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Social Discourse in the Media Interpretation of Christiane Pflug's Doll Paintings

Michelle H. Veitch

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at
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Abstract

Social Discourse in the Media Interpretation of Christiane Pflug's Doll Paintings

Michelle H. Veitch

This thesis examines the reviews of Christiane Pflug's exhibition of doll paintings at the Isaacs Gallery from May to June of 1964 and uncovers the gendered politics behind the art discourse surrounding the critical interpretations of Pflug's works. I consider how the reviewers establish the painter as a mother and housewife, suggesting that she produces in a domestic sphere, thus removing her from a gallery context. At the same time, they connect Christiane Pflug to the painted image of the black and white dolls which are shown in an interior environment and placed against altering land- and cityscape views.

This thesis also examines Pflug's experience as a German immigrant woman in Canada and relates the reviews of her works to the social environment in Toronto during the sixties, focusing on the changing position of German and Caribbean females. In my opinion, Christiane Pflug's doll paintings offer a shifting perspective of reality and capture the experiences of a woman transient who moves from place to place, constantly switching locations and gaining a new outlook on life.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my belated grandmother, Hildegard Luchner, whose strength and spirit remain a constant source of inspiration.

Remember me when I am gone away,
Gone far away into the silent land;
When you can no more hold me by the hand,
Nor I half turn to go yet turning stay.
-Christina Rossetti

Acknowledgements

This thesis was the result of a lot of work which could not have been completed without the assistance of various people. First, I would like to thank my academic advisor, Dr. Janice Helland for her continued guidance and support throughout my thesis endeavour. I would like to express my gratitude to my readers, Dr. Catherine Mackenzie and Dr. Loren Lerner for their insightful comments and words of advise.

In addition, I wish to extend my appreciation to Michael Pflug for being so open and giving with his time and research material. I am also grateful to the friends and family of Christiane Pflug who provided me with invaluable information on the artist. Finally, I would like to thank my own friends and family for encouraging me to pursue my academic goals.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

new paintings by CHRISTIANE PFLUG
May 15-June 5 / Preview Thursday May 14 / 8-10 pm
The Isaacs Gallery 832 Yonge Street Toronto 5

Figure 1. Invitation card to Christiane Pflug's Exhibition at the Isaacs Gallery from May 15 to June 5 (1964). Reproduced from original invitation courtesy of Michael Pflug.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis analyzes an exhibition of Christiane Pflug's[1] paintings at the Isaacs Gallery[2] from May 15 to June 5, 1964. I focus on the reviews of her doll picture and relate this to the critiques on the artist, Mary

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[1] Christiane Pflug was born under the name Sybille Christiane Schütt in Berlin, Germany in 1936. She moved to Paris, France in 1953 to study fashion design and shortly thereafter met Michael Pflug who she married in 1956. She also received painting instructions from the artist, Viera da Silva and in 1956 moved with her husband to Tunis, Africa where she gave birth to her two daughters, Esther and Ursula Pflug. During this period she set up a studio and painted still lives, landscapes and portraits. In 1959 she moved to Canada with her children and was later joined by her husband in Toronto, Ontario. In the early sixties she made a series of doll pictures and painted window views of the city. In the later part of the decade she produced portraits and numerous images of Cottingham Public School. From 1966 until 1967 she taught a painting course at the Ontario College of Art and began to experiment with printmaking. During this period however she experienced increasing emotional problems and after several suicide attempts eventually died of a drug overdose in 1972. Ann Davis, Somewhere Waiting: The Life and Art of Christiane Pflug (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[2] This exhibition included the paintings which Christiane Pflug produced in Toronto and consisted primarily of her doll pictures. Avrom Isaacs, however, did not show the works that the artist painted in Africa, France or Germany, but decided to present her Canadian pieces. See Appendix A for a full list of the paintings presented at the Isaacs Gallery in 1964. Isaacs also organized an exhibition of Christiane Pflug's drawings earlier in 1962 and chose to display the works that she produced in Toronto. The pieces from this former show were much more varied in subject matter, but mainly included city views and interior scenes. Avrom Isaacs, "List of Christiane Pflug paintings exhibited at the Isaacs Gallery in 1964," Isaacs Gallery Archives, Toronto; and Avrom Isaacs, "List of Christiane Pflug drawings exhibited at the Isaacs Gallery in 1962," Isaacs Gallery Archives, Toronto.

Bauermeister who showed her works at the Edward Johnson Building in Toronto at the same time. I describe the terms and methods that the critics followed in their examination of Pflug's and Bauermeister's pictures. I seek to uncover the ethnic implications behind their stylistic analysis which places the artists works within a German painting tradition and thus segregates them according to nationality. At the same time, I consider how Pflug and Bauermeister undermine the artistic canon by introducing the voices of immigrant women into Canadian critical discourse which favoured male artists from the Ontario region.

My thesis then concentrates on the reviewers' discussion of Pflug's images of black dolls and white dolls. I shall seek to establish the dolls as disruptive figures who traverse the interior and the exterior, the home and the city. Furthermore, I place the critiques of Pflug's paintings within a social context by analyzing the experiences of African and German Canadian women in Toronto during the sixties. I describe the steps these immigrant women took toward initiating change and transforming the existing political system. As such my thesis depends upon post colonialist and feminist theories which examine the exclusionist mechanisms governing art interpretation. I also consulted revisionist texts which introduce women into Canadian history and discuss the role they played in society.

Before I begin an anlaysis of the reviews, however, I would like to briefly examine the Isaacs Gallery and place Pflug's exhibition within a wider context, uncovering the gendered politics which informed the display of art in Toronto during the sixties. Throughout this period Toronto changed from a small community inhabited by predominantly white Anglo-Saxon citizens to a cosmopolitan city populated by people from various ethnic backgrounds.[3] It flourished economically and numerous galleries opened up, among which were included several commercial establishments. These institutions represented contemporary painters who expanded the art scene in Toronto.

Whereas the Isaacs Gallery and Dorothy Cameron's Here and Now Gallery held a number of exhibitions on contemporary Canadian works, other establishments such as Jerrold Morris International and the David Mirvish Gallery organized shows on contemporary American and European art.[4] They established Toronto as an international art centre and displayed pieces from various countries to an expanding public. At the same time, they encouraged artistic production in Canada and especially in Toronto, promoting the works of the artists

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[3] See John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 60-73; and David Burnett and Marilyn Schiff, Contemporary Canadian Art (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1983), 82-103.

[4] Ihor Holubinzky, Small Villages, the Isaacs Gallery in Toronto: 1956-1991 (Hamilton: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 1993).

from the city to collectors, critics and an interested public.

The Isaacs Gallery was one of the more prominent galleries in Toronto during the sixties. It was situated at 832 Yonge Street[5] in a trendy part of the city not too far from Greenwich Village which was located on Gerard Street at Bay.[6] This section of Toronto was compared to New York and described as a modern day Bohemia complete with coffee houses, bars, book shops, jazz clubs and taverns.[7] It was an ideal location for the Isaacs Gallery which organized art exhibitions, poetry readings, multi-media events, film screenings and jazz performances, and attracted a wide assortment of students, poets, musicians and artists from the area.[8]

The Isaacs Gallery was designed by the architect Irv

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[5] Avrom Isaacs first opened the premises in 1956 under the name of Greenwich Gallery at 736 Bay Street in Greenwich village. He changed the name to Isaacs Gallery in 1959 and moved to 832 Yonge Street in 1961. The Isaacs Gallery then relocated at 179 John Street in 1986. Dennis Reid and Michael Torosian, Toronto Suite (Toronto: Lumiere Press, 1989), 12, 66, 68, 78.

