetrating reflections of university life.³⁷

36 On the relationship between the Toronto art community and the activities in Hart House, see David Kilgour, ed. *A Strange Elation: Hart House, the First Eighty Years* (Toronto: Hart House, 1999).

37 Charles T. Currelly (anthropology), served as director of the Royal Ontario Museum from 1914-1946. His autobiography is *I Brought the Ages Home* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1956). Kemp to Frye, 7 September 1932, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939*, 82. Frye to Kemp, 2 September 1932, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939*, 79.

Space, academic disciplines, and cultures

Kemp's map framed a contemplative campus of a university that by today's standards was small, intimate, and personal. Compared to other universities in Canada in the 1930s, the University of Toronto was large and complex in its organization of colleges, faculties, departments, and programmes; nonetheless, it retained a personal character vis-à-vis the multi-universities in the twentieth-century. On campus, people often knew or knew of one another. As the decade wore on, however, the university became increasingly austere in environment, perspective, and funding. While the Depression hit university payrolls and budgets full force, the university remained a quasi-island of vibrant intellectual energy. The university still had considerable artistic and social connections to off-campus communities, but it remained self-contained, self-aware, and articulate in mission (as indicated, for example, later in the decade through President Cody's majestic elocutions of the university's indispensable role in promoting human welfare throughout the world). For members of the campus community, these were introspective times.³⁸

The role of the University of Toronto in relation to wider social and intellectual cultures in the city, province, and country, was expansive and contentious. Was the university in the 1930s a teaching, training, or research institution? To what extent was it activist or contemplative, immune to off-campus social influences and political or economic agendas? Was it an autonomous institution or tool of the state? These questions were asked of universities during this time, and as applied to other places and times, have confronted historians of higher education for centuries. Undeniably, Kemp's map illustrated that the university in society was a focus of sustained formal socio-intellectual activity at a level rarely matched off campus. Kemp showed a movement and interaction of characters in an intellectually-thriving space that no other, more static map of the university had previously depicted.³⁹

38 Many works touch on the intellectual climate of the University of Toronto during the twentieth century. For an overview of the developments of the university during the 1930s, see Martin L. Friedland, *The University of Toronto: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), Chapter 26.

39 The centuries-old debates over the role of university in contemporary societies is voluminous. Historians have struggled with the issue, from John Henry Newman's 1852 account of tensions among the religious and secular purposes in the university (*Select Discourses from the Idea of a University*, edited by May Yardley [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931]), to Lawrence Stones' 1971 argument that identifying a central purpose to the historical university is impossible – that the “university has always been many things to many people” (*Group Biographical Approach to the History of the University*, Cassette RT 151 [Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Council]). In the Canadian context, see, for example, Paul Axelrod, *Values in Conflict: The University, the Marketplace, and the Trials of Liberal Education* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), and Philip Massolin, *Canadian Intellectuals, the Tory Tradition, and the Challenge of Modernity, 1939-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), Chapters 3 and 4. Massolin discusses the rise of

Kemp's map affirmed the university's commanding place within Toronto's downtown core and what many elites may have regarded as the bastion of the city's formal culture of intellectualism in the 1930s. The map re-produced the same orientation of the less sparse and less detailed university-authorized maps typically found in the student handbooks published by the Students' Administrative Council (SAC): a ten city-block radius, with Bloor Street to the north and College Street to the south, and the eastern and western boundaries marked by Bay and Huron Streets, respectively. Using caricature, Kemp densely populates the map, more so than in Maw's and Macdonald's maps, with an assortment of university characters, often disproportionate in size to their surroundings. Faculty buildings are labelled from above with calligraphic banners to show their approximate position in geographic space.

The focal point of Kemp's map is Hart House and the triad of University College, Convocation Hall, and the library. The centrality of Convocation Hall, the site of the conferring of degrees and public lectures, serves as the formal locus of institutional power. Simcoe Hall (built in 1924), the seat of the university's administration, is squeezed, possibly for aesthetic reasons, behind Convocation Hall. The Hall's emblematic and spatial symbolism is not unlike the prominence given the cathedral in Mediaeval cartography. Street names

the university in Canada in terms of oft-conflicting missions of the pursuit of knowledge, the utilitarian training of the professions, and prevailing social expectations and needs. See also Paul Axelrod, *Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario, 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), and Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University, and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Sara Z. Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Jeffrey Cormier, *The Canadianization Movement: Emergence, Survival, and Success* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Barry Ferguson, *Remaking Liberalism: The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O.D. Skelton, W.C. Clark, and W.A. Mackintosh, 1890-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Catherine Gidney, *A Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian University, 1920-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Michiel Horn, *Academic Freedom in Canada: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), and *The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada, 1930-1942* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), *Contours of Canadian Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), and *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Doug Owsram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986); and Stortz and Panayotidis, *Historical Identities*. Institutional histories of universities in Canada, too numerous to cite here, discuss as underlying text, explicit chapters, or part of their argument, the role of the particular university in local communities and provinces.

