Interfases of the Portrait:

Liminality and Dialogism

in

Canadian Women's Portraiture

Between the Wars

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the production of portraiture by Canadian women artists during the interwar period. Through an interrogation of the aperture which opened up for portraiture at this time, the thesis argues for a transitional period in Canadian art in which a shift toward social consciousness renewed interest in the human figure. Portraits by Lillias Torrance Newton, Paraskeva Clark, Jori Smith, and Prudence Heward are considered in relation to the political, social, and aesthetic implications of the dialogical triad of artist, subject, and viewer (Bakhtin: author, hero, reader). The portraits and their makers are analyzed with a view to describing the liminal possibilities of both. During this era of sociopolitical turbulence, clearly delineated social roles became blurred, and thus offered new opportunities for self-expression and self-construction. Liminality emerges as a useful concept with which to map the shifting relations of public/private, self/identity, and of femininity to masculinity.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Art Association of Montréal
AEAC	Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Kingston
AGH	Art Gallery of Hamilton
AGNS	Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, Halifax
AGO	Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto
AGT	Art Gallery of Toronto
AGGV	Art Gallery of Greater Victoria
ALC	Arts and Letters Club, Toronto
BHHG	Beaver Hall Hill Group, Montréal
CAS	Contemporary Arts Society, Montréal
CGP	Canadian Group of Painters
CUAG	Carleton University Art Gallery
CSGA	Canadian Society for Graphic Artists
CSPWC	Canadian Society of Painters in Water Colour
DAG	Dalhousie Art Gallery, Halifax
FCA	Federation of Canadian Artists
H.H.	Hart House, University of Toronto, Toronto
MSAC	Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, Guelph
MAG	MacKenzie Art Gallery, Regina
MBAC	Musée des beaux-arts du Canada
MMFA	Montréal Museum of Fine Arts
MOMA	Museum of Modern Art, New York
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NGC	National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
OCA	Ontario College of Art, Toronto
OSA	Ontario Society of Artists, Toronto
PLS	Picture Loan Society
RCA	Royal Canadian Academy
RMC	Royal Military College

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1. EXPLORING THE GAP: WOMEN PORTRAIT PAINTERS IN CANADA

This thesis will examine the production of portraiture by four Canadian women during the interwar period. I shall argue for a reconsideration of portraiture's importance to Canadian art history, and go on to consider a selection of portraits by Paraskeva Clark (1898-1986), Prudence Heward (1896-1947), Lillias Torrance Newton (1896-1980), and Jori Smith (1907-). This chapter includes a review of the art historical literature from 1925 to 1993 to support my contention that while many artists took up the genre during the 1930s and 1940s, aesthetic portraiture¹ of the period retains a marginal place in the art historical canon. The portraits considered in later chapters represent only a small fraction of the work produced, and are intended to provide a few examples of the treatment of the human figure by a number of artists who, in spite of their individual concerns, shared an interest in representing the character of their sitters. I will argue that the emotional intensity of these works is characteristic of the modern preoccupation with the theme of the alienated or isolated subject, a theme which questioned the role of the individual in society.

This theme, which emerged in the post-World-War I era, has been described by historians as associated with an age in which "realism, experimentalism, and what has come to be termed 'modernism' became central in cultural history."² In

the 1920s, Canada "became an urban nation, and gradually urban values established their pre-eminence."³ This shift from rural to urban living meant a re-articulation of the individual's role in society. As Canadians strived to cope with sweeping economic, social, and cultural changes, many visual artists expressed their humanitarianism and/or patriotism through political action to establish the artists' national importance. This entailed first creating a community among themselves, and second, achieving recognition within the larger society.

This concern was consistent with many Canadian artists' involvement with humanitarian causes and social issues during the Depression and World War II. The introspective, often melancholic faces of the portrait subjects must be seen as manifestations of artists' growing social consciousness as Canada considered its role on the international stage. Thus, portraiture occupies not only the chronological gap between the landscape paintings of the 1920s and abstraction of the 1950s, but a symbolic one as well.

The second aim of this thesis is to move beyond the recovery of women artists. Clark, Heward, Newton, and Smith were chosen from a list which initially included men and women from across Canada. The first stage of the selection process eliminated artists for whom background material was

unavailable, or difficult to access. The artists represented here have been the subject of exhibitions in the 1970s and 1980s; archival and secondary sources are therefore readily available.⁴ The list of artists was further narrowed by selecting the works which best demonstrated the fact that much of the portraiture of the 1930s and 1940s is a form of social commentary. In the final stage of the selection process, the contribution of women painters became the focus of my discussion. Many of the most compelling portraits were produced by women who are less well known than their male counterparts.⁵ Thus the decision to consider women artists reflects my desire to draw attention to figures I feel deserve further attention. In restricting my discussion to women, I was forced to grapple with issues of concern to feminist scholars working in different fields. In recent years feminist historians, anthropologists, and social critics have struggled with the issue of how to contextualize women's contributions within canons that have traditionally overlooked their achievements.⁶ Models which emphasize the differences between women and men's activities risk perpetuating the notions they are intended to challenge.⁷ It can be argued that my examination of women distorts the history of Canadian portraiture because it privileges a specific group of artists; however, this project is intended as one in a series of steps toward a

reconsideration of the genre's importance to Canadian art. By refusing to compare female and male portraitists, I have attempted to avoid reinscribing the binary which perpetuates the notion that men and women are opposing heterogeneous groups. Such a methodological approach can lead erroneously to arguments for "feminine" and "masculine" styles. Furthermore, I found no evidence to suggest that the women themselves thought their gender a constitutive element of their production.⁸ A more useful line of enquiry for future examinations of portraiture would take into consideration the specifics of region, ethnicity, religion, race, and class in determining the artist's choice and handling of subject.⁹ In focussing exclusively on women, my thesis furthers the retrieval projects reviewed below. Furthermore, with the exception of Dorothy Farr's examination of Liliias Torrance Newton,¹⁰ these earlier histories have not discussed exclusively the portraiture genre as a reflection of the artists' public and private concerns. By rejecting gender as the primary constituent of their production, I hope to have provided a foundation flexible enough to accommodate further work on portraiture - one which permits exploration of women and men's individual and shared experiences.

1.i LITERATURE REVIEW

A demonstration of portraiture's marginal status in

Canadian art history begins with a consideration of the paucity of literature on the subject. European and American portraiture has been featured in such historical surveys as Max J. Friedlander's Landscape, Portrait, Still-Life: Their Origin and Development (1965),¹¹ William J. Hennessey's The American Portrait: From the Death of Stuart to the Rise of Sargent (1973),¹² and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art's American Portraiture in the Grand Manner 1720-1920 (1981).¹³ Some histories focus on European and American portraiture of particular periods. Melissa McQuillan's Impressionist Portraits (1989) examines late 19th century French and American portraiture,¹⁴ while David Lubin's study of American portraiture (1985) of the same period explores themes common to both painting and literature.¹⁵ Conversely, Richard Brilliant's Portraiture (1991) is thematic rather than historical.¹⁶ His examination of the relations among artist, portrait subject, and viewer relies on examples from different Eastern and Western cultures from antiquity to the present. While American and European portraiture have been the subject of these and other historical studies, there exists to date no comprehensive text on Canadian portraiture. An understanding of the genre's history in Canada can only be reached by consulting exhibition catalogues, portraitists' biographies, and historical surveys of Canadian art which generally conflate

figurative compositions and other genres by emphasizing formal issues. For the purposes of review, I have divided the literature into two categories. The first group of texts consists of histories which provide comprehensive chronological surveys of art production in Canada. These texts generally devote little space to portraiture of the early 20th century. The second group of texts includes catalogues to exhibitions of portraiture. This second group suggests the existence of a portraiture tradition in Canada, and attempts to displace the notion that early 20th century Canadian artists were concerned almost exclusively with landscape imagery.¹⁷ Such insights provided me with points of departure for my own analysis.

As my thesis focusses on portraiture of the interwar years, my review begins with the histories published after 1918.¹⁸ Newton MacTavish's The Fine Arts in Canada (1925),¹⁹ M.O. Hammond's Painting and Sculpture in Canada (1930),²⁰ Graham C. McInnes' A Short History of Canadian Art (1939)²¹ and Canadian Art (1950),²² Mary Graham Bonner's Made in Canada (1943),²³ Donald Buchanan's The Growth of Canadian Painting (1950),²⁴ Malcolm Ross' The Arts in Canada: A Stock-Taking at Mid-Century (1958),²⁵ Robert Hubbard's An Anthology of Canadian Art (1960)²⁶ and The Development of Canadian Art (1963),²⁷ Russell Harper's Painting in Canada: A History (1981),²⁸ Dennis Reid's A

Concise History of Canadian Art (1988),²⁹ and David Burnett and Marilyn Schiff's Contemporary Canadian Art (1983)³⁰ present surveys of Canadian art which position portraiture within a chronological framework.³¹ Most of these books consider the art of French and English colonizing cultures,³² and consist of chapters which focus on specific regions of Canada within particular time periods. To a greater or lesser extent, all of these histories periodicize art production by describing the works as stages in the development of a "national" idiom, and/or as aesthetic innovation.³³

It is worth considering the only comprehensive histories of Canadian art which include sections specifically devoted to portraiture of the 1930s and 1940s.³⁴ Colgate's Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development (1943)³⁵ devotes close to half the chapter entitled "Portraiture, Murals and the Handicrafts" to portraiture. He argued that a Canadian idiom could be discerned in the work of a few Canadian portraitists. Paradoxically, this national style was described in terms of a reconfiguration of French modernism.³⁶ Maria Tippet's history of Canadian women artists³⁷ devotes almost half a chapter ("Between the Wars") to figurative works. A substantial portion of her discussion of art of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s centres on portraiture. Significantly, she argues that many women

"commented indirectly on social and political injustice,"³⁸ and more directly in the figurative works they produced as commissioned war artists.³⁹ She also asserts that portraiture and figurative work "served as a counterpart to the landscape theme."⁴⁰ Thus, both Colgate and Tippet demonstrated their recognition of the importance of portraiture to Canadian art, by devoting discrete sections to the genre. Colgate attempted to identify the aesthetic influences which precipitated new approaches to portraiture. Tippet, with the benefit of hindsight, situates the genre within a larger cultural framework, accounting for the various aesthetic and socio-political factors which influenced women's portraiture.

Over the past twenty years, a few public galleries have organized exhibitions of portraiture.⁴¹ In 1978, the McIntosh Gallery at the University of Western Ontario organized The Image of Man in Canadian Painting: 1878-1978 (1978).⁴² The contributors to the exhibition catalogue persistently urged a reconsideration of the importance of portraiture to Canadian art. Lydia Foy and Sylvie Gervais' Facing History: Portraits from the National Archives of Canada offers the first comprehensive survey of portraiture from the Archives' collection (1993).⁴³ The exhibition is notable because it defines portraiture in the broadest possible terms, as it includes commercial, historical,

honorific, propagandistic, and occasional works by Canadian and non-Canadian artists in a variety of media. Robert Stacey's trans-historical survey entitled The Hand Holding the Brush: Self-Portraits by Canadian Artists (1983)⁴⁴ is the only comprehensive study of Canadian self-portraiture, and includes a historical analysis of the development of portraiture as a genre. The exhibition focused on the aesthetic, psychological, and socio-political issues which surround the production of portraiture in several media.

By contrast, Esther Trépanier's study of interwar art is not devoted exclusively to portraiture, but incorporates the genre into a larger consideration of a number of genres. Jewish Painters and Modernity: Montréal 1930-1945 (1987) explores the relation of regional and ethnic concerns to the art of the period.⁴⁵ As with Stacey, Trépanier moves beyond a merely historical examination of portraiture to consider the socio-political factors that influenced its production. Judi Schwartz's catalogue of portraits from the Hart House collection called Figures and Portraits: The Canadian Identity (1993) examines the effects of the World Wars and the Depression on the works of the period.⁴⁶ She contends that the sense of alienation and displacement created by these events prompted a renewed interest in the human figure. Further, Schwartz argues for "two strong traditions in Canadian art ... that of the landscape artist and that of

the portrait artist." Indeed, the dominance of landscape painting during this era operates for Schwartz "sometimes to the exclusion of the important movement of portrait and figure painters of the time." Schwartz's conclusions are useful because they dovetail with my own concerns about the neglect of portraiture's importance. I will now consider the texts which have proved essential to the formation of my own argument.

Charles Hill's seminal catalogue Canadian Painting in the Thirties (1975) provided the point of departure for my consideration of portraiture's emergence during the interwar period by relating it to a general movement away from the nationalist landscape school of the Group of Seven.⁴⁷ Hill's history investigated the various aesthetic and ethical positions informing artists' choice of subject matter against the backdrop of complex relations among members of the arts community, art societies, and cultural institutions. Frances K. Smith's thorough examination of the events leading up to the Kingston Conference in André Biéler: An Artist's Life and Times (1980) was instrumental in reaching an understanding of the spirit which informed artistic activity during the 1930s and 1940s.⁴⁸ Robert Stacey's trans-historical survey entitled The Hand Holding the Brush: Self-Portraits by Canadian Artists examined the changes in approach taken by portraitists within an art

historical context. Stacey's description of the incentives which informed the shift away "from likeness to likening"⁴⁹ after the invention of photography offered a practical explanation for portraitists' belief in their authority as discerners of character. As painting was in danger of being displaced by a more inexpensive alternative, many artists reconsidered the role of the portraitist, and determined that the painted portrait was a more suitable genre than the photograph for aesthetic exploration. This conviction is often articulated by Paraskeva Clark, Liliias Newton, and Jori Smith. The lack of first-hand commentary by Prudence Heward makes her position on this issue difficult to determine; however, her insightful and arresting studies in character suggest that she shared many of her contemporaries' sentiments. Thus, Hill's, Smith's, and Stacey's works provided an introduction to the issues salient to my thesis as a whole, and provided the conceptual framework for my second chapter which examines self-portraiture as an articulation of the artists' relationship to the community.

The retrieval process begun by several art historians provided the biographical and art historical background for my own examination of a few women portraitists. I relied on the catalogues to several important exhibitions, written individually and/or collaboratively⁵⁰ by Dorothy Farr,

Natalie Luckyj, and Mary MacLachlan. My consideration of the experiences of women artists and their subjects relies considerably on Farr,⁵¹ Luckyj,⁵² and MacLachlan's⁵³ interpretations of Newton, Heward, and Clark. An in-depth study of Jori Smith's life and art production remains to be done. I hope that my own brief discussion of her work will encourage others to pursue further research on the artist.

I am indebted to art historians Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj for their groundbreaking work on Canadian women artists. They first articulated the concept of a generic gap, which created:

An awakening interest in subjects and styles outside the rather narrow range of the Canadian landscape tradition [which] permitted public acceptance of themes previously neglected. The gap between what formerly might have been termed feminine and masculine subject matter slowly narrowed with the emphasis on figurative and narrative themes. In particular, the success of women portrait painters during the 1930s and the 1940s reflects this change.⁵⁴

I will contend that this gap led to the introduction of hitherto hidden aspects of feminine experience into the public sphere. This aperture began to close as the genre of abstraction began to command the attention of artists and galleries in the post-World War II period. Since Canada was in a time of dramatic political and cultural transition, the gap can be understood as a liminal period in Canadian history. Although the careers of Paraskeva Clark, Prudence Heward, Liliias Torrance Newton, and Jori Smith demonstrate a

variety of generic and political interests, all of these artists were involved in the creation of deeply psychological⁵⁵ portraits which not only reflect the anxiety of their age, but also reveal an absorption in the question of the individual's role in a changing society.

1.ii METHODOLOGY AND KEY CONCEPTS

The three core chapters of my thesis will involve a close reading of portraits informed by biographical evidence, and the theoretical premises discussed below. Because much of the retrieval work on these artists has been done, little space is devoted to their lives, formative influences and aesthetic development. Basic biographical information is included in Appendix III which will serve as a reference point throughout the chapters. The images selected are not representative of the artists' bodies of work, nor do they chart their aesthetic development. The portraits were selected to support my theoretical position regarding a trend in Canadian art during a particular historical period. Notably, Liliias Torrance Newton's work figures prominently throughout the thesis because as a commissioned portraitist, she was more prolific than Clark, Heward, and Smith, whose works encompassed a number of genres.

My examination of women's portraiture of the interwar period will be arranged around a constellation of four concepts: liminality, public/private, self/identity, and

dialogism. These concepts or schemas will intersect to provide both the theoretical basis of my discussion and its overall structure. I will first consider the terms individually , then provide an outline of each chapter.

1.iii LIMINALITY

In 1908, anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep introduced the concept of liminality when he synthesized initiation ceremonies in non-Western, non-industrialized cultures into three phases: 1) separation, 2) liminality, and 3) incorporation.⁵⁶ These stages describe individuals' (often young adolescents) separation from their social status, their initiation during an intermediate state of liminality, leading to their reintegration into the social structure in newly achieved roles. Anthropologist Victor Turner took up Van Gennep's concept of liminality to develop a comprehensive theory of transition which includes both individuals and whole societies. According to Turner, liminality is defined as the process in which the "person" is separated "from the persona role."⁵⁷ Social identity is therefore temporarily relinquished and the initiate is reduced to her/his human essence. When applied to whole cultures, liminality has been used to describe periods of transition "when the past has lost its grip and the future has not yet taken shape,"⁵⁸ and issues of cultural identity come to the fore. By stripping the novitiate of all her/his

previous sources of knowledge of self and society "he/she is likely to develop a freer, deeper understanding of the system from which he/she has been removed."⁵⁹ Similarly, a liminal moment in a culture's history signals a rite of passage from well defined social structures into an epoch of criticism, reassessment, self-reflexivity, and self-consciousness⁶⁰ leading to "revitalization movements" and "deliberate, organized, conscious efforts by the members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."⁶¹ This intermediary phase in an individual or a society's development is characterized by a sense of play and paradox, and by a sense of "communitas with one's fellow initiates in the liminal state."⁶²

The link between liminality and communitas is an important issue in my thesis; I will argue that liminality plays a significant role in the development and articulation of social consciousness in portraiture, and in the construction of public and private identity in portraits. Liminality is also a paradoxical time in which an emergent self-consciousness comes to the fore. This concept redounds upon the portrayal of women, men, and children as symbols of 1) changing social codes and gender roles, and 2) imaging adolescents as liminal figures. Such reflexivity prompts a questioning of the existing social structure and facilitates the betterment of society upon re-integration. The

ameliorative impulse is certainly a feature of Clark and Smith's work who, as committed socialists, were very interested in social/political change and in the role of the artist in society. Thus, my analysis considers the liminality of the artist, the subject, the period, and the genre itself.

1.iv PUBLIC/PRIVATE

This preoccupation with the social becomes the basis of my discussion of the public/private schema and its relation to portraiture. In defining these terms I have relied on the work of feminist anthropologists and social critics who developed a model to examine women's activities in the domestic and political realms,⁶³ and insisted on the distinction between gender and sex.⁶⁴ It is impossible to employ this public/private model without being aware of its implicit dangers. Public and private functions as an ideology,⁶⁵ as well as a means of investigating the various ways in which women labour to disrupt its dichotomous implications. Rather than viewing public and private as separate spheres, we must consider "public and private lives [as] integrated and taking their meaning from historical circumstances, cultural contexts, individual identities, and actions."⁶⁶ With these issues in mind, my discussion of public and private will focus on the public as the professional sphere and the private as the domestic sphere

within the context of a historical period which challenged the fixity of the categories. These spheres intersect at the junction of the social, in which the binaric distinction between these two terms is interrogated and problematized by the portraitists I will consider. This interrogation thus de-stabilizes the relation of public to private identity, and offers a theoretical bridge with which to examine the relation of self to identity.

1.v SELF/IDENTITY

In Self and Identity: Contemporary Philosophical Issues, Daniel Kolak and Raymond Martin described the difference between private and public identities in temporal terms. For them, personal identity depends on a concept of private self which transcends time (creating "unity at a time"), while our sense of public identity comes to us through our experiences over time.⁶⁷ Rom Harré elucidates the distinction between our private self and public identity in terms of a unity of consciousness versus a unity of consciousness combined with action.⁶⁸ Both Rom Harré and Daniel C. Dennett take their source from the self which creates a hierarchy of action and feeling, and of the rational and the intuitive. Dennett contends that out of the ideal-fictive selves we unconsciously construct, we "elect" a "Head of Mind" which incorporates outside stimulus (other people, or for the purposes of my discussion, the

interaction of artist, subject, and viewer) into our internal processes of self-construction.

The concepts of public and private identity as constructions necessarily implies a fictionality. In holding this view, Dennett and Harré describe each identity as performing a narrative function: public identity allows the subject to interact in the narrative of the larger community, while private identity provides a narrative coherence to the subject by organizing perception, thought, and memory. Our "narrative of selfhood" permits us to represent our selves not only to ourselves but to others,⁶⁹ who in turn, respond to and assist us in articulating the narrative. In this manner, Dennett and Harré's concept of subjective constructivism can be understood as dialogical in that the concept of self-construction is simultaneously private, public, and social. This triadic relationship is constitutive to my deployment of dialogism, the fourth concept in my constellation.

1.vi DIALOGISM AND THE TRIO

Mikhail Bakhtin created the term dialogism to describe the complex relationship that exists in any discussion between and among subjects. In such a discussion, the "truth" does not reside in any one subject, but is rather a process of communal and communicative building. Bakhtin argues that:

Discourse ... is interindividual. All that is said, expressed, is outside of the "soul" of the [author] and does not belong to him only. But discourse cannot be attributed to the [author] alone. The author ... may have inalienable rights upon the discourse, but so does the listener, as do those whose voices resonate in the words found by the author (since there are no words that do not belong to someone). Discourse is a three-role drama (it is not a duet but a trio). It is played outside the author, and it is inadmissible to inject it within the author.⁷⁰

There is a useful parallel to be drawn between Bakhtin's triad of author, listener, and resonating voice and the relationship of artist, viewer, and portrait subject. I will argue that each member of the trio shapes the construction and the perception of every portrait. The authority of the portrait's creation is thus distributed among artist, subject and viewer. It is this triad which serves to provide the overall structure for the following chapters.

1.vii THE CHAPTERS

Chapter two will focus on the changing role of the artist in Canadian society from the 1920s to the 1940s. I will discuss the shifting relationship of the artist to the fractious visual arts community in Canada, and to Canadian society as a whole. A brief description of the Kingston Conference and the establishment of the Federation of Canadian Artists (FCA), the first national organization of artists, form the introduction to the chapter, while Appendices I and II provide the background to these events by comparing the societies' conflicting ideologies. Many

artists during this time emerge as liminal figures. Social isolation is transcended by a dynamic, often political resolve to reintegrate themselves into the larger community. This chapter considers the first member of my dialogic triad; the artist and her construction of the subject in self-portraits.

These issues will be developed by examining one self-portrait by Liliias Torrance Newton, and several works by Paraskeva Clark. The imperatives for Jori Smith's production will be considered, although a discussion of her portraits will be reserved for chapter 4. I argue that Clark and Smith's shared commitment to socialism influenced their choice and handling of subject matter. In contrast, Newton as a commissioned portraitist, was not motivated by political concerns; instead her work reflects her patrons' expectations combined with her own aesthetic vision. Nevertheless the psychological nature of her portraits suggests that she absorbed her contemporaries' concern with issues of consciousness and moral agency.

Although a feminist critique of Newton and Clark's self-portraits would have provided interesting points of comparison to the images of women, in this chapter I emphasized women's shared experience, not as gendered subjects, but as part of a larger art community. I have several reasons for doing so. First, I do not believe that

gender or sex are the primary determinants in their aesthetic production. Portraits by Clark, Heward, Newton, and Smith belong to a general movement away from the nationalist landscape school of the Group of Seven. Furthermore, the artists themselves viewed their work within the context of the dominant aesthetic of the period and not as a reflection of gender. Secondly, like their female contemporaries, many male artists were drawn to portraiture, and used the genre to create insightful character studies and political statements. Such artists as Charles Comfort (1900-1994), Jack Humphrey (1901-1967), Philip Surrey (1910-), Goodridge Roberts (1904-1974), and Frederick Varley (1881-1969) also exploited modernist conventions in highly psychological works. As a comparison of these artists' portraits with those of women was beyond the scope of this project, I have attempted to avoid essentializing women's production (or implying that they were "naturally" more gifted portraitists) by devoting a single chapter to the relationship between women's production and the larger socio-political and art historical context. Finally, to discuss Newton's, Clark, Smith and Heward's portraiture exclusively in terms of gender issues denies these artists' aesthetic achievements. Feminist analysis of the portraits is reserved for the third and fourth chapters, where I consider issues related to the representation of feminine experience

Chapter three examines the role of the subject in the construction of the portrait, using feminist theory as a critical framework. I will argue that gender construction is a constitutive element in both the artists' and subjects' self-conceptions, and is therefore an integral part of the portrait as an interpretation of identity. Griselda Pollock's examination of Berthe Morisot's and Mary Cassatt's (French and American 19th century Impressionists, respectively) paintings in "Modernity and the spaces of femininity"⁷¹ will serve as an important model for this analysis. She uses the public/private model, but resists essentializing women's experience by applying a synthesis of Marxist, psychoanalytic, and deconstructive theory. Pollock contends that history is a complex series of processes and relations and examines how women's experience of the public and private spheres determines how they represent these spaces in their paintings. Following Pollock's model, I argue that Lillias Torrance Newton's, Paraskeva Clark's, and Prudence Heward's experiences of the public and private spheres are inscribed in their depiction of the spaces to which they had access.

Pollock's theory that women use the modernist treatment of space to subvert the voyeuristic gaze will be applied to Newton's, Clark's, and Heward's representations of men and women. As gendered subjects, artists collaborated to

construct portraits which paradoxically, both reflected, and challenged, socially defined gender roles. The unsettling portrayals of men and women do not permit easy objectification of the sitters, and suggest a blurring of the boundaries between public and private. Psychologically intense portrayals of public men in private settings challenge the traditional image of the professional man, while depictions of assertive women in urban and rural settings evoke the recently conceived concept of the "new woman." The social sphere thus becomes a site of resistance between the public and private, and suggests the liminality of the period itself, when accepted social codes were being questioned and future roles and structures remained to be determined. This chapter will emphasize the sitter's self-presentation as an overt or covert act of social construction, and therefore considers the second member of Bakhtin's dialogic triad, the subject.

Chapter four focusses on the viewer, and examines specifically the viewer's interpretation of the portrait subject in depictions of children. The works selected document the varied stages in the maturation process, and have served to chart the child's development from a fixed role in the family to the liminal status of the adolescent. I will also suggest that the portraits function as diverse indices of feminine identity. Such paintings as Liliás

Torrance Newton's My Son (fig.15), Jori Smith's portrayal of La Communiante (fig.16), and a number of portraits of children and pubescent girls by Prudence Heward will function as the bases for my analysis.

The subject's gaze emerges as an essential point of analysis in all of these startling works. The insistent subjectivity behind each gaze establishes a subject/viewer relation that precludes a voyeuristic reification of the portrait subject. Thus the implications of the viewer's role in the triadic schema of dialogism becomes clear: she must acknowledge the portrait as a representation of another subject to initiate the third component of the dialogic process.

My discussion of Newton's portrait of her son will employ Linda Nochlin's analysis of gender and genre to assert that My Son functions as the site at which two subjectivities meet. Newton's role as mother is invested in the portrait itself, and in turn competes with her son Forbes' emerging sense of public identity.

The reciprocity of the artist/subject relationship acts as the critical focus of my examination of Jori Smith's La Communiante. In addition to the painting, Smith's unpublished manuscript will serve as an intertext with which to analyze the visual work. The sense of reciprocity in Smith's text is further suggested in her emotional concern

about the plight of many Charlevoix women, and in her observance of their construction of her as a subject, even as she is constructing them.

Heward's approach to the depiction of childhood differs from Smith's. She was very interested in exploring the shifts in consciousness that occur during maturation. This interest is evinced in her portrayal of the child's growing awareness of her social place. Her portraits of adolescent girls concentrate on the liminal phase of the subject's development. Such portraits as Rollande (fig.21) and Sisters of Rural Quebec (fig.22) challenge the passivity of feminine sexuality, while arguing for the concept of female subjectivity.

2. REDEFINING THE ARTIST'S ROLE IN SOCIETY

This chapter examines the self-portraits of Liliias Torrance Newton (1896-1980) and Paraskeva Clark (1898-1986) as expressions of artists' growing concern with their relation to community during the interwar period. The imperatives behind Jori Smith's (1907-) work will be explored with exclusive attention to the ethical and political implications of portraiture production. I argue that Clark and Smith shared a commitment to socialism which influenced their choice and handling of subject matter. Both women were committed to creating socially relevant art forms, and believed that figurative compositions could go further than other genres in affecting social change. There is little evidence to suggest that Newton shared these views. In fact, her silence on the political issues that concerned so many artists of her generation would suggest otherwise. Nevertheless, as this chapter will argue, the highly introspective, psychological nature of Newton's portrayals suggests that she intuited the modern preoccupation with issues of consciousness and moral agency. I examine the relationship of the individual moral agent to the larger community by focussing on the need expressed by many artists to overcome their sense of isolation and engage

with social issues. To this end, I will establish a theoretical link between isolation and liminality, which, as a "space between two worlds," suggests that artists in this period felt caught; they were neither exclusively members of a still developing visual arts community, nor were they part of the broader society. I contend that self-portraiture is a liminal space between these two communities, a space which attempts to bridge the gap which separates them.