[6] Dennis Reid, "Exploring Plane and Contour: The Drawing, Painting, Collage, Foldage, Photo-Work, Sculpture and Film of Michael Snow from 1951 to 1967," in 1951-1993 Visual Art: The Michael Snow Project (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Power Plant, 1994), 84.

[7] Ibid. For further discussion of Toronto during the sixties see also Holubizky, Small Villages, the Isaacs Gallery in Toronto: 1956-1991.

[8] Holubizky, Small Villages, the Isaacs Gallery in Toronto: 1956-1991; and Reid and Torosian, Toronto Suite, 10-14, 65-72.

Grossman and consisted of a long, thin rectangular room with white walls and cedar ceiling (fig. 2).[9] This recalls Brian O'Doherty's notion of the "white cube"[10] which he suggests was made specifically for modern art produced during the late fifties and early sixties. This type of gallery was particularly well suited to colour-field paintings which hung in a sequence on the walls and conformed to the rectilinear structure of the building to create the effect of a unified interior. According to O'Doherty, the gallery space became a complete aesthetic environment which was removed from the outside world and took on the function of a sanctuary.[11]

This type of gallery was an exclusive institution, open only to the educated observers who were informed about art. It assumed former knowledge of the gallery-going experience and of painting which was taught to the upper middle classes. As such, it reinforced the notion of a cultural elite.[12] Not only did these spaces cater to a select clientele, but the works exhibited were also expected to conform to certain aesthetic criteria. The artists who produced these pieces likewise had to fit the romanticized

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[9] Reid and Torosian, Toronto Suite, 68.

[10] Brian O'Doherty, Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space, (San Francisco: Lapis Press, 1986).

[11] Ibid., 13-16, 24-34.

[12] Ibid., 73-77.

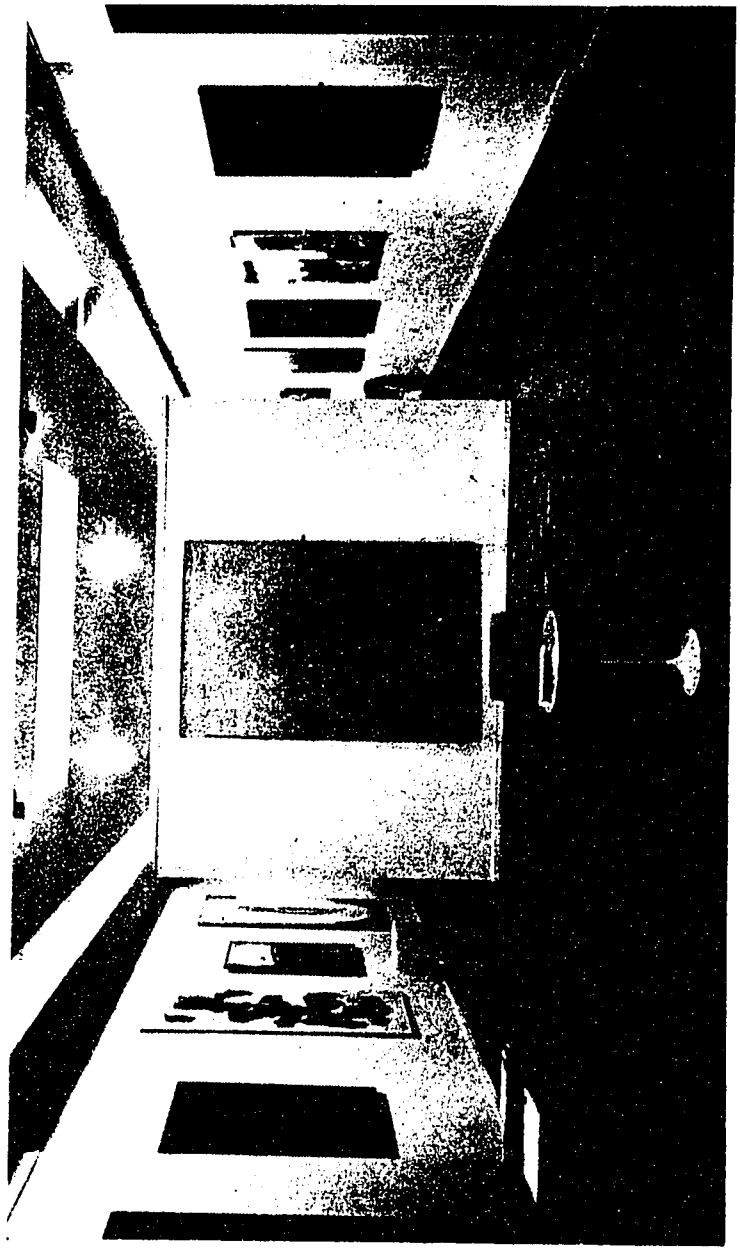

Figure 2. Isaacs Gallery Interior, ca. 1962. As reproduced in Canadian Art 19, no. 1 (January/February 1962): 12.

ideal of the Bohemian.[13] The "white cube" was thus a venerated space and contained art that addressed a viewing public of a specific social class.

Avrom Isaacs[14] was selective about the painters he chose to represent during the early sixties. The subsequent texts written about his gallery focused on a core group of artists: Dennis Burton, Graham Coughtry, Richard Gorman,

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[13] According to O'Doherty the Bohemian artist was a non-conformist who challenged the cultural norms and led an unconventional life. Griselda Pollock discusses the Bohemian in her article "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity" and suggests that this idea has precedent in the public experience of the 19th century "flaneur" who embodied the gaze of modernity.

This myth of the artist became an accepted notion among the bourgeoisie and enhanced the cultural value of art placing it in a realm of aesthetic obscurity which was removed from the everyday. O'Doherty, 73-77; and Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in The Expanding Discourse, ed. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), 253.

[14] Avrom Isaacs was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba on March 19th, 1926 to Jewish parents and moved to Toronto with his family in 1941. He received a Bachelor Degree in Political Science and Economics from the University of Toronto in 1950 and opened up a picture framing business known as the Greenwich Art Shop at 77 Hayter Street in Toronto. Isaacs closed down the framing shop in 1955 and travelled to Europe looking at galleries in England, Scotland, France, Holland and Italy. He returned to Toronto in 1956 and opened up the Isaacs Gallery which remained in existence until 1989. From 1970 onwards he also ran the Isaacs/Inuit Gallery which specialized in Inuit art and early Native American art. Isaacs was a member of the Board of Directors for the Professional Association of Art Dealers of Canada from 1970 to 1983 and served as Chairman of the Canadian Film Distribution Co-operative from 1981 to 1982. In addition, he was made an honorary fellow of the Ontario College of Art and received the Metro Toronto Arts Award for Lifetime Contribution to the Arts in 1992. Canadian Who's Who, 1997 ed., s.v. "Isaacs, Avrom."; and Reid and Torosian, Toronto Suite, 10-12, 74.

