In 1901, Richard Maurice Bucke, a figure still relatively unknown in Canadian intellectual history, published a radical book entitled *Cosmic Consciousness*. Bucke's subject was mysticism. The book has remained in print since its original publication, and this may be accounted for in part by the fact that Bucke was a pioneer in the application of scientific, empirical techniques to the study of the mystical experience. William James praised the book highly in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, itself now a classic. In his Gifford Lectures of 1967-1969 entitled *Concordant Discord*, R.C. Zaehner devotes an entire lecture to the subject of cosmic consciousness, and the better part of the lecture to Bucke's book. Zaehner has reservations about Bucke's study, but acknowledges the book to be "a pioneer work".¹ That such scholars as James and Zaehner should both recognize *Cosmic Consciousness* attests highly to its significance for both the realm of psychology and the study of religious experience.

Born in England, Bucke emigrated with his family to Canada before he was a year old. While still a youth he took a hair-raising journey through the United States during which, in a near-fatal expedition through the mountains to discover the Comstock lode in Nevada, he was nearly frozen to death. After returning to Canada, Bucke became a medical doctor, receiving his training at McGill Medical School. He was the first Superintendent of the Provincial Asylum for the Insane at Hamilton, Ontario, and served in the same office at the London (Ontario) Hospital a year later, in 1877.

Besides being a pioneer in the field of psychiatric treatment, Bucke became Walt Whitman's personal physician and, after the poet's death, his literary executor. Greatly inspired by Whitman's brand of
mysticism, Bucke himself had a mystical experience at the age of thirty-five. In *Cosmic Consciousness* he investigated the development of the human mind, and analyzed thirty-six “cases” of what he believed to be cosmic consciousness. Among these “cases,” he included Jesus, Buddha, William Blake, Balzac, and, of course, Whitman.

Bucke describes cosmic consciousness as follows:

> Along with the consciousness of the cosmos there occurs an intellectual enlightenment or illumination which alone would place the individual on a new plane of existence. [...]
>
> With these come, what may be called, a sense of immortality, a consciousness of eternal life, not a conviction that he shall have this, but the consciousness that he has it already.²

Lawren Harris, although well known as a member of the Group of Seven artists, was also a writer and mystic, and was linked with the Theosophical movement during the 1920’s. Harris’s conception of beauty bears some resemblance, if not in meaning, in attitude and tone to the above quotation from Bucke:

> Beauty as a pervasive power in art and life is the very spirit of the plane of being, we theosophists call buddhi, that is, that eternal plane of being wherein abides the immortal part of man and the universe, and which is beyond sensuality and the intellect and desires, and is the source of all high inspiration and devotion.³

However similar these two descriptions appear in their responses to illumination, immortality, and eternity, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that Bucke directly influenced Lawren Harris. There is, however, some circumstantial evidence upon which to conjecture. There were people like Roy Mitchell and A.E. Smythe, for example, who were influenced by Bucke or Whitman who in turn knew Harris, or belonged to an organization of which Harris was also a member. Mitchell, the first Director of Hart House Theatre, was a member of the Whitman Club of Bon Echo, founded between 1910 and 1916 by Flora MacDonald Denison. The group was made up of Whitman enthusiasts, many of whom looked on the poet as “‘prophet, philosopher, sage’”.⁴ Mitchell may also have been a member of the Whitman Fellowship of Toronto, formed in 1916.⁵ He is generally regarded as the man responsible for introducing Harris to Eastern thought. Thus there is a good chance that, through Mitchell, Harris may have become familiar with Bucke. Albert Edward Smythe, a columnist for the Toronto...
Sunday World, was the founder of the Toronto Theosophical Society, as well as an avid Whitman enthusiast. Smythe (father of Connie Smythe) was also the first President of the Whitman Fellowship of Toronto. Harris was also a member of the Toronto Theosophical Society, and published several articles in the Society’s journal, The Canadian Theosophist.