The isolation many artists experienced was alleviated somewhat by the emergence of art societies⁷² and other groups. During the 1920s and the 1930s, however, the divisiveness within and among these groups⁷³ created a series of competing orthodoxies (see Appendices I and II). It is against this backdrop that many artists attempted to reconcile aesthetic freedom with serving the needs of society. This goal manifested itself at the Kingston Conference of 1941.

2.1 THE FEDERATION OF CANADIAN ARTISTS

The Kingston Conference (1941) drew over one hundred and fifty artists, critics and curators, including Clark and Newton. The idea was conceived by André Biéler (1896-1989), who hoped a conference would bring the artistic community together to discuss the artist's role in society and to demonstrate innovations in technical method.⁷⁴ Biéler's concern with the reintegration of the artist into society

was not based simply on a desire to unite the fragmented Canadian artistic community. The recent Depression and the continuing war had called into question the survival of individual democratic freedom, prompting a reconsideration of the humanist principles which informed this ideal.

Within a few months of the Conference recommendation,⁷⁵ the Federation of Canadian Artists (FCA) became a national organization, with André Biéler as president. At the first annual meeting in May 1942, the members emphasized its national character. Frank Scott noted the lack of state support for the arts during wartime and the Federation resolved to encourage the government to enlist the aid of artists in the war/postwar reconstruction efforts.⁷⁶ The ideology of the Federation was perhaps best articulated by Frank Scott, who asserted that:

We no longer build to glorify the pharaohs; now we need a new relationship between artist and public - a system of groups. Previously the art societies have dealt only with single aspects of the needs of the artist. But now this federation has happened In it we have a national grouping.⁷⁷

Like the art societies of the past, the FCA was intended to improve the economic status of the artist, to "foster the public's appreciation" of art, and to "enhanc[e] the cultural life of Canada."⁷⁸ The innovative aspects of the Federation were its intention to a) encourage public support for the National Gallery and its extramural activities, and

b) to establish a national Canadian arts magazine.

Jack Shadbolt, in his recollection of the Kingston Conference in 1941, described the emergence of two kinds of social identity:

It was the first time that Canadian artists right across the country achieved any sense of social identity, that is, community among themselves, or that other kind of social identity, awareness of how many of them were realizing that a new concept of art in relation to the everyday scene in Canada was emerging; because at that time the influence of the Group of Seven, which was primarily landscape-oriented and somewhat remote and romantic in dealing with a large, almost what you might call a spiritualized impact of nature on life ... had very little to do with the everyday detail of local involvement, political involvement, the workers' cause and the domestic scene in general; this was becoming a necessity - I think something had emerged in Canada.⁷⁹

Shadbolt's insight into the spirit of the Conference echoes what anthropologist Victor Turner describes as characteristic of the liminal stage: a period of transition, in the development of an individual or a culture, which evokes a sense of community among limnars.⁸⁰ At such moments, "comradeship transcends distinctions of rank, age, kinship position, and ... even of sex."⁸¹ Thus, artists of the interwar period can be understood as liminal figures whose attitudes coincide with a time of rapidly shifting social structures. Indeed, this period can be construed as a liminal stage in Canadian cultural history - the nation was negotiating the shift from dominion to independent state and, was in turn, experiencing a disruption of its social

identity. This disruption in the national psyche occurred concomitantly with increased opportunities for women in the public sphere.⁸² Nevertheless, artists generally remained on the margins of society, observing the culture from their liminal vantage point. This unique perspective will eventually give them the insight, as self-proclaimed visionaries, to reintegrate into the culture.⁸³

The self-portrait, when placed in the social context of isolation from community, suggests a liminal generic space in which the artist views herself as limnar. This liminality emerges as a "space between two worlds, [and] is a place of paradox."⁸⁴ The paradox of liminality arises, in self-portraiture, from the fact that the artist depicts herself as an isolated figure, even as the portrait itself emerges as an attempt to connect with society. The contradictory impulses of isolation and communication which inhere in the self-portrait offer a useful paradox. For this reason, an analysis of the self-portraits of Liliias Torrance Newton and Paraskeva Clark become useful indices of the liminal expression of the relationship of the individual to community.

2.ii LILIAS TORRANCE NEWTON: COMMISSIONED PORTRAITIST

The trajectory of Liliias Torrance Newton's career played an integral role in her aesthetic development. As a successful commissioned portraitist, she fared better than

many of her contemporaries; even the Depression did not hinder the number of commissions she received.⁸⁵ However, the lack of exhibition space forced her to rely on exhibiting societies to present her personal work. The Beaver Hall Hill Group (BHHG) provided her with exhibition and studio space, and the opportunities to interact with other artists in a spirit of "bonhomie."⁸⁶ After the group's disintegration,⁸⁷ Newton was left with few regular public venues to display her private work. Thus, when she was elected an associate of the Royal Canadian Academy (RCA) in 1923, Newton secured a distinction that would impress her clients, and gained access to exhibition space for her non-commissioned work. Unfortunately, the RCA's conservatism and its lack of comradeship (evinced by the internal conflicts over the Wembley exhibition)⁸⁸, made it less congenial to Newton than the BHHG Group. She claimed to have little interest in the RCA, which to her mind was a "queer, mixed-up sort of society."⁸⁹

Newton also frequently exhibited with the Group of Seven and became a founding member of the Canadian Group of Painters (CGP) in 1933. Her association with these groups offered her a more artistically stimulating environment. Her style, which combined the modernist palette⁹⁰ and compositional structure, with traditional portraiture, brought her work closer to that of her peers in the CGP.⁹¹

The CGP's qualified acceptance of figurative subjects⁹² allowed her a certain measure of artistic freedom. In 1961, she explained her position on the landscape school: "I've tried painting landscapes too, but I'm no good at that. My main interest is still people."⁹³ Newton's self-deprecating assessment, which conflicts with her successful handling of landscape in many of her portraits, is a reflection of her preference, not of her ability.

While her figurative works and portraits were not inspired by the socialism which motivated many of her contemporaries, they were painted during a general movement away from painting landscape toward the human subject. In her arresting Self-Portrait (1929, NGC, fig.1), Newton offers the viewer a glimpse of her public and private identities. She looks confidently outside the picture frame, and the centrality of her placement in the composition reminds us of Griselda Pollock's description of modernist space.⁹⁴ According to Pollock, the compression of pictorial space and the elimination of superfluous detail undermines the traditionally voyeuristic relation of viewer to subject.⁹⁵ Newton confronts the spectator in an ambiguous space in which the objects are not clearly defined. Pollock contends that the subversion of a coherent relationship to objects permits the artist to organize pictorial space as a series of "subjective hierarchies of value for their

producer."⁹⁶ Thus Newton's elimination of extraneous detail in her manipulation of space creates a hierarchy which privileges the figure. The distortion of space allowed her greater freedom to present herself in personal, creative ways. Pollock's assertion that "this kind of representation becomes susceptible to different ideological and subjective inflections"⁹⁷ forms the pivot upon which we can analyze Newton's conception of social identity. The key to Newton's self-conception is found in her gaze.

Newton's Self-Portrait is disconcerting in its immediacy. However, this sense of confrontation is apparently diffused by the portrait's gaze, which is directed to an unspecified point beyond the viewer. The issue of Newton's gaze is a subject to which I will return. For the moment, let us consider some aspects of the subject's self-conception, with a view to interpreting the motives for the production of the Self-Portrait.

2.11a SELF-PORTRAIT AS SELF-PROMOTION

Newton's solemnity of expression is underscored by the solid treatment of form, and the horizontality of composition is enhanced by the sweater's stripes. The use of light suggests an almost ethereal luminosity. However, Newton remains grounded in reality; the sedate pose and setting remind us of a patron's description of her as "urbane, intelligent, [and] cosmopolitan."⁹⁸ Her impeccable

taste is reflected in her fashionable attire; although stylish, it betrays "none of the smart sophistication which the world calls Bohemian."⁹⁹ In fact, Newton's graciousness formed an integral part of her identity as a commissioned artist, because it granted her easy access to her patrons' social sphere.¹⁰⁰ In this manner, the Self-Portrait might have functioned as a form of self-advertisement.

Unlike a commissioned work, Newton's Self-Portrait was not produced with a patron in mind. It may not have been intended for sale. As art historian Robert Stacey suggests, "self-portraits rarely sell before their authors are dead."¹⁰¹ He hastens to add that "self-advertisement and self-commemoration are also potent motives." Furthermore, Stacey places self-portraiture within the Canadian art historical context, and specifically within the exhibition system:

Indeed, it was only with the establishment, after Confederation of art societies and their invitational and competitive exhibition systems, that a forum for such portraiture became available. Through the exposure of self-portraits, artists could achieve not only public recognition, but also public recognizability over a period of time.¹⁰² [Emphasis added]

Significantly, Stacey's description of the post-Confederation exhibition system emphasizes the importance of art societies to the production of self-portraiture. The exhibition of self-portraits promoted public recognition of artists and their work. Stacey's distinction between public

recognition and public recognizability suggests that the relation of professional identity and "private" face was equally important in attracting future patrons. The repeated exhibition of this particular work¹⁰³ demonstrated that Newton was satisfied with its depiction of public and private selves; thus, she may have considered the work self-promotional. Newton's dignified self-portrait proclaims her ability to move unobtrusively in her patrons' homes.

I will now return to the issue of Newton's gaze. We see that her professional identity is revealed not only in her self-presentation, but also in the act of portrayal. Her gaze is not directed beyond the viewer, as I have suggested earlier; rather, she looks at the viewer directly. The fixity of her gaze, however, gives the spectator the sensation of being "looked through." The self-portraitist's mirror is implicit in Newton's decision not to engage with the viewer; as a result, her gaze becomes part of her critical, aesthetic representation of self. The fixed stare represents the act of gazing into the mirror to anatomize both body and soul. In this way, the gaze marks the artist's attempt to reconcile the physical and the psychological in the self.

2iib CONCLUSION: SELF-PORTRAIT AS SOCIAL IDENTITY

The frontality of Newton's pose and the absence of protective work clothes suggest further evidence of her

public identity as portraitist. While full-frontal self-portraits are unusual¹⁰⁴ (unless the artist uses photographs), Newton's disdain for photography (because of its limited possibilities as a medium for the study of character)¹⁰⁵ makes it doubtful that she used it as a tool. Moreover, her pose and clothing are consistent with the artist's usual practice: "I work standing, and never get paint on my clothes. I don't like heavy smocks that get in the way."¹⁰⁶ Newton's stance and attire are not overt references to the practice of portraiture, but reveal her particular working methods, and contribute to the viewer's interpretation of the private and public aspects of her activity.

In his catalogue to the exhibition The Hand Holding the Brush: Self-Portraits by Canadian Artists, Robert Stacey discusses the importance of hands in the self-portrait.¹⁰⁷ Hands are crucial to the construction of the painted image; moreover, the manner of their inclusion or exclusion often distinguishes self-portraits from portraits. While she has omitted obvious references to the tools of her trade, Newton does include what might be a painter's palette in the bottom right corner. Furthermore, the subject's right arm is slightly extended from her torso, in a gesture consistent with the act of painting. Thus, Newton's expression, pose, and gaze reveal her absorption in an act of self-assessment.

The viewer's sensation of being "ignored" demonstrates the existence of the mirror, while Newton's absent hand, extended arm and suggested palette all refer to the act of self-portrayal. The portrait not only demonstrates her interest in self-promotion, but also confirms Pollock's claim that the artist's ideological and subjective inflections surface in compositions which subvert literal depiction in the expression of the artist's viewpoint.¹⁰⁸

Admittedly, references to Newton's public identity remain symbolic. Overtly, the self-portrait represents her in social isolation. In turn, she included few references to home and studio. The face and body are significant in the viewer's interpretation of the subject's identity. Pose, gesture, and demeanour are generally intuited as aspects of character; therefore, Newton's personality becomes the subject of the portrait. Felicity Edholm describes the effect of portraits which emphasize the character of their subjects:

The psychological portrait also tends to focus on the individual's uniqueness and difference to others, to emphasize the isolation of the individual: the aloneness. Many such portraits seem, in effect, to problematize the individual's relation to the world, and to stress the separation between the individual and the social world.¹⁰⁹

Edholm's description of the psychological portrait aptly describes Newton's painting. The self-portrait reveals both her public and private isolation, even as her face becomes a

locus of character. Notably, her emphasis on the self problematizes, rather than denies, her relation to the public sphere.

If we recall Shadbolt's description of the shift away from depictions of the landscape to representations of the figure, Newton's self-portrait becomes a manifestation of many artists' social concerns. Her exploration of self constitutes what Barbara Rose has described as a "primal act of self-consciousness" in which the artist considers her role as creator.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the self-portrait paradoxically acknowledges a larger community by questioning Newton's relationship to the social sphere. Painted in 1929, several years after the dissolution of the Beaver Hall Hill Group, four years prior to the CGP's formation, and twelve years before the Kingston Conference, Newton's self-portrait emerges as a symbol of the artist's growing need to redefine her relation to society. The paradox of Newton's self-portrait lies in its denial of the larger social context, even as it acknowledges community. The work reflects not only the reality of the isolated artist, but also her attempt to negotiate a place in society. Social identity becomes a prominent concern in the work because it suggests, like liminality, "a stage of reflection."¹¹¹ For Victor Turner, this stage permits the liminal figure to re-constitute the mass of her experience into its constituent

parts.¹¹² This process has implications for the self-portrait; the object of reflection becomes an examination of one's own identity, and therefore conforms to Shadbolt's description of social identity as that of artist to the artistic community. The relationship of portraiture to social identity as that of artist to society at large will be examined in my discussion of Paraskeva Clark's self-portraits.

2iii PARASKEVA CLARK: AESTHETIC PORTRAITIST TO COMMUNITY

The RCA annual exhibition of 1932 at the Art Gallery of Toronto marked both Clark's public debut as a painter,¹¹³ and her own sense of belonging to the Canadian visual arts community. The significance of this achievement to Clark (1898-1986) is revealed in the inscription of the Self-Portrait (1931-32, Private Collection, fig.2) she contributed: "[it] was accepted by jury and thus it became a 'foot /in the door' into the temple of Canadian Art." The inscription reveals the degree to which public recognition was important to Clark, who, as a recent immigrant, needed to find a niche.¹¹⁴ By the time she attended the Kingston Conference,¹¹⁵ Clark had participated in numerous exhibitions and belonged to the CGP, as well as the Canadian Society of Painters in Watercolour.¹¹⁶ Membership in art societies, and participation in exhibitions, gave her access to Toronto's arts community.

Clark's aesthetic was informed by her political affinity to her native Russia.¹¹⁷ She channelled a socialist ideology into overtly propagandistic figurative works and still-life compositions, notably in her Self-Portrait with Concert Programme, (1942, NGC, fig.3).¹¹⁸ In this self-portrait, as in Newton's, both the public and private aspects of the subject's identity are revealed. Clark's depiction of self, however, suggests a social identity quite different from Newton's. As the wife of a chartered accountant, Clark enjoyed an economic freedom denied to many artists. It was Newton, however, as a commissioned portraitist, who enjoyed the greatest economic stability during the Depression despite her responsibilities as mother and, after her divorce, as sole supporter of her son.¹¹⁹ During the early 1930s, the Clarks were forced to rely on financial assistance from close friends.¹²⁰ Furthermore, Clark's social position did not liberate her from domestic responsibilities, and it was this persistent drain on her time which she found most taxing.¹²¹ In numerous articles, interviews, and editorials of the 1930s and 1940s, she often alluded to the plight of the artist who, without the support of a private patron or a public institution, was forced to confront poverty or the possibility of abandoning art altogether. Amongst other proposals she encouraged the public to purchase contemporary

Canadian art, and suggested that galleries pay artists a fee for borrowing works for their travelling exhibitions.¹²²

The differences between Clark and Newton's situations become more apparent when we consider the politics of Clark's Self-Portrait with Concert Programme.

2iiia MARXISM AND SELF-PORTRAIT WITH CONCERT PROGRAMME

A comparison of Clark's and Newton's depictions of the private sphere reveals the contrast between the artists' self-conceptions as social beings. Newton's Self-Portrait (fig.1) describes little of the interior space in which she is situated, while Clark's more detailed representation of her Rosedale (Toronto) surroundings in Self-Portrait with Concert Programme suggests her privileged social position. Clark's self-portrayal delves further into her psychological state, and creates a greater intimacy between artist and viewer. While Newton's gaze and pose subtly suggest her activity at the moment of self-portrayal, Clark is seated and pensive. Clark's gaze invites the spectator into her home; her public persona is subverted by her earnest expression. Although Newton and Clark's self-portraits present aspects of their social identities, the latter portrait makes no overt reference to her public role as artist, and instead, offers a portrait of her private self.

This is not to say that Clark's Self-Portrait with Concert Programme does not advert to public concerns. A

conjunction of the aesthetic and the political occurs in this work; its propagandistic intent appears in its title: Self-Portrait with Concert Programme. The title refers to the "Salute to Russia" concert Clark attended in 1941. The event celebrated the Russian resistance to the German invasion of Leningrad that same year. Her use of the actual programme signals the leaflet's importance within the work. The programme is prominently displayed and is more clearly defined than the other objects in the room. The casualness with which the hands hold the leaflet is belied by the contrived, pointed legibility of its contents. The paper's lighter tone contrasts with its surroundings, and serves to balance Clark's pale face and hands. As a result, the political focus of the work becomes clear - the viewer is expected to consider the programme the nexus of her political and aesthetic interests.

The concert programme occupies a symbolic prominence as well. Clark uses her gaze and expression to direct the viewer to the political content of the self-portrait. The intensity of her meaningful expression incites the viewer to read the pamphlet and to consider its political implications. In Self-Portrait with Concert Programme, aspects of the private self are exploited to serve propagandistic ends in order to raise public consciousness of Russia's involvement in the war. In this way, the

political imperatives of Clark's self-portrait reflect both her private and public concerns.

The situation in the USSR had a personal impact on Clark, who still had family members living there. She explained the significance of the portrait to the Director of the National Gallery of Canada, Harry Orr McCurry,¹²³ who had asked that she remove the collaged programme:

I would be glad to paint the programme. At the time I couldn't dream it would be bought by someone and a real programme seemed to have more power as a message I wanted to send through my painting.¹²⁴

Interestingly, Clark's anticipation of the difficulty she might have selling the portrait would seem to subvert its propagandistic intent. However, the work did find an audience prior to its sale to the National Gallery at the CGP exhibition at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1942. Perhaps Clark hoped that the self-portrait would reach a wider audience in public exhibitions than in private sale. Whatever her intentions for the work, the political commentary was an essential component of Clark's Self-Portrait with Concert Programme, and in her conception of self.

Charles Hill raises an issue salient to Clark's politics when he points to the various impediments encountered by proponents of socialism. The poor marketability of works with political content presented a

real obstacle to their production and exhibition.¹²⁵

Another question to be considered is that Marxist theory militated against the production of objects for private consumption.¹²⁶ Clark seems not to have recognized the inherent contradiction in expressing such ideals in a work intended for private sale. This attitude can be attributed to her confidence in the artist's ability to effect social change. In an interview with Andrew Bell in 1948, she contended:

I usually think that art should be felt by the people as a necessity - as a strong pole of attraction - such as sports are now Good works of art should have that mass appeal. Naturally, there is a great need for a gentler, more personal type of art - good to have in one's own room But above all, the public has to be educated to want it as much as motor cars.

¹²⁷

In Clark's view, even works devoid of political commentary were useful because their real aim was to integrate art into everyday life. Quality was privileged over subject matter because the message was immaterial as long as its form could be appreciated by a general audience.

Clark's notion of form as spiritual communication explains her belief in the power of art to generate public interest in social issues. In the same interview, Clark elaborated her position:

I believe that art must be a means of spiritual communion among men and therefore - among nations - and accordingly we should consider the arts as the best channel for thinking out the building of the peaceful

world - the fondest dream of humanity.¹²⁸

Thus the paradox of Clark's aesthetic project, which married socialist ideals with the production of works for private consumption, was reconciled in her belief that even works of an aesthetic nature could play an instrumental role in building a better society. Clark's idealistic description of art's political efficacy was based on the conviction that a populist art would eventually become an ameliorative social tool. This belief was prevalent amongst members of the arts community during the 1930s and 1940s, and was often expressed in the print media, radio broadcasts, and public lectures of the period. Walter Abell, as editor of Canadian Art, the first national art periodical,¹²⁹ championed this integration of ethical and political issues¹³⁰ to the Canadian arts community. The similarity of Abell and Clark's aesthetic vision is evidenced by their respective writings, and in an exchange of personal letters in the late 1930s. In 1938, Abell encouraged her politicized aesthetic project, and expressed his conviction that its relevance to contemporary art production would assure Clark a position on the cutting edge of the Canadian art scene.¹³¹ Finally, the emergence of this heightened sense of social consciousness would prove a powerful force in determining artists' choice of subject matter.

2iiib ART AND POLEMICS: NATIONALISM VERSUS SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

During the 1930s and 1940s, artists' choice of subject matter took on a moral significance and became a source of heated debate. A now-famous series of articles by Bertram Brooker (1888-1955), Elizabeth Wyn Wood (1903-1966), Frank Underhill (1889-1971)¹³² and Paraskeva Clark highlight the three sides of the controversy. Brooker promoted the exaltation of the aesthetic over the socialist and the individualist/ nationalist positions presented respectively by Clark, Underhill, and Wyn Wood.¹³³ Thus, the polemic placed socialist and humanist issues in opposition to nationalist and purely aesthetic concerns. Furthermore, the proponents of the development of a purely Canadian iconography generally favoured landscape imagery which better reflected a Canadian tradition which, in Wyn Wood's words, looked to the "wilderness for spiritual stimulation and nourishment."¹³⁴ These issues were taken up often throughout the late 1930s and 1940s.

The Second World War helped solidify many artists' conviction that a re-evaluation of the importance of art and the role of the artist in society was necessary. Some artists such as Clark produced paintings with overtly political messages. Many members of the Canadian War Records Programme used print and drawing media to document the

suffering they witnessed in Europe. Other artists' humanist sympathies were expressed in depictions of the urban and rural poor.¹³⁵ Most canonical studies of art of the interwar period emphasize the national, regional, or idiosyncratic character of the works, and note a general lack of propagandistic intent. In Canadian Painting in the Thirties, Charles Hill declares that he found "surprisingly little overt political or social content" in spite of "the high degree of political activity among artists of the time."¹³⁶ This lack of overt political content notwithstanding, figurative art and portraiture do suggest an emergent social consciousness. Analyses of these genres add to our understanding of the political works of the period.¹³⁷

Many of the artists represented in Charles Hill's exhibition articulated their socialist affiliations, and insisted on the link between their shared political stance and their aesthetic production.¹³⁸ Artists of the period were prompted to consider the role their work might play in the betterment of society. Many critics and artists who linked the figure to more democratic art forms recognized the potential of portraiture and figurative compositions to function as political and social commentary.¹³⁹

2iiiic PORTRAITURE AND THE PARADOXICAL VISION

Jori Smith was a champion of this ideology. She like

Clark, was dedicated to socialism, and worked toward social reform with the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR), a group which she stated "wasn't left enough for me at all,"¹⁴⁰ and in her work for the Committee for Spanish Democracy.¹⁴¹ Although she did not describe her portraits as propagandistic, she did relate her production to a humanitarian cause. In a joint interview, Smith and her husband Jean Palardy (an avid painter during the 1930s)¹⁴² focussed on the necessity of depicting the human form. Smith emphasized specifically the importance of portraiture, and distinguishes the photograph from the painted portrait. Like Newton, she felt that only the latter medium permitted the interpretation of character and the inscription of the artist's vision.¹⁴³ Smith argued that the painter provides important insights into the human scene, and believed that portraiture offers the possibility of transcending the specificity of the depicted subject, to make statements about humanity:

Plus que jamais l'oeuvre du portraitiste demande une haute conscience artistique et un labeur incessant. Malheureusement le portraitiste aujourd'hui se voit dans une situation illogique. Pour vivre, il est trop souvent obligé de peindre ses portraits au goût de ceux qui les commandent; c'est pourquoi il ne peut manifester son individualité, puisque ses oeuvres deviennent des articles de commerce. Le portraitiste qui fait oeuvre d'art maintenant est celui qui choisit les têtes à sa guise et les peint en prenant pour seul critère son idéal.¹⁴⁴

In Smith's mind, portraiture provides the generic space to

articulate transcendental themes to be achieved by the tireless dedication of the socially committed artist. Her privileging of aesthetic integrity above economic impediments places the artist simultaneously in the sphere of the non-artist, and in the role of the seer. This dual role makes the artist an important contributing member of society. This paradoxical aesthetic vision is salient to the discussion of the figures of isolation depicted in the self-portraits by Newton and Clark, but requires a further delineation of artists' conceptions of the importance of the isolated figure to political democracy. In the interview of 1930, Smith does not forge a definitive link between her leftist politics and her belief in the primacy of the human figure. To understand the association between representations of humanity to democratic idealism, we must jump forward almost twenty years and consider the opinions of Barker Fairley.

In 1949, scholar, art critic, and portraitist Barker Fairley (1887-1987) answered his own query "What is Wrong with Canadian Art" by decrying the lack of rigour in Canadian art criticism which had permitted the Group of Seven's dominance:

What was needed then [since the late 1920s], and what is needed now is to set the whole subject matter of art free and not just the landscape part of it. It is the human subject, the human face, the human figure, whether alone or in groups or in crowds,

in town and country, in war and peace, in life and death, that is the real and central subject of art, as it is of society.¹⁴⁵

The preoccupation with landscape and nationalism prevented an artistic engagement with world issues. He insisted that "In an age of crisis like ours there has to be a sense of re-birth and of beginning again as well as a sense of destruction."¹⁴⁶ He thus proposed a re-evaluation of subject matter, and urged critics and artists to explore international political and art movements. He believed that the human subject would be the source of socially relevant art.

Paraskeva Clark anticipated Fairley's sentiment in an article in February 1943. Like Fairley, Clark argued that the artist would be an important figure in post-war reconstruction efforts and exhorted the recently formed FCA to address the "question of the education of the public and artists."¹⁴⁷ This extract distills the essence of her argument:

Now, we see that art is able to be a powerful force in wartime in the service of the nation, as the agent of inspiration, teaching, criticism, chastisement, or glorification. But it has to be of course, an art depicting the human being, human action, in order to produce in people's minds and hearts the desired effect In our overgrown "pioneering" delight in our wilderness, we neglected the study of the "pioneer," of the man The Post-War Art, if it wishes to be a strong, great, inspiring factor in the building of the new life, will have to be useful, clear, - human above all. Artists must study well the long

neglected (and most difficult) subject, "the fellow man," so that Canada will never again find itself lagging behind other countries in this respect.¹⁴⁸

Here, Clark expresses her belief in art's transformative power by asserting the depiction of the person as essential to social change. In this manner, the notion of progress is invariably linked to an aesthetic examination of other members of the community. Despite their failure to create a definitive link between portraiture and their commitment to socialism, Clark, Smith, and Fairley do assert that the description of the community must inevitably reside in the aesthetic examination of self.

2iiid SELF-PORTRAITURE, DIALOGISM, AND LIMINALITY

We are now prepared to consider the political and aesthetic implications of Clark's other self-portraits. The propagandistic elements of Self-Portrait with Concert Programme (fig.3) are absent in her Self-Portrait (1937, Dalhousie Art Gallery, fig.4). Nevertheless, the latter work approaches the former in its depiction of private and public identity. While the plants which decorate the window might appear to refer exclusively to the domestic realm, her fashionable clothes, confident demeanour, and steady gaze suggest an apparent social ease. By reconciling aspects of public and private identity, Clark intuited Rom Harré and Daniel C. Dennett's distinction between collective and

unique identity.¹⁴⁹ These social constructivists define collective identity as that concept of self which is composed by the individual's interaction with community, and unique identity as that notion of consciousness which separates the individual from the community. It is in consciousness that the capacity for autobiography and for organizing memory and ideas resides - together they form a concept of a unique self. Further, Harré and Dennett contend that the public and private self are fictional constructions. The concept of public identity permits our social/professional selves to interact in the larger community, while personal identity gives coherence to our lives by creating a mnemonic narrative. This "narrative of selfhood" allows not only for self-representation, but also permits the community to respond to and assist us in the creation of the narrative.¹⁵⁰ The dialogical interaction of public, private and the subject illuminates Clark's articulation of identity in her self-portraits.