Robert Markle, John Meredith, Gordon Rayner, Michael Snow and Joyce Wieland.[15] The majority of these artists were men with mixed ethnic backgrounds who were born in Ontario[16] and moved to Toronto in the late fifties.

These painters went through the same school system and many had attended the Ontario College of Art which was the official training centre in the province.[17] In addition,

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[15] I am interested primarily in the painters that exhibited at the Isaacs Gallery and thus have not noted the sculptors who were represented by Avrom Isaacs. In addition, I have not listed all the painters but only the ones that are grouped together the most consistently in books about the Isaacs Gallery and the Toronto art scene during the sixties. The texts which I consulted included Dennis Reid and Michael Torosian, Toronto Suite (Toronto: Lumiere Press, 1989); Barrie Hale, Toronto Painting: 1953-1965 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1972); and David Burnett and Marilyn Schiff, Contemporary Canadian Art (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1983).

[16] The artists born in Ontario included Joyce Wieland, Michael Snow, Gordon Rayner, John Meredith, Robert Markle and Richard Gorman. Louis Grachos, "Artists' Biographies," in Toronto Painting of the 1960s (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1983), 21-24.

Dennis Burton was born in Lethbridge, Alberta in 1933 but moved to Toronto in 1952, meanwhile Graham Coughtry was born in St. Lambert, Quebec and similarly moved to Toronto in 1949. Louis Grachos, 21-24; and Barrie Hale, Graham Coughtry Retrospective, (Oshawa: Robert MacLaughlin Gallery, 1976), 7.

[17] The artists who attended the Ontario College of Art included Michael Snow, Dennis Burton, Graham Coughtry, John Meredith, Robert Markle and Richard Gorman. See Grachos, 21-24. Although Gordon Rayner did not attend the Ontario College of Art, he came into contact with the ideas taught at the school through his peers Burton and Coughtry. Burnett and Schiff, 85, 90.

A number of these artists later taught at the Ontario College of Art and founded the New Art School as well as Stages Inc. Barrie Hale, Out of the Park: Modernist Painting in Toronto, 1950-1980, vol. 2 of Provincial Essays, ed. Jennifer Oille (Toronto: Provincial Essays, 1985), 15-17.

they followed parallel career paths, not only exhibiting together,[18] but also staging various art projects as a group[19] and working at the same cultural organizations.[20] Furthermore, they formed personal relations[21] and lived

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[18] They not only showed at the Isaacs Gallery throughout the late fifties and early sixties, but were also invited to participate in such exhibitions as the Art Gallery of Toronto's "Toronto Painters from 1950 to the present" which was organized in 1964 and featured Michael Snow, Gordon Rayner, John Meredith and Richard Gorman. Elizabeth Kilbourn, "Art and Artists: Our Acquisitive Art Gallery," Toronto Daily Star, 11 April 1964, 22.

[19] For example, Dennis Burton, Graham Coughtry, Gordon Rayner and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation writer, Murray (Ray) Jessel, organized a multi-media performance at Burton's studio in 1959. Burton, Rayner, Richard Gorman, Harold Town and Walter Yarwood then orchestrated a Happening at the Toronto Art Gallery in 1965. David Burnett, Toronto Painting of the 1960s (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1983), 15.

[20] Joyce Wieland and Michael Snow worked with Graham Coughtry in the animation department at Graphic Films during the mid fifties. Marie Fleming, "Joyce Wieland," in Joyce Wieland (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 22-23; and Dennis Reid, "Exploring Plane and Contour: The Drawing, Painting, Collage, Foldage, Photo-Work, Sculpture and Film of Michael Snow from 1951 to 1967," in 1951-1993: Visual Art: The Michael Snow Project (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Power Plant, 1994), 113.

Dennis Burton also worked with Graham Coughtry at the graphic design department at CBC from 1957 to 1960. Dennis Burton, "Employment and Early Abstraction (1956-1960)," in Dennis Burton Retrospective, ed. Meg Hardman, Jennifer Watson, Joan Murray and Dennis Burton (Oshawa: Robert McLaughlin Gallery, 1977), 15-16.

[21] They not only visited each others' studios, but also took excursions to other parts of Ontario and Europe together. For example, Gordon Rayner invited Burton, Coughtry and Markle to a cabin in Magnetawan, Ontario. Graham Coughtry allowed Gordon Rayner and other artists from Isaacs Gallery to stay at his farmhouse in Ibiza, Spain throughout the late fifties and early sixties. Rayner, "Mnemonica," 23-24; and Hale, Graham Coughtry Retrospective, 9-16.

within short distance of each other often visiting the local bars or cafes.

It is significant to note that the majority of the artists represented by Avrom Isaacs were Canadian and many of them resided in Toronto.[22] When he opened his establishment in 1956, Isaacs published a manifesto which prioritized Canadian art and proclaimed the gallery a "centre of artistic activity in Canada."[23] He indicated that the works he exhibited showed diverse directions in painting and set a standard which he hoped to grow with as it grew. In a subsequent article written in 1961, Isaacs revealed his goal to "bring together a group of artists, making them act and react on one another so that eventually a unique and indigenous expression which will contribute to the national and international art scene, will result."[24]

Isaacs suggested that these artists had developed a style distinct to the Toronto region. These works, however, were not homogenous, but rather represented a wide range of interests and were related to art produced elsewhere in Canada and in other countries. Isaacs presented the artists

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[22] Although Joyce Wieland and Michael Snow moved to New York in the early sixties, they still continued to exhibit at the Isaacs Gallery and maintained ties with the artists in Canada. Marie Fleming, "Joyce Wieland," in Joyce Wieland (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1987), 44-49.

[23] Ihor Holubizky.

[24] Avrom Isaacs, "The Isaacs Gallery," Canadian Art 18, no. 3 (May/June 1961): 181.

from his gallery as Canadians and established their works as markers of national identity. As such they were unique, yet at the same time linked to the artistic culture in various parts of the world.

Hugo McPherson's article, "Toronto's New Art Scene of 1965"[25], furthermore suggested that the Isaacs Gallery was heralded as an important institution because it was one of the few establishments in the late fifties to exhibit contemporary Canadian artists such as Michael Snow and Graham Coughtry. McPherson goes on to describe the pieces produced by Gordon Rayner and Joyce Wieland, both of whom were represented by Isaacs, relating their works to American Pop art and suggesting that these artists simultaneously critiqued and celebrated contemporary consumer culture.[26]

McPherson examines specific pieces such as Rayner's Lorna's Box (1964) which combined a series of found objects and satirized a modern society which valued commodities over the human individual. McPherson establishes Rayner and Wieland as "Canadian" artists who were involved in the Toronto community and examined the social environment in the city.[27] They not only established a base in Ontario, but their art also provided evidence of life in the rapidly

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[25] Hugo McPherson, "Toronto's New Art Scene," Canadian Art 22, no. 2 (Jan/Feb. 1965): 8-23.

[26] McPherson, 9-12.

[27] Ibid.

growing metropolis.

McPherson then briefly examines Christiane Pflug's works, placing the painter outside the Toronto art scene and separating her from such artists as Gordon Rayner and Joyce Wieland. He describes the spiritual quality of her work and suggests that "Pflug's so called 'magic realism' assumes a mysterious metaphysical intensity."[28] He locates her paintings in the realm of fantasy and disengages them from the artistic concerns of the Canadian "Pop" artists who examined the mores and values which shaped contemporary Toronto society.