clearly guide the “visitor” on campus, while from above, the buildings and their decorative banners demarcate faculties, departments, and libraries. “Place” is marked not so much by street location but by reference to particular faculty buildings and other campus sites and landmarks.

The activity shown on the map concentrated primarily on students as historical agents who created their own academic cultures. The university provided social and educational outlets where personal and early professional relationships were forged. For many students, these experiences became an important stepping stone for future employment. The nature of student culture reflected the ambiguity of the decade. The economic and social challenges of the 1930s, coupled with such factors as students’ backgrounds that collectively constituted a modest middle class (Paul Axelrod notes that “students were privileged, but they were not, for the most part, bathed in opulence”), and the slowly-dissipating but still powerful pull of religion on individual lives and the university campus, created a sense of tempered activism among students. Students discussed important issues and organized national and local student bodies, but as a group managed largely to remain politically moderate. Despite the sobering effects of the Depression and impending hints of war, the roughly 8,000 students who were enrolled at the University of Toronto in 1932⁴⁰ led lives of study, recreation, dating, socializing, and hazing that comprised a fundamentally robust campus.⁴¹

Throughout the map, links were forged between space and academic cultures. Caricature of students was used to great effect. In one segment of the map, a male and female student rush past each other in front of the Ontario

40 Paul Axelrod, “The Student Movement of the 1930s,” in Axelrod and Reid, *Youth, University, and Canadian Society*, 232. See also Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada during the Thirties* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990); and McKillop, *Matters of Mind*, Chapter 15. The pull of Protestant and evangelical forms of moralism on university campuses is discussed in *Matters of Mind*, Chapter 9; Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991); and Gidney, *A Long Eclipse*. The enrollment figure for the school-year 1931-32 was 8,088. University of Toronto, *President’s Report, 1931-1932*, University of Toronto Archives, 99.

41 For examples of other studies that discuss student cultures at the University of Toronto around the 1930s, see Alyson E. King, “The Experience of Students in the ‘New Era’: Discourse and Gender in *The Varsity*, 1919-1929,” *Ontario Journal of Higher Education* (1994): 39-56; W.P.J. Millar, “We wanted our children should have it better.” Jewish Medical Students at the University of Toronto, 1910-1950,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series, Vol. 11, 2000, Edmonton, 109-124; Charles Morden Levi, *Comings and Goings: University Students in Canadian Society, 1854-1973* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), Chapters 5 and 6; and “Student Opinion in Depression and War: The Case of Paul McGillicuddy (1918-1942),” *Ontario History* (December, 1995): 345-365; and Keith Walden, “Hazes, Hustles, Scraps, and Stunts: Initiations at the University of Toronto, 1880-1925,” in Axelrod and Reid, *Youth, University, and Canadian Society*, 94-121.

Provincial Parliament Buildings. One shouts to the other: "Meet me at George Brown's boots at noon," referring to the statue of George Brown located in the spacious grounds of Queen's Park Crescent.⁴² Statues, landscapes, and interspersed-student meeting places situate the map through exaggerated depictions of recognizable landmarks. Faculty buildings become important social markers. Spatially distinguishing one's faculty relative to others allowed students to theoretically position themselves, disciplines, and interests within the broader activities of the university. Whether in education, medicine, or history, students evoked specific ways of identifying and classifying their chosen disciplines, peers, and professors.