In Self-Portrait (fig.4), Clark's face is framed by her cupped hand and cocked hat in a coquettish gesture which reveals the purposiveness of the act of self-fashioning. In this way, the personal and the social are conflated into a coherent whole for public consumption. Unlike the picture of isolation evoked by Newton's Self-Portrait (fig.1), Clark's gaze and aspect confront the viewer directly. In a less

formal study entitled Self-Portrait (c.1929-1930, Collection of Artist's Family, fig.5), she further demonstrates the degree to which the act of self-portrayal is related to the construction of identity for the public. On the image itself, Clark wrote:

ce n'est pas a portrait of the artist done by 'the artist' mais on petit croquis a peine touche avec couleur je veus l'envoie - car il me ressemble pas mal Je suis si difficile a dessiner - autant qu'y photographier - mes traits sont tous a la limite entre beauté et laideur...(sic).

While the self-portrait satisfies the artist's demand for likeness, the study's informality and her unhappiness with her own features prompt her to reject the image as a true depiction of self. Thus, Clark's disavowal of the portrait is related to an ideal conception of self as a feminine subject, and to her artistic standards. The image is not a true "portrait of 'the artist' done by the artist" because she was not able to demonstrate her command of portraiture. The rejection of the image's "truth" suggests not only her exacting aesthetic standards, but also indicates that she is engaged in a conscious act of self-portrayal.¹⁵¹ The verbal text becomes an essential component of the spectator's evaluation of Clark's identity.

In her Self-Portrait (fig.5), Clark emphasized her isolation by restricting temporal and corporeal references. The temporal becomes the pivot upon which to distinguish

public and private identity; social identity is articulated as a "unity over time," while private self is explained as a "unity at a time."¹⁵² This distinction between private and public identity can be further understood as a unity of consciousness and a unity of consciousness combined with action, respectively.¹⁵³ Divorced from the sphere of action, the face presents little of the unity of consciousness "over time." While the self-portrait's verbal and visual texts improve the viewer's understanding of the subject's identity, the image fails to conform to the artist's private conception of self ("unity of consciousness at a time"), so inextricably bound to the role of artist is her sense of self.

Clark intuited the dialogical process between self and community in a striking interpretation of identity originally entitled Myself.¹⁵⁴ In this more formal self-portrait, Clark made no overt reference to her career. The title, however, signalled her reconciliation of the extremes of beauty and ugliness that, for her, marred the production of the earlier work. Her satisfaction with the resolution of the portrait suggests the degree to which she considered her public persona as artist crucial to the understanding of her essence. This gives credence to Dennett's theory that both public and private self are accessible to public consumption, and that self and identity are arbitrary

constructions which organize memories and experience into a coherent whole to permit movement in the social realm. Conversely, public and private identity are understood through one's engagement with community; it is not possible to conceive or to describe self outside the sphere of action. Thus, a sense of identity is achieved in a dialogical process between self and community.

The self-portraits by Newton and Clark can be understood as indices of the dialogical relationship of self and community in another important respect: the genre is essential to the artists' sense of social identity. In their decision to offer their self-portrayals to the public, they have re-presented themselves to the community and thus initiate the dialogical process. As long as an audience continues to consider the images, the dialogical process persists because the viewer brings a subjectivity to her/his reading of the portraits. The artists' social ease is apparent, as they both embrace a kind of elegance that eschews any hint of bohemianism. In this way, the self-portraits displace the notion of the artists as isolated eccentrics.

The capacity of self-portraiture to function as an effective political tool is limited if it represents merely individuals with a serious commitment to social change. Clark's understanding of the artist's role in society

explains her seemingly paradoxical commitment to both depictions of the individual and to social commentary. This paradox suggests the liminality of her position; the self-consciousness implicit in the production of the self-portrait demonstrates that the subject is placing herself in opposition to societal structure. This is achieved by contextualizing the self (a figure of movement) within a community framework that is essentially fixed. In this manner, the liminal figure assumes a pivotal role in the "maintenance of a stable but oscillating society, one that moves from presently defined social structure, through contained liminal experiences, to renewed and renovated social structure."¹⁵⁵ In a statement made in 1944, Clark explains the artist's social obligation and her relation to this regenerative process:

An artist's eyes become expert in seeing things - which other people do not, in the same manner, as they would not hear the elements of music in the sounds of life around, as musicians would; it is like reading the blue print of a machine by an expert; like seeing a plan of construction by an architect.¹⁵⁶

Clark describes the artist as a visionary, a seer, who is entrusted with the responsibility to interpret the world of experience. This role necessarily separates the artist from the rest of the community, since it is the nature of the visionary to present conclusions unilaterally. The eye of the artist (that is, vision) is granted a political and

epistemological primacy that argues for her function as a liminal mediator within the culture at large. In Clark's case, the notion of artist as visionary is compromised by the depth of her commitment to Marxist values.

If we return to the self-portraits, we can consider their subtlety as political interventions. As commodities self-portraits have a commemorative status which endows them with a public, honorific quality. The portrayal of the artist's position in society not only asks viewers to ponder the self-portrait as an art object, but also prompts them to consider the social potential of the artistic process. The self-portrait stands as an artifact of the artist's vocation as visionary; as a result, the public can interrogate and interpret the artists' function in society. The dialogical relation of artist to community continues as the work of art offers an interpretation of the socio-political environment to individuals in society, who in turn complete the work through interpretation and analysis. The self-portrait is thus presented as a powerful form of communication of social and political consequence.

The social possibilities of portraiture were not explored by the visual arts community with any depth, however. The suspicion of ideology which attended the dilution of several art societies in the 1930s precluded any coherent investigation of portraiture as a tool for social

change. By the 1950s, abstraction had displaced landscape and portraiture. Canadian artists became more interested in international movements which challenged aesthetic, formal, and technical conventions, and privileged the exploration of a highly individualized mode of expression. Portraiture, then, occupied the gap between the Group of Seven's nationalism and the abstraction of the 1950s. Although landscape persisted as a prominent motif in Canadian art in the interwar period, depictions of the human subject also held a significant position during the interwar period. The liminal spirit of this moment in Canadian art received its strongest acknowledgment at the Kingston Conference, when the participants shed the constraints of ideological division to develop more dynamic and productive relationships. Furthermore, as part of the larger social and political milieu, portraiture formulated a myriad of alternative images of Canadian identity.

The movement toward abstraction had very different professional implications for Newton and Clark. In the post-World War II period, Newton enjoyed a productive, high-profile career as a portrait painter.¹⁵⁷ Since her politics remained unobtrusively conservative, she continued to receive a variety of lucrative commissions. With the fading influence of art societies, Newton maintained ties to the art community in her friendships with such luminaries as

André Biéler.¹⁵⁸ Clark and Smith, however, had difficulty producing art after the advent of abstraction. In a letter to Marius Barbeau in 1945, Smith expressed her growing sense of isolation from a public who no longer seemed to appreciate her work. She felt that her painting was steadily improving but remarked that "fewer and fewer people like my work" and in a qualified way related this to her gender when she stated:

It's awful to be a woman painter. You have to be 75, nearly in the grave and paralysed like what's her name out west before any specific attention is paid you I'm only kidding of course. It would be childish to get worked up at a state of affairs that is traditional for both sexes in this métier, (sic).¹⁵⁹

Nearly thirty years later, Smith spoke of the pressure she felt to conform to the new currents in art:

I have never really been interested in abstract, although I did feel that what I was doing was inadequate, and everybody told me that I wasn't a contemporary and that I should really break away from what I was doing, and I did try. In fact for about two years I really tried to paint in that fashion, but it just wasn't me. It just wasn't myself.¹⁶⁰

Similarly, by the 1950s, Clark had virtually given up portraiture, turning instead to landscape, still-life, and abstraction¹⁶¹ in her frustration at being excluded from the contemporary art scene. Unlike Smith, Clark was firm in her conviction that gender played an important role in determining the success of the artist. Her commitment to the avant-garde forced her to take up contemporary forms of

expression. The access she had previously enjoyed had been cut off, as a male-dominated avant-garde began to stifle her ability to paint works for public view: "painting is not a woman's job - if I were a man I could be hard-hearted, selfish, and paint modern art. But I'm not and I can't."¹⁶² Clark's disappointment with the direction of the Canadian art scene reflects the isolation she experienced after the shift to abstraction. No longer able to communicate in her own voice, Clark was excluded by the very community she wished to serve.

3. RECONSTRUCTING SOCIAL ROLES: THE PORTRAIT AS A LIMINAL SPACE

The subject of this chapter is the elision of public and private identity in the portraits of women artists during the interwar period. In this chapter, public and private will refer to the professional and domestic spheres, respectively. I will argue that the construction of identity within the portrait image mimics the formulation of the human subject as social being. I will focus on the issue of identity by 1) emphasizing the structuring of artists' social identities, and 2) examining how this structuring of identity is manifested in the artists' use of societal codes to construct images of feminine and masculine identity in the accepted norms of the period. Therefore, this chapter will focus on the construction of the portrait subject. The public/private schema developed and applied by feminist anthropologists and social critics to consider women's position in society will provide the framework for a theoretical approach to study the ways in which women artists used portraiture as a means of gaining access to the public sphere, and the manner in which the domestic and public spheres were represented.

The discussion in this chapter will therefore focus on portraits by Lillias Torrance Newton, Paraskeva

Clark, and Prudence Heward to demonstrate how these women negotiated the boundaries between the public and private in their art, with very different artistic and personal implications for each. With these implications in mind, I will consider the extent to which these artists' exploitation of the social border found at the intersection of public and private provided them access to the historically male-dominated public arenas of politics, commerce and the professions. The social realm, by contrast, was shared by both men and women; it provided women with a public venue for self-expression, while for men the social sphere was an extension of their private experience. The inscription of feminine experience into the portrait genre reveals that the personal is indeed political because, as the embodiment of the feminine imagination, the portrait was able to become part of the social sphere, and thereby provided women with a point of entry into the public domain.

The politicization of the portrait as a representation of self will emerge as the issue with which I will argue that the genre is a potentially liminal space. The portrait becomes a site of resistance between the subject's public, social and private identities. Liminality offers the possibility

of creating a *communitas*, "a state in which persons confront each other not as players of persona roles, but as "human totals," as "integral beings who recognizably share the same humanity."¹⁶³ The standard notions of the gendered subject are disrupted by the creation of a liminal field in a number of the portraits to be discussed in this chapter. Liminality problematizes the schematic representation of gendered subjects - the old codes remain, but they are placed in a field of tension with new subject positions. The portraits suggest that the social was viewed as a liminal space in which the negotiation of old and new was conducted. In this manner, the creation of a liminal space or gap permits the introduction of feminine experience into the public sphere.

3.i LILIAS TORRANCE NEWTON: COMMISSIONS AND COLLABORATION

For Liliias Torrance Newton access to the professional public sphere was not only a matter of personal ambition, but also of economic necessity. Following her divorce in 1933, Newton depended entirely on portraiture for economic self-sufficiency. Fortunately for Newton the economic crisis which affected most sectors of society during the 1930s did not diminish the demand for official portraiture. In

fact, the Depression provided portraitists with a better livelihood because of a scarcity of artists available to satisfy institutional and corporate needs for honorific works.¹⁶⁴ Her official commissions included such members of the elite as cabinet ministers, university deans and professors, military officers, scientists, and socialites, as well as Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip. In keeping with the honorific intent of such portraits, these works tended to emphasize professional or otherwise public accomplishments, rather than their characters. While conventions of official portraiture imposed formal and interpretive restrictions on the portraitist, many of Newton's commissioned works demonstrate her sense of colour, form, and compositional structure, as well as her ability to discern the less obvious aspects of her sitters' characters. Newton refused commissions which demanded that she compromise her aesthetic vision. In fact, she permitted no interference from the subject's family or friends. She did, however, privilege the sitter's own expectations. Newton states: that "a portrait ought to please the subject - it's his face! It's a matter for the two of us, and if it's a failure we both know it. We rarely disagree."¹⁶⁵ This compatibility of vision not only signals Newton's

ability to select sympathetic subjects, but also her diligent efforts to draw sitters out through conversation. She talked to her subjects "all the time" and felt it a natural outgrowth of "working on something together."¹⁶⁶ Recognizing the importance of this spirit of cooperation is essential to understanding Newton's aesthetic. She felt that "people half paint their own portraits,"¹⁶⁷ explaining that the "impact of the sitter's personality on mine is what I paint. There must be sympathy between the subject and the artist for the portrait to be good."¹⁶⁸ Thus Newton's aesthetic depended significantly on a collaborative and dynamic relationship between artist and sitter.

3.ia THE SELF-CONSTRUCTING SUBJECT: PORTRAIT OF ERIC BROWN

Let us look at how Newton's collaboration manifests itself in Portrait of Eric Brown (c.1933, NGC, fig.7). The sympathy between artist and subject is revealed in the personal nature of Newton's portrayal of Eric Brown who, as Director of the National Gallery of Canada during the turbulent years 1913-39,¹⁶⁹ supported her work.¹⁷⁰ Newton described Brown as a "very courageous" and "wonderful person."¹⁷¹ Although Brown's courage is not depicted with readily

identifiable attributes of bravery, his casual pose suggests the ease of a man confident in his role as public servant. Similarly, his visual sensibility and determination are represented in his unflinchingly piercing gaze. Newton discerned these personal attributes through her identification or sympathy with the subject.

The placement of the figure in an interior setting, and the subject's deliberate casualness help construct what art historian Dorothy Farr has described as Brown's "rumpled, scholarly image."¹⁷²

Interestingly, the portrait revealed fewer details of the subject's public life than it did about how the sitter wished to be represented. Eric Brown was not an academic, yet he projected the image of the "rumpled" intellectual. Indeed, the collaborative relationship between artist and sitter was informed by a mutual and tacit understanding of societal codes which make such representations of identity comprehensible to an audience. As Richard Brilliant suggests:

Social roles, however enacted, are like masks or disguises, carefully assumed by individuals in order to locate themselves in a society conditioned to recognize and identify these forms of representation in practice and in art.¹⁷³

Brilliant's insight regarding the construction of self

in life and art is particularly relevant to a discussion of Newton's portraits because of the artist's respect for her subject's self-image. Brown's portrait reflects his self-conception as a public figure and private individual. His desire to be portrayed informally in an intimate setting seems to blur the boundary between his public and private lives. Unlike most officially commissioned works, professional status recedes to the background of this image, which, in spite of either overt or covert references to public life, draws attention to the subject's character. Despite the benefit of university credentials, Brown was nevertheless instrumental in the development and the reception of the visual arts in Canada. The awkwardly informal pose and casual sweater are more evocative of his erstwhile identity as a country gentleman than of the contemplative life of the scholar.¹⁷⁴ To use Brilliant's term, Brown's self-conceptualization as social being depends upon a disguise.

3.1b ARTIST AS PORTRAIT SUBJECT

While the relationship of portraitist to sitter was sometimes preceded by friendship, Newton preferred to paint strangers: "With friends, I find I know too much about them, and this makes my choice of pose and

expression more complicated."¹⁷⁵ Despite her restrictions, Newton's portraits of contemporaries and friends are amongst her strongest works. It is more plausible that she felt intimidated by her artist peers whose expectations would have included a demand for likeness or symbols of public achievement, and a conformity to certain aesthetic considerations. Not surprisingly, Newton's reservations were not shared by the painters A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974) and Lawren Harris (1885-1970), who were familiar with her work, and demonstrated their confidence in her abilities by posing for her.¹⁷⁶ Harris further affirmed Newton's skill when he later responded to requests for photographs of himself by offering reproductions of Portrait of Lawren Harris (c.1939, NGC, fig.8).¹⁷⁷

Jackson collaborated more fully with Newton than most of her subjects by painting the background landscape of Portrait of A.Y. Jackson (1936, NGC, fig.9) himself, using one of his studies owned by Newton.¹⁷⁸ Harris' and Jackson's actions clearly demonstrate Newton's conviction that "people half paint their own portraits." While Newton's insightful character studies build upon her knowledge of her friends and peers, the portraits of Harris and Jackson, like that of Eric Brown, are equally dedicated to the public self the

sitter wished to project.

In Portrait of Lawren Harris (fig.8), the subject's composure suggests a man confident in the security of his social position. Born into the fortunes of the Massey-Harris firm¹⁷⁹, and to parents who recognized and supported his artistic ambitions¹⁸⁰, Harris enjoyed a financial independence unusual for most artists. Well-groomed and crisply elegant, Harris seems at ease in the traditional attire of the well turned-out male, and the truncated view of the sitter draws attention to the face. Harris was a committed student of theosophy,¹⁸¹ and in his furrowed brow, and sad, introspective eyes the viewer is made aware of the man's spiritual and contemplative nature. His gaze, like Eric Brown's, is directed at the viewer, but this time we are not challenged; instead, we are permitted to observe the subject engage in a private moment of self-revelation.

Jackson's (fig.9) expression of concentrated determination contrasts with Harris' quiet thoughtfulness, and the ambiguity of the space with sharply angled and indistinct objects, disrupts the traditional relationship of spectator to subject.¹⁸² The unsettling composition of the Portrait of A.Y. Jackson underscores the intensity of the subject's

gaze, giving the image an immediacy which contrasts with Harris' apparent serenity. A sense of intimacy is established between the viewer and Jackson, whose expression and steady gaze suggest that he may himself be caught in a private moment of portrayal. In deference to her mentor, Newton yields the completion of the background landscape to him. It stands in metonymic relation to his public role as Canada's foremost landscape artist. This representation of a self which exists on the border of private and public spheres signals a liminality, a "sense of crossing and re-crossing borders."¹⁸³ Symbolically, the boundary between public and private is elided as Jackson is situated on the liminal border of two pictorial spaces; the personal portrait that dominates the foreground is countervailed by Jackson's execution of the background landscape. This liminality is also apparent in visual terms. The ambiguity of the pictorial space draws attention to the portrait as a painting, and challenges the viewer to consider simultaneously A.Y. Jackson as an independent subject and as a painted object.

3.ic FASHIONING THE SUBJECT: PORTRAIT OF MRS. GILLSON

Newton was aware of the ways in which her portrait subjects represented themselves to the spectator. She was especially attracted to the social "masks and

disguises" women deliberately assumed to position themselves in the social sphere. The Portrait of Mrs. Gillson or Lady in Black, (c.1936, MMFA, fig.10) is an example of how the artist and subject collaborated to portray aspects of feminine identity and an instructive contrast to the portraits of men examined thus far. Newton preferred women subjects because "their characters appear more definite, even though they are more subtle. There is more colour to work with, and I feel I can paint a more imaginative portrait of a woman, because of her clothes, through which she expresses herself."¹⁸⁴ Newton's recognition that fashion is an important means of self-construction anticipates feminist Angela Partington's assertion that:

Women take pleasure, they are not given it ... women's use of "fashion," for example, to structure their tastes, runs counter to the individual/universal dualism of patriarchal discourses, creating identifications and difference at the same time. The tension between the conditions of existence and these dominated pleasures is a constant threat to hegemony.¹⁸⁵

While some argue that fashion forces women to conform to an imposed gendered ideal, Partington asserts that women use fashion to express both their shared experience and their individuality, thereby resisting the hegemony of the male gaze and systems of

patriarchal power. Feminist theorist Michelle Z. Rosaldo's assertion that women's status in society is "not in any direct sense a product of the things she does ... but of the meanings her activities acquire through concrete social interaction"¹⁸⁶ amplifies Partington's argument by suggesting that women's activities cannot be divorced from the larger social context which gives them meaning. Fashion and other culturally defined attributes of femininity are not, in and of themselves, demeaning to women. They only become oppressive when associated with activities or behaviour considered distinct from, and inferior to, the masculine ideal.

If we consider the Portrait of Mrs. Gillson, we see that Newton emphasized the subject's evening gown by repeating the forms and colour found in the dress in the background. Contrasted with the images of men discussed thus far, the full-length representation of Mrs. Gillson provided more information about its subject. Newton captured the elegance, pose, and attire of the subject, and thus acknowledged the significance of dress to this woman's sense of social identity.

3.1d MASCULINE IDENTITY AND THE SOCIAL SPHERE

Newton believed that men were more "stereotyped"

than women, explaining that the men she painted "wanted portraits for company boardrooms, for universities, and for the House of Commons, in traditional poses."¹⁸⁷ As noted earlier, the portraits of Eric Brown, Lawren Harris, and A.Y. Jackson, demonstrated the way in which the social sphere was differentiated for men because, setting aside their informality and emphases on character, they evoked the subjects' public professional identities. Carole Pateman describes the divisions that characterize the masculine sphere:

The separation between private and public is thus re-established as a division within civil society itself, within the world of men. The separation is then expressed in a number of different ways, not only private and public but also, for example, "society" and "state"; or "economy" and "politics"; or "freedom" and "coercion"; or "social" and "political".¹⁸⁸

For men the public sphere is not monolithic or egalitarian. In the social sphere they participate in "private" activities but retain indices of public identity because the male:

is seen in abstraction from his ascribed familial relations and those with his fellow men. He is a "private" individual, but he needs a sphere in which he can exercise his rights and opportunities, pursue his (private) interests and protect and increase his (private) property.¹⁸⁹

Thus the male is viewed as an autonomous individual belonging to the public sphere, but needing to express

his "individuality" in the civil or social setting. This individuality is usually understood in terms of the male's achievements in the public sphere.

Eric Brown, for example, "wears" his achievements in his confidently "thrown-on" jacket and tie; the directness of his gaze combined with his self-consciously informal pose serve to construct his professional identity. Similarly, Lawren Harris and A.Y. Jackson might be said to assume the poses of those confident in the knowledge of their secure position within the artistic community. For Harris this confidence suggests the economic and social stability associated with belonging to one of the most prosperous manufacturing families in the country. Undoubtedly the tenacity and strength of character needed by artists to forge a public reputation and achieve economic independence in an insecure profession is revealed in Jackson's determined expression, and the background landscape bears his unmistakable style thereby underscoring his public role as artist. Given Liliias Torrance Newton's commitment to the collaborative process, these images must be understood as representations of the subjects' public aspirations and as reflections of artistic vision. These portraits represent men in private moments of reflection but

evoke their public life.

3.1e FEMININE IDENTITY AND THE SOCIAL SPHERE

Apart from the minority of employed women, the social sphere has been the only avenue into the public arena for most women. For those who remained at home in the 1930s and 1940s to raise children and care for their husbands, social interaction provided one of the few opportunities to engage with the outside world.¹⁹⁰

Women who worked exclusively in the home could only gain access to the public sphere through the social sphere. Depending on the social and economic situation of the family, young women were introduced into society during their teen years. This further demonstrates some of the ways in which women were dependent on others to gain access to the public domain.

In Portrait of Mrs. Gillson such aspects of private identity as personal aesthetic are expressed through the subjects' choice of dress; nevertheless, these indices of individuality derive meaning from, and in, the larger social context. Mrs. Gillson's personal grace, poise and refinement emerge as exemplary qualities of her social rank. For her, a public face was constructed, like many women of the period, in the social.

Newton recognized the importance of fashion to women's self-definition, and thus tacitly acknowledged that men and women are differently located in the public and private spheres. The portraits themselves reveal that men and women's experiences of the private contrast sharply. The subjects of Eric Brown, Lawren Harris, and A.Y. Jackson register their awareness of the viewer by assuming poses of an obviously self-conscious nature. Eric Brown's casualness is belied by the difficulty of maintaining a pose for an extended period of time. Similarly Lawren Harris' rigid posture seems more appropriate to formal rather than informal portraiture. Brown and Jackson seem especially reticent, even hostile to the viewer's gaze: the former glares while the latter scowls. These men seem ill at ease in their roles as passive subjects. Conversely, Mrs Gillson appears more comfortable in her private setting. In light of Newton's cooperative approach to portraiture, Mrs. Gillson's averted face is not a reflection of her quiescence before an objectifying gaze which renders her passive.¹⁹¹ Instead, the portrait functions as a site for the inscription of feminine identity as interpreted by artist and subject in a collaborative process.

Newton's own public persona helped her to become a

portraitist. More than one newspaper article reveals that she was well-accepted by her social group of peers and contemporaries. Art critic Pearl McCarthy, who met Newton in Montréal,¹⁹² described her as "urbane, intelligent, cosmopolitan, slim with auburn hair."¹⁹³ Other reviewers seemed relieved that she did not exhibit any "of the smart sophistication which the world calls Bohemian."¹⁹⁴ One critic qualified his praise with a small reservation: "the only note of unorthodoxy in her grey tweed suit ensemble was a long speckled feather which spiralled from her green hat."¹⁹⁵ Another reviewer paid Newton an interesting compliment: the "artist draws with a firm masculine hand for the most part." When Newton deviated from "her severe, rugged, masculine style" she did so in a feminine and "elusive manner appropriate to her female subjects."¹⁹⁶ Clients seemed equally taken with Newton as attested by Dorothea Fyfe's effusion: "You fit so beautifully (and ornamentally!) into so many circles. I feel truly sorry that having found you we (in a sense) lose you."¹⁹⁷ Fyfe's comment demonstrates the degree to which Newton's social presence helped her gain acceptance in her public role as artist. She, like her female clients, mediated the gap between the public and private arena through the social sphere. Interestingly,

Newton's access to the public domain of the professional artist was dependent on traditional concepts of a "masculine" painting style and "feminine" fashion and social acumen.

3.ii PARASKEVA CLARK: PORTRAITS OF INTIMACY

Paraskeva Clark was not dependent on portraiture for her livelihood; therefore, unlike Newton, her stylish fashion sense had little to do with her success as an artist. There were also fewer restrictions regarding her choice in subject matter, and she worked in a number of genres. From 1931, after her marriage, she benefited from an economic freedom not shared by many artists. Clark complained in later years of the practical difficulties associated with the production of portraiture; however, she was not compelled to "collaborate" with her sitters. In spite of the domestic responsibilities which limited her production, she was freer to use her subjects to explore a personal aesthetic.

3.iiia THE GAZE IN A LIMINAL SPACE: PORTRAIT OF PHILIP

In her portrait of her husband Philip (1933, Collection of the Artist's Family, fig.11), Clark reveals aspects of her personal life while constructing an image of masculine identity as did Newton in Portrait of Eric Brown. Like Brown, Philip Clark's

attire - suit, tie, and vest - signal his public professional identity. Although his occupation as chartered accountant is not discernible, his quiet composure suggests a man confident in his public success. The viewer is offered architectural and decorative details which place Clark in a well-delineated home environment. The repetition of parallel and perpendicular lines, and the square canvas create a stable domestic scene. Brown's setting, while clearly an interior space, is less defined; the sitter's proximity and gaze situate the viewer uncomfortably in the same space.

Griselda Pollock has described the compression of space and its effect on the viewer in her analysis of the paintings of Berthe Morisot (1841-1895) and Mary Cassatt (1845-1926):

One of the major means by which femininity is thus reworked is by the rearticulation of traditional space so that it ceases to function primarily as the space of sight for a mastering gaze, but becomes the locus of relationships. The gaze that is fixed on the represented figure is that of equal and like and this is inscribed into the painting by that particular proximity which I suggested characterized the work. There is little extraneous space to distract the viewer from the inter-subjective encounter or to reduce the figures to objectified staffage, or to make them the objects of a voyeuristic gaze. The eye is not given its solitary freedom. The women depicted function as subjects of their own looking or their [own] activity,

within highly specified locations of which the viewer becomes a part.¹⁹⁸

Pollock contends that the immediacy of works which eliminate extraneous space forces the spectator to assume a less voyeuristic position towards the portrait subject. She relates this concept of space to the difference in men and women's different experiences of the public and private spheres. Pollock's observations enable me to analyze the viewer's position in relation to the portraits of Eric Brown and Philip Clark. Clark, who looks unthreateningly and distractedly beyond the viewer, is situated below the spectator's line of vision, while the unsettling tenacity of Brown's challenging gaze is accentuated by Newton's placement of Brown at eye level. The spectator is far more implicated in the portrait of Eric Brown because of the more dramatic compression of space. However, both portraits derive power by demanding that the spectator assume the artist's attitude to the sitter. The intensity of the viewer's encounter with Eric Brown is perhaps reflective of Newton's esteem for her subject. Newton's acquaintanceship with Brown was cordial,¹⁹⁹ but professional; on the other hand, Clark's portrayal of her husband was informed by the intimacy of marriage and was not only a representation of Philip Clark the

man, but also of conjugal stability. The portrait of Clark was executed several years into their marriage, and a few months before the birth of their son in June, 1933. Without speculating on the nature of the Clark's marriage, one can say that their intimacy was a constitutive element of the work. By depicting the site of their shared experience in the domestic sphere, the portrait represents a place where the Clarks' relationship found its most private expression.

This stability notwithstanding, the treatment of pictorial space in Portrait of Philip disrupts the spectator's received notions of engagement with real space. The pictorial space emerges as a liminal site of struggle between the public and private spheres. The sense of dislocation and discomfiture experienced by the viewer is evoked by the sharp downward angularity of not only the composition, but also of the position of the subject. The viewer is given the impression that were it not for the anchoring position of Clark's foot, he might very well slide out of the composition. The subject's effort to maintain equilibrium is an index of a necessary effect of liminality, which, as a locus of ambiguity, separates the person from her/his social persona.²⁰⁰ The liminality of this image emerges from the placement of the publically defined male in the

traditionally female domestic sphere. The portrait of Philip Clark therefore reminds us of how the social realm is differentiated for men and women. As in the portraits of Eric Brown and Lawren Harris, Philip Clark is removed from the public sphere of action but his presentation evokes his public identity because he is seen wearing attire suitable to his profession. Thus the unsettledness evoked by the portrait arises from Philip's attempt to maintain his non-liminal status in a liminal space.