McPherson then contrasts her pieces with the abstract works by Jack Bush, Mashel Teitelbaum and Robert Hedrick. He discusses the techniques employed by these Toronto painters and analyzes the material quality of their art by focusing on the elements of space, colour, texture and form.[29] McPherson, however, completely ignores these components in the pieces produced by Christiane Pflug, establishing them instead as imaginary works which explore the world of make belief and disregarding the social implication behind her paintings. Christiane Pflug was thus disconnected from the core group of artists at the Isaacs Gallery[30] and her doll

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[28] Ibid., 9.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Instead Christiane Pflug formed close relations with the Dutch painter, Anton van Dalen, and the Ottawa painter and sculptor, Don Jon Louis, who were both represented by

paintings removed from the Canadian artistic tradition as manifested in the contemporary Toronto art scene.

Christiane Pflug's 1964 exhibition at the Isaacs Gallery was reviewed by a select group of critics from the Toronto region. The reviews included: "Bounty for Browsers" by Barrie Hale;[31] "Hockey Rink Is Theme for Woman Painter" by Kay Kritzwiser;[32] "Abstraction No Cover" by Elizabeth Kilbourn;[33] "Newest 'Village' Fete" by Harry Malcolmson;[34]

Avrom Isaacs, but removed from the core group at the gallery. Pflug also had connections with the sculptor, Leonhard Oesterle, and the Canadian photographer, Ralph Greenhill, who was similarly affiliated with Isaacs. Ann Davis, Somewhere Waiting: The Life and Art of Christiane Pflug, 165-166, 204-209, 222-225; and Ihor Holubizky, Small Villages, the Isaacs Gallery in Toronto: 1956-1991.

[31] Hale's review of Christiane Pflug's exhibition is 95 words long and is part of a 873 word article which examines various art shows that were held in the Toronto region. Barrie Hale, "Bounty for Browsers," Toronto Telegram, 16 May 1964, 25.

[32] Kritzwiser's critique of Pflug's show is 125 words long and is incorporated into a 621 word column. The column discusses a number of Toronto exhibitions that featured female artists and examines shows organized by women curators. Kay Kritzwiser, "Hockey Rink Is Theme for Woman Painter," Globe and Mail, 16 May 1964, 15.

[33] Kilbourn's review of Christiane Pflug's exhibition is 286 words long and is part of a 1241 word article. This article critiques several exhibitions in Toronto and consists of a 241 word review of Mary Bauermeister's show at the Edward Johnson Building in Toronto from May 16th to May 17th, 1964. Elizabeth Kilbourn, "Abstraction No Cover," Toronto Daily Star, 23 May 1964, 15.

[34] Malcolmson's critique of Pflug's show is 147 words long and is incorporated into a 636 word column. This column provides reviews of four different exhibitions in the Toronto area, among which includes a 150 word review of Mary Bauermiester's exhibition at the Jerrold Morris Gallery from May 20th to May 30th, 1964. Harry Malcolmson, Toronto

and "Ontario Artists; Christiane Pflug" by Constance Mungall.[35] These critiques were published in the magazine Ontario Homes and Living as well as in the arts section of the Globe and Mail, Toronto Star and Toronto Telegram.[36]

Christiane Pflug's works were examined in journals which had a popular appeal and the critics who reviewed her paintings regularly submitted articles to the local newspapers and magazines.[37] In addition, they published

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Telegram, 23 May 1964, 21.

[35] This is a 761 word article which deals only with Christiane Pflug's works and was written a few months after the artist's show at the Isaacs Gallery in May 1964. Mungall briefly mentions the exhibition and also discusses a number of the doll paintings that were included in the show. Constance Mungall, "Ontario Artists: Christiane Pflug," Ontario Homes and Living, September 1964, 16-17.

[36] Christiane Pflug's painting With the Last Snow (1964) was also reproduced in the "On View" section of Canadian Art in September/October of 1964, but there was no article accompanying the picture. See "On View," Canadian Art 21, no. 93 (September/October 1964): 317. To my knowledge, the above mentioned reviews were the only ones published in 1964 which examined the paintings included in Christiane Pflug's exhibition at the Isaacs Gallery. Avrom Isaacs also produced an invitation card and brochure for the 1964 exhibition which combined together images of Christiane Pflug's doll pictures with a brief written biography of the artist. In addition, he tape recorded an interview with Pflug which was later transcribed and stored in the Gallery archives.

[37] Barrie Hale suggests that a large number of critics in Toronto during the sixties were not trained in art history and many of them submitted articles to popular journals and magazines. Jean Sutherland Boggs, furthermore, indicates that Canadian art history at this time was relatively undeveloped and there were only a handful of texts on Canadian painting and sculpture. As such the critics had little to rely on and established a tradition of art history as they wrote. Barrie Hale, Out of the Park: Modernist Painting in Toronto, 1950-1980, vol. 2 of

works in Canadian Art[38] and wrote catalogues and textbooks on contemporary artists.[39] They were aware of the painters who practised in Toronto, they regularly attended openings at the galleries and they socialized with other critics, patrons and curators.

These critics formed part of the art scene in the city and promoted a specific group of painters to the public as is evident in Ken Lefolii's introduction to A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting which Elizabeth Kilbourn helped to edit.[40] Lefolii traces a line of progression from the Ontario Society of Artists and the Royal Canadian Academy to the Group of Seven, an Ontario based school of artists who developed a national style. According to Lefolii, the Group of Seven depicted the Canadian landscape and painted in a bold, brash manner, capturing the ruggedness of the surrounding terrain. These artists were followed by the

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Provincial Essays, ed. Jennifer Oille (Toronto: Provincial Essays, 1985), 10-11, 51-52; and Jean Sutherland Boggs, "The History of Art in Canada," in Scholarship in Canada, 1967, Achievement and Outlook, ed. R.H. Hubbard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 48-50.

[38] Barrie Hale, Harry Malcolmson and Elizabeth Kilbourn regularly submitted articles on art to Canadian Art during the sixties. See 1960 editions of Canadian Art.

[39] For instance, Elizabeth Kilbourn published 19 Canadian Painters (Louisville, Kentucky: JB Speed Art Museum, 1962).

[40] Ken Lefolii, "Introduction," chap. in A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966), 8-30. Elizabeth Kilbourn served on the editorial committee for the book and was responsible for selecting the paintings that accompanied the text.

Painters Eleven in Toronto who reacted against the nationalism of the Group of Seven and developed an "international style whose accent was local."[41]

Lefolii focuses on the artist Jock MacDonald who was a member of the Painters Eleven and made pure colour paintings in the style of the Abstract Expressionists from New York. Lefolii suggests that MacDonald developed a free, loose style in the late fifties and produced works of exceptional richness and vitality. The critic then examines the contemporary art scene in Canada and concentrates on the Toronto painter, Michael Snow who moved to the United States, following the trend toward internationalism.[42] In a later chapter entitled "The Cities," Lefolii compares his paintings to the modern images produced by Pop artists from New York.[43]

However, Lefolii distinguishes Snow's paintings from American art by equating his pictures of a Walking Woman with the CN sign and establishing it as a "Canadian" image. This image of the female figure relates to other paintings of women produced by Michael Snow, such as Seated Nude (1955) (fig. 3) which the critic discusses in the section,

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[41] Lefolii, p.26.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ken Lefolii, "The Cities," chap. in A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966), 68-76.