In addition to decorative banners indicating the faculties, within each section of the map Kemp also utilized symbolic trope that signified the scholarly work undertaken at the university. Kemp commented on the discipline of psychiatry, for example, by drawing the psychiatric hospital. The building is reduced to the background to make room for a lampoon. The descriptive balloons, emanating from two talking fish, read:

First Fish: *What does psychiatry mean?*

Second Fish: *Psychiatry is the art of interpreting dreams unfavourably*

First Fish: *Well then, what is the psychiatric hospital for?*

Second Fish: *Oh! That's were the people studying psychiatry go to be cured*

No explanation is provided as to why the dialogue involves talking fish, but one might infer that Kemp is suggesting that the discipline of psychiatry scrutinizes patients as if they are in a fishbowl (Figure 2). Additionally, a humorous reference to "burnt soup" at the Household Science Building highlights what Kemp may have considered as a purely theoretical (and perhaps impractical) curriculum. While students were taught about the science of diet and nutrition, they were not necessarily taught how to cook.⁴³

42 Queen's Park, named in honour of Queen Victoria in 1860, is an oval-shaped park straddled by the university to the east and west. For an analysis of the historical relationship between Queen's Park and the university, see: David Bain, "The Queen's Park and its Avenues: Canada's First Public Park," *Ontario History*, XCV 2 (Autumn 2003): 193-215. In the same issue, John P.M. Court's article "An Erosion of Imagination: Unfilled Plans for a University Botanical Gardens and Taddle Creek, 1850-1884" (167-191) discusses the mid-nineteenth-century proposal for a Botanical Gardens and the underground channeling of Taddle Creek that at one time flowed through the heart of the city into Lake Ontario.

43 The term "poor fish" was a popular term of endearment in this period. Ruby Heap, "From the Science of Housekeeping to the Science of Nutrition: Pioneers in Canadian Nutrition and Dietetics at the University of Toronto's Faculty of Household Science, 1900-1950," in *Challenging Professions: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Women's Professional Work*, eds. Elizabeth Smyth, Sandra Acker, Paula Bourne, and Alison Prentice (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 141-70.

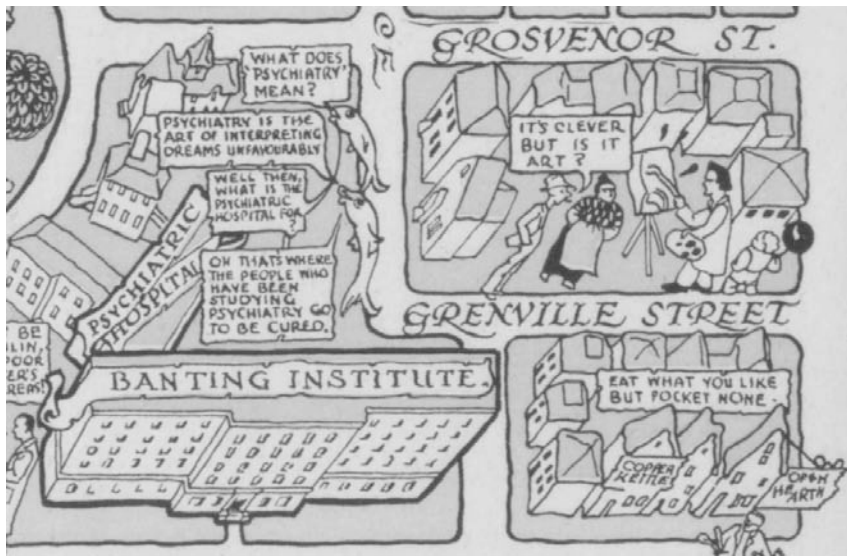


FIGURE 2. Helen Kemp, “University of Toronto Map” (1932).
UTA, B1986-1044]

The questionable regard Kemp held towards academic disciplines is well exemplified in her cartoon about educational theory and practice. Kemp had friends attending the Ontario College of Education (OCE) but this did not prevent her from espousing less-than-favourable opinions of the university’s teaching of pedagogy. Numerous direct and indirect references to teachers and their training are scattered throughout her correspondence to Frye. In a long and involved letter elaborating on a walk taken one summer evening, Kemp described coming upon announcements of the opening of a new junior high school, about which she wondered: “...what they would teach there, and whether good teachers would come – could any of them, educated as most are, bring colour into the Todmorden lives of these youngsters?”⁴⁴ Frye’s older sister Vera was a school teacher in Chicago, and Frye responded with his own observations of the “school teacher racket,” as told to him by his sister. Kemp wrote to Frye that the “[university] library continues to be dull as the devil – surpassed only by some of the school teachers tripping around earnestly doing B.A. work at the summer school.”⁴⁵

44 Kemp to Frye, 28 August 1932, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939*, 72. The reference to “colour” was in relation to the yellow bricks that were common building material in Toronto at the time and produced at the Todmorden brick factory in the Don Valley.