Although the evidence is only conjectural, there is a strong likelihood of Harris’s acquaintance with Bucke’s ideas, mainly through the above channels. Whether or not there is proof of a direct influence, the most important aspect of their similarity is the fact that both men were fascinated with mysticism, a fact sufficient to make them rather distinctive in a society generally considered to be conservative and orthodox in its religious beliefs.

Each, however, approaches mysticism in his own distinctive manner. Bucke, as a trained medical doctor, treats the faculty of the intuition empirically. Although it is in Harris’s writings that his spiritual beliefs are most conspicuously revealed, it is in his painting that his intuition appears most active. Therefore, there is a need to examine more closely Bucke’s concept of cosmic consciousness, as well as Harris’s various artistic theories. Finally, a look at what similarities exist between the beliefs of the two men is necessary.

Bucke defined cosmic consciousness as simply “a higher form of consciousness than that possessed by ordinary man”; as “a consciousness of the cosmos...of the life and order of the universe.” As may be inferred from the complete title of Bucke’s book: Cosmic Consciousness: A Study in the Evolution of the Human Mind, his belief in cosmic consciousness as an evolutionary inevitability had its foundation in Darwinian theory. Bucke’s contention was that as mental or sensory powers such as the ability to create or listen to music, or the ability to think abstractly occurred with increasing frequency in the human species, they would become more deeply entrenched, and therefore less easily lost. Those faculties which were relatively new to the species, e.g., the perception of color and of fragrance, were more easily destroyed or lost through mental illness or disorder than older, more firmly established ones. Such new faculties occurred with relatively small frequency at first. As the human race evolved, they gradually became more deeply entrenched. Cosmic consciousness is one of these new faculties, Bucke claims, and says he has statistical proof that it is occurring with increased frequency.
According to Bucke, man operates normally on the plane of self-consciousness or intellect. Self-consciousness means that man is conscious of himself as a distinct being apart from other living things. Concomitant with this plane is the use of language, which Bucke calls "the sine qua non of all arts useful and fine."

But, Bucke says, very soon self-consciousness will no longer dominate the race. As primitive man evolved from simple to self-consciousness when he began to name the objects around him, so modern man will evolve from his present state of self-consciousness to cosmic consciousness. And as the first word uttered by primitive man marked the beginning of self-consciousness, the revelation or illumination will set the possessor of cosmic consciousness apart from those not yet evolved to this higher plane. Illumination is the catalyst which triggers what will be the dominant form of consciousness for, in the beginning, individuals, and, ultimately, the whole race. Only one revelation is necessary, and a revelation lasting only a few seconds is sufficient to produce a permanent result.

Bucke's self-conscious intellect is made up of concepts or abstract ideas, for which there is a one-to-one correspondence in language, i.e., for every word there is a concept, and vice versa. Each of these concepts has evolved from several recepts, each of which, in turn, is made up of a compound of percepts. At a certain point in the development of the human mind, an evolution from percepts to recepts took place, and later, in the passage from simple to self-consciousness, from recepts to concepts. As the number and complexity of percepts became too great for the brain to deal with, they became grouped into recepts. The same process occurs with recepts becoming concepts. The time has come, Bucke claims, when the human race is approaching its zenith of conceptual intelligence, i.e., our brains now hold the greatest possible number of concepts. Some alteration is therefore necessary. It is mystical illumination that will bring about this modification, and the result is cosmic consciousness.

The best source to go to for Bucke's conception of the illuminative experience itself and its results is his own personal experience. He speaks in the third person:

It was in the early spring at the beginning of his thirty-sixth year. He and two friends had spent the evening reading Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Browning, and especially Whitman. They parted at midnight, and he had
using this experience as a basis for verifying any alleged instance of cosmic consciousness, Bucke lists eleven characteristics that indicate a "genuine" experience. Included in the list are all of the characteristics described above, as well as the following:

1) The person loses his fear of death and his sense of sin.
2) The illumination is instantaneous, as a flash of lightning.
3) The moral character figures in the illumination, i.e., only someone of high moral character may experience illumination.
4) The age of the person is important, i.e., one should be about thirty or older.
5) The illumination adds "charm" to the personality.
6) One is somehow physically "transfigured", or what Dante calls "transhumanized".