Figure 3. Michael Snow, Seated Nude, 1955, painted collage, 40 x 30 inches. As reproduced in Ken Lefolii, "Faces and Figures," chap. in A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966), 88.

"Faces and Figures."[44] He places the Seated Nude (1955) within a Canadian artistic tradition and contrasts it with the Victorian portraits made in Montreal during the late nineteenth century. Unlike these earlier puritanical works, Snow's picture "combines a strong sensuality with a delicate flowing line and retains a lyrical quality that is instinctual in everything the artist does."[45]

By suggesting that Snow paints according to intuition, Lefolii supports the notion of the "artist as Genius". Griselda Pollock discusses this concept in her article, "Feminism and Modernism" which examines the ideology behind art criticism of the sixties.[46] According to Pollock, the writing from this period promoted the male artist and placed him in the role of the Romantic Bohemian. This figure resided in the city and did not follow the social norms, but rather led an unconventional lifestyle. Furthermore, the artist acted on instinct and had a heightened sense of awareness that allowed him to look beyond surface reality.[47]

Pollock suggests that this myth lies at the basis of

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[44] Ken Lefolii, "Faces and Figures," chap. in A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966), 78-91.

[45] Ibid., 88.

[46] Griselda Pollock, "Feminism and Modernism," in Framing Feminism: Art and the Women's Movement 1970-85, ed. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock (London: Pandora Press, 1987), 79-122.

[47] Pollock, 83-87.

Clement Greenberg's texts on modern abstract art and quotes Mary Kelly to prove her point. In Kelly's opinion, Greenberg stressed the two dimensional flatness of the painted surface, focusing in particular on the gestural character of the brushstroke.[48] Greenberg believed that this gesture was not only the subject of the work, but also provided evidence of artistic subjectivity, for it emanated from the maker's body and as such was an outward expression of the painters physical and emotional self. Kelly implies that Greenberg promoted in particular the male artist whom he placed in a spiritual realm that was removed from the everyday world.

Pollock uses Kelly's argument and further critiques Greenberg's text by indicating that this notion of modern art is exclusionist for it grants certain people, such as white upper class men, an innate, artistic ability and ignores the economic, political and social factors surrounding art making. It does not consider how these conditions are restrictive and provide people of a certain gender, class and race the option to produce art, while others are denied this choice.[49] Moreover, Greenberg's concepts were institutionalized during the sixties in such privileged establishments as the Museum of Modern Art and

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[48] Mary Kelly, "Re-Viewing Modernist Criticism," Screen 22, no. 3. (1981), 45; quoted in Griselda Pollock, "Feminism and Modernism," in Framing Feminism: Art and the Women's Movement 1970-85, ed. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock (London: Pandora Press, 1987), 107.

[49] Pollock, 83-88.

became part of an art system which perpetuated the interests of the upper middle class, reinforcing their position of power while subordinating those who did not belong to this group.[50]

Similarly, Lefolii relies on modernist discourse when discussing Snow's work, Seated Nude (1955) and concentrates on the pictorial elements of line, colour, form and texture.[51] Lefolii then relates his style of painting to the artist himself who is described as an urban explorer. He presents Snow as an eclectic individual and connects the Seated Nude (1955) to his diverse interests in film, music and painting. He suggests that like the painter, this work is full of contradiction and is an outward expression of Snow's inner character.[52]

Lefolii relates the painted female figure to Snow's picture of a Walking Woman (fig. 4) which as indicated previously is established as a Canadian image and equated with the CN sign. The critic implies that the Walking Woman was posted on billboards throughout New York and used by the

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[50] Ibid., 101-104, 108-109.

[51] Ken Lefolii, "Figures and Faces," chap. in A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966), 88.

[52] Ibid.

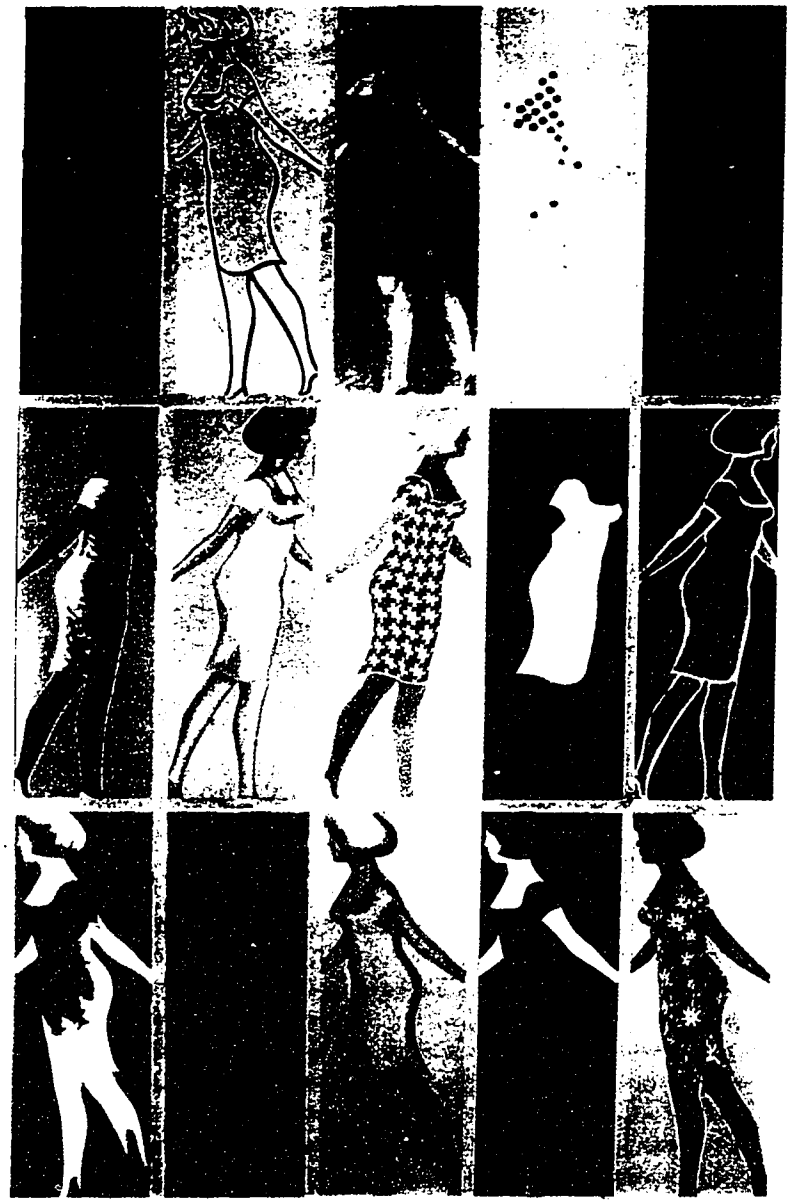

Figure 4. Michael Snow, Mixed Feelings, 1965, polymer and enamel on canvas, 101 x 61 inches. As reproduced in Ken Lefolii, "Introduction," chap. in A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966), 30.

artist to represent the modern environment.[53] His works provide evidence of an expanding Canadian consciousness and represent the country's growing awareness of its position within an increasingly international art community. According to Lefolii, Snow has an innate understanding of Canadian identity and expresses this through his work.