45 Frye to Kemp, 10 July 1932, 18 June 1933, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939*, 36, 105.

Two distinct areas on the map raises the issue of teacher training and methodology along with their perceived, at least to Kemp, intellectual paucity. On the left top quadrant of the map, immediately behind the OCE building, a rotund professor in academic robes is seen disciplining a school-age pupil while two student-teachers look on. The female student-teacher is diligently taking notes while the male, his hands behind his back and directly in front of the young student, gawks at the fate of the child. In explanation, the caption reads, "They [the student-teachers] are taught how to teach the youthful twig to bend."⁴⁶ On the opposite side of the map, parallel to this image, Kemp depicts another scene from the St. George School of Child Study over the caption "The child's individuality must not be repressed." The satire is in the equivocality of the statement, as Kemp shows an array of excited and exuberant children crying and running around. Is Kemp referring to a discipline's lack of control over its subjects and the ineffectiveness of educational theory on the uncontrolled rambunctiousness of youth? Or does it refer to Oscar Klotz's theories on child-rearing that were at variance with the perceived standards of the day, where children were still expected to be seen but not heard?⁴⁷

Disciplinary criticisms aside, Kemp also bitingly exposed her peers' own intellectual shortcomings, revealing diverse aspects of academic student culture. She astutely comments throughout the map on fellow students' preoccupation with residence food and accommodation, their sacrilegious colloquial use of Shakespeare, their distracted academic attention, and their preoccupation with the opposite sex. In one section of the map, immediately behind the Ontario Research Foundation, a male student with binoculars is sitting on top of the building scrutinizing two women students playing tennis in the courtyard below. A male friend on the ground carries on a conversation about their research. The friend asks: "I haven't made any interesting discoveries, – have you?" "Sure thing!" responds the other, "I've discovered that the little one with the eyes hasn't a date on for to-night, Oh Boy!" (Figure 3). In Kemp's visual rendition, the university experience was about much more than lonely and disciplined study, bureaucratic regulations, and academic competition among students: it was about having a particular experience in university that encompasses both social and cultural – and clearly gendered – recreation. On the lower half of the map, Kemp includes a chaotically-scrolled amalgam of university cheers and songs, including Victoria College's:

46 This is a reference to the University of Toronto Schools' Yearbook entitled *The Twig*. See *Teaching Teachers: The Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, 1906-1996* (Hamilton: Caliburn Enterprises, 1996).

47 Donna Marie Varga, "The Cultural Organization of the Child Care Curriculum: The University of Toronto Institute of Child Study and Day Nurseries, 1890-1960," PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1991.

INTELLECTUAL SPACE, IMAGE, AND IDENTITIES IN THE HISTORICAL CAMPUS



FIGURE 3. Helen Kemp, “University of Toronto Map” (1932).
UTA, B1986-1044

O my father sent me to Vic-tor-ia and resolved that I should (get a man)
(be a man)
And so I settled down in a quiet college town on the old Ontario strand.

Kemp showed a commonly-held understanding of gender and notions of femininity and masculinity, and of female students’ expected future prospects after graduation.⁴⁸

Kemp chose to illustrate the majority of student clubs, activities, and popular hang-outs in cartoon vignettes surrounding the campus. These vignettes serve as a decorative physical border of the university. They also ultimately distinguish the university campus from the space of the city beyond. Many of the student activities, clubs, and hang-outs are separate from the “main work” of the university as portrayed in the central area of the map. Around the perimeter of the map, Kemp depicts the annual medical skit night called the

48 Among the many contemporary works that deal with the intersections among gender, space, and embodiment, see: Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994); Steve Pile, *The Body and the City. Psychoanalysis, Space and Subjectivity* (London: Routledge, 1996); and Elizabeth Kenworthy Teather, ed., *Embodied Geographies: Spaces, Bodies and Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Daffydil (the upper right hand corner of the map), as well as the Hart House masquerade. (For uncertain reasons, she does not show the Engineer's skit night despite its popularity and size.) The margins of the map demarcate the rigour of advanced study from the community beyond. In this regard, the activities and particular actors in the main area of the map are worth close consideration. Kaiser and Wood have noted, "every map 'interrupts' the world at the map's edges," offering "truthful" – albeit interpretive images and descriptions of the way things are/were.⁴⁹

Representing the professoriate

Those dear sweet professors – How they do enjoy the depression!
(From Helen Kemp's map)