Bucke also emphasizes the exceptional development of most of the ordinary faculties (e.g., sense perception, reasoning) as essential for cosmic consciousness.

Bucke claims that, as a result of the increased frequency of cosmic consciousness, several changes will take place in the world. Among them is the fact that religion will "govern every minute of every day of all life", and will consist of "direct and unmistakable intercourse with God".

Perhaps we now know enough of Bucke's theory to investigate more closely the theories and paintings of Lawren Harris, and to examine what similarities and differences exist between their ideas.

Harris is usually regarded as the spiritual, if not actual, leader, organizer, and spokesman for the Group of Seven. He was verbally the most prolific of the Group, writing poetry, essays, reviews, and
criticism. He pursued and publicly discussed the spiritual aspects of life and painting to a greater extent than did any of the other members. He was a member of the Toronto Theosophical Society in the 1920's and 30's. He no doubt would have known or at least met A.E. Smythe, founder of the Society, whose connection with the Toronto Whitman enthusiasts has already been discussed. F.B. Housser, the Group's first biographer, was also a member of the Society. In 1908 Harris joined the Toronto Arts and Letters Club, where he met Roy Mitchell, another Whitman enthusiast. Although none of these acquaintances provide indisputable proof of a direct connection with Bucke, they reveal something of the milieu in which Harris was working — a radical milieu that was undoubtedly influenced by Whitman and Bucke.

In a biographical sketch of Harris, A.Y. Jackson says that from 1919 through 1921, when he and Harris were taking sketching trips to Algoma, while they travelled "in the box car with the stove to keep us warm, the discussions and arguments resumed on Whitman, Mary Baker Eddy, Madame Blavatsky, Cezanne, and Van Gogh until late in the night." Harris's vision as seen through his painting evolved from social comment, through a stylized "impressionism", eventually to what art historians refer to as "abstract expressionism". It is in 1922, however, when the first "Lake Superior" canvases appear, that Harris's painting takes on something like a mystical, ethereal quality. Harris seems drawn to the coldness, the whiteness, and the austerity of the north. He referred to the north as "a source of a flow of beneficent informing cosmic powers behind the bleakness and barrenness and austerity of much of the land."

In a 1926 essay entitled "Revelation of Art in Canada", published in The Canadian Theosophist, Harris further reveals his feelings about the north:

It has in it a call from the clear, replenishing virgin north that must resound in the greater freer depths of the soul or there can be no response. Indeed, at its best it participates in a rhythm of light, a swift ecstasy, a blessed severity, that leaves behind the drag of alien possessions and thus attains moments of release from transitory earthly bonds... It seems that the top of the continent is a source of spiritual flow.

In a tone similar to that found in his earlier comment on the Harris painting "Above Lake Superior", F.B. Housser states that "Harris paints the Lake Superior landscape out of a devotion to the life of the
soul and makes it feel like the country of the soul...he has gathered to himself the over-soul of that wilderness.” And again: “It [the painting] summarizes locality, yet it is no locality. It is the North’s being.” Housser sees the painting as a “mystical experience which few who have seen the canvas will have shared.” In his book The Group of Seven Peter Mellen discusses the intent of Harris’s art:

By creating a symbol of the north, he hoped to go beyond the specific locale to a landscape of the human spirit. It was his hope that the painting would lead the viewer to contemplate the divine forces in nature, and ultimately to a mystical experience of Oneness.

Although these latter opinions add little to Harris’s own theories, they reveal that he was, at least in part, successful in communicating a spiritual quality in a single painting.

In 1922 Harris published Contrasts. A few of the poems develop ideas similar to several of Bucke’s concepts. “Darkness and Light” not only recalls Bucke’s light-infused illumination, but also vividly complements any of the Lake Superior paintings. Darkness, writes the poet, loses its substance and overwhelming power if it is taken “as a pinch of salt”. Indeed, it becomes transparent, revealing the “dawn-radiance” behind it. Light (synonymous with radiance or revelation) on the other hand, because it is intangible, must be taken “at the flood” if its full power is to be felt. Light is accompanied by beauty and ecstasy, and makes the beholder as radiant and weightless as it itself is. Relating this to Harris’s artistic theories, we can see that this is the kind of light which the artist seeks.