Lefolii, then, establishes Snow as a modern day Bohemian and suggests that he helped to shape the art scene in Canada during the sixties. His text places the painter at the end of a long line of artists in Canada and indicates that he followed the traditions established by his predecessors. Lefolii focuses in particular on male painters and uses masculine terms to describe their works, thus presenting a gendered version of Canadian art history. This is complicated even more by the nationalist intent behind his writing for he promotes these painters specifically as "Canadians". In the critic's opinion, art was most fully developed by English Canadians in central Ontario and contemporary painters such as Snow continued the efforts of their forefathers. Finally, Lefolii describes these artists as cultural interpreters and establishes their works as markers of national identity.

Lefolii's book defined Canadian art history during the sixties and provides a context for the reviews on Christiane

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[53] Ken Lefolii, "The Cities," chap. in A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966), 76.

Pflug's doll paintings. As is evident, this text promoted certain artists while ignoring others, thus ousting those who did not belong to the accepted group. As part of this phenomenon, the critics excluded Pflug from the Toronto art scene by placing her doll pictures within a German painting tradition. In addition, the reviewers described the artist as "woman" and examined the feminine qualities of her pieces. They did not identify specific works that Pflug made, but rather provided a general description of her pieces and down played the artistic training that she received.

This thesis will show how the painter's gender and heritage separated her from the predominantly male artists at the Isaacs Gallery who acted as national heroes and represented Canadian culture.[54] At the same time, I will

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[54] Christiane Pflug was one of many female immigrant artists who were marginalized as women and cast as "outsiders" in the art reviews published during the fifties and sixties. For instance, the critiques on Margit Gatterbauer, Luba Genush and Paraskeva Clark established them as housewives and mothers and emphasized the artists' status as immigrants, thus removing them from a Canadian art context. See for instance: Mary Jukes, "Gatterbauer Show features New Shapes: Couple teams on Stained-Glass Projects," Globe and Mail, 20 February 1969, W 7; Donna Flint, "Housewife Makes Scrap Metal Art," Montreal Gazette, 3 October 1966, 24; and Kathryn O'Rourke, "Labours and Love: Issues of Domesticity and Marginalization in the Works of Paraskeva Clark" (M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1995), 28-33, 72-83. Despite the fact that these women were similarly categorized according to gender and race, they came from various backgrounds and moved to different regions of Canada at separate periods throughout the twentieth century. The position of each female immigrant artist was thus determined by her cultural heritage and is specific to the time and place in which she found herself.

reintroduce specific doll paintings that Pflug showed at the 1964 exhibition and provide my own analysis of the works by reexamining the gendered politics behind the images. I will concentrate on the representation of the black doll and the white doll and relate this to the changing social environment in Toronto, focusing on the position of immigrant women both within the home and the work sphere.

For purpose of clarity, I would now like to present, in general terms, my own interpretation of Christiane Pflug's doll pictures and discuss her role as a female artist. Pflug was one of the few women who exhibited at the Gallery and in addition, she was a German immigrant. She lived with her husband and two daughters in Rosedale[55] outside the Greenwich village where Isaac's establishment was located. Pflug not only documented her home and her neighbourhood, but she also depicted industrial buildings and skyscrapers. As such her works combined together the private and the public and introduced the subject of motherhood into the gallery space.

Moreover, Pflug examined her cultural heritage through painting, depicting dolls in dresses which resemble the traditional German Dirndl Kleid.[56] The dolls are located

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[55] Christiane Pflug lived at the corner of Yonge Street and Summerhill Avenue from 1960 to 1962 and moved to an apartment on Woodlawn Avenue in 1962 where she remained until 1967. Davis, 166, 204.

[56] A Dirndl Kleid is a woman's dress styled in imitation of Alpine peasant costume, with close-fitting

both inside and outside the home, I will argue, and signify the changing position of the female immigrant who takes up the position of an outsider within her new country of residence. The artist painted both white dolls and black dolls and explored the changing dynamics of female identity from the perspective of a white woman. Her paintings raise questions concerning female marginalization as well as the shifting power relations between white females and women of colour. They touch on racial issues and relate to the changing cultural environment in Toronto during the early sixties.

The first chapter of this thesis examines Barrie Hale's review, "Bounty for Browsers," a text which discusses Christiane Pflug's doll paintings and reinforces social norms by placing the artist within a domestic realm.[57] I look at the connection that Hale makes between Pflug and the painted female doll and consider how he links the black and white dolls with the seasonal changes, establishing them as symbols of feminized nature. Moreover, I shall analyze an earlier critique by Hale, "From Ultra Modern to Representational," which places the artist in a subordinate

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bodice, tight waistband, and full skirt. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, 8th ed., s.v. "dirndl".

[57] Barrie Hale, "Bounty for Browsers," Toronto Telegram, 16 May 1964, 25.

role to her painter husband, Michael Pflug.[58] I focus on the critic's description of Michael Pflug's pictures which he believes provide a rational view of the world, in contrast to Christiane Pflug's paintings which are referred to as decorative works of art.

I shall seek to uncover the ethnic implications behind Hale's review and describe how he establishes Christiane Pflug and Michael Pflug as German born outsiders. At the same time, he detaches Christiane Pflug from her European heritage, suggesting that she rejected her former lifestyle in order to adapt in Toronto where she remains an immigrant 'other'. Hale implies that Christiane Pflug lacks cultural identity and does not allow the artist to discuss her paintings, but rather quotes her husband, Michael Pflug, who states that Christiane Pflug records directly what she sees without intellectualizing. This chapter examines the gendered politics behind this review which presents the doll paintings as a reflection of male subjectivity and a symbol of feminine absence or loss.

The second chapter focuses on Kay Kritzwiser's critique, "Hockey Rink Is Theme for Woman Painter."[59] I describe how Kritzwiser removes Pflug from a Canadian

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[58] This is a 490 word review which examines the paintings by Christiane Pflug and her husband, Michael Pflug. Barrie Hale, "From Ultra Modern to Representational," Toronto Telegram, 30 November 1963, S 18.

[59] Kay Kritzwiser, "Hockey Rink Is Theme for Woman Painter," Globe and Mail, 16 May 1964, 15.

painting tradition and associates her with the German artist, Mary Bauermeister, whose works she examines in the article, "Patched Sheets Help Surrealist."[60] I then analyze Kritzwiser's definition of the term Surrealism which she uses to describe the pictorial images by Pflug and Bauermeister. This chapter examines how, in my view, Bauermeister and Pflug subvert Surrealist discourse which promotes male creativity and casts woman in the role of the inspiring Muse.[61] Instead, the artists act as female producers and make their own works which combine together the real and the fantastical, the conscious and the subconscious.

I then examine Pflug's paintings which equate the black female doll with the untamed forces of nature and places the white doll in a domestic environment. I relate this to Kritzwiser's article and uncover the racial dynamics behind the critic's interpretation which dichotomizes black and white femininity and reinforces the dominant position of

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[60] This is a 302 word review which examines Mary Bauermeister's exhibitions in Toronto at the Edward Johnson Building from May 16th to May 17th and the Jerrold Morris International Gallery from May 20th to May 30th. Kay Kritzwiser, "Patched Sheets Help Surrealist," Globe and Mail, 16 May 1964, 15.