The other major character in Kemp's map were professors. The professoriate at the University of Toronto during the 1930s was small in number, certainly in comparison to the student body. In the 1930s, the average number of professors employed at the university was approximately 500.⁵⁰ Similar to the student culture, the professoriate was subject to powerful social, economic, and political influences from off campus, and this created an academic atmosphere that was cautious but with occasional bursts of radicalism, often much to the chagrin of the outside community. As well, along with student culture, the professoriate was in a state of flux. Professors were sometimes seen by students as moral exemplars, but the increasing acceptance of professional training in the university and the perceived efficaciousness of objective technological and industrial research was subjugating entrenched social and academic understandings. The professor was vulnerable to the characterization of social misfit – fashion-challenged, absent minded, and an "egghead," or as Stephen Leacock wrote at length as early as 1910, "shut out of society," and a member of the "academic class" who is unable to grasp the concept of making money; who preferred "tea to whisky-and-soda, blindman's bluff to draw poker, and a freshman's picnic to a prize fight." The students could nonetheless revere professors for their perceived importance on campus as academic policy-makers, as well as for their intimidating quickness of mind, moral judiciousness, seriousness and seeming singularity of purpose, and their at times imperious control over a students' future – perfect fodder for caricature.⁵¹

49 Kaiser and Wood, *Seeing Through Maps*, 39.

50 University of Toronto, *President's Report, 1930-1940*, University of Toronto Archives, Registration Tables (various page numbers according to year).

51 Stephen Leacock's "The Apology of a Professor: An Essay on Modern Learning" is reprinted in Alan Bowker, ed., *The Social Criticism of Stephen Leacock* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973): 29-31, 36. Literature on cultures and identities of the professoriate, and the professoriate's roles and relations to university development, the state, and society, is expanding.

INTELLECTUAL SPACE, IMAGE, AND IDENTITIES IN THE HISTORICAL CAMPUS

Kemp routinely drew professors as buffoons who were alienated from their surroundings and most certainly from their students. Kemp inferred a spatial and contested division of space – and perhaps intellectualism – between professors and students. This is implied in the way she populates specific areas of the map with cavorting and frolicking students to the exclusion of members of the faculty – in a sense, the students have co-opted the space normally filled by professors.⁵² Students are depicted *en masse* in several key landscaped areas: in Queen's Park Crescent, in front of the Provincial Legislature, in Hart House Circle, and in the expansive Back Campus, which is bordered by University College to the south and Hoskin Avenue to the north. Kemp reserves some areas of the map, however, for the professoriate, for example on the Front Campus, around King's College Circle. She depicts a pageant of thirteen academics leaving Convocation Hall at the conclusion of commencement ceremonies while two students survey the scene (Figure 4). One student asks: "Who are the guys in red?" to which the other replies: "The guy with the stick's [referring to the mace held by the Esquire Bedel] takin' them off to the clink." "The clink" is Kemp's reference to the university at large and perhaps the working world beyond. Kemp mocked the staid ceremony and its members through disruption. In this humorous (but significantly laden) representation, Kemp challenged the authorized narrative of the university and its legitimated power, as well as students' place within a larger educational bureaucracy.

University College was a popular site for informal sports events, gatherings of students, and photo-opportunities. On Kemp's map, it was an impressive backdrop that isolates the Front Campus as an "institutional" and "professorial" space. Kemp may be suggesting that in this particular space, students are constrained to

Work on professors at the University of Toronto during the 1930s include: Horn, *Academic Freedom in Canada*, Chapter 5, and *The League for Social Reconstruction*; McKillop, *Matters of Mind*; Alison Prentice, "Bluestockings, Feminists, or Women Workers? A Preliminary Look at Women's Early Employment at the University of Toronto," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* (1991): 231-261, "Elizabeth Allin: Physicist," in Elspeth Cameron and Janice Dickin, eds., *Great Dames* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997): 264-287, and "Three Women in Physics," in Smyth, Acker, Bourne, and Prentice, *Challenging Professions*, 119-140; and Paul Stortz, "Identity in the Making: The Origins and Early Experiences of the Faculty of Arts Professoriate at the University of Toronto, 1935-1945," in Stortz and Panayotidis, *Historical Identities*, and "'Rescue Our Family From a Living Death': Refugee Professors and the Canadian Society for the Protection of Science and Learning at the University of Toronto, 1935-1946," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series, Vol. 14, 2003, Halifax, 231-261. See Friedland, *The University of Toronto* for an extended bibliography of works related to the university, and *Historical Identities* for a select bibliography of works on the professoriate in Canada, many of which deal with the University of Toronto, and some of which are biographies of Toronto professors.

- 52 Drawing on Michel Foucault's notion of heterotopic spaces (lived spaces within cultures such as libraries, formal gardens, or cemeteries), we expand his notion to university campuses. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* (1986): 22-27.