3.iib PORTRAIT SUBJECT AS SELF-IDENTIFICATION: PORTRAIT OF NAOMI YANOVA

In Portrait of Naomi Yanova (1934, Private Collection, fig.12) the subject stands in closer proximity to the viewer, face to face at eye level, creating an image of greater immediacy than the portrait of Philip Clark. Using the terms of reference established by Griselda Pollock, Naomi Yanova has claimed her subject position in relation to the viewer. While she is situated in the private interior space of what is probably the home, objects and architectural elements are cut off by the pictorial frame creating a sense of dislocation for the viewer, which opens up new possibilities for her/his relationship to the pictorial space. Pollock's analysis of Cassatt's compositions

might well be applied to Clark's portrait of her friend, Naomi Yanova:

In the case of Mary Cassatt I would now want to draw attention to the disarticulation of the conventions of geometric perspective which had normally governed the representation of space in European painting since the fifteenth century. Since its development in the fifteenth century, this mathematically calculated system of projection had aided painters in the representation of a three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional surface by organizing objects in relation to each other to produce a notional and singular position from which the scene is intelligible ... It is possible to represent space by other conventions. Instead of pictorial space functioning as a notional box into which objects are placed in a rational and abstract relationship, space is represented according to the way it is experienced by a combination of touch, texture, as well as sight. Thus objects are patterned according to subjective hierarchies of value for the producer. Phenomenological space is not orchestrated for sight alone but by means of visual cues refers to other sensations and relations of bodies and objects in a lived world. As experiential space this kind of representation becomes susceptible to different ideological, historical as well as purely contingent, subjective inflections.²⁰¹

Pollock's theory regarding Cassatt's arrangement of objects within pictorial space has implications with respect to Clark's portrait of Yanova because it provides the means for interpreting the relationships amongst artist, sitter, phenomenological space, and gender.

As in the Portrait of Philip, Naomi Yanova

establishes a close relationship between the subject and the viewer, and, as in the former work, reveals Clark's identification with her sitter. The distinctions between the portraits reveal differences in Clark's relationship to, and understanding of, her subjects. The portrait of Philip Clark, in its delineation of private space, uses the geometry of architectural detail (floor, window, walls, and mouldings) common to most interiors. This structure emphasizes the rigidity of geometric shapes which construct the figure, and suggests traditional markings of rationality and masculinity. By contrast, traditional symbols of femininity abound in the portrait of Naomi Yanova: the dress, flowers, and truncated view of living room furniture provide the only visual cues necessary to the evocation of the phenomenological spaces associated with the feminized domestic sphere. It was this sphere in which, as a wife and mother, Paraskeva Clark's own identity found expression. Furthermore, Clark's liberal use of colour and her attention to detail in Yanova's dress remind us of Newton's reasons for preferring women as portrait subjects. A consideration of Clark's stylish clothing in Self-Portrait (fig.6), discussed in the previous chapter, encourages further speculation that Clark

shared Newton's views regarding women's use of fashion as a means of self-expression. Clark's preference for the smart elegance of basic black over the grey tweed suits favoured by Newton²⁰² reveals her attraction to the Paris chic of such "modern" designers as Coco Chanel, and demonstrates Partington's contention that women use fashion to express both their shared experience and their individuality. While Clark's portrait of her husband represents an intimate aspect of her private identity, her depiction of Yanova is equally indicative of her gendered experience of the private sphere.

Notably, Clark's portrait of her friend Naomi Yanova²⁰³ comes closer to a commissioned portrait than any of her other works. Clark painted the portrait in partial repayment of a loan the Adaskins²⁰⁴ extended to the Clarks during the middle of the Depression. Evidently as a chartered accountant Philip Clark fared less well than did Newton as a commissioned portraitist. Still, the portrait must be considered a token of friendship. Unlike Newton's commissions, Clark's success as an artist was not in any direct sense dependent upon strict adherence to social convention. One of the ways in which Clark expressed this freedom was to socialize with the more "bohemian"

members of the artistic community and, after meeting Norman Bethune in 1936, to become more involved in leftist politics.²⁰⁵

3.iic CLOSING THE GAP: GENDER AND THE PORTRAITURE GENRE

Clark had difficulty reconciling her private family life, social obligations, and her art. She resented the restrictions that a busy domestic and social life imposed on her artistic production which she articulated often in interviews: "There's just cooking, cooking, cooking, Loblaws [and] Dominion."²⁰⁶ Although Clark's choice of subject matter was based more exclusively on aesthetic considerations than Newton's commissioned work, Clark's resentment reveals the degree to which domestic obligations isolated many women artists and restricted their aesthetic production. Clark's profound sense of marginalization would also affect her choice of subject matter. During the late thirties and forties, Clark's strong commitment to humanist and socialist ideals was expressed in figurative works, but in the years which preceded the war, Clark abandoned portraiture. In a 1960 interview, she claimed that the expense associated with hiring a model was a determining factor.²⁰⁷ Other comments made in the same interview with Lawrence Sabbath, however, provide a more plausible reason for

her rejection of the figure:

In the thirties and forties art had a place,
I had a place and I was in all the shows -
now it's painful. The new art goes into areas
and discovers techniques but forgets
painting. I am too old to invent or climb on
someone else's back.²⁰⁸

Clark's abandonment of portraiture was probably related to her sense of isolation from the 1950s Toronto avant-garde sensibility which privileged formal exploration over the sort of humanist or socialist content found in many of her figurative compositions. This sense of alienation was probably exacerbated by the rhetoric of egalitarianism which infected discussions of women's production during the 1960s.²⁰⁹ The interview with Sabbath offers a prime example of the discourse of "equality" which was common at the time. Sabbath felt it necessary to preface Clark's remarks regarding a number of issues, very few of which, within the context of the interview as a whole, were specifically related to gender issues:

The democracy of the canvas has not attracted the best talents of women. On the few occasions when they have sought self-expression in the plastic arts a goodly portion of even these few have shared the expenditure of their abilities with the requirements of marriage and household duties. The history of art, as a result, is a history of men. Women have not made any significant contributions because they have not applied their unrelenting attention, their serious desire to take advantage of

this democracy, the equality that the canvas offers. [Emphasis added]²¹⁰

Critical reaction to women artists' production often trivialized the conflicting demands of their competing roles as wives, mothers, and all too often in last place, artist. Sabbath's preamble inadvertently supports Catherine MacKinnon's assertion that the rhetoric of liberal democracy blinds its proponents to the systems of power that manifest themselves in the private sphere. Sabbath and other critics of feminism believed (and still do) that women's only impediment in the public sphere is a lack of serious desire to make use of the great gender equalizer: the canvas. Sabbath's reasoning was that Clark and other women artists remain in the private sphere only by choice.

Clark's comments can be contextualized within a broader art historical framework described by Dororthy Farr and Natalie Luckyj. Clark's sense of isolation from the mainstream marked the end of a particular kind of inclusion of women's production which was characteristic of the years which followed World War I:

Women artists during the 1920's began to play a more dominant and independent role in the artistic community. A change in the general artistic climate which saw the expansion of the Group of Seven into the Canadian Group of Painters in 1933 did much to encourage women artists. An awakening in the subjects and styles outside the narrow range of the narrow Canadian landscape tradition

permitted public acceptance of themes previously neglected. The gap between what formerly might have been termed "feminine" and "masculine" subject-matter slowly narrowed with the emphasis in figurative and narrative themes. In particular, the success of women portrait painters during the 1930's and 1940's reflects this change.²¹¹

3.iii PRUDENCE HEWARD: PORTRAITIST OF INDEPENDENT MEANS

Prudence Heward died before the opening claimed by portraiture began to close. As a result she, unlike Clark, was not hindered by the isolating on-coming dominance of abstraction. Her portraits revealed different aspects of feminine experience to audiences of the thirties and forties.

Like Clark, Heward worked in a number of genres but she is remembered primarily for her portraits and nudes. Her portrayals of friends, family, a few models, and young nieces and nephews are striking in their psychological complexity. Regrettably, the paucity of primary resources available on Heward results in a critical reliance on the testimonials of others. It is therefore difficult to position her aesthetic in relation to that of either Newton or Clark's. According to A.Y. Jackson, Heward told a friend "that if she could not paint she did not want to live."²¹² This grave pronouncement suggests that painting provided Heward with more than mere enjoyment or financial gain; it was essential to her emotional well-being. As a

woman of independent means, Heward was freer in her choice of subjects than the commissioned portraitist, and her body of work was thus a fuller articulation of her commitment to aesthetic exploration.

3.iiia LIMINALITY AND THE MODERN WOMAN: MRS. ZIMMERMAN AND FARMER'S DAUGHTER

Heward's Portrait of Mrs. Zimmerman (1943, NGC, fig.13) and Farmer's Daughter (1945, NGC, fig.14) offer two different examples of women's experience. The most obvious distinction between the two is that the former's subject is depicted in the private sphere, whereas the latter's sitter is situated in a rural setting outdoors. The backgrounds and the titles of the portraits therefore help position the subjects' social and cultural identities, and their experiences as gendered subjects. In contrast to the more aestheticized or idealized subjects of Newton's Portrait of Mrs. Gillson (fig.10) and Clark's Portrait of Naomi Yanova (fig.12), which conformed at least to some degree to the contradictory image of the 1930's "new woman" which defined "female traits" in terms of strength as well as "femininity, domesticity, and dependence,"²¹³ Heward's women seem more self-confident. In their independent strength, the subjects of Portrait of Mrs. Zimmerman (fig.13) and Farmer's

Daughter (fig.14) share the image of the modern woman of the 1940s who, with her entry into the armed forces, and the workforce, enhanced earlier images of the emancipated woman.²¹⁴ While the lives of young women from remote areas were informed almost entirely by the demands of rural life during the 1930s, women in the city had a rather less restricted sphere of movement.²¹⁵ With the onset of World War II, many women gained a sense of independence by contributing to the war economy.

If we compare Portrait of Mrs. Zimmerman and Farmer's Daughter, a useful link can be made between the compositions and their relation to liminality. James Hall tells us that liminality can be understood as a "midpoint of transition between two status positions within a fixed society."²¹⁶ Thus the portrait of Mrs. Zimmerman can be viewed as an exemplar of this transition in that the clarity and solidity of the figure is juxtaposed against an amorphous interior space. The implication of such an ambivalent composition to liminality is that although the dominant culture of the interwar period found it expedient to foster the concept of the strong woman, the environment which would surround this new construction of femininity had yet to be negotiated. As a result, Mrs.

Zimmerman is captured at a moment of transition between two conceptions of femininity. This transition is signalled in the distorted arrangement of space around the figure. Despite her apparent stability and strength, Mrs. Zimmerman emerges as a liminal figure because the background of the portrait serves to remind the viewer that her self-possession is not co-extensive with her surroundings.

Farmer's Daughter also provides a interesting example of liminality because she, like Mrs. Zimmerman, is depicted at a transitional moment in her development. Liminality is often described as a kind of marginality, in which one can move "from one milieu to another (usually rural to urban)."²¹⁷ This shift is portrayed in Farmer's Daughter, as her clothing, hairstyle, make-up, and manicure all suggest an increasingly urban mode of self-presentation. Rural women in the 1940s were granted greater autonomy as a result of the depletion of men in the agricultural and industrial workforce.²¹⁸ The obviously rural background recedes as the figure asserts a newly-defined concept of the modern rural woman. Thus the backgrounds of both portraits suggest a shift in received notions of femininity. Although the subjects' surroundings offer some contextual information about

their social status, the viewer is forced to acknowledge the subjective primacy of the figures over the settings which inform them.

Finally, the dualism of private and public is disrupted by the subtle, complex interplay of social codes within the images themselves. The disruption of this binary serves to open up a political space that assists in recasting new possible subject positions for women. The portraits create a permeability of borders which not only challenges accepted gender roles, but also articulates the wide variety of social and public functions that were becoming available to women during the 1930s and 1940s. The interwar period is a liminal space in Canadian history because it forges an interstitial link between two clearly defined historical moments. As a result, the emergence of this liminality is reflected in the portraits, in which the boundaries between private and public are blurred and interpenetrated by the social. The tension that exists within the portraits is also mirrored in the subjects themselves. The immediacy of the portraits demands a subject-to-subject confrontation which disrupts the voyeuristic gaze of the spectator. In this way, the subjects are able to define themselves in a larger social context, while asserting their autonomy.

4. NEWTON, SMITH, AND HEWARD: DIALOGISM, FEMININE IDENTITY, AND THE VIEWER

This chapter considers the psychological, introspective portraits of children by Liliias Torrance Newton, Jori Smith, and Prudence Heward. These portraits, as I will argue, can be understood as representations of different aspects of feminine identity. To this end, I will examine one portrait each by Newton and Smith, and a group of portraits by Heward. Newton uses the portrait of her son to inscribe it with her maternal identity, even as she offers a depiction of adolescent angst. Smith will be considered intertextually, as I will combine memoir and portrait to suggest her anticipation of contemporary feminist oral historians' methodology to the study of women's history. Finally, Heward's almost systematic recording of the varied shifts in consciousness attendant to maturation demonstrate her interest in the child's incorporation of the social into her/his emerging conception of self. Her portraits of adolescent girls question the received view of a passive female sexuality, and suggest the possibility of a female gaze and a female subject.

This chapter will also consider the role of the viewer, a role consistent with the Bakhtinian reader as

essential to the dialogism of the work.²¹⁹ Newton uses the depiction of her son to provide an interpretation of her role as a mother to the public, and to argue for adolescence as an incipient form of dialogism. The self-consciousness of her son's gaze suggests an acknowledgment of other subjectivities, and that his relation to the world is moving into the dialogical.

Smith's understanding of Québec culture was based on her intimate conversations with the women of the Charlevoix region. This interest in the personal translated itself into her portraits of children, that in turn, represent aspects of feminine experience. Her portrait La Communiante (1944, NGC, fig.16) emerges as a kind of dialogic chronotope, reflecting metonymically to the viewer the experience of many women in the region. Furthermore, in her portraits of children, Smith successfully met the dual challenge of commenting on the shared cultural experience of a community, while respecting the specificities of individual experience.

The concept of dialogism will be brought to bear on Heward's portraits of adolescent girls, who as unsettling indices of female volition, force the viewer to consider and interpret them as subjects. Thus, in all three artists' portraits, the viewer's authority is compromised by the necessary acknowledgment that

interpretation has been distributed among the triad of artist, subject, and viewer. In this manner, the child portraits examined in this chapter will highlight new possibilities in the public representation of private consciousness.

4.i NEWTON: COLLABORATION AND PROCESS

In Chapter 2, the examination of Newton's aesthetic focussed on the artist's collaboration with her sitters. She solicited her subjects' opinions and claimed to "rarely disagree" with her patrons' expectations.²²⁰ The importance of reciprocity to Newton's aesthetic is evidenced by her refusal to paint children because of the potential for parental interference: "I wouldn't want anyone else looking over my shoulder and giving suggestions or asking questions why I was doing this or that."²²¹ Newton willingly accepted the stylistic limitations of honorific portraiture because the formal restrictions did not interfere with the collaboration between artist and subject. On the other hand, the portrayal of children introduced a third party, the patron, who came closer to usurping the artist's attempt to interpret the portrait subject. For Newton, the portrait was the result of a dialogical relationship of artist, subject, and viewer; the integrity of this relationship is

inextricably tied to her artistic freedom.

4.ia DEPICTING ADOLESCENCE: DIALOGISM AND ANXIETY

Newton's favourite subjects were "half-grown children."²²² Her preference for adolescents must have reflected her ability to avoid parental interference in order to engage in the reciprocal exchange necessary to do her work. Certainly the relationship between artist and subject is expressed in Newton's compelling, psychological portrayal of her son, Forbes Newton.²²³ My Son (1941, AGO, fig.15) captures the psychic conflicts characteristic of the boy's age by emphasizing his state of mind. The stairs in the background are a symbol of his ascension to a higher level of maturity and self-awareness. Forbes will soon take his place in the public sphere, and in his discomfiture and averted gaze the spectator already sees the "unity of consciousness" fundamental to the formation of a concept of self.²²⁴ In Forbes' self-conscious acknowledgment of the viewer the dialogical triad of artist/subject/viewer is completed; the inclusion of the viewer is essential to an interpretation of Forbes as a liminal figure. His averted gaze marks a paradox: he simultaneously recognizes and refutes the existence of the viewer. His denial of the viewer is symbolic of the adolescent's

ambivalent position on the border between childhood and adulthood. The unwillingness to take the step out of the liminal space of adolescence and rejoin the social indicates that the twin mantles of autonomy and social status have yet to be achieved.

Painted at the height of the war in 1941, My Son is more than a representation of the restlessness associated with adolescence. The portrait conforms to a tendency which John Sommerville has observed in English, French, German, and American literature of the post-World War I period, in which "adolescent characters became symbols of genuine bewilderment."²²⁵ Sommerville believes the sympathetic treatment of characters who had difficulty adjusting to, or seeing the purpose of, social conventions was meant as an indictment of Western culture. He argues that Nazi aggression had made Western civilization seem a cause well "worth fighting for," a contention displaced by a cynicism which followed the war. The "adolescent restlessness" which was once viewed as biological in nature, was now seen as an index of social and cultural instability.²²⁶ What art historian Dorothy Farr has described as Forbes' "restless frustration"²²⁷ therefore becomes a symbol for Western youth's anxiety about an uncertain future.

4.1b THE SUBVERSIVE PORTRAIT: FORMALISM AND THE FEMININE EXPERIENCE

Feminist art historian Linda Nochlin's assertion about women figurative artists provides another point of departure for examining Newton's portrait of her son. Although the image offers the spectator an interpretation of Forbes as an individuated (if not yet completely independent) subject, the painting's title actually refers to the portraitist's identity as his mother, and thereby raises interesting questions about the depiction of children in relation to feminine identity. Nochlin's placement of women portraitists within dominant art historical discourse provides the means for examining the inscription of Newton's feminine identity in the portrait My Son.²²⁸

Nochlin positioned American women painters of the mid-to-late 20th century²²⁹ within the context of the late 19th century European modernist movements which had contributed to the "demise of the portrait as a respectable field of specialization."²³⁰ She explained the reasons for portraiture's marginalization in terms of the modernist emphasis on form:

And while it is quite true that the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists were highly responsive to the visual appearance of the contemporary world in the shape of their own circle of family and friends, on the one hand, and to the claims of intensified response to human subjects on the

other, it is equally true that the modernist attitude to such works has been to play down their status as portraits and to emphasize the formal inventiveness of paintings like Manet's Zola, Van Gogh's Woman of Arles (Mme. Ginoux), of Cezanne's Vollard, as though there were some necessary contradiction between responsiveness to the picture-plane and to human character.²³¹

In Nochlin's view, the modernist project relegated portraiture to the margins of art historical discourse. In its "most extreme phases" the early 20th century preoccupation with formalism was accompanied by a deep suspicion of content. Even when criticism was favourable, it tended to emphasize the formal elements of the portrait.²³² Portraiture therefore became suspect because humanist concerns could never be entirely effaced from the figure. While the modernist aesthetic relegated figurative depictions to the margins, some artists did persist in representing the human face. In Nochlin's view, portraiture more than any other genre lent itself to the expression of feminine experience because:

Unlike any other genre, the portrait demands the meeting of two subjectivities: if the artist watches, judges the sitter, the sitter is privileged, by the portrait relation, to watch and judge back. In no other case does what the artist is painting exist on the same plane of freedom and ontological equality as the artist her or himself, and in no other case is the role of the artist as mediator rather than dictator or inventor so literally accentuated by the actual situation in which the art work comes into being.²³³

Nochlin suggests that the modernist exaltation of form in portraiture has been subverted by the psychological perspicacity of several female artists.²³⁴ Nochlin appears to have anticipated Pollock's discussion of how women handle pictorial space when depicting the private sphere. Where Pollock would speak of women's exploitation of the conventions of modernist compositional space,²³⁵ Nochlin focuses on portraiture's insistence on "the meeting of two subjectivities." Although there are many instances in which the artist's encounter with the human subject has led to objectification,²³⁶ Nochlin is correct in asserting that portraiture is the only genre which forces the artist to confront another subject.²³⁷

Nochlin's description of the reciprocity between artist and subject permits an elaboration of Newton's own description of the relationship between artist and subject. Because My Son contains references to both Newton and Forbes, we find the manifestation of the "meeting of two subjectivities." The image itself documents a stage in Forbes' movement toward independence. However, the substitution of Forbes Newton's name with a title which refers explicitly to his mother, and implicitly to her profession, draws attention to his family position and thus belies his

incipient autonomy. Newton's identity as mother and artist becomes one of the subjects of the portrait, and her sensitive handling of the sitter, as well as her choice of title, suggests the pride and affection she felt. The portrait's subject is neither Forbes nor Liliias Newton exclusively; instead, the portrait represents aspects of their private relationship. The tensions which exist among the various identities explored in this image remind us of Bakhtin's contention that discourse is "interindividual."²³⁸ In My Son, the viewer must attend to the will expressed by the portrait's subject, if the viewer is to assume her/his role in the tripartite drama of dialogism.

4.ii SMITH: ASPECTS OF FEMININE IDENTITY IN THE CHARLEVOIX REGION

Jori Smith also introduces aspects of feminine experience into her portraits of children although, unlike Liliias Newton, she has no children of her own. Smith and her husband Jean Palardy travelled through Charlevoix County during the 1930s. During the winter of 1973, Smith tended her dying mother in Montréal. Unable to paint, she channelled her creative energies into writing a book²³⁹ which described her experiences living in the Québécois rural communities in the 1930s and 1940s. The unpublished manuscript describes village

life and reveals Smith's affection for the people whose harsh living conditions helped reinforce her commitment to socialist ideals.²⁴⁰ While her English-speaking roots and her urban ways made Smith somewhat of a curiosity, she was nevertheless accepted by the people of the villages she visited:

I was the only English-Canadian around there and I was considered a curiosity and a freak. But it was marvellous how they accepted me and that was my life, that is where we lived.²⁴¹

In her memoirs, Smith described her Protestantism as an index of her difference. She was considered "pagen" (sic)²⁴² by members of the rural Québec community, whose devout Catholicism was supported and encouraged by the presence of the parish priest, who exercised the real power within the community. Thus when Smith approached her subject in La Communiante (1944, NGC, fig.16), it was not as a mother, or as a francophone from rural Québec, or even as a Catholic; she painted as an empathetic outsider.

4.iiia **SMITH AND CHILDREN: PORTRAYING THE ANXIETY OF THE AGE**

Smith stated that her favourite portrait subjects were children:

Sometimes I find that while children do not, like adults, mirror all life's experiences in their faces, they do have a latent sadness in their faces when it is in repose. My paintings must show this.²⁴³

Smith does not explain her need to express the sadness she sees in children's faces; what Charles Hill considered the "essential humanism" of Smith's outlook seems to have influenced her choice of subject.²⁴⁴ Art historian Barbara Meadowcroft believes that Smith was drawn to children because "like a child, she lives in the 'now' and partly because she recalls vividly the loneliness and emotional deprivation of her own childhood."²⁴⁵

Regardless of the reasons, in her powerful portrait entitled La Communiante (fig.16), Smith has indeed captured this latent sadness. Smith's portrait, like Newton's portrait of her son, should be considered in the context of the Western world's response to the events of the period. Like My Son (1941), La Communiante was painted during World War II. In light of her political interests, which included a profound concern for the Spanish during the Civil War, and her involvement in the League for Social Reconstruction,²⁴⁶ the painting's compelling pathos becomes a symbol for the artist's distress about recent world events.

4.iib **RECORDING CULTURE: SMITH AND THE CREATION OF A CHRONOTOPE**

Unlike Newton's portrait, however, La Communiante

is more culturally specific because the child is presented in attire worn at a crucial event in the life of a Catholic. In turn, the language of the title situates the child as a member of the French-speaking community. Furthermore, neither the title, nor the face of the painted subject, permit easy identification of the sitter. Smith's painting is consistent with James Clifford's description of a Bakhtinian chronotope, in which the artist creates a fictional setting in order to explore a particular event in history.²⁴⁷ If we relate this description of the literary metaphor to Smith's work, the sadness inscribed in the face and posture of the little girl stands for the kind of suffering experienced by many people in the region. The apparent lack of identifiable features allows Smith to create a fictional composite which nevertheless refers to an experienced moment in time.

Smith's interest in painting rural Québec children came directly out of her experiences of the region. She often described her sense that she was observing a way of life that was quickly vanishing.²⁴⁸ Smith's earlier statements regarding her status as an outsider within Québec culture, and her sense of being one of the last to observe a disappearing way of life are noteworthy because her work from this period documents aspects of

what many of her generation would have considered a dying culture.²⁴⁹ It was an attitude she shared with her friend and ethnologist Marius Barbeau,²⁵⁰ who since the mid-twenties, had been studying the art and social customs of Québec.²⁵¹ Smith considered Barbeau's work important, writing in her reminiscences that "it was fortunate that Marius Barbeau and a few others, realizing what was about to happen, worked so assiduously to record that manner of life which was so soon to disappear."²⁵² Smith's paintings of the period and her written retrospective function as records of a way of life that was soon to be irrevocably altered by technology.

Smith's visual and written records of the private experiences of the people she met are evocative of the temporal and regional specificities of the culture. As an outsider, Smith inevitably situates her portraits and her written account in another socio-political context. Thus the contemporary reader forms a chronotopic impression of life in the Charlevoix region and the larger national picture at a particular moment in history. Furthermore, this record documents aspects of feminine experience to which Smith had greater access than such male ethnologists as Marius Barbeau. Smith's accounts of daily life describe the activities

of both men and women, but it is in her recounting of the social interactions of the communities at frequent veillées, weddings, and funerals and in her conversations with women that the reader gains an understanding of the meaning of the customs to the people, and in turn insight into the sensibility of the culture. Smith on one occasion seems to have been struck by the difference between Barbeau's interviews and her own conversations:

Man as an individual didn't interest him at all, unless he could share or contribute with and to his passion. Sometimes during those extraordinary days spent drawing out the storytellers, listening to the singers, there were often moments when these good people digressed, whereupon a look of patient boredom would come over Marius's face. Get on with it, get on with it, I could hear him saying to himself. Often I longed for these interruptions to go on forever, so colourful and amusing they were, but no, for Marius it was strictly business No personalities please Well one can't have everything.²⁵³

Unlike Barbeau, the greatest moments of interest to Smith were those which introduced an idiosyncratic or personal element to the storyteller's narrative, and this aspect of private experience is related to the feminine perspective. The passage above continues:

They, when so interrupted, would look surprised, for it was to them, inconceivable that we would not be interested in whatever sidetrack they might take. For the souvenirs Marius would invoke could not fail to gather others perhaps long forgotten and now a delight to recall. It was with regret that these must be abandoned because of this

strangers'(sic) special interest. Surely later alone among themselves these memories would be hastily explored before they once more vanished into a blurred past. It might be a daughter, more curious than the others who might say, 'Dis, maman, qu'est-ce que vous alliez dire de notre grandpère lorsque il s'est sauffe (sic) dans le bois pendant la guerre, racontez moi ça, s'il vous plait?' Certainly it was not noticeable that when we were able to loosen their mother's (sic) tongues the children showed such a marked interest that it was obvious that they had never heard the tales before. They would sit with their chins cupped in their fists, even those full-grown and gaze with silent attention to their mother, listening to every word. If the women were little apt to bavardage, the men could be called taciturn in this regard, barely opening their mouths except to answer a direct question as briefly as possible.²⁵⁴

Thus for Smith, the anecdotal and the personal within the narrative, as well as the manner of the telling and its reception by the listeners, were essential to the cultural history she recorded. Furthermore, this aspect of culture belonged to the private sphere of women and children, who although "little apt to bavardage" were not as "taciturn" as the men. The sort of "oral history"²⁵⁵ practised by Smith belonged to the realm of the feminine. The implications of such a practise to dialogism is that Smith recognized implicitly the importance of context to the examination of other subjectivities. In fact, Smith's intrusion into the Charlevoix region proved to be a catalyst of dialogue amongst its members; her presence allowed the denizens

to reconsider and alter their understanding of their cultural context. This process is described by James Clifford, who contends that the "language of ethnography is shot through with other subjectivities and specific contextual overtones"²⁵⁶ which serve to inform a distinctly heterogeneous view of reality. In this manner, Smith's attention to the subtleties of context adds to the intertextual richness and variety of her observations, and eschews the potential monologism of empirical historiography.