A second poem, “Death”, reveals an attitude towards death very similar to that of the possessor of cosmic consciousness. “Death is not a snuffing out,” writes the poet. Nor is it a grim ogre lurking in the gloom. Rather, it is “a loss of all coarseness, A smoothness of soul,” an attainment of perfection. It may even contain a revelation, a glimpse behind “the world mirror”, as suggested by the second stanza.

A third poem, entitled “No Music”, speaks of a mystical ecstasy not unlike that occurring during Bucke’s illumination. In order for the soul to behold this radiance, it must first be purged of darkness, of rancour, and of any belief which gives it a false sense of security. The music of which Harris writes seems synonymous with this illumination, since it is associated with “gold-singing flame”, and is “ethereal, celestial, majestic”. It has the power to remove “old clotted pains and doubts”
Harr is, of course, recognizes the possibility of illumination, as any mystic would. But for him, revelation is synonymous with art. In an undated writing he says:

> Every work of art which really moves us is in some degree a revelation — it changes us. Experiences, much more than instruction, are a seeing with the inner eye — finding a channel to our essential inner life, a door to our deepest understanding wherein we have the capacity for universal response.  

Harris also sees an evolutionary or sometimes developmental process taking place within the mind or soul. “The occurrence of a living art in every age,” he says, “is a tremendous factor in the evolution of the soul.” But, unlike Bucke’s theory of the evolution of the mind, there appears to be no blinding revelation signalling the evolutionary zenith. It is rather an “expressive peak”, as Harris calls it, a “momentary equilibrium” which lies potentially at some point of the evolutionary process. During this process several revelations occur, each one pushing the individual higher in spiritual development, with each step brought about by creative effort, as well as art itself. Such art, then, as well as being a revelation, appears to be a catalyst in this ongoing evolution. Harris had the following to say regarding the process itself, which would seem to support this theory:

> The positive creative attitude is above its inspirations, that is, while the joy of the moment’s increase of vision is great, there is the greater and more constant urge of using it to purge the mind of dross to keep the soul in the realm of clearer perceptions, of finer relationships... In other words, ever to keep moving toward a more encompassing vision, a profounder realization of the rhythm of life and its informing eternal spirit.

Always, the movement of the soul is toward a more encompassing, more universal vision of life. Associated with this vision of universality is the achievement of a state of equilibrium. In a passage which contains strong echoes of Bucke, Harris describes how this movement towards a more all-encompassing vision takes place on both a macrocosmic and microcosmic level:

> Now, every civilization has a pace, a momentum, an ascent, as it were, toward its expressive peak where if it achieves this peak it experiences a
fullness of life equal to its capacity — a momentary equilibrium wherein it reflects and participates in universal order and life in man anticipates that order. All great and real works of art embody it.

This movement or momentum occurs in the life of every creative individual. If not thwarted, he also ascends to the peak of his expressive, communicative vision and participates in the enduring motion of universal life and order and leaves works of art that do not describe that order but embody it as an immediate self-contained experience.

That ascent toward fullness of life, wherein a people or an individual participates in the life of universal order and finds release in a greater and more inclusive consciousness, is something that cannot be contrived because the motivating creative urge lies deeper than intellect or reason; it is an inner unfolding. 51

The above statement is quoted at some length because not only does it contain several similarities to Bucke’s ideas, but it is also a beautiful, almost poetic expression of Harris’s theory of creativity and the artist. It suggests a universal harmony and order which every creative individual is capable of experiencing.