[61] The sources which I consulted for my discussion on Surrealism include: Whitney Chadwick, Women Artists and the Surrealist Movement (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 13-65, 74-93; and Susan Rubin Suleiman, Subversive Intent: Gender, Politics and the Avant-Garde (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 12-32, 141-180.

Pflug, the white female painter. According to the reviewer, the dolls represent the opposing forces within the artist herself who acts as a transient travelling from country to country, remaining on the outskirts of society.

The third chapter examines Elizabeth Kilbourn's "Abstraction No Cover" and focuses on her discussion of Christiane Pflug and Mary Bauermeister.[62] I analyze the term "Magic Realism" which Kilbourn uses to describe Christiane Pflug's pictures and relate this to Lincoln Kirstein's catalogue, American Realists and Magic Realists[63], and Franz Roh's text, German Art in the 20th Century[64]. Both of these authors analyze "Magic Realism" and compare it with "Neue Sachlichkeit" which was developed during the 1920s by German artists. These painters went beyond exterior reality to examine the human condition and captured the atmosphere in Germany following World War I. In my opinion, Kilbourn uses similar terms to describe both Christiane Pflug's and Mary Bauermeister's works. I consider how the critic segregates the artists as part of a strategy to isolate them and place their pieces within a German painting tradition.

This chapter then analyzes Kilbourn's description of

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[62] Elizabeth Kilbourn, "Abstraction No Cover," Toronto Daily Star, 23 May 1964, 15.

[63] Lincoln Kirstein, "Introduction," in American Realists and Magic Realists, ed. Dorothy C. Miller and Alfred H. Barr (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1969), 7-8.

[64] Franz Roh, German Art in the 20th Century (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1968).

Pflug's pictures and concentrates on her analysis of the black and white dolls which the critic refers to as "alien and alienating forces."[65] I relate this to the changing social conditions in Toronto during the 1960s, focusing on the position of German and African Canadian women. I discuss the role they played in subverting the political system by leaving the domestic sphere and entering the work force, thus gaining economic independence. I link this to Christiane Pflug's paintings which show the black and white dolls on the interior and exterior of the home, transgressing the borders between the private and the public. Finally, I consider how the critic establishes these pictures as symbols of emotional turmoil, reinforcing contemporary notions of ethnicity which associate immigrant people with mental instability.

The fourth chapter examines the art historical methods that Harry Malcolmson and Constance Mungall follow in their respective reviews of Christiane Pflug's exhibition.[66] I show how Malcolmson and Mungall place the artist's works within a German intellectual tradition by relying on the analytical approaches developed by German art historians, E.H. Gombrich and Erwin Panofsky.

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[65] Kilbourn, "Abstraction No Cover," 15.

[66] Harry Malcolmson, Toronto Telegram, 23 May 1964, 21; and Constance Mungall, "Ontario Artists: Christiane Pflug," Ontario Homes and Living, September 1964, 16-17.

I compare Gombrich's analysis[67] with Malcolmson's review of Christiane Pflug's and Mary Bauermeister's works.[68] According to Malcolmson, Bauermeister's drawings combine together image and text and explore the different modes of communication. He examines the symbolic content of her pieces which he believes depict nuclear warfare and deal with the modern human condition.[69] I connect this with Malcolmson's critique of Christiane Pflug's pictures which he suggests work on a conceptual level and delve into the female psyche. He focuses on the image of the painted doll and indicates that it stares at the viewer, pulling them into an imaginary realm that is removed from reality. From the critic's perspective, the doll signifies emotional regression and represents the mindset of the artist who he implies withdraws into a world of make belief.[70]

Next, I connect Constance Mungall's review, "Ontario Artists: Christiane Pflug"[71], with Erwin Panofsky's texts on iconology.[72] I focus on Mungall's discussion of Pflug's doll

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[67] See for instance E.H. Gombrich, Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960).

[68] Malcolmson, 21.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Mungall, 16-17.

[72] See for instance; Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes In the Art of the Renaissance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939); and Early Netherlandish Painting, 2

pictures which she believes examine the concept of femininity and explore the gender norms controlling women's lives. I examine the reviewer`s descripiton of the black doll which she establishes as a symbol of female procreation and equates with the seasonal changes as well as the cycles of life and death. The white doll, on the other hand, is placed in an enclosed environment and presented as an ethereal figure which exists in a spiritual realm beyond the world of the everyday.

This chapter then considers Mungall`s analysis of Pflug's artistic technique which the critic presents as a regulatory practice, suggesting that Pflug composes the white and black doll within the confines of the frame. Finally, I uncover the connection that Mungall makes between the artists method of approach and the cultural conventions which govern motherhood and the female generative processes.

I aim through this thesis to uncover the politics behind the reviews of Christiane Pflug's doll paintings and reveal the gender, cultural and critical biases which informed art interpretation in Toronto during the sixties. At the same time, I will develop an alternative perspective of the pictures which I believe disrupted artistic and social convention by introducing the voice of a German immigrant housewife and mother into a Canadian art gallery.

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vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953).

As such these pictures asserted the position of the marginal subject and put into question existing ideologies which shaped the female experience in Toronto.

DOLL AS IMAGE OF THE IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC

As indicated earlier, this section examines Barrie Hale's reviews of Christiane Pflug's doll paintings, focusing on his portrayal of the artist as a German immigrant housewife and mother. In his article, "Bounty for Browsers," Hale not only analyzes Pflug's pictures, but he also discusses a number of other exhibitions in Toronto,[1] taking the reader from one gallery to another, listing the artists and describing the works on display. For instance, he discusses Anthony Thorn's oil paintings on exhibition at the Upstairs Gallery and suggests that the artist "uses an abstract vocabulary to render groups of figures, which variously represent angels, witches, demons and jazz musicians."[2]

The critic categorizes Thorn's pictures as "abstract" and focuses on the texture of the paint, quoting Thorn himself who states that he "uses a base of lettering enamel, drawing directly with the brush - working quickly - and applying an oil glaze."[3] Hale discusses the form and content of the pieces and assesses them according to artistic merit. In addition, he examines the financial value

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[1] Barrie Hale, "Bounty for Browsers," The Toronto Telegram, 16 May 1964, 25.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

of Lynne Connell's drawings which are on exhibition at the David Mirvish Gallery. The critic reveals that "a rich and wild imagination is extravagantly realized" in pieces which are "priced amazingly low - below one hundred dollars for the most part."[4] He indicates how much Connell's drawings cost and thus establishes them as commodities put on view for the public to buy.

Michael O'Doherty suggests that works increase in monetary value and become cultural icons once they are placed in a gallery environment.[5] Art institutions, he implies, examine the quality of paintings and sculptures and promote them as symbols of refinement. Furthermore, most people who visit museums belong to the upper middle class and not only have the money to purchase the pieces, but also have the proper education to appreciate the goods. In this sense art becomes saleable merchandise which caters to the interests of the bourgeoisie, assuring elitist standards of taste.[6]

Hale similarly analyzes the quality of each piece as is evident in his discussion of Umberto Mastroianni's sculpture on exhibition at the Jerrold Morris International Gallery. Hale quotes the New York Times critic, Stuart Preston, who

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Brian O'Doherty, The White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space, (San Francisco: Lapis Press, 1986), 73-82.