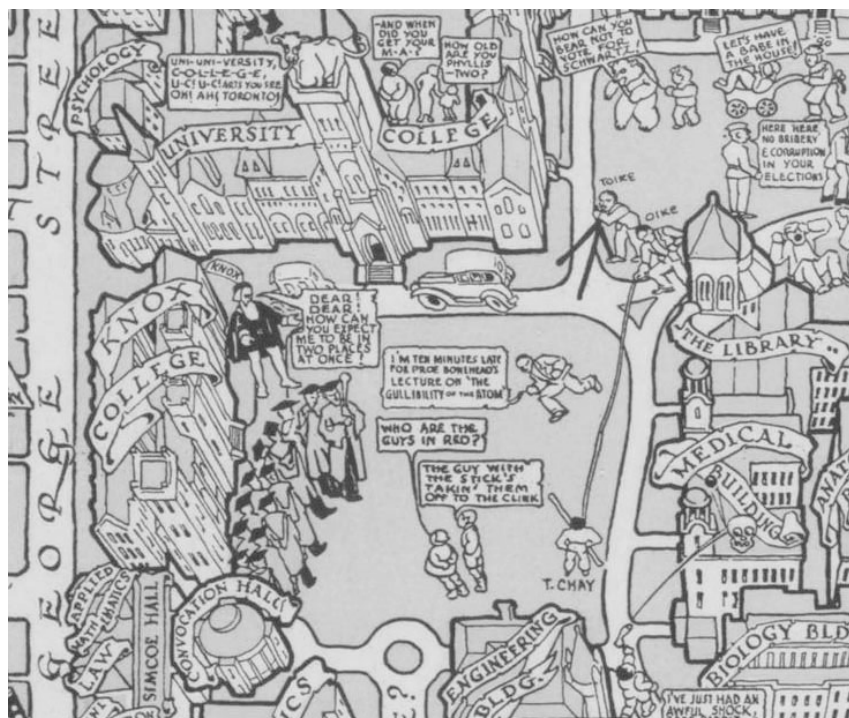


FIGURE 4. Helen Kemp, "University of Toronto Map" (1932).
UTA, B1986-1044

observe, from a distance, the ritualistic spectacle of the historical university, but not necessarily participate in it outside of prescribed and sanctioned ways. A noticeably tall and lanky Provost of Trinity in academic robes is shown in the back of the building amid a patch of flowers, uttering: “Yes, Yes, Yes,” proclaiming satisfaction with his garden. The accompanying text book reads: “Ye garden of ye Provost: Where ye scholars walk & talk right learnedly” (Figure 5). The Provost is satisfied with the growth of his charges – the flowers – but a stronger metaphorical interpretation may be possible. Kemp may be illustrating the pedantry of a surreal academic coaxing a bed of flowers to grow as if he had some kind of control over it; or that the professor was engaged in gardening to the exclusion of other, more important academic administrative and intellectual matters. Perhaps more likely, however, the flowers were students gently being guided by the professor’s tutelage – a common symbol of educational pedagogy and learning.

This use of humorous imagery is open to critical interpretation within social and historical contexts, but the sense that academic disciplines were “out-of-touch” with reality, practical considerations, and social, economic, or political

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FIGURE 5. Helen Kemp, "University of Toronto Map" (1932).
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developments in society permeates the map. Throughout the map, was Kemp commenting on the entrenched perception of the university as an institution of privilege? At the Economics and Political Science Building, located on Bloor Street (the present site of the Royal Conservatory of Music) and immediately in front of McMaster Hall, two young women are engaged in conversation. One says to the other: "Those dear sweet professors – How they do enjoy the depression! It does one's heart good to hear them talk" (Figure 6). The critique was directed at professors who to Kemp revel in abstract theoretical and objective studies. Here, Kemp argued that professors were culpable of unempathically yet enthusiastically analyzing the effects of the Depression, seemingly detached from the daily suffering of ordinary people, and perhaps even of their own students.