Both Bucke and Harris require certain conditions for the experiencing of this evolutionary peak. With Bucke, it is a certain moral and intellectual development, as well as age, which are precursors of the illuminative experience. For Harris it is creative effort. It is the artist who ventures “into finer orders of being”. 32 But this higher spiritual plane is present in every individual. There is, he says, “a divine being within each one of us and to be disclosed over the ages by self-devised creative effort and experience.” 13 Housser’s suggestion of only a small spiritual elite capable of undergoing a mystical experience while looking at “Above Lake Superior” would not, I think, have pleased Harris. 34 For Harris, it is only through diligent creative effort that “the informing spirit which sustains the great universe” 35 can be glimpsed. Bucke’s experience is, by contrast, quite effortless and spontaneous.

Both Bucke and Harris have different names for the intuition, that faculty in man which makes him capable of the cosmic vision. Bucke calls it “the cosmic sense”. 36 For both men it is the territory beyond the self-conscious intellect, and is therefore beyond verbal expression. It can be known only through first-hand experience. Harris refers to the intuition as “aesthetics”, and associates it with beauty, which “as an inseparable part of the inmost culture of the soul, and the endeavour to give communicable and vital and appropriate expression, is the main concern of the creative artist.” 37

Harris sees four main categories of ideas governing the conduct of mankind. Man-made laws, “the stop and go signs of physical
existence", constitute the first category. Secondly, there is a moral code, personal and inelastic, dictated by "general self-interest and expediency". This code is usually derived from religion, and, Harris claims, appeals principally to "lower man". The third category is that of ethics, which are more elastic than morals, giving freer play to the mind. Ethics pertains to the mind, is logical, and its practice results in the formation of a scheme or theory. Fourthly, there is the realm of aesthetics mentioned above. Aesthetics is of the soul. The "aesthetic attitude" is an attitude towards life adopted by the creative individual. Harris gives it several definitions, among them: "an undeviating, constant tendency to restore and maintain equilibrium", "the essence of all religions"; and the source of all harmony in life. Such an attitude, unlike the moral code, is intrinsic, coming from within. As Bucke repeatedly stresses regarding the illuminative experience, the "aesthetic attitude" for Harris, is verbally indefinable, and must be experienced to be known. It is in a state of constant flux, growing with each increase of vision. This provides a link with Harris's theory of the evolution of the soul as described earlier. The "aesthetic attitude" is that which purges and pushes the mind or soul on to a spiritually higher and more universal vision.

This theory of morals, ethics, and aesthetics bears some resemblance to the three stages in the evolution of Harris's art. The Halifax canvases, with their social comment, exemplify a distinct moral attitude. While the Lake Superior paintings do not reveal an "ethical" attitude, they anticipate the "aesthetic attitude" found in Harris's abstract expressionism. These later paintings seem to represent a spiritual peak for Harris. Besides attempting to give them a universal, more all-encompassing quality - a quality towards which he was constantly aspiring - he also hoped that they would embody a synthesis of several experiences, thereby transcending simple representational art.

There is a temptation to make an analogy between the "aesthetic attitude" and cosmic consciousness. In one sense, the analogy holds. Bucke and Harris are indeed talking about the same thing: the development of the intuition. But for Bucke, the developed intuition is a result; for Harris it is a cause. Cosmic consciousness, Bucke says, can be achieved only after revelation. For Harris, the "aesthetic attitude" is a stimulus, a catalyst for each increase of vision. The result of increase of vision for both men, however, is the same: a glimpse of the
underlying harmony and order of the universe. Harris calls this harmony “beauty”, “that we are all in search of, whether consciously or not.” It is probably the most important feature of Bucke’s mystical illumination, since it is the vision of this underlying order which is responsible for the loss of a sense of sin, of the fear of death, as well as for the acquisition of most of the other characteristics of the illuminative experience. Without this vision, the other aspects of the experience would not be possible.

One can see distinct parallels in thought between Bucke and Harris: the concept of the intuition; the evolution of the soul toward a spiritual peak; the mystical illumination or revelation; and the existence of an underlying spiritual power in the universe, providing harmony and order. For both men, it is the intuitively developed person – the creative individual, the possessor of cosmic consciousness – who is able to glimpse this power. I would strongly hesitate to call this concept elitist. In all mystical teachings, there are the initiated and the uninitiated.