4.iic CONTEXT AND FEMININE IDENTITY: THE POLITICAL POWER OF ORAL DISCOURSE

As a woman, Smith had greater access to and interest in the feminine sphere of Québec culture than Barbeau. It is a testament to the openness of the women she encountered, and to her ability to gain their trust that she became as close to them as she did. In spite of Smith's strangely "pagan", urban ways, many of the women seem to have taken her into their confidence often sharing their concerns about relationships, doubts about their faith, and problems with their children's health. Thus Smith's relationship to the women can be characterized dialogic because they are all engaged in a process of mutual evaluation. She acknowledges that they are constructing an impression

of her, even as she is doing the same.²⁵⁷

To some extent, this trust seems to have existed because of, and not in spite of, their belief that Smith's urban roots gave her access to more sophisticated knowledge of a variety of topics, especially about health issues. It is difficult not to share Smith's dismay as she recounts some of the odious home remedies she saw applied to ill and disabled children. Some of the women turned to Smith when they wished to discuss their relationships with their spouses; on many occasions, even though Smith was considered "a curiosity and an object of pity for, although I had been married six months I showed no signs of pregnancy,"²⁵⁸ she was solicited for advice about birth control. On only one occasion did Smith respond to such a request:

Once a young married woman after the birth of her third or fourth child broached me on the subject of birth control and I grabbed the chance to tell someone at last about the rhythm method which was permitted by the church but not ever propagandized outside the big centres. No where then (sic) in Charlevoix had I ever met anyone who had heard of it as a possible way to plan families. Thus I eagerly gave to this young (sic) woman all the details of this acceptable method, not realising the danger it involved me in. The Curé, the very next Sunday, denounced me from the pulpit before the entire parish as being sent from the devil and warned them of the danger of befriending me. By this time though I had many friends and as noone (sic) really liked the curé nor took him seriously, the whole affair came to nothing.²⁵⁹

Thus, Smith and the women of Charlevoix transcended cultural difference through their shared gendered experience, and in the realm of the feminine Smith held more authority than the curé. The story also demonstrates one of the ways in which Smith's encounter with another culture was informed by a spirit of reciprocity. If her recollections betray a romanticized notion of the "other," this condescension is mediated by empathy; her interest in the women gave legitimacy to their perspectives. By encouraging the women to take responsibility for their own bodies,²⁶⁰ Smith's insights seem to have reassured the women she spoke to, and led to what might be considered a subversive challenge to patriarchy and the Church. Oral discourse provided a means of pooling experiential knowledge, and constituted a political act which undermined the Church's authority over women's bodies.

4.iiid LA COMMUNIANTE: A CHRONOTOPE OF FEMININE EXPERIENCE

If we consider Smith's declaration that "I painted children because their mothers were too busy to sit for me,"²⁶¹ La Communiente becomes an articulation of feminine experience. Art historian Barbara Meadowcroft is sceptical of Smith's assertion because she feels that access to women subjects is not the issue, and

believes instead that she is attracted to children as portrait subjects because of her empathy for them and the loneliness of her own childhood.²⁶² Regardless of its validity, Smith's assertion is significant because it ironically describes the situation of the women with whom she was intimate. In Smith's opinion, women made unsuitable portrait subjects because they never had a moment to themselves. Her statement also ironically suggests that the children function as symbols for the otherwise occupied mothers. Thus when speaking of her representations of children, she not only emphasized their appeal because of her humanitarian concerns, but related them to an aspect of Québec women's experience.

This has implications for a feminist interpretation of La Communiante because as Barbara Meadowcroft has suggested, "the little girls in Smith's paintings already understand their lot as women."²⁶³ When Smith remarked to one of her sitters on the large number of children in the family, the child replied: "oui et ce n'est pas fini."²⁶⁴ The fatalism of this remark is also found in the sad resignation of the subject of La Communiante. The portrait marks a rite of passage for the child, into a realm of greater moral responsibility. Her emerging sense of her place in the community is tied to her future role as a wife and

mother who, in turn, will be too busy to sit for portraits. Her first communion clothes suggest the only other socially acceptable alternative open to her; that is, marriage to the Church.²⁶⁵ With this portrait, Smith creates a tension between the creation of a "type" of experience and the depiction of an individual story. Her generalized representation of the girl's experience suggests the dialogic nature of the chronotope. In designing a fictional setting in which to describe a particular event in history, Smith creates a dynamic interplay of artist, subject, and viewer by offering the viewer a metonymic representation of the experience of a number of Catholics. By collapsing a defining moment of many into one, Smith is able to portray, in the specificity of the girl's detached and sombre visage, the trajectory of scores of lives. In the eyes of the Church, La Communiante has taken the first step in accepting the commitment made to Catholicism on her behalf when she was christened.

4.iii **HEWARD: FEMININE CONSCIOUSNESS, IDENTITY, AND SEXUALITY**

Like Smith and Newton's portraits, Prudence Heward's depictions of children raise issues related to feminine identity. In this instance the artist is

neither a mother like Newton, nor an "ethnologist" of the private domestic realm of an other culture like Smith. Instead Heward's portraits of children fit into a body of work which reveals the artist's interest in representing the diversity of Canadian women's experiences. Heward sometimes represented men and boys, but her preferred subjects were female friends and relatives, women of colour who may have been her servants,²⁶⁶ as well as a few representations of Indian women. Her portraits and nudes examine female subjects to reveal the diverse aspects of feminine experience from early childhood to old age. Comparing Heward's portraits of girls, one can chart the development of consciousness to consider finally the adolescent's awareness of herself as a member of the world community and as a sexual being. As a group, Heward's portraits document different stages in gendering processes concomitant with biological maturation.

4.iiia PORTRAITS OF EMERGING CONSCIOUSNESS

Four portraits of different children painted over a span of ten years symbolically map the territory between early childhood and adolescence. Efa (1941, Private Collection, fig.17) is suggestive of the pre-verbal stage in a child's development, when she has not

yet conceived of herself as an individuated subject and boundaries between the real and the imaginary are not clearly defined. The space behind Efa is flattened and ambiguous: all spatial and temporal references which might help to situate this child in a cultural and socio-economic context are absent. She does not exist in real space and has no public identity independent of her place within the family. Heward's composition conforms to Griselda Pollock's description of the modernist treatment of pictorial space, which organizes objects according to a hierarchy which privileges sensory and intuitive experience rather than rational notions of space.²⁶⁷ The composition therefore reflects Heward's interpretation of the Efa's psychic space. Efa stares uncomprehendingly at the viewer; she is aware of the existence of the larger community outside her immediate surroundings but has no access to it. Efa belongs to the private sphere of the Edenic garden, and the flowers which swirl about her head only serve to underscore her innocence.

Barbara (1933, Private Collection, fig.18), like Efa, is situated in the private sphere of the garden. The title of this portrait, as in the previous example, also suggests that the child's social identity is determined exclusively by her relationships to others.

The violets in Barbara's hands are symbolic of innocence and humility and therefore position the child at an idyllic stage of childhood. Barbara's garden is, however, more clearly defined than Efa's, and a comparison of the children's faces reveals Barbara's greater maturity. Still belonging to the sphere of the private garden, Barbara betrays the signs of a greater awareness of herself as an autonomous and reasoning subject.

The subject of Farmhouse Window (1938, Art Gallery of Hamilton, fig.19) is probably somewhere between Barbara and Efa in age. Unlike the subjects of the previous works this child has not even a proper name;²⁶⁸ instead, she is defined by her relation to the domesticity of the farmhouse. Placed within a rural context, the viewer begins to form an interpretation of the subject based on her/his notions of farm life. Furthermore the title draws attention to the window which frames the face and functions as a symbol of the child's movement from innocence to a more rational understanding of the world. While this child is younger than Barbara, as part of a farming family, she may even at this early age have assumed certain responsibilities within the domestic sphere. The curtain opens to reveal the child's face thereby suggesting her developing

awareness of the public sphere beyond the home. The peony plant, a symbol of incarnation or enlightenment,²⁶⁹ is also suggestive of emerging consciousness. The girl stares blankly at the spectator. The window separates the viewer from the subject and gives the latter only limited access to the larger community. It also denies her return to a time of innocence by preventing access to the private space of the garden. The subject of Farmhouse Window has left the idyllic setting of the garden as she moves toward adulthood.

Heward's portraits of children document the different stages associated with the emergence of consciousness, but unlike the subject of My Son, betray none of the self-consciousness of the adolescent. Ellen²⁷⁰ (1935, Mrs. R.C.P. Webster, fig.20) is older than the portrait subjects discussed thus far and is closer to achieving Forbes' stage of self-awareness. She, like Efa and Barbara, is placed in a garden, but unlike the former, Ellen's landscape positions her both spatially and temporally. The rolling hills of the background locate her in a regional setting, and the fruit bearing apple tree situates her temporally. Ellen attempts to reach an understanding of her situation through dialogue with a third party. She points to the

apples above her head (presumably a symbol of knowledge) and her inquisitive gaze is directed outside the frame, but away from the viewer. In her quest for knowledge, Ellen assumes a more active position than the younger subjects of Efa, Barbara, and Farmhouse Window because her gesture implicates a third person, who remains unknown to the viewer. Unacknowledged by the subject's gaze, the viewer assumes a more voyeuristic position in relation to Ellen, than to the children of the previously discussed portraits; however, in assuming a more active stance Ellen defies objectification. The portrait is a form of signification and the girl is a generator of meaning, a meaning which nevertheless remains ambiguous. The child's inability to reach the fruit just beyond her grasp is passed on metaphorically to the viewer, whose attempts to uncover the meaning of Ellen's gesture are thwarted. The image suggests the pre-lapsarian moment of seduction where Ellen (as Eve) recounts her exchange with the serpent to Adam, and therefore marks her imminent loss of innocence. Thus the image frustrates the viewer's attempt to achieve a voyeuristic control over the portrait's content because the child is busily engaged in a conversation from which the viewer is excluded. When Ellen is acknowledged in dialogical

relation to a subject outside the frame, both subjects function narratively as symbols of volition. As a result, the viewer is forced to consider her as a thinking subject as well.

In frustrating attempts to impose a closed reading on her work, Heward's portraiture reminds us of Linda Nochlin's description of women's portraits as subverters of the modernist objectification of subjects. Like Newton's representations, Heward's portraits establish a dialogical relationship among artist, subject, and viewer. Moreover, "the meeting of two subjectivities," which Nochlin described as characteristic of portraiture in general is felt most keenly in Heward's images because they are so often unsettling. Critical response to Heward's works reveals the ambivalence of many to this element in her work. Art historian Natalie Luckyj has described the tension implicit in the viewer's relationship to Heward's portraiture in terms of risk: "her key works, for full effect, require that the viewer be willing to acknowledge in themselves the vulnerability of the human condition."²⁷¹ Encounters with Heward's subjects are disturbing because they do not permit spectatorial distance from the sitter; instead, by exposing the will, as well as the vulnerability of their subjects,

the portraits hold a mirror to the viewer which thereby exposes her/his own frailty.

4.iii **THE SUBVERSION OF VOYEURISM: DIALOGISM AND FEMININE SEXUALITY**

Nowhere is this sensation more keenly felt than in the portrait of Rollande (1929, NGC, fig.21), whose adolescent resentment is rendered palpable. Her eyes avoid those of the spectator and in this gesture, the viewer is reminded of the manifestation of Newton's son's newly discovered sense of consciousness. Unlike Forbes Newton, however, Rollande's almost full-frontal pose is far more confrontational. In her set expression and rebellious posture, more of the subject's psychic conflict is revealed. Mara Witzling has described a similar motif in the figurative works of such American and European post-Impressionists as Mary Cassatt and Paula Modersohn-Becker. Witzling has argued that a number of works by women at the turn of the century examined the theme of girls' sexual maturation from the girls' point of view.²⁷² Witzling's examples emphasize the "passage from childhood to womanhood" and "the inner tension" which attend that passage.²⁷³ Furthermore, she asserts that these representations often:

communicat[e] the charged atmosphere created by the sexual force during puberty. Often

frightening, at times it seems to emanate from within, while at other times it feels like an external magnetic force.²⁷⁴

Certainly, Witzling's description of the sexual tension found in early twentieth century works by American and European women seems appropriate to the discussion of Rollande. It offers the possibility of an interpretation for the difference between Newton's portrayal of her son and Heward's portrait which goes beyond aesthetic issues. Rollande's prim convent uniform, a symbol of girlish piety and subservience to a religious institution, seems an ironic contrast to her sullen independent strength. These contradictions to some extent define the internal conflict experienced by most adolescents in the transition from childhood to adulthood; however, Heward's portrait also situates this conflict in its cultural specificity. Rollande's experience as a Catholic in rural Québec confronts the same choice as Smith's La Communiant. Rollande is approaching an age when she will have to choose between marriage and children, or commitment to a religious order and a life of celibacy. Unlike the tightly-framed, chronotopic portrait of La Communiant, Rollande can be viewed as a liminal figure because of the receding background that suggests a psychological distance from the exigencies of imminent adult

responsibility. Her liminality is absolutely tied to her individuality because the subject of the portrait is the assertion of that individuality against the receding backdrop of the social. Heward is not working from the standpoint of someone who has first-hand knowledge of the particular cultural situation of the subject; instead, she is representing an aspect of shared feminine identity.

In Witzling's view, the dissemination of such works as Rollande "disrupt traditional representations in which female sexuality has been conceived as passive, voyeuristic, and one-dimensional."²⁷⁵ Thus in representing an aspect of feminine experience which runs contrary to traditional representations of women's sexuality, Heward's portrait forces the viewer to consider a significant moment in a woman's life cycle. Rollande confronts the spectator as a subject and not an object, largely because Heward's interpretation of her subject was informed by knowledge gained from her own body. Witzling is quick to avoid Nochlin's early essentialist assumptions regarding women's "natural" suitability as figurative artists, by reminding us of Rosemary Betterton's contention that women are not "naturally" inclined to "see differently" from their male contemporaries, instead:

It can be argued that the particular force of [their] experience produced work that was differently placed within the dominant forms of representation of [their] period.²⁷⁶

The sometimes vehemently negative critical response to Heward's nudes and bathers would seem to support this view.²⁷⁷ While the disconcerting nature of the portrait of Rollande is sufficient evidence that Heward's portrait did not conform to traditional norms of representations of the feminine, a more profound understanding of the impact of Heward's images on the viewer requires a consideration of the Bakhtinian view of art as dialogical process.

Before discussing the dialogical in Rollande, let us consider the subject's appearance when she is a year older. Sisters of Rural Quebec (1930, Art Gallery of Windsor, fig.22) was painted a year after Rollande's completion. The two paintings can be viewed as interreferential, documenting different stages in one girl's development. More significantly, the sisters' faces, as mirror images, refer to each other. The relationship which exists between the sisters creates Rollande's narrative of self, if we interpret the younger sister as a symbolic reference to an earlier stage of Rollande's development. The sunflowers in the bottom left foreground serve to support such an

interpretation as the larger flower grows strong the smaller dies, thereby symbolizing the death of childhood. The portrait can therefore be interpreted as a representation of Rollande's passage from childhood to adulthood.

The sunflowers offer other interpretive possibilities which emphasize the relationship between the sisters. The sunflowers refer to the Greek myth in which the older sister Clytie falls in love with the sun-god Apollo. The latter, however prefers the younger sister. Clytie murders her sister out of jealous love, but Apollo nevertheless spurns her, turning her into a flower, destined to slavishly follow the sun in her devotion to the god. The double portrait therefore offers an interpretation of the nature of the relationship between the two sisters, Rollande and Pierrette. In this reading the two sisters present two separately articulated states of feminine experience which compete with each other. Positioned lower in the composition Pierrette's averted gaze, preoccupied expression, clasped hands, and slumped shoulders suggest passivity and underscore Rollande's more dominant personality and position in the composition. Rollande has removed the child's apron of the previous year and demonstrates none of the reticence marked in

the averted gaze of the earlier portrait. Instead, Rollande's challenging gaze recognizes the viewer, thereby establishing her relation to the public sphere. In this way, Rollande has shed her liminal status to begin her ascent (however mitigated) toward a role in the social hierarchy. In mimicking the gesture of the sunflower of the foreground which seems also to have found its object of devotion in the space of the spectator, the flowering of Rollande's personality in the social realm asserts her experience of her own body,²⁷⁸ and is seen in counterdistinction to the shrinking Pierrette who still belongs to the realms of family, school, and childhood.

The subjects of The Sisters of Rural Quebec are in a dialogical relationship with artist, viewer, and each other. Both Pierrette and Rollande are essential to an interpretation of the other's social identity and situation in the family. In this sense, the sisters complete each other, and in directing her gaze towards the viewer, Rollande implicates the spectator in the completion of the work. Bakhtin's description of the work of art in terms of a dialogical process in which meaning is achieved through a set of relations which include author, hero, and reader permits an elaboration of the interdependence of subject and viewer. In

Bakhtin's model, art is an "event" rather than an object, where the meaning or unity of the work is temporary, provisional, and achieved through the spectator's consumption of the work.²⁷⁹ The work of art is always in the process of becoming. The relationship of the spectator to the subjects of Sisters of Rural Quebec is unsettling, and we are reminded of Luckyj's description of the sense of vulnerability associated with the viewer's engagement with Heward's portraits. These disconcerting encounters disrupt the voyeuristic relation of viewer to subject. The difficulty of objectifying Rollande stems from the viewer's sense, that in both the portraits of 1929 and 1930, Rollande is a subjectivity with volition forcing the viewer to reassess dominant views of female consciousness and sexuality.

4.iiic DIALOGISM AND THE NATURE OF BECOMING

Bakhtin's definition of the reciprocal relations which give the work of art meaning has implications for a contemporary reading of the works discussed in this chapter. Mara Witzling's description of early twentieth century artists could well be applied to the work of Newton, Smith, and Heward and has similar implications:

It is unlikely that their (sic) artists were working from a polemical point of view. Rather, they were simply creating from their own

experience and knowledge, an epistemological stance negated previously by patriarchal culture. In so doing they identified an aspect of women's experience, sexual awakening and passage into womanhood, that had been previously unspeakable in the public realm. Through their art they gave it body; they made it a visible participant in public discourse.²⁸⁰

Unlike Smith's and Heward's portraits, Newton's depiction of her son does not represent a stage in the woman's passage into womanhood; however, it reveals an important aspect of her own feminine experience as a mother. Similarly, although not belonging to the French-speaking Québec culture, Smith as "oral historian" of the feminine sphere created from her own experience of the culture which was made possible by the acceptance shown her by the people of the Charlevoix region. Finally, Heward's portraits in their refusal to conform to historical conventions for representing women, disrupt traditional notions of female sexuality. Newton, Smith and Heward's portraits are still generating meaning in the public sphere by offering examples of female consciousness, identity, and sexuality which compete with more dominant images of femininity, thereby demonstrating Bakhtin's contention that art is always in the process of becoming. To this end, the viewer in the dialogic model assists in the construction of the subject as a

chronotope in La Communiante, and as limnars in the portraits My Son and Rollande.

5. CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this thesis, I argued that portraiture functioned as a liminal generic space which occupied the gap between the dominance of the landscape school and the rise of abstraction in Canada in the 1950s. The emergence of this aperture was coincident with a liminal moment in Canadian history; the country had begun to assert its own autonomy and to reconsider its identity as an independent nation. Liminality provided the means by which to stand outside societal structure, and to interrogate its strengths and weaknesses to prepare for a re-integration into the community.

In the chapters that followed, I contended that the marginal status attendant to liminality provided many women artists just such a perspective on their culture. This liminal perspective provided these women with the means to articulate feminine experience in portraiture, introduce it to the public sphere, and to examine the implications of liminality to the relation of the artist, subject, and viewer triad. As we have seen, I have used this particular dialogical trio as the structural basis of the three core chapters of my thesis. In chapter two, I consider the liminal status of the artists under discussion by analyzing their role in society in relation to the production of self-portraits. In chapter three, I expand the concept of

liminality to include its implications to the schema of public and private, and argue that the intersection of these spheres resides in the social, a space fraught with ambiguity in the wake of changing gender roles. Chapter four reverted to a more traditional use of liminality, as I examined the liminal status of adolescents, and focussed more specifically on the anxiety of the age and the description of feminine identity and sexuality in the portraits of pubescent girls.

As I have stated, the dialogic reciprocity of the portraits by Newton, Clark, Smith, and Heward necessarily implicate the viewer, who in completing the dialogic triad, imbues art with the status of an ever-recurring event. In this way, the differences which separate the subjectivities of artist, portrait subject, and viewer continue to resonate in the production of the portrait image. The concept of difference also has implications to the depiction of experience by male and female artists. Although men did take up portraiture in the interwar period, this generic interest had different implications for women. The production of portraits allowed women portraitists to inscribe unconsciously aspects of their feminine experience into the images. The diversity of interests inscribed in these portraits occurs because women's experience of the world is the result of an implicitly different placement from men in

the public and private spheres.

The gap that opened up for women in the production of portraiture began to close in the post-World War II era, as the aesthetic shift to abstraction stifled interest in the human figure. The ascendancy of abstraction had little effect on Newton, however, because her reputation as a traditional commissioned portraitist had already been well-established. The same is true for Heward, who did not live to see the resultant privileging of abstraction over portraiture. Unfortunately, Clark and Smith were affected by the change in the aesthetic climate. Both artists expressed their frustration with the sense of isolation that attended the abandonment of portraiture as an aesthetically and politically viable mode of discourse. Thus, with the growing sense of political and cultural autonomy that had begun to exercise itself in Canada, came the closing of the liminal space opened up by portraiture in a very turbulent moment in its history.

I will now consider the effect of this liminal generic space upon the production of portraiture of Liliias Torrance Newton, Paraskeva Clark, Jori Smith, and Prudence Heward. Despite Newton's apparent apoliticality, her portraits do reflect, in their psychology, her absorption of the anxiety of the age. This psychological interest informs her relation to the portrait subject. She strongly believed that the

success of a specific portrait was dependent upon a collaborative bond between artist and subject. As a commissioned artist, Newton contended that the artist must respect the desires of the patron to ensure the aesthetic integrity of the work. The reciprocity inherent in her approach to her portraits suggests that her work is explicitly dialogical, since her authority as an artist is shared with the portrait subject.

This philosophy extends to her non-commissioned work as well. As we have seen, her portraits of male colleagues are a result of a collaboration of both the artist and the sitter. A tension is created in the conception of the sitters as masculine subjects, since artist and sitter each bring different ideas about the construction of public identity at a moment when socially determined gender roles were being questioned. Similarly, Newton endows the portrait of her son, Forbes, with indices of her professional and maternal identity. Her fascination with feminine experience also contributed to her depiction of women. Newton's identification with women as people made them preferred portrait subjects. The diversity of subjective presentation offered by women gave her the opportunity to represent numerous facets of women's experience.

For Clark, the political came to play a constitutive role in her aesthetic development. She conceives the artist

as a visionary who steps outside society in order to critique its established codes. Thus, Clark can be designated explicitly as a liminal figure; the narrative of separation, critique, and re-integration is remarkably similar to the process experienced by the limnar during the rites of passage. She links the concept of artist-as-visionary to her socialism in portraiture. The production of portraits becomes an overt attempt to join the abstract insights of the seer to the practicalities of everyday life: the goal of this conjunction is to prompt social change. The portrait affords her the opportunity, as with Newton, to inscribe aspects of her experience as a woman in not only her self-portraits, but also in such paintings as Portrait of Philip and Naomi Yanova.

Like Clark, Jori Smith's socialism manifests itself in her desire for social change. Although she eschews the designation "visionary," Smith is deeply committed to the concept that art can play a politically ameliorative role in the community. Her concern over the anxiety that informed the post-World War I era is demonstrated in her sympathetic interest in the lives of women of the Charlevoix region.

Despite her status as an "outsider," Smith was able to gain access to the private lives of rural Quebec women. She politicized their personal experience in painting and prose to argue the necessity of considering the hardships endured

by women of Charlevoix. In her documentarian approach, Smith is able to find a specific cultural context in which to explore her commitment to socialism in her aesthetic production. The portrait La Communiant emerges as a kind of cultural chronotope, as it collapses the historical fact of many women's experience into a fictional composite. In this manner, Smith is able to incorporate the experiences of the many into the one; the voices of the Charlevoix women continue to resonate in the image of a girl at communion.

Prudence Heward's interest in children was much more oriented toward a description of the budding consciousness of children, and focussed on the varied levels of consciousness which attend the move into maturity. This interest manifested itself also as a charting of periods of transition in consciousness. In her portraits of adolescent girls, Rollande and Sisters of Rural Quebec, Heward documents the adolescent subjects as liminal figures who are negotiating a re-integration into society by first standing outside its structures. These depictions of feminine identity disrupt the notion that women are incapable of claiming a subject position and of expressing desire. Thus, Heward imbues the portraits with her own subjectivity, and unconsciously suggests the possibility of a female gaze.

The concept of liminality has also been productive in my analysis of Mrs. Zimmerman and Farmer's Daughter. In

these works, Heward offers the viewer two portraits of two women who are asserting their subjectivity in a society that is itself in a period of liminal transition. The liminality of the age is evinced in the amorphous background which surrounds Mrs. Zimmerman, and the blurring of the boundaries of public and private, urban and rural, reflects the changing role of women in Farmer's Daughter. Heward's bringing together of private and public creates a liminal intersection that provides new opportunities for the subject to construct herself - this intersection emerges as the social.

The persistent attention paid by Heward to the construction of feminine identity can be understood as implicitly dialogic in nature. The conception of the portrait as an initiatory gesture toward a subject-to-subject confrontation disrupts the voyeuristic impulse. The viewer is forced to set aside the urge to objectify the portrait subject and consider the image as another person.

Finally, the concepts of liminality, self/identity, public/private, and dialogism have provided useful analytical pivots upon which to examine the works of several women portraitists during the interwar period. While my thesis has attempted to address the implications of these concepts to a turbulent time in the history of women's production in Canadian art, many questions remain to be

answered. My aim in arguing that the interest in portraiture marks the opening of a liminal generic space, is to offer new points of departure in which to re-evaluate the genre's importance not only in terms of women's production, but also to our understanding of the Canadian art historical canon.

1. I use the term aesthetic portraiture in opposition to portraiture intended primarily to serve an honorific function. The former is a manifestation of the artists' private concerns, while the latter is generally commissioned to commemorate the subjects' public achievements.

2. Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, Canada 1900-1945, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 279-80.

3. Ibid.

4. Both the secondary sources and archival materials on which my research is founded were accessed through the Carleton University and University of Ottawa libraries, the National Library of Canada, the National Archives of Canada, and the National Gallery of Canada's library and archives. The paintings reproduced in the thesis can be found in exhibition catalogues. Other works were viewed at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, the Art Gallery of Hamilton, and Hart House in Toronto.

5. See the description of the core chapters later in this chapter for the names of a few male artists who should be considered in more inclusive discussions of portraiture from the interwar period.

6. See section "1.iv Public/Private" later in this chapter for a discussion of some of the issues concerning feminist scholars.

7. See section "1.iv Public/Private" later in this chapter for a brief summary of the problems inherent to the public/private model. For a reference to the literature which examines the history and criticism of the model, see endnote no.63.

8. In "2.iiid Self-promotion, Dialogism, and Liminality" (the final section of the second chapter), I consider Clark and Smith's growing preoccupation with their gendered experience as artists during the post-war period. I believe their sense of displacement from the art community stemmed from changes in collecting and exhibition practices, concomitant with a shift in the dominant aesthetic. The change in their respective outlooks offers further support to my contention that, during the 1930s and 1940s, many women did not feel their sex to be an obstacle to entry into the public sphere.

9. Gender seems an arbitrary system for classifying artists if one considers the extent to which geography restricted individuals' interaction with other members of the artistic community. See the second chapter for a discussion of artists' sense of isolation even within the large urban centres, where in-fighting amongst the different art societies divided the community and created an

orthodoxy of genres and styles. These circumstances united artists according to aesthetic and political ideology (see Appendices I and II), rather than according to their gender and/or their ethnic or racial backgrounds. Admittedly, the Canadian arts community consisted predominantly of English-speaking, and a smaller number of French-speaking, white artists.

It was beyond the scope of this project to consider the importance of artists' cultural background, and/or social or economic circumstances to the handling of the portrait subject. In Jewish Painters and Modernity: Montréal 1930-1945, (Montréal: Centre Saidye-Bronfman, 1987) Esther Trépanier raises the question of whether Montréal Jewish artists' marginal status (because of their religion, and/or status as first or second generation Canadians), combined with the devastating effects of the Depression, led to the creation of a culturally bound style. While I feel that her interrogation of the issue of a "Jewish style" is problematic because it implicitly suggests that Jewish artists constitute a homogeneous group, her study of men and women artists paradoxically supports my own belief that gender is only one of many complex factors in determining the artist's aesthetic. Interestingly, even a cursory examination of Trépanier's catalogue suggests that the artists she examined used portraiture frequently to make overtly propagandistic statements. Consideration of the complex relations of region, ethnicity, race, religion, language, and gender as determinants in shaping the artist's viewpoint will provide new points of departure for examining the politics informing the production of portraiture during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s.

10. Dorothy Farr, Lilias Torrance Newton, (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1981), 19.

11. Max J. Friedlander, Landscape, Portrait, Still-Life: Their Origin and Development, (New York: Schocken Books, 1965). Friedlander's history of portraiture begins with the Renaissance and ends with photography of the mid-19th century.

12. William J. Hennessey, The American Portrait: From the Death of Stuart to the Rise of Sargent, (Worcester, Massachusetts: Worcester Art Museum, 1973). Hennessey's history of American portraiture from the 18th century to the early 20th century accompanied an exhibition.