Kemp held strong views of the role of the Depression in people's lives – indeed, her own father was unemployed for most of the decade. In many letters Kemp and Frye engaged in sympathetic discussions on the deep impact of the Depression on society and on their peers. She attended several meetings of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and gave a paper on the subject at Riverdale Collegiate (her *alma mater*) on the duty of women in politics. At the same time, in Moncton, Frye gave a talk to the local CCF group on “The Historical Background of Socialist Thought.” Kemp wrote disapprovingly to Frye that “a discussion of Owenism and Fabianism and even of Marxism (perhaps especially the latter) will not hold your audience, I am afraid. You must not give them the



FIGURE 6. Helen Kemp, "University of Toronto Map" (1932).
UTA, B1986-1044

impression that you are dealing with an academic subject ... with all the things that you see happening to your audience, you could not possibly ignore their need."⁵³

Kemp used humour to assail professors who were in her – and other students' – estimation behind the times. On the map, Kemp's reference to "Professor Bonehead's lecture on the gullibility of the atom" was most likely directed at Lash Miller, head of the Department of Chemistry, who challenged some of the new nuclear theories. This was when students were travelling to Cambridge University to work with Nils Bohr and other physicists who were conducting cutting-edge research into atomic structures. Kemp, however, did include at least one relatively non-contentious image of a professor. On the Meteorological office roof, an elderly and bearded scholar is shown peering through a telescope at the night sky. Below the professor two students walk towards the stadium, saying: "Aw George give us good weather for the game," an indication that the professor may in fact be preparing a weather report.⁵⁴

⁵³ Kemp to Frye, 25 September 1933, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939*, 172.

⁵⁴ W.A.E. McBryde, "William Lash Miller: Canada's Unique Chemist," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 26, 3 (1991): 101-119. "George" may refer to George Templeman Kingston, the director of the university Observatory from 1855 to 1880. Kingston, however, was clean-shaven.

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Sarcastic undertones can be found on many parts of Kemp's map, but this image conveyed the inquisitiveness of the academic intent on scrutinizing his visual surroundings.

Kemp's satirical representation of the professoriate and professors' role in society was elucidated in a lively exchange of letters with Frye in 1932. Frye mentioned his interest in a career in academe, to which Kemp replied: "As for your being a professor – do you think you need to be a stuffy pedant? My conception of that type of mind is of an antique soul who has lost contact with people and living beauty and enthusiasm – Distinctly not a social being. There is too much of the fighter or the controversialist about you to remain passively letting the world go by." Frye wrote back:

No, I don't want to be a professor. Theoretically. In practice I should like it well enough. But there is something about such an eminently cultured occupation that would make me feel as though I were shirking something. A professor is, as I think I have said before, an orchid – highly cultivated, but no roots in the ground. He deals with a crowd of half-tamed little savages who get no good out of him except intellectual training and, in some cases the radiation of his personality. He is not a vital and essential force in a community of live people. He is not a worker in the elemental sense of the word. Most professors, to gain a reputation, specialize so intensely in their work that they are cut off even from the undergraduate. These are the pendants. The rest are not so cut off from reality, but they are cut off from life.

Kemp responded: "I can't agree with you entirely about your orchid professor. How are you going to take your little savages if you don't hold their interest in some line or other – I mean awaken their interest. And is not the teacher going to have a tremendous influence in that way? ... The function of a teacher seems to me essentially the same as that of a minister – to bring colour into a drab life."⁵⁵

Kemp's map showed vignettes of diverse social activity within the broad and complex space of the university. Despite the oft-perceived gulf of outlook and understandings between the students and professors, the campus encaged all agents within immutable boundaries. The map had relatively little to say about people not connected to the university – interestingly, administrative and clerical staff were not shown, implying an altogether different kind of cartographic silence. The few discrete visual representations of non-university people were enlightening in how they comment on town/gown relations and the popularized conflict between the ethereal intellectual ideas and more practical issues facing society.

One example of university/community relations was striking. Toward the bottom corner of the map, Kemp depicts a carefully-coifed young man

55 Kemp to Frye, 26 July 1932; Frye to Kemp, 1 August 1932; Kemp to Frye, 3 August 1932, Denham, *The Correspondence of Northrop Frye and Helen Kemp, 1932-1939*, 48, 53, 58.

immersed in painting on an easel.⁵⁶ To the artist's right is a small boy with a balloon and on the left is a man and woman. They both look on as he paints. The man, as if speaking to the woman asks: "It's clever but is it art?" (See Figure 2). This image was salient in that the man and woman may be seen as representing "low-brow" cultural values. The rustic clothing of the man and woman – his drooping hat and baggy pants, her long dress and apron – served as a contrast to the groomed goatee and smart fashionable haircut of the artist who is clearly characterized as a member of the *avant-garde*. The apparent age difference between the younger artist and the older couple further acted to physically differentiate the characters. The inclusion of the small boy provided for a generational cycle and may have intimated the as-yet uncorrupted creative potential of youth, a concept that had much currency in art circles in Toronto at the time.⁵⁷ This separation between the images might have suggested an alienation of the university from the community, and, embodied in the character's question, again critiqued the belief some people held that the university was the most important creative and intellectual institution in society.