Nowhere, it seems, is there mention of a word like “love” in Harris’s theories. To some, they might appear coldly abstracted from any humanitarianism. Yet his writings often reveal a missionary fervour. On the other hand, Bucke, who does speak of the universe as being founded on the principle of love, often writes in an icily empirical, abstracted tone. Both men may be forgiven, since, if we are able to believe our eyes and ears, each achieved a peak far beyond any real verbal expression.

Footnotes

5 “Walt Whitman”, p. 365.
6 “Walt Whitman”, p. 364.
7 *Cosmic Consciousness*, p. 1.
8 *Cosmic Consciousness*, p. 3.
9 Of the thirteen most famous cases of cosmic consciousness Bucke cites, there are five cases between the time of Buddha and Dante – a period of 1800 years. He counts a total of eight cases between Dante and the time at which he is writing – a period of 600 years. The two frequencies of occurrence are: one case per 360 years and one case per 75 years respectively, or a ratio of 1 to 4.8. Therefore, Bucke concludes, cosmic consciousness is on
the increase. The fallacies in this kind of reasoning are obvious. Bucke not only ignores what cases there were previous to Buddha, but dismisses any unrecorded instances as "minor" and "forgotten". *Cosmic Consciousness*, p. 67.

10 *Cosmic Consciousness*, p. 1.
11 *Cosmic Consciousness*, p. 2.
12 Bucke claims that simple consciousness, or consciousness of the environment as well as limbs and body, is possessed by the upper half of the animal kingdom. Where the lower half ends and the upper half begins, he does not say.
13 For a more detailed discussion of percepts, recepts, and concepts, see *Cosmic Consciousness*, pp. 12-18. Bucke saw the individual life cycle as imitating the evolutionary cycle of the entire race. Hence, this evolution from simple to self-consciousness takes place in the individual as well.
14 *Cosmic Consciousness*, pp. 9-10.
15 *Cosmic Consciousness*, p. 5.
16 For a near-complete list of Harris's writings, see Dennis Reid, *A Bibliography of the Group of Seven* (Ottawa, 1971).
17 See above, p. 4, and note 6.
18 There is yet more evidence of a connection. Harris had read the Russian philosopher and mathematician P.D. Ouspensky, whose book *Tertium Organum* (1911) devoted nearly an entire chapter to *Cosmic Consciousness*.
20 For examples of social comment see paintings like "Elevator Court, Halifax" (1921), "Black Court, Halifax" (1921), "Glace Bay" (1921), and "Miners' Houses, Glace Bay" (1921). "Impressionism" may be found in the Lake Superior or Arctic canvases. Paintings like "Abstraction" (1937), "Abstraction" (1958), and "Nature Rhythm" (1950) reveal abstract expressionism.
24 *A Canadian Art Movement*, p. 189.
25 *A Canadian Art Movement*, p. 191.
27 *Lawren Harris*, p. 114.
28 "Revelation of Art in Canada", p. 86.
29 *Lawren Harris*, p. 20.
30 This movement applies directly to Harris's art. He saw abstract or non-objective art as being freed from concrete associations, and able to achieve a synthesis of several experiences on one canvas, compared with the representation of a single experience on canvas in simple representational art. To further achieve an effect of universality in his paintings, Harris rarely named or dated any of his abstract canvases after 1930.
31 *Lawren Harris*, p. 21.
32 "Theosophy and Art", p. 131.
34 See above, p. 11.
35 *Lawren Harris*, p. 121.
36 *Cosmic Consciousness*, pp. 62-63.
37 "Theosophy and Art", p. 130.
40 "Theosophy and Art", p. 164.
41 "Theosophy and Art", p. 164.
42 This theory applies directly to Harris's art. It is rarely static in style, always using varied forms and colours.
43 See above, p. 10, and note 20.
44 "Theosophy and Art", p. 130.
45 Emily Carr, in her journal *Hundreds and Thousands*, expressed such a reaction to the Theosophist God. (p. 94)