13. Michael Quick, Marvin Sadik, and William Gerdtz, American Portraiture in the Grand Manner 1720-1920, (Los Angeles: L.A. County Museum of Art, 1981). As in the previous citation, this history of portraiture appeared in an exhibition catalogue.

14. Melissa McQuillan, Impressionist Portraits (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986). McQuillan's interpretation of the significance of French and American portraiture to Impressionism is in some ways similar to my own. She asserts that while "landscape remains a prominent motif within the Impressionist achievement, the depiction of the human form and visage occupies an equally significant position among the paintings of the Impressionist circle." McQuillan also argues that a reconsideration of portraiture's importance to Impressionism encourages a reconceptualization of the movement as a whole: "An account of the identification of Impressionism with landscape remains to be worked out, but in displacing landscape's significance to Impressionism, be it ever so slightly, complex questions are opened up, and Impressionism is shown to formulate many different images of modern life during the years of the late Second Empire and early Third Republic." (10-11). McQuillan's analysis moves beyond models which emphasize formal issues to an interpretation of art production as a reflection of the socio-political scene. Similarly, I argue that a consideration of Canadian portraiture of the interwar period, which displaces the notion that artists were concerned primarily with landscape, reveals artists' engagement with issues other than nationalism and stylistic innovation.

15. David M. Lubin, Act of Portrayal: Eakins, Sargent, James, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). Lubin's book departs from the other histories listed here because his use of the term portraiture encompasses a literary text to argue that overt and covert forms of social criticism are inscribed in Thomas Eakins' and John Singer Sargent's portraits, and in Henry James' Portrait of a Lady.

16. Richard Brilliant, Portraiture, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991). Brilliant's examples are taken from antiquity to the present, and include a variety of media. He does not, however, attempt to chart the development of portraiture according to a periodicized model of art history. Instead, the book examines the myriad philosophical, social, political, economic, psychological, and cultural issues related to the representation of the human face.

17. This group of materials is intended to provide an overview of the way in which portraiture is contextualized within canonical studies written in English. This is by no means an exhaustive review of the material available on figurative art of the 1930s and 1940s. Some noteworthy exclusions to this review include: French language histories of Canadian art, regional and provincial surveys, literature on art associations and societies (whose membership included portraitists), individual artists' monographs and biographies, autobiographies of portraitists, catalogues to exhibitions of child portraiture, and the literature on war

artists. The latter two areas of scholarship reveal many examples of works relevant to a general discussion of portraiture of the 1930s and 1940s.

18. This review considers the literature up to the present day and therefore ends with Maria Tippet's By A Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women, (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992). While Tippet's survey of Canadian art focusses exclusively on women, it is included here because it presents a periodicized view of Canadian art production.

19. Newton MacTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada, (Toronto: Macmillan Publishing, 1925).

20. M.O. Hammond, Painting and Sculpture in Canada, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1930).

21. Graham McInnes, A Short History of Canadian Art, (Toronto: Macmillan Publishing, 1939).

22. Graham McInnes, Canadian Art, (Toronto: Macmillan Publishing, 1950).

23. Mary Graham Bonner, Made in Canada, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943).

24. Donald W. Buchanan, The Growth of Canadian Painting, (Toronto: Collins Publishing, 1950).

25. Malcolm Ross, The Arts in Canada: A Stock-Taking at Mid-Century, (Toronto: Macmillan Publishing, 1958). Ross' examination of Canadian art consists of an anthology of essays by contributors working in diverse areas of the visual, literary, performing, and commercial arts. I have included it in this list of books because the individual chapters construct a history of visual art production in Canada similar to other histories reviewed here. For example, Robert Ayre's contribution consists of a historical survey of painting which devotes little attention to portraiture.

26. Robert H. Hubbard, An Anthology of Canadian Art, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960).

27. Robert H. Hubbard, The Development of Canadian Art, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1963).

28. Russell Harper, Painting in Canada: A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). This is the second edition of Harper's book; the first was published in 1966. In the second edition the final chapter, originally entitled "Trends of the Post

War Period, 1945 to the Present" is changed to "Anglophone Revolt in the Fifties." Harper's revision extends his original history to include more recent developments, but does not represent a significant reevaluation of his earlier views. Notably, there are no changes to the treatment of portraiture in the second edition.

29. Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988). This is the second edition of Reid's book; the first was published in 1973. In the second edition Reid has added another chapter to consider the art of the 1970s. There are no noteworthy changes to the chapters. A little more information is given on Paraskeva Clark's political interests, and her painting Petrushka (1937, NGC) is reproduced. He also adds Pegi Nicol MacLeod's work to the discussion of art of the 1930s and 1940s. The revised edition does not deviate significantly from the first. Instead, he extends his history to include more recent developments in the history of art of the post-war period. As in the case of Harper's revised history (see the previous endnote) there are no changes to the treatment of portraiture in the second edition.

30. David Burnett and Marilyn Schiff, Contemporary Canadian Art, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1983). By emphasizing formal innovation, the authors fail to recognize the significance of indigenous movements in Canada. This bias thus prompts their dismissal of the portraiture of the Beaver Hall Hill Group.

31. It should be noted that Donald Buchanan's book deviates from the standard chronological survey of Canadian art because most of the chapters are devoted to individual artists. These chapters emphasize the artists' particular concerns; the development of Canadian art is therefore understood as the pursuit of individual interests rather than as the expression of a shared aesthetic. Quantitatively speaking, Buchanan's discussion of portraiture is not significantly different from other more general surveys of Canadian art because he includes fewer artists in his history. Nevertheless, portraiture emerges as a significant alternative to the landscape genre for a substantial number of artists.

32. The exceptions to this rule include Newton MacTavish's The Fine Arts in Canada, Graham C. McInnes' A Short History of Canadian Art and Canadian Art, and Mary Graham Bonner's Made in Canada which incorporate chapters on the craftwork of the Native peoples of Canada.

33. It should be noted that this list of titles includes diverse approaches to the subject of Canadian art. With the exception of Dennis Reid (see A Concise History of Canadian Painting) and Russell Harper (see Painting in Canada), who restrict their

discussions to the history of painting, the sources I consider include various media. Furthermore, some of the books are not devoted exclusively to the visual arts. Most include sections on architecture and/or urban planning, some include chapters on handicrafts and applied arts, and Newton MacTavish's fifth chapter "The Sister Arts" includes a discussion of music (see The Fine Arts in Canada). As noted, Malcolm Ross' The Arts in Canada covers the spectrum of cultural production; individual chapters are not only devoted to painting, sculpture, architecture, town planning, and industrial design, but also to poetry and prose, radio and television, and the performing arts.

Although the 1929 and the 1936 editions of the Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, edited by Bertram Brooker, were originally intended as yearly publications, they offer useful points of comparison to the histories cited above. The anthologies cover a range of disciplines from the literary to the performing arts, and include articles and exhibition reviews published earlier in the year. See Bertram Brooker, Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, (Toronto: Macmillan Publishing, 1929 and 1936).

Although it was impossible to include here, a closer examination of the literature should analyze the effect of nationalism in constructing the history of Canadian art. All of the histories cited above consider the relationship between Canadian identity and artists' choice of subject. This is particularly evident in the early histories; even Newton MacTavish and Donald Buchanan, who reject the notion of a national iconography, feel compelled to address (if only to reject) the issue in the introductory and concluding remarks to their books.

34. In The History of Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art, (Toronto: NC Press, 1974), Barry Lord devotes twenty pages to "Art of the Depression." All of the works are figurative, and a few of the examples are portraits. The reason Lord's history doesn't play a role in my analysis is that it privileges works with overt political intent, and therefore presents a restrictive view of social commentary in portraiture which does not permit discussion of the issues I consider. If "the worker" is not represented in figurative compositions, the portrait is dismissed as inferior. See the discussion of Frederick Varley's Dhârana (1932, AGO), 178-180.

35. William Colgate, Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1943).

36. Colgate, Canadian Art, 229-30.

37. Tippet, By a Lady.

38. Tippet, By a Lady, 97. While I use Tippet's assertion to corroborate my own thesis that social commentary is implicit to the figurative work of Heward and Smith, I am nevertheless uncomfortable with Tippet's statements. She uses "Heward's farmgirls", and "Smith's habitants" as examples of works which "dealt with the dispossessed" but fails to substantiate or explain the claim. I am not convinced that either artist viewed their subjects as the "dispossessed".

39. Tippet, By a Lady, 102-105.

40. Tippet, By a Lady, 105.

41. What follows is not an exhaustive list of exhibitions of Canadian portraiture. The review considers only those exhibitions discovered using the data base at the NGC, and therefore excludes those that were not accompanied by catalogues or whose catalogues, are not part of the National Gallery's Library Collection. I have excluded catalogues raisonnées because my intention is to review the ways in which art historians contextualize portraiture in written form.

One noteworthy catalogue raisonnée is Alan Jarvis' Faces of Canada: Portrait Paintings and Sculptures from 1900 to the Present Day, (Stratford: Mirror Press, 1964). The catalogue includes portraits primarily from the interwar period.

I have not included Gérard Morisset's exhibition Canadian Portraits of the 18th and 19th Centuries, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1959) because he argues in his introduction that "for the last half-century portraiture has had no history The good portraits of the past 20 years can be counted on the fingers of one hand." (unpaginated) Morisset's bias further suggests how the genre has been marginalized in the Canadian art historical canon.

42. McIntosh Art Gallery, The Image of Man in Canadian Painting: 1878-1978, (London: University of Western Ontario, 1978), ed. Jeremy Adamson.

43. Lydia Foy and Sylvie Gervais, Facing History: Portraits from the National Archives of Canada, (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1993).

44. Robert Stacey, The Hand Holding the Brush: Self-Portraits by Canadian Artists, (London: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983).

45. Esther Trépanier, Jewish Painters and Modernity.

46. Judi Schwartz, Figures and Portraits: The Canadian Identity, (Washington: Art Gallery of the Canadian Embassy, 1993). (unpaginated).

47. Charles Hill, Canadian Painting in the Thirties, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1975), 11.
48. Frances K. Smith, André Biéler: An Artist's Life and Times, (Toronto: Merritt Publishing, 1980).
49. Robert Stacey, The Child in Ontario Art, (Toronto: Macdonald Gallery, 1979), 6-7. Stacey develops this concept in his comprehensive history Hand Holding the Brush.
50. Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj's From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada, (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1976), collaborative undertaking provided the point of departure for other joint research and exhibition projects related to women's art, too numerous to list here.
51. Farr, Lilias Torrance Newton: 1896-1980, (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1981).
52. Natalie Luckyj, Expressions of Will: The Art of Prudence Heward, (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1986).
53. Mary E. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark: Paintings and Drawings (Halifax: Dalhousie Art Gallery, 1982).
54. Farr and Luckyj, From Women's Eyes, 2.
55. I use the term psychological to denote portraits which emphasize the character, or state of mind of the sitter. My thesis will also argue that such portraits derive their power from their insistence on the sitters' autonomy, forcing the viewer to engage with them as living subjects rather than painted objects. Bakhtin's literary model of the dialogic relations amongst author, hero, and reader will be applied to the analysis of the portraits' production, leading to a fuller understanding of the psychological as a complex dynamic existing among artist, subject, and viewer.
56. Irene R. Makaryk, Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993).
57. James A. Hall, "The Watcher at the Gates of Dawn: The Transformation of Self in Liminality and by the Transcendent Function," Nathan Schwartz-Salant et al. eds., Liminality and Transitional Phenomena, (Wilmette, Illinois: Chiron Publications, 1991), 37.

58. Victor Turner quoted in Barbara Myerhoff, "Rites of Passage" in Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual, ed. Victor Turner, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982), 117.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Victor and Edith Turner in "Religious Celebrations" in Celebration, 211.

62. Hall, "Gates of Dawn," 35.

63. For a history of the development of the theory which informed much feminist scholarship during the 1970s, and the contemporary critiques of the ideology which emphasized women's shared experience but denied cultural, ethnic, and social diversity see: Stanley I. Benn and Gerald F. Gaus eds., Public and Private in Social Life, (London: Croom Helm, 1983); Shari Benstock ed., The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby eds., Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Carol Ann Howells, Private and Fictional Words: Canadian Women Novelists of the 1970s and 1980s, (New York: Methuen and Company, 1987); Patrice Clark Koelsch, "Public and Private: Some Implications for Feminist Literature and Criticism," in Gender, Ideology, and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives, ed. Janet Sharistanian (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986); Catherine MacKinnon, Feminism Unmodified: Discourse on Life and Law (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); Carole Pateman, "Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy," in Public and Private in Social Life, op.cit.; Susan Reverby and Dorothy Helly, "Introduction: Converging on History," in Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History, op. cit.; Janet Sharistanian, ed. Gender, Ideology and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives, op.cit.

64. Sex refers to physiological attributes which distinguish men from women, whereas gender refers to the social designation of certain characteristics and behaviour as male and female. The former is determined by biology and the latter is a determination of social and historical processes.

65. Susan M. Reverby and Dorothy O. Helly, "Introduction: Converging on History," Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 13.

66. Reverby and Helly, "Converging on History," 23.
67. Daniel Kolak, "Self: Introduction," Self and Identity: Contemporary Philosophical Issues, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), 339.
68. Rom Harré, "Personal Being as Empirical Unity," Self and Identity, 370.
69. Daniel C. Dennett, "The Origins of Selves," Self and Identity, 360.
70. Mikhail Bakhtin quoted in Tzvetan Todorov, Mikhail Bakhtin: The Dialogical Principle, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 52.
71. Pollock, Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and the Histories of Art, (London: Routledge Press, 1989).
72. Established during the Victorian mania for self-education, these societies were modelled on British, American, and European precedents. The organizations served the public by mounting annual travelling exhibitions of European art, and providing Canadian artists with the opportunity to interact with people of similar interests. The Canadian art society system in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a galvanizing force which helped to counterbalance the geographical isolation experienced by many artists. Most general surveys of Canadian art history provide a brief history of the art society system, including Maria Tippett's By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women (Toronto: Penguin, 1992) which provides some information about women's inclusion in the associations. See also Aba Bayefsky and Humphrey N. Milnes' essay "Fields of Force in Canadian Art, 1930 to 1980," in W.J. Keith and B.-Z. Shek eds., The Arts in Canada: The Last Fifty Years (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) which provides a useful history of the impact of art societies on aesthetic production in Canada. However, I take issue with some of their claims, most notably that "Canada ... became one of the few countries to take our place in the world of art without yet having a strong figurative tradition," and "Canadian artists went straight from unpopulated landscape to rigorous 'experimental art'" (138-39).
73. These organizations were formed during the 1920s and 1930s with the intention of building a bridge between the artist and the community. Nevertheless, the visual arts community was fraught with division and political upheaval. The political infighting between and among these groups often exacerbated, not mitigated, an already desperate sense of isolation felt by many in the visual arts. The

quarrels and controversies of such organizations as the Group of Seven, the Royal Canadian Academy, the Contemporary Arts Society and the Canadian Group of Painters has been well documented (see Appendix I).

74. Bayefsky and Milnes, "Fields of Force," 135.

75. The adopted resolutions included a commitment to urge the government to create a war art program, and to institute a new body to be called the Federation of Canadian Artists (FCA). Following the conference, Biéler, a few members of the Group of Seven, Walter Abell, and, at Clark's urging, Frances Loring formed a continuation committee. See Michael Bell, "Introduction," The Kingston Conference Proceedings: A reprint of the Proceeding of the 1941 Kingston Artists Conference (Kingston: Agnes Etherington, 1991), ix-xiii and Francis K. Smith in André Biéler.

76. The FCA, Vincent Massey, and H.O. McCurry lobbied the federal government for the establishment of the War Art Program in the fall of 1942. In March of 1943 the Canadian War Records Program was approved. The aim of the program was to document pictorially the activities of Canada's armed services at home and abroad, and was to employ both men and women. Molly Lamb Bobak, as the only female enlisted war artist, was the first and only woman who produced war records as an official war artist. Paraskeva Clark was amongst the civilian artists hired through the NGC. For a survey of the contributions of Canadian artists to the war record, see Joan Murray's Canadian Artists of the Second World War, (Oshawa: Robert McLaughlin Gallery, 1981).

77. Smith, André Biéler, 95. Scott's statement echoes the decision to revoke Harris' proposal that the federation be composed of different branches. During the Kingston Conference, the delegates voted in favour of an individual membership, rather than separate regional branches. As Christine Boyanoski has argued, "The delegates may have felt that there would be little coherence among the societies involved, if all were vying for supremacy." See Boyanoski, The 1940s: A Decade of Painting in Ontario (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984), 18.

78. Quoted from a letter to members of the Kingston Conference from the continuation committee in July, 1941. See Boyanoski, 1940s: A Decade, 17-18.

79. Shadbolt quoted in Smith, André Biéler, 93.

80. Victor Turner, The Liminal Process : Structure and Anti-Structure (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 578.

81. Victor Turner, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 100.

82. The connection between women's emancipation and the movement toward greater national independence remains to be established. It should also be noted that women artists in Europe and in the United States seemed to find a similar acceptance for their work during the interwar years, suggesting that the reasons for women's increased access to the public sphere must, to at least some extent, transcend cultural boundaries. While feminist social historians have explored the circumstances of women in different cultural contexts, the complex socio-political reasons for women's increased access to traditionally male dominated institutions in different Western countries have yet to be proposed.

Susan Gubar develops an interesting theory in relation to women writers which might be considered in relation to Canadian women portraitists. Gubar believes that the conflict between role and vocation in the "Künstlerromane" by women reflects shifts in women's thinking about their social role. She believes these changes manifested themselves in the representation of the artist in literature. Whereas the nineteenth-century artist figure gave up her art for motherhood, and turn-of-the century artist figures renounced motherhood for their careers, in the 1920s and 1930s, women writers reshaped the "Künstlerromane" with domestic images of creativity. Thus the artist figure was liberated from "the either/or imperative". Gubar attributes the "valorization of domesticity and motherhood" to the decline in mortality rates and new birth control technology which freed women from compulsory maternity. Gubar's observations are useful because she forges a link between changes to women's material circumstances in the form of birth control to their ability to produce art. Significantly, the issue of women's role is directly related to the representation of feminine creativity. Gubar's insights suggest a point of departure for examining the reasons for Canadian women's greater autonomy during the interwar period, and their representations of themselves, fellow artists, and children as symbols of the reconciliation of domesticity and creative expression in portraiture. Quoted by Suzanne Jones in her introduction to Writing the Woman Artist: Essays on Poetics, Politics, and Portraiture, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 3-4.

83. Bothwell, Drummond, and English, Canada 1900-1945, 279-80. This shift meant a re-articulation of the individual's role in society. As society adopted the values of urbanization, many visual artists desperately wished to become a driving force in Canadian culture. This entailed first creating a community among themselves, and second achieving recognition within the larger society. Paradoxically, as the discussion later in this chapter reveals, artists frequently viewed their marginal status as a necessary

condition of their role as seers.

84. Linda Hutcheon, Splitting Images, Contemporary Canadian Ironies, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991), 17.

85. Farr, Lilias, 14.

86. See Appendix II for a description of the Beaver Hall Hill Group's aims.

87. Although there is disagreement among Canadian art historians regarding the number of years the Group existed, most art historical sources reviewed estimate approximately two years. See Joyce Millar, "The Beaver Hall Group: Painting in Montreal, 1920-40," Woman's Art Journal 13, no.1 (Spring/Summer 1992): 8 n.4, for the reasons for the confusion surrounding this issue.

88. In 1924 the National Gallery of Canada persuaded the organizers of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, England to include a section of Canadian art. The event was important to the Group of Seven because it brought them international attention. As a result, Eric Brown as Director of the National Gallery would come under fire by members of the Royal Canadian Academy who felt that the responsibility of juried shows abroad should fall under the RCA's jurisdiction. Between 1931 and 1932 RCA members circulated a petition criticizing the National Gallery for partisanship, and urged both a boycott of their exhibitions, and a government investigation. The RCA never took an official stand; however, it was generally known that senior Academicians were responsible for initiating the controversy over Brown's support of the Group of Seven. For several months letters to Canadian newspapers reflected the escalation of an issue which divided the artistic community. In Toronto artists circulated a counter-petition in support of Brown. In January of 1933 the National Gallery received two hundred and eighty-two signatures of support. Meetings amongst government ministers, lawyers, and anti-Gallery petitioners continued until December 1934. Brown would remain as Director; however, the artists' societies remained divided. See Charles Hill, Canadian Painting in the Thirties, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1975), 21-23, and The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1995), 142-151.

89. Farr, Lilias, 16.

90. I refer here to the influence of such late 19th and early 20th century Europeans as Cézanne and Picasso. Newton's palette is closer to that of Cézanne, while her highly structured compositions are reminiscent of both artists.

91. Frederick Varley and Edwin Holgate shared a similar predilection for placing the figure in highly structured compositions.

92. While portraiture and figurative compositions were now included in the list of subjects to be treated by CGP members, these genres were relegated to the marginal position of "strengthening and occupying the background of landscape." See Appendix II for the CGP's statement of aims.

93. Quoted in Martin Gerwin, "Painter Prefers Restricted Field," Calgary Herald, 30 August 1961. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

94. Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and the Histories of Art (London: Routledge, 1989), 55-90.

95. See the next chapter for a discussion of Pollock's theories in relation to the portraits of Lilias Torrance Newton and Paraskeva Clark.

96. Pollock, "Spaces of Femininity," 64-65.

97. Ibid.

98. Pearl McCarthy, "Art and Artists: Gallery Given Fine Portrait," Globe & Mail, 20 January 1945. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

99. Anonymous review, "A Gracious Artist," Saturday Night, 31 May 1930. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

100. The importance of self-presentation to the commissioned portraitist, and its implications for the woman artist in particular, will be examined more fully in the next chapter. I will argue that women use fashion to express both their individualism and their shared, socially gendered identity.

101. Robert Stacey, The Hand Holding The Brush: Self-Portraits by Canadian Artists, (London: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983), 20. This seminal catalogue is the only comprehensive study of Canadian self-portraiture. Stacey examines its development as a genre and its history in Canada, and discusses issues related to the production of 18th-20th century works produced in a variety of media.

102. Stacey, Hand Holding the Brush, 39.

103. Between 1930 and 1936, this work appeared in the following five exhibition venues: the Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, 1929; the National Gallery of Canada's "Annual Exhibition," Ottawa, 1930; the American Federation of Arts "Paintings by Contemporary Canadian Artists," Buenos Aires, 1930; Exhibition of Canadian Art at the British Empire Exhibition, 1931; Southern Dominions of the British Empire "Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Painting," 1936. See Farr, Lilias, 26.

104. Stacey, Hand Holding the Brush, 36. He argues that three-quarter views are generally preferred, since the position allows the head to remain fixed, while the eyes move from mirror to canvas.

105. In an editorial entitled "Eastern Artist in City: Successful Portrait Painter Must Know Human Nature," which appeared in the Vancouver Sun, 11 October 1946, journalist Frank Rasky stated that Newton "blew up rather irately when it was suggested portrait painting was on a par with photography." Rasky quoted Newton, who elaborated that the painted portrait was "Not the same thing at all! We must do more than the man who clicks a shutter. We must interpret character." In Newton's view, photographers merely recorded surface reality because their medium, unlike the painter's, provided little possibility for the inscription of the artist's vision. This bias against portrait photography seems to have been shared by other portrait painters who felt the need to justify their continued interest in figurative painting. Jori Smith, as we shall see later in this chapter, distinguished the painted portrait from the photographer's portrait because the former provided greater creative possibilities. For the commissioned painter like Newton, who had to compete with the more affordable studio photographer, there was of course an even greater imperative to distinguish between the two.

106. Quoted in Julian Armstrong, "Montreal Artist Ready to Paint Queen: Nervous at 'Thought' of Entering Palace," Montreal Gazette, 16 February 1957. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

107. Stacey, Hand Holding the Brush, 9.

108. Pollock, "Spaces of Femininity", 64-65.

109. Felicity Edholm, "Beyond the Mirror: Women's Self-Portraits," Imagining Women: Cultural Representations and Gender, eds. Frances Bonner et al., (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), 160.

110. Quoted in Stacey, Hand Holding the Brush, 37, 38n.32.

111. Turner, The Forest of Symbols, 105.
112. Ibid.
113. Clark stopped painting after her arrival in Canada, and she did not exhibit until 1932.
114. Mary MacLachlan cites Clark's lack of fluency in English as a concrete example of an isolation she had yet to overcome. See Paraskeva Clark, 17.
115. Apart from putting Frances Loring's name forward as a member of the continuation committee, little documentary evidence exists of Clark's contribution to the conference. Unlike Newton, however, Clark's politics are evident in her numerous articles, interviews, and paintings of the period. It is thus possible to infer that her interest in the conference would have been consistent with her Marxism, which emphasized the social utility of artists to society.
116. Clark was elected to the CGP in 1936, and to the CSPWC in 1937.
117. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 34.
118. For a discussion of the political content in Clark's body of work see MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 25-31.
119. Farr, Lilias, 14.
120. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 20.
121. Clark's frustration with her conflicting roles as wife, mother, and artist will be examined more fully later in this chapter and in the next. My discussion focusses primarily on gender issues as they pertain to the female portraitist.
122. Paraskeva Clark, "Travelling Exhibitions - Is the Public's Gain the Artist's Loss?" Canadian Art 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1949): 22-23.
123. H.O. McCurry was Director of the National Gallery of Canada from 1939-1955.
124. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 45 n.101.
125. Hill, Canadian Painting, 16-17.
126. Hill, Canadian Painting, 17.

127. Clark in an unpublished interview with Andrew Bell, 11 April 1948, in Paraskeva Clark Papers, NAC, MG30 D398, vol. 6, file 6-27, 2.

128. Ibid., 4.

129. Walter Abell, the founding editor of Canadian Art, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1897, and did advanced studies in the United States and Europe before becoming a professor of art at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S. in 1928. During his tenure he helped to organize the Maritime Art Association, and in 1940, established the art periodical Maritime Art, which, with the assistance of the National Gallery of Canada, evolved into Canadian Art in 1943. The expanded magazine was published in Ottawa, and Abell remained its Managing Editor until 1945 when he left for East Lansing to accept a teaching position at the Department of Art History at Michigan State University. Abell remained in the United States until his death in 1956.

130. Abell revealed a commitment to social issues and to the integration of art into everyday life in the populist editorials of Maritime Art. After his attendance at the Kingston Conference (which precipitated the expansion of Maritime Art into Canadian Art, and his move to Ottawa as its editor) Abell began a profound exploration of the relationship between art and society. The Conference had solidified his commitment to promoting a greater awareness of artists' problems and the need for a more equitable social and political structure. Abell expressed his ideas in editorial comments and articles for the recently expanded Canadian Art, and although it most often found its audience in the Canadian arts community, Abell demonstrated his anti-elitist stance to the dissemination of art by ambitiously aiming the magazine at both artists and the general reader. Abell articulated views similar to those expressed by Clark to Andrew Bell, in the 1943 October/November issue of Canadian Art in which he stressed art's ability to "embody the finest aspirations of the community." For a fuller discussion of Abell's thought see Julia Scalzo, "Walter Abell: From Maritime Art to Canadian Art" in Vanguard, 16, no.1 (Feb./March 1987): 20-23, and Hélène Sicotte, "Walter Abell Au Canada, 1928-1944: contribution d'un critique d'art Americain au discours Canadien en faveur de l'integration sociale de l'art" in Journal of Canadian Art History 11, nos.1/2 (1988): 88-108.

131. MacLachlan quotes from one of Abell's letters to Clark in Paraskeva Clark, 30.

132. Frank Hawkin Underhill was born in Stouffville, Ontario, on 26 November 1889. He studied at the University of Toronto and Oxford University, and served as an officer during the First World War.

Underhill taught history at the University of Saskatchewan until 1927, and at the University of Toronto until 1955. He wrote extensively for the Canadian Forum, was the first president of the League for Social Reconstruction, and wrote the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation's Regina Manifesto of 1933. His activities caused friction with the University of Toronto administration, and in 1941 he was threatened with firing for predicting closer ties with the United States would weaken those with the U.K. During the 1940s, he was a Liberal Party supporter, was appointed Curator of Laurier House in Ottawa by the Liberal government in 1955, and dedicated a volume of essays to Lester B. Pearson. In his later years, he was associated with Carleton University. Underhill died in Ottawa 16 September 1971.

133. Brooker disparaged the "demand for meaning or moral in a work of art" as well as "propagandistic art in the service of a cause." Instead, Brooker promoted art forms which embodied "the holiness of beauty". See Bertram Brooker, "Art and Society," Yearbook of the Arts In Canada (Toronto: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1936), xiv, xxii, xxvii.

In turn, Frank Underhill criticized Brooker's views in his review of the Yearbook, arguing for the artists reconsideration of their relation to society. See Frank Underhill, "The Season's New Books: Yearbook of the Arts in Canada," The Canadian Forum 16, no.191 (December 1936): 28.