Conclusion

It is not down in any map; true places never are.⁵⁸

In Helen Kemp's map, we have tried to ascertain what Kaiser and Wood call "the multiple truths of a mappable world." Kemp's map was about the university and higher education experience; but, importantly, it was also a component itself of the experience. In deconstructing Kemp's map, we are conscious of the ways in which depictions of students, professors, and the relationships among colleges and disciplines were prominently enacted through caricature and satire, and this offers a socio-intellectual dimension to such an elaborate historical visual text. In interpreting the map and finding multiple and often conflicting and nuanced interpretations and meanings, we appeal to Janin Hadlow's caution that "the very certainty we have of ... [the map's] legibility renders transparent the fact that 'reading' [and viewing] ... relies on the posses-

56 The area between Grosvenor and Grenville Streets and Surrey and Bay Streets was a haven of flats and studios for artists.

57 Arthur Lismer's work at the Art Gallery of Toronto (AGT) was framed within the idea that young children had a biological predisposition towards creative activity, which if not nurtured, could produce adults lacking in imagination and appreciation of the arts. Lismer began offering Saturday morning classes for AGT members' children as early as 1928. Appointed Supervisor of Education at the Gallery in 1929, he expanded the program to school children in the Toronto area in 1930. See Angela Nairne Grigor, *Arthur Lismer: Visionary Art Educator* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

58 Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick or The Whale*, introduction by David Herd (Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Classics, 2002), 48.

sion of particular knowledges of modernity and urbanity,” and in this context, university life.⁵⁹ While students and professors shared certain understandings and experiences about the spaces they inhabited together and the way they imagined the university, space was always contested, fought over by groups who vied to inscribe their version of the world.

Space is not a moribund and static phenomenon but a dynamic process that shapes social life. Termed “spatiality” by theorists, space is a social and cultural construct, a production or transformation, affected by historical, cultural, and political forces. The university space of Kemp’s map was constructed as a privileged topographical site that was defined through notions of educational identity and experience, disciplinary paradigms, and community and gender. This spatiality was informed by individual and collective disparities in power. Consequently, the images and language of the map’s social space(s), whether landscapes, buildings, or bodies, were not mere illustrative reflections of the world but spatial codes which were part of a culturally-created system of historical and philosophical categories. The narrative of “community” and “identity” in the map illustrated that the university was an elite and complex form of post-secondary education, inextricably linked to the ways in which students and professors came to assume and perform their identities within their own interpretive communities.

Kemp’s map is richly detailed, and this complexity not only divulged an active academic community of people and personalities, but it evocatively embodied contemporary understandings of learning, disciplinary knowledge, and pedagogical approaches, practices, reactions, and responses. The map created the illusion of a unified campus of the historical university while indicating the disciplinary boundaries and conflicts that existed at the university at the time. Through the representational strategy of re-emplacement, Kemp altered and transformed university spaces/places to be essentially the centre of one’s academic world.⁶⁰

In its omission of any semblance of a broader city-wide community (and clearly some invisible members of the university), Kemp reiterated that the map is for the university community and particularly its students. Whatever her critical and sympathetic perspectives on the effects of the Depression, the map provided a somewhat sanitized (but no less animated) version of the university campus, one that is immune from economic hardship and social marginalization endemic off-campus. The university was represented as an educational

59 Kaiser and Wood, *Seeing Through Maps*, i. Hadlaw, “The London Underground Map,” 26.

60 If Kemp’s map of the University of Toronto represented the interests of students, A. Scott Carter’s map of the University campus, painted in 1937 and commissioned by Vincent Massey for the map room at Hart House, may be interpreted as a more temperate and dignified institutional and professorial vision. Carter’s map may well have been inspired by Kemp’s work.

haven that was timeless and natural, unaffected by the outside conditions of prosperity, destitution, unemployment, and attendant miseries. While its lands, students, faculty, and the campus as a whole were in reality part of the broader city with its streets open to human traffic, the map showed the university as spatially separate, as if the university was impervious to community interests and cultures. The outside society was somehow, in the extreme, antithetical to this environment, and this echoed what many on and off campus had considered in the 1930s as the “ivory tower.” In the main, however, as a graphic object, the map preserved narratives so that descriptions could be fundamentally viewed through multiple historic and academic lenses, and in this way is undeniably enduring.