In an article which appeared a few months later, Elizabeth Wyn Wood attacked Underhill's position. Wyn Wood invited artists to "camp for a while on our northern Pre-Cambrian Shield." In her opinion, artists should devote themselves to "Canadian subjects," and she believed that "the propagation of an ideology" was "not authentic stimul[us] to the Canadian Artist." Presumably, the Northern Ontario landscape, which provided the inspirational source for her own sculpture offered authentic Canadian themes. See "Art and the Pre-Cambrian Shield," Canadian Forum 16, no.193 (February 1937): 14-15. Clark denounced Wyn Wood's "exaltation of the individual" which in her opinion posed a threat to both the individual and the community because it blinded "the artist to the forces which approach to destroy that relative security in which he is permitted to exercise his individuality." See Paraskeva Clark in "Come Out From Behind the Pre-Cambrian Shield," New Frontier Magazine, 1, no.12 (April 1937): 16-17.

134. Elizabeth Wyn Wood, "Art and the Pre-Cambrian Shield," 13.

135. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to examine the diversity of the expression of socialist and humanist values in figurative works and portraiture. Charles Hill's seminal catalogue Canadian Painting in the Thirties and Frances K. Smith's André Biéler: His Life and Times provide useful overviews to the issues,

and Esther Trépanier's exhibition catalogue Jewish Painters and Modernity: Montreal 1930-1945 (Montréal: Centre Saidye-Bronfman, 1987) thoroughly examines the contributions of the Jewish artistic community in Montreal. Trépanier's catalogue includes a section specifically devoted to portraiture. Joan Murray's Canadian Artists of the Second World War (Oshawa: Robert McLaughlin Gallery, 1981) provides a history of another important aspect of Canadian artistic production relevant to the discussion of artists' growing social concerns. The collection of portraits produced for the Second World War Records Program, now part of the Canadian War Museum's art collection, provides an important and largely unexplored record of the effects of war at home and abroad. The collection includes conventional honorific portraiture, offers interesting glimpses into the everyday military life, and holds moving portraits of the horrors of war.

136. Hill, Canadian Painting, 16.

137. A useful line of pursuit might be a comparative study of the portraiture of other nations to determine if this is a singularly Canadian phenomenon.

138. The reaction of some of the artists at the exhibition's opening would support the contention that even apparently apolitical works did represent their attempt to invest paintings with socio-political significance. Louis Muhlstock, for example, asserted: "Like everyone else in the thirties we were drawn together in adversity, most of us represented on these walls were more concerned about people than were the social realists of New York." Muhlstock further explained that there was a social dimension to even the deserted hallways of his painting Open Door of Third House, Groubert Lane, Montréal, c.1939, NGC because the viewer was left with the sensation that "people have just left and will soon be back." See James Purdie, "Art: The survivors of the harsh decade look back," The Globe and Mail, 3 June 1975, 15.

139. In "Canadian Aspirations in Painting," Culture 3 (June 1942) Abell criticized Canadian artists for their failure to depict the human condition and choosing to treat "the human being, if at all, as a 'figure' rather than a spirit, an object to be composed rather than a being to be interpreted." While other critics like Graham McInnes, André Biéler, and Jean-Paul Lemieux did not necessarily favour depictions of the human form, they also argued for a greater integration of art into everyday life. For a fuller discussion of these issues see Hélène Sicotte "Walter Abell au Canada 1928-1944" in the Journal of Canadian Art History 11, nos.1/2, 1988.

140. Transcript of Charles Hill's Interview with Jori Smith 16 January 1974, National Gallery of Canada Library, 13.

141. Ibid.

142. Jean Palardy was born the 23 September 1905 at Fitchburg, Massachussetts to Joseph-Hector Palardy, a doctor, and Julia Palardy (née Guy). In 1908 the family moved to Chicoutimi and moved to Montréal in 1910. After finishing his studies at the seminary Palardy studied art at l'École des beaux-arts de Montréal (1926-1928). During the late 1920s, the 1930s and the 1940s he travelled in Québec and Europe, studied art, and from 1932 to 1934 assisted Marius Barbeau in researching the arts, architecture, and culture of the Charlevoix region. From 1941-1960 he worked for the National Film Board, producing over eighty documentary films. Palardy made important contributions in the study of architecture in Québec and in France, but is perhaps best known for the seminal book published in 1963 Les Meubles Anciens du Canada, which appeared in English as The Early Furniture of French Canada. He received numerous distinctions for his contributions to Quebec cultural studies including the Order of Canada in 1967.

143. "L'imagination de l'artiste ... complète la vision d'un moment; le portrait n'est plus une simple vision mais la synthèse de plusieurs visions fondues en une seule; de sorte que l'individu devient plus qu'une unité passagère, mais un être divers, sans toujours devenir un 'type' comme trop souvent dans l'art académique. Léon Jalder, "Les Jeunes: Marjorie Smith et Jean Palardy," La Tribune, Sherbrooke, Samedi 17 mai 1930.

144. Ibid.

145. Barker Fairley, "What Is Wrong With Canadian Art," Canadian Art 6, no.1 (Autumn 1948): 25.

146. Fairley, "Canadian Art", 29.

147. Paraskeva Clark, "Canadian Artists," World Affairs: The Magazine for Students of Current Events 8, no.6 (February 1943): 18.

148. Ibid.

149. Daniel C. Dennett "The Origins of Selves," and Rom Harré "Personal Being As Empirical Unity," in Self and Identity: Contemporary Philosophical Issues Daniel Kolak and Raymond Martin, eds. (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1991), 355-364, 364-372.

150. Dennett, "Origins of Selves," 360.

151. In this instance, Clark's self-consciousness does not stem from her anticipation of a museum audience. The work was not exhibited publicly until Mary MacLachlan's 1982 exhibition at the Dalhousie Art Gallery. Instead, Clark's concern can be attributed to her desire to impress her future husband, Philip Clark. The watercolour was sent from France to Philip in Canada during their courtship in 1930. For the history of this painting, see MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 51.

152. Daniel Kolak and Raymond Martin, in "Introduction: Self", in Self and Identity, 339.

153. Rom Harré, "Personal Being," 370.

154. The self-portrait was exhibited as Myself in the CGP's Annual Exhibitions at the Art Gallery of Toronto(1933) and at the Art Association of Montreal (1934). It was exhibited as Woman in Black in the group exhibition "Rody K. Courtice, Isabel McLaughlin, Kathleen Daly, Yvonne McKague, Paraskeva Clark" at the Toronto Galleries of J. Merritt Mahoney in 1936.

155. James A. Hall, "The Watcher at the Gates of Dawn: The Transformation of Self in Liminality and by the Transcendent Function," Nathan Schwartz-Salant et al. eds., Liminality and Transitional Phenomena, (Wilmette, Illinois: Chiron Publications, 1991), 38.

156. Paraskeva Clark, "The Artist Speaks: A Statement by Paraskeva Clark," Canadian Review of Music and Art 3, nos.9/10 (October-November 1944): 48.

157. Farr, Lilias, 20-21.

158. Farr, Lilias, 21.

159. NGC, Correspondence w/re. Artists, 7.1S, Smith, Jori. Jori Smith to Marius Barbeau, 3 January 1945.

160. Transcript of Charles Hill's Interview with Jori Smith 16 January 1974, National Gallery of Canada Library, 3-4.

161. Mary E. MacLachlan Paraskeva Clark: Paintings and Drawings (Halifax: Dalhousie Art Gallery, 1982) p.41-42.

162. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 42.

163. James A. Hall cites Victor Turner in "The Watcher at the Gates of Dawn: The Transformation of Self in Liminality and by the Transcendent Function," in N. Schwartz-Salant et al. eds.,

Liminality and Transitional Phenomena (Wilmette, Illinois: Chiron Publications, 1991), 37. Consider too, that liminality creates ambiguity - it is as much an area "betwixt and between" as it is a stage of social reintegration. For more on this issue, consult Victor Witter Turner ed., Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual, (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1982), 202.

164. Farr, Lilias, 14.

165. Gerwin, "Restricted Field," Calgary Herald, 30 August 1961. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

166. Armstrong, "Montreal Artist Ready To Paint Queen Nervous At 'Thought' Of Entering Palace", Montreal Gazette, 16 February 1957. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

167. Gerwin, "Restricted Field", Calgary Herald, 30 August 1961.

168. Farr, Lilias, 16-19.

169. See endnote no.88 for a discussion of the controversy which surrounded the National Gallery's exhibition policy under Eric Brown's tenure during the early 1930s.

170. Farr, Lilias, 15.

171. Farr, Lilias, 14-15.

172. Farr, Lilias, 15.

173. Brilliant, Portraiture, 12.

174. Eric Brown was born at Nottingham in August 1877 and due to a football accident and subsequent illness was unable to attend college. His father, John Henry Brown (a city Councillor and one of the founders of Nottingham University), instilled his love for literature and the arts in his son, who devoted himself to their study during his convalescence. He studied art, and took up farming for a time before coming to Canada in 1909. He was appointed curator in 1910, and in 1913 Director of the National Gallery of Canada. His tenure as Director ended when he died in 1939. For a personal account of Brown's life and work see Maud Brown's memoir Breaking Barriers: Eric Brown and the National Gallery (Ottawa: Society for Art Publications, 1964).

175. Armstrong, "Montreal Artist Ready", Montreal Gazette, 16 February 1957. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

176. By posing for a second portrait c.1950 Harris further demonstrated his confidence in Newton as a portraitist. The oil painting is now in the McMichael Collection in Kleinburg, Ontario.

177. C.S. MacDonald, A Dictionary of Canadian Artists, no.5 (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks), 1977.

178. Farr, Lilias, 20.

179. The Massey-Harris agricultural implement firm (now Varity Corporation) was established in 1847 as the Newcastle Foundry and Machine Manufactory, and became the Massey Manufacturing Company in 1870. It merged with its chief competitor A. Harris, Son, & Company Ltd. in 1891 to become Massey-Harris Co. Ltd., the largest company of its kind in the British Empire. In 1953, the company merged with the Ferguson Companies to form Massey-Harris-Ferguson Ltd. In 1987, it became Varity Corporation, although subsidiaries retained variations of the old names.

From its earliest days the company acquired the rights to innovative machinery, and made agricultural history with the Toronto Light Binder during the late 19th century and in 1927 by acquiring the Wallis Tractor. During the 1920s, Harry Ferguson developed ideas which gave the company the inside edge in tractor technology. It continues to manufacture and sell such farm and industrial equipment as tractors, balers and multi-purpose diesel engines.

180. Reid, A Concise History, 135.

181. Harris' interest in theosophy led to the development of his concepts of art and nationalism. For a discussion of the relationship between Harris' theosophical and aesthetic concerns see William Hart "Theory and Practice in Art," in Lawren Harris Retrospective Exhibition (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1963).

182. The relationship of viewer to sitter in portraits which challenge traditional definitions of illusionistic space will be explored in detail later in the chapter using Griselda Pollock's theories of the modernist treatment of compositional space.

183. Hall, "Gates of Dawn, 45.

184. Farr, Lilias, 19.

185. Angela Partington, "Feminist Art and Avant-Gardism," in H. Robinson ed., Visibly Female (London: Camden Press, 1987), 247.

186. Janet Sharistanian quotes Rosaldo in the introduction to the anthology she edited, entitled: Gender, Ideology and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), 6.

187. Armstrong, "Montreal Artist Ready", Montreal Gazette, 16 February 1957. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

188. Carole Pateman, "Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy," in Stanley I. Benn and Gerald F. Gaus eds., Public and Private in Social Life, (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 285.

189. Pateman, "Feminist Critiques," 285.

190. Alison Prentice et al, Canadian Women: A History, (Toronto: Harcourt, Brace, Janovich, 1988), 216-217.

191. Griselda Pollock's definition of the mastering gaze is a useful one in analyzing Newton's portrait. See "Modernity and the spaces of femininity", in Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art (London, 1989), 87.

192. Pearl McCarthy was born in Toronto in 1895, received a B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1917 and a B.Litt from Oxford University in 1927. She became art critic for the Toronto Globe and Mail in 1937, after a career as a reporter with the Montreal Gazette and Toronto's Mail and Empire. She supported the efforts of the Group of Seven and their contemporaries, and her interests included European and Inuit art. She died in Toronto in 1964.

193. Pearl McCarthy, "Art and Artists: Gallery Given Fine Portrait," Globe & Mail, 20 January 1945. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

194. Saturday Night, 31 May 1930. "A Gracious Artist." Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

195. Frank Rasky, "Eastern Artist in City: Successful Portrait Painter Must Know Human Nature," Vancouver Sun, 11 October 1946.

196. Montreal Gazette, 18 October 1932. "Lilias Torrance Newton Shows Portrait: Montreal Painter Reveals Possibilities of Charcoal at Arts Club." Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

197. Farr, Lilias, 9.
198. Pollock, Vision and Difference, 87.
199. Farr, Lilias, 14-15.
200. Hall, "Gates of Dawn," 38.
201. Pollock, Vision and Difference, 64-65.
202. See the discussion (earlier in this chapter) of Newton's attire in relation to her success as a commissioned portraitist. The journalist Frank Rasky is quoted as saying that "the only hint of unorthodoxy" in Newton's "grey tweed suit ensemble was a long speckled feather." [emphasis added] I am indebted to Michael Bell for drawing my attention to the differences in these women's dress. It should be noted that I am not suggesting that Newton was not interested in contemporary fashion trends, on the contrary the striped sweater of Self-Portrait, (fig.1), reveals her awareness and attraction to the newer and bolder styles of her day. However, Clark's fashion sense as a recent immigrant from Paris would have been influenced by the newest designs emerging from the Parisian fashion houses, while Newton's North American sensibility was still strongly influenced by the more conservative English traditions. These differences in style are significant to the consideration of gender construction because they reflect both aspects of individual preference and cultural diversity.
203. Naomi Yanova was a concert pianist and was married to John Adaskin. Several members of the Adaskin family were close to the Clarks. It was John's older brother Murray who was with Philip when he met Paraskeva in the Paris shop where she worked.
204. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 20.
205. MacLachlan, Paraskeva, 23. For a discussion of some of the manifestations of Clark's Marxism, please see the previous chapter.
206. Finlayson, "An artist whose vision was too short-sighted," Toronto Globe & Mail, 5 March 1983. Paraskeva Clark, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.
207. Lawrence Sabbath, "Paraskeva Clark," Canadian Art 17, no.5, (Sept. 1960): 293.
208. Sabbath, "Paraskeva Clark," 293.

209. In interviews of the 1960s and 1970s, Clark often sparked controversy with her candid remarks about the natural inferiority of women artists. Comments such as "painting is not a woman's job" and "If I were a man I could be hard-hearted and selfish, and paint modern art. But I'm not and I can't," quoted in Finlayson, "An artist whose vision" were typical. I believe that her statements were informed not by a sincere conviction of women's inferiority, but by her frustration and discomfort working in abstraction, the genre embraced by the leading Canadian artists of the 1950s and 1960s.

210. Sabbath, "Paraskeva Clark," 291.

211. Farr and Luckyj, From Women's Eyes, 2.

212. A. Y. Jackson, Memorial Exhibition, Prudence Heward: 1896-1947, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1948), 9.

213. Prentice et al, Canadian Women, 240.

214. Prentice et al, Canadian Women, 301.

215. Prentice et al, Canadian Women, 241.

216. Hall, "Gates of Dawn," 39-40.

217. Hall, "Gates of Dawn," 39.

218. Prentice et al, Canadian Women, 297.

219. Bakhtin quoted in Todorov, Tzvetan. The Dialogical Principle, 52.

220. Gerwin, "Painter Prefers Restricted Field," Calgary Herald, 30 August 1961. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

221. Lenore Crawford, London Free Press, 27 September 1958. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

222. Montreal Gazette, "Queen Difficult Subject Montreal Artist Found" 1958. Author, day, and month unknown. Lilias Torrance Newton, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

223. I am not suggesting that a collaborative approach to portraiture necessarily translates itself into a psychological study of the subject. Instead, I am using Newton's own frame of reference for judging the success of her portraits: "There must be sympathy between the subject and the artist for the portrait to be

good." See Farr, Liliias, 16-19. I am also inclined to think that Newton's judgement of the portrait's quality would depend on her assessment of its "truthfulness" as a study in character. This assumption is based on the fact that as a student of William Brymner she was encouraged to "look beneath the surface of" the subjects she painted.

224. See Chapters 1 and 2 for discussions of the work of social constructivists Daniel Dennett and Rom Harré on which my definitions of identity depend.

225. John Sommerville, The Rise and Fall of Childhood, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982), 230.

226. Sommerville, Rise and Fall, 230. The parallel I have drawn between other nations' representations of youth in literature and representations of Canadian adolescents in portraiture would be strengthened with examples in Canadian art and literature. To my knowledge, this research remains to be done. My point is that this image of adolescent restlessness can be seen as a symbol of shifting attitudes towards children concomitant with the widespread disillusionment with social systems. There is evidence in other areas of cultural study to support this view. Studies of the family in Canada offer a good point of departure for examining the growing concern for Western society's displaced youth and offers further support to Sommerville's assertions. See Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell eds., Studies in Childhood History: A Canadian Perspective, (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1982) for a history of changing perspectives on childhood in Canada, as well as studies that examine the impact of changes on child-rearing practices on Canadian women from a feminist perspective in Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women 1919-1939, (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988) and in Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth Century Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). Significantly, many feminists argue that any consideration of changing social attitudes towards the child cannot be separated from complex familial relations, changing attitudes regarding men and women's social roles, and gendering processes. Thus even the aforementioned sociological studies of childhood must be considered within the broader social context which produced them. That is, the development during the 19th and 20th centuries of a concept of childhood as a discrete area of sociological study continues to affect current scholarship and social work.

Art periodicals offer another point of departure for examining changing attitudes toward the child's place in society. It is beyond the scope of this project to analyze the literature; however, a cursory review reveals that a considerable amount of space in such art periodicals as Canadian Art, and The Canadian

Review of Music and Art, is devoted to convincing the reader of the importance of art to a child's development. Much of the writing seem to be informed by the conviction that art can play an instrumental role in the betterment of society, and that an appreciation for aesthetics must be initiated early in childhood.

227. Farr, Lilias, 20.

228. In the early 1970s, Linda Nochlin asserted that preparation for motherhood made women more responsive portraitists because they were encouraged to be attentive to the character-traits and moods of others. Fourteen years after the publication of this article, Nochlin resists arguing for the natural superiority of women portraitists. See "Morisot's Wet Nurse: The construction of Work and Leisure in Impressionist Painting," in Women, Art and Power and Other Essays, (New York: Harper and Row, 1988): 37-56. In her examination of Berthe Morisot's Wet Nurse, Nochlin criticized essentialist representations of women "as instinctive nurturers of their young," (40), and thus repositioned her own arguments for the 'naturalness' of women's sensitivity as nurturers and portraitists. In spite of the essentialist overtones of her statement of the 1970s, Nochlin's observation is useful because she distinguishes between the portrait as a mode of formal exploration, and as the site for the inscription of feminine experience.

229. Linda Nochlin, "Some Women Realists: Painters of the Figure," Arts Magazine 48 (May 1974). Nochlin discusses the work of Alice Neel and Sylvia Sleigh, 29-33.

230. Nochlin, "Some Women Realists," 29.

231. Ibid.

232. Nochlin seems to conflate the critical reception of portraiture which relegated content to the margins, with the modernist project itself. As recent scholarship has demonstrated (see texts cited below), Nochlin is correct in her assessment of the "modernist attitude to such works". Certainly, Paraskeva Clark and Jori Smith's articulation of their sense of isolation from the Avant-Garde community of the 1950s would support Nochlin's contention that artists felt pressured to pursue formalism exclusively (see chapter 2); however, a closer examination of the manifestations of the modernist project in figurative work is required than the one offered in Nochlin's article of the 1970s. See Serge Guilbaut: How New York Stole The Idea of Modern Art, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) for an examination of the issues as they relate to the American Avant-Garde of the mid 20th century, and Denise Leclerc's The Crisis of Abstraction in Canada: The 1950s (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1992) for

the Canadian perspective. See also Christine Conley's Masters thesis Daughters in Exile: Negotiating the Spaces of the Avant-Garde, Christiane Pflug and Joyce Wieland, (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1990) for a thorough examination of the impact of formalism and the "boys' club" mentality of the Toronto Avant-Garde and commercial gallery system on two Canadian women artists. Finally, the last chapter of MacLachlan's Paraskeva Clark offers a particularly pertinent example of how the modernist emphasis on formal issues made it difficult for portraitists in spite of the fact that the 1960s saw a return to figurative subjects.

233. Nochlin, "Some Women Realists," 29.

234. Naomi Schor offers another useful point of departure for examining gender and portraiture in her book Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine (New York: Routledge Press, 1989). She argues that art discourse has persistently feminized the concrete and the particular to privilege the masculinity of the abstract and the sublime (17-22). Schor contends that Baudelaire's feminization of detail overtly politicizes the aesthetic (21). The link between the masculine and the abstract suggests some avenues for exploration of the classification and reception of Canadian women's art.

235. Pollock, Vision and Difference, 64-65.

236. The nude provides one example of the objectification of the human subject in painting and sculpture. The genre has been examined and problematized in relation to the representation of women by several feminist art historians including Marcia Pointon in Naked Authority: The Body in Western Painting 1830-1908, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) and Lynda Nead, The Female Nude: Art Obscenity and Sexuality, (London: Routledge Press, 1992).

237. For an in-depth discussion of the subject's role in constructing the portrait see Richard Brilliant's chapter "Fashioning the Self," in Portraiture, 45-88. Brilliant uses art historical examples, as well as popular and commercial imagery from antiquity to the present to illustrate the myriad ways in which the subject arranges herself in anticipation of the spectator.

238. Bakhtin quoted in Todorov, Dialogical Principle, 52.

239. Artist, transcription of interview by Charles Hill, MG 30 D249 12, NGC, 1974, 5.

240. Smith describes her "leftist" commitment in an interview with Charles Hill in 1974. See the transcription by Cindy Campbell NGC Library Interview: Hill/ Jori Smith June 16th 1974, 3. In her memoirs, Smith does not politicize her views. Instead she focusses on the personal stories of the families with whom she and her husband lived. The fatalistic attitudes of the people somehow helped them to transcend the prevailing circumstances of poverty and illness to enjoy the provisional contentment author Gabrielle Roy has described as "Bonheur d'Occasion." See Gabrielle Roy's novel by this title (translation The Tin Flute). The title is a play on words which can be loosely translated as "occasional happiness" or "happiness on occasion" and also includes word play on "voiture d'occasion" (a second hand car). Roy's description of the life of the French-speaking working poor in St. Denis suggests that happiness and contentment were occasional and usually provisional occurrences of daily life. The faces of Smith's portraits also suggest this reality.

241. Smith, interview with Charles Hill, 5.

242. Smith, interview with Charles Hill, 8.

243. Montreal Star, 18 November 1964.

244. Hill, Canadian Painting, 117. Smith's humanitarian concerns were expressed through her involvement in the League for Social Reconstruction, her interest in the Spanish Civil War, and Charles Hill states that it is this humanism which "attracted her to the children of Charlevoix County."

245. Barbara Meadowcroft, Jori Smith: Selected Works: 1932-1993, (Montreal: Galerie Dominion), 1.

246. The League for Social Reconstruction (LSR) was founded in the fall and winter of 1931-1932 by prominent members of various professional spheres who shared a common commitment to addressing the economic distress and dislocation experienced by those hit hardest by the Depression. The league's vision for a new centralist and socialist economic order was motivated by a desire for a more equitable distribution of resources. The LSR was the first organization of social-democratic intellectuals in Canada and had a strong influence on the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the farmer-labour-socialist party, and the two major political parties, by gaining popular support for social and economic change. The LSR's contributions included the purchase of The Canadian Forum in 1936, thereby saving it from bankruptcy. Please see Michiel Horn, The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada 1930-1942, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) for a history and discussion of the league's

activities.

247. James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 236n.

248. Jori Smith, unpublished memoirs in Jori Smith Papers, NAC, MG 30 D249 vol. 12, 55.

249. Smith's conviction that non-urban and non-Western cultures were dying as a result of rapid industrialization conforms to the salvage paradigm. While it is beyond the scope of this discussion to consider the complex issues surrounding Imperialist notions regarding rural cultures, developing nations, and the practices of non-Western cultural objects, the positioning of Smith's visual and written work within traditional anthropological and ethnological practices would provide useful points of comparison to the work of her contemporaries. As it was not Smith's intention to produce documents for professional purposes, she seems to have resisted the totalizing impulse of practitioners working in the social sciences, although she undoubtedly shared many of the biases of her contemporaries. Furthermore, Smith's work reveals an important, but previously ignored area of Québec culture by describing an aspect of women's history. For a discussion of issues related to Western collecting and exhibition practices with regards to marginalized cultures, see Clifford, Predicament, 189-251. For a consideration of these issues as they relate specifically to ethnicity and women, see Trinh T. Minh-ha, Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 79-116.

250. Marius Barbeau (1883-1969) made significant contributions to the study of Canadian culture working as an ethnologist and folklorist for the National Museum in Ottawa. He also played an important role in the Canadian art world during the 1920s and 1930s by leading artists into areas of the country that they might otherwise not have ventured. The project for the Musée de la Province de Québec, mentioned here, provides one example of his collaboration with Canadian artists. He also made several trips to British Columbia's Skeena and Nass river valleys. It was on one of these trips that he heard of Emily Carr, which led to their meeting, and finally to the inclusion of her work in an exhibition of West-coast Indian and non-Native art at the National Gallery of Canada in 1927. Amongst the Canadian participants were Edwin Holgate, A.Y. Jackson, Anne Savage, Pegi Nicol Macleod, and Florence Wyle who had followed Barbeau's lead to West Coast Native settlements.

251. Smith and Palardy often crossed paths with Barbeau during their travels in the 1930s, and collaborated along with artists Stanley Cosgrove (1911-) and Jean-Paul Lemieux (1904-1990) on an inventory of Québec arts for Gerard Morisset's studies on the history of Québec art at the Musée de la province de Québec.

Smith was not the only artist of the period to travel and paint the people of Charlevoix County. She and Palardy were often joined by André Biéler, Jean-Paul Lemieux, and Stanley Cosgrove during the summers of the late 1930s. See Hill, Canadian Painting, 116-117, and Frances K. Smith, André Biéler in Rural Québec, (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1988). Kathleen Daly Pepper (1898-1995) also travelled to the Charlevoix region to paint the Montagnais Indians. See Tippet, By a Lady, 89.

252. Smith, unpublished memoirs MG 30 (D249) 12, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, 55. Smith noted, like Barbeau, that "We were the last to witness the time of innocence, a glimpse into a small segment of another previous age which was soon to disappear forever," 8.

253. Smith, unpublished memoir, 53.

254. Smith, unpublished memoir, 53-54.

255. As noted earlier, Smith's work reveals an important, but previously ignored area of Québec culture by describing an aspect of women's history. Smith also seems to have intuitively anticipated the methodological approach of contemporary feminist oral historians who emphasize the significance of the verbal exchanges to the community members themselves. Smith's attempt to incorporate more of the context for the speaker's words into her own account, and her descriptions of the "other's" perception of her, are noteworthy because both are critical to the feminist oral historian's methodology. For an examination of the relationship of oral history as a methodological approach to the study of women's history, see Sherna Gluck, "What's So Special About Women?: Women's Oral History," Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies 2 (Summer 1977): 3-13, Katherine Jensen, "Women as Subject, Oral History as Method" and Susan H. Armitage "The Next Step" both in Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies, 7, no.1 (1983).

256. Clifford, Predicament, 42.

257. For another significant aspect of Smith's relationship to the women of the Charlevoix region, see Richard Dubé and François Tremblay, Peindre un pays: Charlevoix et ses peintres (Laprairie, Québec: Éditions Broquet, 1989). Smith influenced such local artists as Marie Anne Simard of Petite-Rivière-Saint-François. Simard was encouraged by Smith and her husband to pursue painting.

Indeed, her preferences for still-life and portraiture have been attributed to Smith's influence (123-24).

Studies of artists of the Charlevoix region have generally emphasized the impact of outsiders on their art. A new point of departure would be to consider the reciprocal, or perhaps dialogical implications of such a relationship. That is, a study which focusses on the impact of Charlevoix artists on the visiting artists to the region and vice versa.

258. Smith, unpublished memoir, 8.

259. Smith, unpublished memoir, 23.

260. It is beyond the scope of this project to consider the degree to which women defied Church doctrine to practise birth-control. Veronica Strong-Boag's observation that the Catholic Church "acquiesced in the 'rhythm method'" during the 1930s because of both "private initiatives" and the harsh realities of the Depression, would support Smith's claim that birth control received provisional acceptance in the urban centres. See The New Day Recalled, 89. However, according to Smith's account, women of the Charlevoix region had little recourse to outside medical advice and remained ignorant in matters regarding human sexuality and reproduction. This account also demonstrates that whatever means were available to them would have been unreliable.

261. Meadowcroft, Jori Smith, (unpaginated).

262. Ibid.

263. Ibid.

264. Ibid.

265. For women living in rural Québec, celibacy outside the convent was not a promoted alternative. Economic issues were not the only considerations when a young woman chose between marriage and the convent. A woman unwilling to devote her life to one institution or another demonstrated "a certain egotism." See Le collectif Clio L'Histoire des femmes au Québec, 243-244, for a feminist critique of the socio-political context which informed many women's decision to join a religious order. For an examination of the history of the increase in religious communities and vocations in Québec see Marta Danylewycz's Taking the Veil: An alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Québec, 1840-1920 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987). Danylewycz's history examines the social, economic and political factors which made religious life so appealing to many women living in Québec, as well as the relationship between the growth of women's religious communities

and the efforts of lay women at the end of the 19th century and in the early years of the 20th to play a more active role in the economic, political, religious life of Québec.

266. In By Woman's Hand, 1994, Pepita Ferrari asserts that these women of colour were Heward's servants. However, Natalie Luckyj, in a telephone conversation on October 23, 1995, took issue with Ferrari's claim, citing a lack of empirical evidence.

267. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Pollock's theories regarding women's exploitation of the modernist treatment of pictorial space.

268. In a telephone interview on 23 October 1995, art historian Natalie Luckyj stated that members of Prudence Heward's family did not know, or could not remember, the subjects of Farmhouse Window and Ellen.

269. Several amateur gardeners have assured me that the plant resembles a variety of peony considered suitable as a houseplant. For an interpretation of the symbolism attached to the flower, see Barbara Walker, Women's Dictionary of Symbols and Sacred Objects, (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988), 43.

270. See endnote no.268.

271. Luckyj, Expressions of Will, 53.

272. Mara R. Witzling "'With Reluctant Feet' : The Meeting of Childhood and Womanhood in Works by Women Artists," in Politics, Gender, And the Arts: Women, the Arts, and Society, eds. Ronald Dotterer and Susan Bowers. (Mississauga: Associated University Presses, 1992), 87-95.

273. Witzling, "'With Reluctant Feet'," 89.

274. Ibid.

275. Witzling, "'With Reluctant Feet'," 90.

276. Rosemary Betterton, "How do women look? The female nude in the work of Suzanne Valadon," Looking On: Images of Femininity in the Visual Arts and Media, ed. Rosemary Betterton (London: Pandora Press), 222-23.

277. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to evaluate the critical response to Heward's work. My comments are based on Natalie Luckyj's review of the response to Heward's figures (see "The Critics," Expressions of Will, 39-55), and my own examination of a representative cross-section of newspaper clippings contained

in Prudence Heward, "Artist's Files," National Gallery of Canada.

278. I am borrowing this metaphor from Mara Witzling, who has interpreted the sunflower in Mary Cassatt's painting Mother and Child as a symbol of "youth and its flowering," and as a symbol of "female sexual 'flowering'" in Dorothy Tanning's Eine Kleine Nachtmusik, "'With Reluctant Feet'," 88-89.

279. See Michael Holquist's introduction in M.M. Bakhtin, Art and Answerability: Early Philosophical Essays, eds. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov, trans. Vadim Liapunov (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), xxx-xxxi.

280. Witzling, "'With Reluctant Feet'," 93.

APPENDIX I: BREAKDOWN OF CANADIAN ART ASSOCIATIONS, 1920-1949*

Issue	Royal Canadian Academy	Group of Seven	Beaver Hall Hill Group	Canadian Group of Painters	Contemporary Arts Society	Federation of Canadian Artists
Dates	1880-1949	1920-1933	1920-1924 ⁺	1933-1969	1939-1948	1941-1949
Location	Ottawa	Toronto	Montréal	Toronto	Montréal	Regional Bodies
Political Bias	Colonialist	Nationalist	Non-Partisan	Nationalist	Internationalist	Nationalist
Subject/Generic Interest	Academic Genres [^]	Landscape	Landscape Figure Still-Life	Landscape Dominant	Diverse	Diverse
Linguistic Background	Anglophone/Francophone	Anglophone	Anglophone	Anglophone/Francophone	Anglophone/Francophone	Anglophone/Few Francophones
Membership	Men/Limited Number of Women	Men	Women/Men	At Founding 2/3 Men/ 1/3 Women	Men/Women	Men/Women
Statement of Aims	See Appendix II	See Appendix II	N/A	See Appendix II	See Appendix II	See Appendix II

* This Appendix focuses primarily on the decades under discussion in my thesis.

[^] A specified number of 40 academicians in each discipline: 22 painters, 5 sculptors, 4 designers, etchers and engravers. There was an unlimited number of associates. For reforms after 1949, see Sisler, 173-234.

⁺ No definitive time frame has been established for the Beaver Hall Hill Group. Hill in Canadian Painting in the Thirties, 39, estimates the Group lasted one-and-a-half years. See Joyce Millar in "The Beaver Hall Group: Painting in Montréal, 1920-1940" in Women's Art Journal, Spring/Summer 1992, Volume 13, No. 1, 8 for a summary of this issue.

APPENDIX II: ART ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR AIMS

ROYAL CANADIAN ACADEMY (1880-):

"The objects which are sought are the encouragement of design as applied to painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving and the industrial arts, and the promoting and support of education leading to the production of beautiful and excellent work in manufactures."*

*This extract is taken from the RCA's original constitution and is quoted in Rebecca Sisler, Passionate Spirits: A History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts 1880-1980 (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1980), 28.

GROUP OF SEVEN (1920-1933):

"The Group of Seven has always believed in an art inspired by the country, and that the one way in which a people will find its own individual expression in art is for its artists to stand on their own feet, and by direct experience of the country itself ... to produce works of its time and place ... The group has always ... maintained for themselves and others the right to freedom of expression, believing that only in diversity of outlook will there ever be a widespread interest in the arts of this country. While it believes that faction is a healthy sign, it has no quarrel with any individual artist, critic or society of artists. Its members are a group of serious workers imbued with a creative idea and seeking to practice it."*

* This is a shortened version of a statement which appeared in its entirety in "Group of Seven Issues Statement Defending Aims," Montreal Gazette, 31 January 1933, published just prior to the Group's absorption into the Canadian Group of Painters in 1933. It must therefore be interpreted not as a statement of objectives, but as a response to the Group of Seven's detractors. This extract appears in Charles Hill, Canadian Painting in the Thirties (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1975), 23 and 30n.35.

BEAVER HALL HILL GROUP (1920-1924):

"We had no officers ... we had no manifesto, we had nobody to do battle with, the battle had been pretty well won by the Group of Seven for their ideas, and ours were quite similar attitudes, and the dust had all subsided. But it was a question of getting studios, working space, and keeping the prices down, because none of us was flush. And this was one way of cooperating, grouping together and taking over a house, instead of little bits of individual dribbles here and there scattered around. And there was a certain cohesion that automatically develops in a case like that, when a number of people get working together. There's a bonhomie that spreads through the building."*

*Edwin Holgate quoted in Frances K. Smith, André Biéler: An Artist's Life and Times, (Toronto: Merritt Publishing, 1980), 71. It was thus not a common

ideology, but friendship and economic necessity, which formed the basis of the informal group's existence.

CANADIAN GROUP OF PAINTERS (1933-1969):

"The Canadian Group of Painters is a direct out-growth of the Group of Seven - all the members of which are in the new group, which numbers twenty-eight - drawn from the whole of Canada. Its policy is to encourage and foster the growth of Art in Canada, which has a national character, not necessarily of time and place, but also expressive of its philosophy, and a wide appreciation of the right of Canadian artists to find beauty and character in all things. To extend the creative faculty beyond the professional meaning of art and to make of it a more common language of expression is also a part of its aim. Hitherto, it has been a landscape art, typical of all new movements, but here and there figures and portraits have been slowly added to the subject matter, strengthening and occupying the background of landscape. Here also more modern ideas of technique and subject have been brought into the scope of Canadian painting, keeping the art in the van of our forward stride as a nation."

The statement of aims appeared in the anonymous foreword to the CGP's catalogue to their first exhibition held in 1933 at the Art Gallery of Toronto. The Canadian Group of Painters, (Toronto: Art Gallery of Toronto, 1933). The declaration of intent remained consistent with the association's aims throughout its thirty-six year history.

CONTEMPORARY ARTS SOCIETY (1939-1948):

"The talk of the Canadian scene has gone sour. The real Canadian scene is in the consciousness of Canadian painters, whatever the object of their thought." John Lyman quoted by Graham McInnes in "World of Art", Saturday Night, 23 April 1938, 12.

The society included non-artists, and its aims were to show the work of living artists and to develop awareness of modern art movements. The anti-academic stance of the society was revealed in the only condition of membership which excluded members of the Royal Canadian Academy.

FEDERATION OF CANADIAN ARTISTS (1941-1949):

"To unite all Canadian artists, critics and related professional workers for fellowship, for mutual effort in promoting common aims, **and for the expression of the artist's point of view as a creative factor in the national life of Canada;** to improve the economic status of the artist by promoting markets for his work and by raising his professional standing in any ways which may open; to encourage educational activities which will foster an increased appreciation, enjoyment, and use of art on the part of the public; to encourage public support for the National Gallery of Canada and its extramural activities and to promote government support of other art projects which are considered to

be for the general welfare of the country ...; to issue a national magazine devoted to the interests of art in Canada, and to provide a national clearing house for the co-ordination and encouragement of efforts made by other groups or individuals along the above lines". [Emphasis added]

This excerpt is taken from a letter to members of the Kingston Conference from the Continuation Committee in July 1941, and is quoted in Christine Boyanoski, The 1940s: A Decade of Painting in Ontario (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984), 17-18. The constitution in its final form differed slightly. The bolded portion of the statement of aims was altered to read "the chief of these is to make the arts a creative factor in the national life of Canada and the artist an integral part of society." See also Frances K. Smith, André Biéler: An Artist's Life and Times, (Toronto: Merritt Publishing, 1980), 94-97. The clause concerning government support was also omitted from the final document.

APPENDIX III: ARTISTS' BIOGRAPHIES

PARASKEVA CLARK:

Born in St. Petersburg, Russia the 28 October 1898, to working class parents Avdey and Olga Plistik, Paraskeva Avdyevna Plistik's interest in visual arts and literature emerged at an early age. The young Paraskeva absorbed the basic elements of form and colour by observing her mother practise the old Russian folk art of artificial flower making. She inherited her love of literature from her father; this love would later grow into a passion for the theatre.¹ Around 1914 Paraskeva finished school and worked in a clerical position at a shoe factory. In 1915 her mother died.

Paraskeva received some art training at the primary school level, and as a young adult she enrolled in night classes with the landscape painter Savely Seidenberg (1916-1918). In 1918, she left office work to attend the Free Studios full-time (1918-1920), first under the instruction of the illustration teacher Vasily Shukhayev, and in 1920 under Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin (1918-1921). Petrov-Vodkin's individualist approach, which evolved from a combination of personal theory, exposure to the European avant-garde artists, and his affinity to Cézanne and the symbolists, had a profound influence on Paraskeva's aesthetic development.

Paraskeva was encouraged to explore the possibilities of form and colour, and to consider how art could benefit humanity.²

In 1921 Paraskeva worked at the Maly Theatre, and met Oreste Allegri Jr., who also worked as a scenery painter. The couple married in 1922, and in March 1923 their son Benedict was born. This event was quickly followed by the tragic drowning of Oreste in July, leaving Paraskeva and her son in difficult economic circumstances. The two left for Paris in the fall of 1923 to live with Paraskeva's in-laws. In 1929 she went to work at the interior design shop where she met Philip Clark, a Canadian chartered accounting student. They were married in England on June 1, 1931, and they settled in Toronto in July.

Philip Clark introduced Paraskeva to prominent members of the Canadian arts community who encouraged her work. Her first exhibition was as a participant in the Royal Canadian Academy (RCA) show of 1932. In June of 1933 her second son Clive was born, and that same year she exhibited with the newly formed Canadian Group of Painters (CGP). In 1934 she worked for René Cera at the College Street Eaton's Department store, and exhibited for the first time with the Canadian Society of Painters in Water Colour (CSPWC). In 1936 she was elected a member of the CGP, and met Norman Bethune, whose socialist convictions probably helped Clark

to formulate her own ideas regarding the political function of art.³

In 1937 she was elected member of the CSPWC, held her first solo exhibition at the Picture Loan Society, and published "Come Out From Behind the Pre-Cambrian Shield".⁴ Between 1938 and 1940 she belonged to the Canadian Society for Graphic Artists. In June of 1941 she attended the Kingston Conference of Canadian Artists, and New World Illustrated published her drawings. In December of 1942 the Picture Loan Society held her solo show "In Aid to Russia". In 1943 the CSPWC elected Paraskeva to their executive, World Affairs published her article "Canadian Artists",⁵ and tragically her son Ben became ill in April. Eventually Ben's illness led to a diagnosis of schizophrenia. Paraskeva's activities as artist and activist stopped for eight months until her son's discharge from the hospital.⁶

In 1944 the Federation of Russian Canadians elected Paraskeva Vice-President, she began lectures on Russian art, published a statement in the Canadian Review of Music and Art⁷, and received an appointment to paint the activities of the Women's Division of the Armed Forces. In 1948 she was elected President of the CSPWC, in 1949 Canadian Art published her article "Travelling Exhibitions".⁸ She became a member of the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA) in 1954, an associate of the RCA in 1956, and a full Academician in

1966. In 1959 she lectured at Ridley College on "Women and Art," and in 1974 she participated in a two-person show with Ben Clark at the Arts and Letters Club in Toronto.

Clark worked in several genres including landscape, still-life, and briefly in abstraction.⁹ Notably, a deep commitment to socialism and humanitarian concerns informed her aesthetic, which found expression through figurative painting, articles, and participation in such activities as the art auction for the Committee to Aid Spanish democracy (an organization set up by Norman Bethune to supply funds and volunteers for the Loyalist cause in Spain), the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund, and the Kingston Conference (1941). Her works belong to public and private collections including the National Gallery of Canada (NGC), and she was included in the latter's seminal exhibition Canadian Painting in the Thirties (1975). Clark was featured in a retrospective at the Dalhousie Art Gallery (1982), and her paintings were recently included in her granddaughter Panya Clark's installation at the NGC (1995).

PRUDENCE HEWARD:

Born the sixth of eight children to the well-to-do Sarah Efa Jones and Arthur R.G. Heward of Montréal, on July 2, 1896¹⁰, Prudence Efa Heward demonstrated an interest in art at an early age. In 1908 she modelled for her sister Dorothy and her friends who were taking art classes at the

Art Association of Montréal (AAM), and she received her first drawing lessons. In 1912 when Prudence was sixteen the Heward family suffered a number of tragedies. Prudence's father aged fifty-two, and her sisters Dorothy aged 23, and Barbara aged 20 died. The following year her brother Jim contracted tuberculosis. Prudence herself was afflicted by asthma, which rendered her dependent on her mother's care throughout her life.

In 1914 brothers Chilion and Jim enlisted and went to the Front. The same year, Prudence, her mother and her sisters Honour and Gladys joined Prudence's brother Brian, a student at Cambridge, in England. During the several years they spent working for the Red Cross war effort in London, Prudence stopped painting.¹¹ In 1918 she returned from England and entered the Art Association of Montréal's (AAM) art school. There she studied as a scholarship student in drawing and painting under Randolph Hewton (1888-1960), and William Brymner (1855-1925), and followed summer sketching classes with Maurice Cullen (1866-1934) at Phillipsburg and Carillon. Edwin Holgate (1892-1977), Mabel May (1884-1971), Sarah Robertson (1891-1948), Anne Savage (1896-1971), Kathleen Morris (1893-1986), Liliias Torrance Newton, and Emily Coonan (1885-1939) were a few of her fellow students. These artists remained important to Prudence throughout her life, both socially and artistically, and in 1920 she joined

them in forming the short-lived Beaver Hall Hill Group. The association which dissolved a year later provided its members with studio and exhibition space, and opportunities for the exchange of ideas. The former students of William Brymner shared an "open-minded attitude towards subject-matter"¹², and Prudence herself worked in a number of genres, often combining still-life or landscape with portraiture and the nude. Brymner urged his students to work directly from "nature" to reach an understanding of the "world immediately surrounding him. One must avoid studio tricks and sentimentality."¹³ Brymner's influence can be found in Prudence's portraits which derive their power from their disconcerting intensity.

In 1922 she placed second in the Reford Prize for painting competition at the AAM's 39th Spring Exhibition. In 1924 she won both the Reford Prize for painting, and the Women's Art Society's Prize for painting. In 1925 Prudence travelled to London and to Paris where she studied at the Académie Colarossi under Charles Guérin and the École des Beaux Arts under Bernard Naudin. Two of her portraits were exhibited at the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley, England in 1924. Between 1926 and 1929 she continued to paint and participate in international exhibitions. In 1929 she travelled to Europe, and received critical acclaim for the first time when she won the Willingdon Prize for her

painting Girl on a Hill (1928, NGC Collection). She continued to work in her studio at her home on Peel Street, using friends and relatives as portrait models, and sketched the landscape at the family's summer home at Fernbank near Brockville. Many of these landscapes are incorporated into the backgrounds of her portraits. In 1931 Sisters of Rural Quebec (fig.21) was selected for the "First Baltimore Exhibition of Contemporary Paintings". Her first solo exhibition was held at William Scott and Sons in Montréal in 1932.

In 1933 she signed the Artist's Petition in defense of Eric Brown, whose support of the Group of Seven threatened his position as Director of the National Gallery. The same year she became a founding member, and the Vice-President (1933-1939), of the CGP. Her house was often used as a meeting place for the group, and for the next few years she continued to produce and exhibit in Canada and the United States, joined her friends in painting excursions in Québec (1933), and in Whitefish Falls near Manitoulin Island, Ontario (1936). Between 1936 and 1939 she visited her friend Isabel McLaughlin (1903-) in Bermuda several times, and participated in Canadian and international exhibitions until 1947, including: "A Century of Canadian Art" at the Tate Gallery (London, 1938), the World's Fair in New York City (1939), "Aspects of Contemporary Painting in Canada" at the

Addison Gallery of American Art in Andover, Massachusetts (1942), and "Pintura Canadese Contemporanea" in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (1944). In 1939 she became a founding member of the Contemporary Arts Society (CAS) in Montréal. In 1941 she attended the Kingston Conference held at Queen's University and became a founding member of the Federation of Canadian Artists.

In 1943 her sister Honour died at age forty-seven, and by 1946 Prudence's worsening asthma attacks forced her, accompanied by both her mother and her sister Gladys ("Rooney"), to travel to Los Angeles, California for treatment. In March 1947 she died at the Hospital for the Good Samaritan, in Los Angeles. In April of the same year her portrait Efa (fig.17) was included in the exhibition "Canadian Women Artists" at the Riverside Museum.

Heward's highly structured and colourful still-lives, landscapes, striking portraits of women and children, and controversial nudes received many distinctions during and after her lifetime. Her paintings were included in the NGC's seminal exhibition Canadian Painting in the Thirties (1975), she was featured in retrospectives at the NGC (1948), and at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre (1986), and her works belong to public and private collections across Canada including the NGC. Unfortunately, very little of the artist's first-hand testimony remains; any consideration of

her life and work therefore calls for a reliance on the recollections of others. Her friends remembered her as shy, passionately committed to her art, and encouraging of younger artists.¹⁴ The intensity of Heward's startling portraits, figurative compositions, and nudes reveal the artist's keen sensitivity as a of discerning character.

LILIAS TORRANCE NEWTON:

Born November 3rd 1896 in Lachine, Québec, to Alice Mary Stewart and Forbes Torrance, Liliias was the fourth in a family of all boys. Her father died one year later, and the family moved to Berthier, Québec, Alice Torrance's home town. Liliias' interest in art began at the age of ten after her family moved to Kingston. It was during this time that she studied her father's sketch-books, and began sketching herself during a three month convalescence from a broken leg. In 1908 the family moved to Montréal, where Liliias attended art classes at the Art Association of Montréal. She received further instruction from Laura Muntz (1860-1930) when she boarded at Miss Edgar's and Miss Cramp's School. Serious art training began for Liliias at the age of sixteen when she studied at the AAM under William Brymner. She received two scholarships from the school, and in 1916 two of her portraits were included in the RCA's annual exhibition.

During the First World War, after one of her brothers

was killed in action in France (1916), she and her mother travelled to England to be near Liliias's second brother who had returned from the Front to train as an officer. He was later killed in action. A third brother remained in France, and both mother and sister stayed on in England until 1918 as part of the Red Cross war effort. During this period Liliias took art classes with Alfred Wolmark.

Six months after the war ended Liliias returned to Canada. She became a founding member of Montréal's short-lived Beaver Hill Hall Group (1920-21) and married stockbroker Frederick Newton in 1921, whom she had met in England when he served as an army Captain. She took a studio on Union Avenue in Montréal, and exhibited at the RCA's and the AAM's annual exhibitions. In 1923 Liliias began classes at the Académie Colarossi in Paris, but soon left the school to study under Alexandre Jacovleff, and received an honourable mention at the Paris Salon. That year she re-established her career as a professional portraitist in Canada, and was elected the youngest Associate of the RCA. In 1924 two of her portraits were included in the British Empire exhibition in London. In 1925 she participated in the Panama Pacific Exposition in Los Angeles and her submission was purchased by the L.A. County Museum. In 1926 her son Francis Forbes was born.

The portraits of Lawren Harris (fig.8) and A. Y.

Jackson (fig.9) discussed in the third chapter are two in a series of portraits Liliias painted of her fellow painters and friends during the 1930s. In 1930 she participated in the exhibition "Contemporary Canadian Artists" at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, and was represented in a solo exhibition at Hart House. After her divorce in 1933, Liliias supported herself and her son Forbes. That same year she became a founding member of the CGP (1933), and was elected to the RCA in 1937. Between 1936 and 1940 she taught portraiture and still life classes at the AAM, with Edwin Holgate; later they were joined by Will Ogilvie. In 1938 her portraits were included in "A Century of Canadian Art" at the Tate Gallery in London, and at the New York World's Fair. She was featured in a solo exhibition at the AAM (1939), at the Photographic Stores in Ottawa (1945), and at Victoria College in Toronto (1958). In 1940 she participated in a group exhibition at the Art Gallery of Toronto (AGT) with A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974), Arthur Lismer (1885-1969), and Edwin Holgate.

Liliias relied on her commissioned work as a primary source of income, and as her reputation grew, she divided her time primarily among Montréal, Toronto, and Ottawa, and made annual trips to western Canada. Liliias received commissions for portraits of many influential Canadians, and in 1957 she was the first artist to paint official portraits

of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip. She continued to work until the mid 1970s but failing health limited her production in later years. In 1972 Liliás received an L.L.D. from the University of Toronto. She died in January of 1980.

JORI SMITH

Marjorie Smith was born in Montréal in 1907. Dissatisfied with the educational system Jori's father permitted his daughter to abandon secondary school at age sixteen to pursue art classes at a private school¹⁵. After three months, following the school's closure, she continued at the École des beaux-arts de Montréal (1924 -1929), but became frustrated with the academic nature of the training.¹⁶ She studied briefly under Randolph Hewton at the AAM, and privately with Edwin Holgate in 1930. The latter's influence can be seen in the structured composition and monumental figures of such paintings as Mlle Rose (1936, NGC Collection). In the following years, Jori attempted with Jean-Paul Lemieux (1904-1990) to organize a commercial studio, travelled to England and France, and upon her return to Canada, married Jean Palardy whom she first met at the École des beaux-arts. Palardy, the author of Les meubles anciens du Canada français¹⁷ began as a painter, and went on to produce documentary films, before becoming an authority on Québec furniture.

During the 1930s Smith and Palardy spent their winters

in Montréal and their summers travelling, painting, and collecting crafts and furniture in Charlevoix County. They lived with the townspeople of Baie St. Paul, and St. Urbain, and were often joined by such artists as André Biéler (1896-1989), Stanley Cosgrove (1911-), and Jean-Paul Lemieux (1904-1990). She would recall her experiences of these years in an unpublished manuscript written in 1973 during her mother's final illness.¹⁸ A passionate supporter of the arts and socialist causes, Jori became involved in the political movements of the 1930s. She was active in the League for Social Reconstruction (the forerunner of the CCF and later the NDP), and along with such artists as Paraskeva Clark, participated in the art auction for the Committee to Aid Spanish democracy.¹⁹

In 1940, Smith and her husband Jean Palardy moved to a large studio on St. Famille St. in Montréal. Their house became a gathering place for Québec artists, writers, journalists, and intellectuals. Between 1928 and 1934, and in 1948, 1951 and 1956 Jori participated in the Spring Exhibitions at the AAM, and the 1933 RCA Annual Exhibition in Montréal. In 1937, 1938, and 1942 she was invited by the CGP to contribute to their Montréal exhibitions. She was a founding member of both the Eastern Group of Painters in 1938, and the CAS in 1939.

Jori abandoned the muted tones of her earlier canvases,

and adopted a freer flatter style after her meeting with Alfred Pellán (1906- 1989), who returned from France in 1940 and exhibited with the CAS. Significantly, although none of Pellán's child portraits of 1941 were included in CAS²⁰ exhibitions, they share the same melancholic intensity as the children of Jori's portraits.

She exhibited with the CAS in 1939, 1945, and 1946, and in 1980 was included in the retrospective exhibition "The Contemporary Art Society" at the Edmonton Art Gallery. In April of 1955 she received the Jessie Dow Award for oil painting at the 72nd annual Spring exhibition at the Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal. Her work was selected for several exhibitions featuring Québec artists including "The Arts of French Canada" at the Winnipeg Art Gallery (1959), "Peinture vivante du Québec" (1967) at the Musée du Québec, "Three Generations of Québec Art" at the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal (1976), "Images of Charlevoix, 1784-1950" at the Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal (1981), and "Modernism in Québec Art: 1916-1946" at the National Gallery of Canada (1982). Her work has also been featured in exhibitions of Canadian women artists including the West End Gallery of Montréal's "Canadian Women Painters" (1949), and the Agnes Etherington Art Gallery's "From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada" (1975). Her solo exhibitions include a show at the Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal

(1964), at the Kastel Gallery in Montréal (1981 and 1986), the Agassiz Galleries in Winnipeg (1984), and at the Dominion Gallery of Montréal's retrospective: "Rediscovering Jori Smith: Selected Works 1932-1993". Her portraits, still-life compositions, nudes, and landscapes have also been featured in such international exhibitions as the Addison Gallery of American Art's "Aspects of Canadian Painting in Canada" in Andover (1942), the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes "Artes Graficas do Canada" in Rio de Janeiro (1946), and the Riverside Museum's "Canadian Women Artists" in New York (1947). Jori Smith like Paraskeva Clark, Prudence Heward, and Liliias Torrance Newton was represented in the National Gallery of Canada's "Canadian Painting in the Thirties" (1975).

Discouraged by the lack of public interest in her work during the mid 1950s, Jori stopped exhibiting and destroyed many of her works in progress. Although she continued to emphasize her debt to Palardy even after the break-up of their marriage in 1957, she also acknowledged the debilitating effect his criticism had on her production²¹. For nearly twenty years after their divorce she produced very little. Gradually, however, she regained her confidence and began exhibiting again in 1976. Jori Smith continues to paint and exhibit in Montréal.

1. Mary E. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark: Paintings and Drawings, (Halifax: Dalhousie Art Gallery), 1982, 9-10.
2. Mary E. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 12.
3. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 26.
4. Paraskeva Clark, "Come Out From Behind the Pre-Cambrian Shield" in New Frontier 1, no.2 (April 1937): 16-17.
5. Paraskeva Clark, "Canadian Artists" in World Affairs: The Magazine for Students of Current Events 8, no.6 (February 1943): 17-18.
6. MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 35.
7. Paraskeva Clark, "The Artist Speaks" in Canadian Review of Art and Music 3, no.9/10 (October/November 1944): 18-19.
8. Paraskeva Clark, "Travelling Exhibitions-Is the Public's Gain the Artist's Loss?" in Canadian Art VII, no.1 (Autumn 1949): 21-23.
9. Paraskeva Clark experimented with abstract compositions during the 1950s. See MacLachlan, Paraskeva Clark, 42.
10. Her brothers and sisters included: Honour, Gladys, Dorothy, Barbara, Jim, Chilion, and Brian .
11. Natalie Luckyj, Expressions of Will: The Art of Prudence Heward, (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre), 1986, 29.
12. Luckyj, Expressions of Will, 31.
13. Janet Braide, William Brymner 1855-1925: A Retrospective, (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre), 1979.
14. A.Y. Jackson, Memorial Exhibition: Prudence Heward, 1896-1947, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada), 1948,9.
15. Jori Smith in Interview by Charles Hill, 16 June 1974, transcript Cindy Campbell (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada Library), 1.
16. Jori Smith in Interview by Charles Hill, 2.
17. Jean Palardy, Les meubles anciens du Canada français, (Montréal: Cercle du Livre de France), 1963.

18. Jori Smith in Interview by Charles Hill, 5.
19. Jori Smith in Interview by Charles Hill, 13.
20. Christopher Varley, The Contemporary Arts Society: Montréal, 1939-1948, (Edmonton: The Edmonton Art Gallery), 1980, 20.
21. Barbara Meadowcroft, Rediscovering Jori Smith: Selected Works, 1932-1993, (Montréal: Galerie Dominion), 1993.

fig.1

fig.2

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fig.22

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