[6] Ibid.

describes Mastroianni's works and indicates that "the energy of the explosive pieces seems to come from deep within them, much as that in a Michaelangelesque composition of struggling figures; in a burst of Berninesque Baroque, or in the excitability of a Futurist sculptor such as Boccioni."[7]

Hale thus refers to other texts which examine the traditions of sculpture that Mastroianni followed and states that the artist is "represented in the public collection of the Guggenheim Museum of Modern Art in New York and the National Gallery of Modern Art in Rome."[8] Hale lists the art institutions which purchased Mastroianni's sculptures and places his pieces within an art historical context, affirming the cultural value of the goods.

Hale looks at works from various countries and establishes Toronto as a cosmopolitan art centre. Pflug, however, he removes from this realm, isolating her from the other painters. He reveals that "at the Isaacs Gallery...is another debut - the new paintings by Christiane Pflug" and suggests that "the relatively small collection...is concerned with a single vision, the view through Mrs. Pflug's back door."[9] From Hale's perspective, the artist produces paintings for exhibition and sale from the home and records her surroundings, depicting the experiences of a

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[7] Hale, "Bounty for Browsers," 25.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

housewife. The critic thus locates Pflug in a domestic sphere, disconnecting her from the Canadian art world.

Hale then implies that the painter produces works "with an intense, compelling presence" and focuses on the element of "the child's doll incorporated into this view, which is changing seasons of one year."[10] Although the critic does not specify any image when he makes this comment, he could be describing With the Last Snow (1964) (ill. 1), On the Balcony I (1963) (ill. 2) and On the Balcony II (1963) (ill. 3) which were included in the exhibition under review.[11] With the Last Snow (1964)(ill. 1) places a white doll outside on a balcony, in front of a garden covered with patches of snow. On the Balcony I (1963) (ill. 2) by comparison, depicts a black doll standing on a terrace against a group of trees starting to sprout leaves and contrasts with On the Balcony II (1963) (ill. 3) which shows the same scene with the plants and bushes in full bloom.

The dolls are placed against Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn scenes which show the changes in the environment from one time of the year to another. According to Carol Merchant, throughout history nature was feminized in literature, art and science and personified as Mother

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[10] Ibid.

[11] See Appendix A.

Earth.[12] During the Renaissance artists and philosophers described the land as a womb which gave birth to minerals, plants and animals. They compared the cycles of life with female procreation and believed that death indicated sterility and impotence.[13]

From my perspective, the black and white dolls in Pflug's images are similarly placed against a fertile landscape setting and a barren, desolate winter scene. As such they are associated with the patterns of birth and growth as well as death and decay. Hale, however, divorces the doll from the maternal body and instead establishes it as a pictorial symbol. The critic states that the artist makes "meticulously representational paintings" and records "the view through the back door, past the terrace to the urban-residential landscape beyond."[14]

Hale could be referring to With the Last Snow (1964) (ill. 1) which shows the interior of a kitchen with a glass door that looks out onto a balcony and the houses and skyscrapers beyond. In the critic's opinion, Pflug carefully copies what she sees and reproduces the black and white dolls, placing them against scenes of the surrounding

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[12] Carol Merchant, The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 2-6, 20-29.

[13] These concepts not only connect woman with nature, but they also reduce femininity to a biological imperative and trap woman in the role of reproducer.

[14] Hale, "Bounty for Browsers," 25.

gardens and city buildings. The dolls and nature are controlled by the artist and presented as artificial constructs.

According to Merchant, modern science similarly attempts to dominate woman and nature.[15] She suggests that contemporary scientific theories are based on concepts developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England. During this period male physicians took over the study of gynaecology and assumed control over the female body, assigning women a subordinate role in reproduction.[16] Merchant suggests that male scholars such as Francis Bacon wrote texts which granted men power over the forces of procreation. His book the New Atlantis (1624), for example, describes a society that was ruled by male scientists who followed a mechanistic mode of existence and not only cloned plants and animals, but also separated the different life forms, thus disrupting the cycles of nature.[17]

Merchant implies that these medical theories assured the superiority of men who assumed a position of power in the work force. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century retailers and tradesmen in England benefitted from the advances in technology and expanded their businesses.[18]

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[15] Merchant, xv-xx.

[16] Ibid., 152-163.

[17] Ibid., 164-172, 180-186.

[18] Ibid., 177-180.

Merchant believes that they enjoyed increased financial gain and played an active role in the economy, while women were relegated to the private realm of the home. Wives became financially dependent on their husbands and not only lost their power in society, but were furthermore invalidated in the scientific writings from the period.[19] Merchant indicates that these ideologies still exist today, assuring the domestication and subordination of the female subject.

I believe that Pflug's paintings likewise provide evidence of the cultivation of woman and nature. On the Balcony I (1963) (ill. 2), for example, shows a black doll standing on the terrace in front of a cage with a pigeon trapped inside. This contrasts with the landscape setting in the background which shows an overgrowth of trees and bushes. On the Balcony II (1963) (ill. 3) shows the same scene, but the black female doll is positioned right up against the picture plane, surrounded by the frame of the canvas. The pigeons are now placed inside and outside the cage and another bird is visible on the branch of a tree beyond the balcony. Although the garden is full of plant life, the grass is trimmed and the bushes are planted in flower beds.

Not only is the land cultivated by human hands, but the black doll and birds are restricted to a domestic environment and located on the terrace. They are physically

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[19] Ibid., 151-155.

restrained and placed at the border between the garden and the home, surrounded by fences and walls. In addition, the black doll is stiff and looks at the viewer with a blank expression, meanwhile the pigeons are prevented from flying. The birds are perched on ledges with their wings closed and their feet bound to metal bars. Both the female doll and the forces of nature are subdued, obliged to conform to the social order and comply with regulatory practices which serve to suppress them.

Hale similarly establishes Pflug as a domesticated female subject in his article entitled "From Ultra Modern to Representational."[20] The critic discusses both Christiane Pflug and her spouse Michael Pflug and presents them both as painters, but whereas he refers to Michael Pflug as "a doctor of medicine with two small children to support", he merely refers to Christiane Pflug as the artist's wife.[21] He establishes her as a financial subordinate and ignores the role she plays in managing the household and raising her daughters.

As such Hale reinforces familial ideology which establishes the man as the wage earner and places the woman in the position of dependent. According to Michele Barrett, familial ideology depends upon the notion of a pre-given

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[20] Barrie Hale, "From Ultra Modern to Representational," Toronto Telegram, 30 November 1963, S 18.

[21] Ibid.

sexual division of labour which promotes male dominance and female subordination.[22] It reduces gender to a biological imperative and presents patriarchal control as natural and inevitable.[23] Hale supports this notion of social order by presenting Michael Pflug as the primary breadwinner and head of the household.

He establishes the artist as an authoritative father figure who rules over his wife and suggests that Christiane Pflug plays a secondary role to her husband. This gender division is reinforced by the photographs accompanying the article. The top half of the article shows a picture of Michael Pflug who wears a button down shirt and stands beside his painting, Evening on Yonge Street.[24] Beneath this photograph is the caption "From Ultra Modern" which is printed in scrawled letters (fig. 5, above).[25]

Underneath this picture is a photograph of Christiane Pflug who looks up toward the image of her husband.[26] She wears a high collared white blouse and her hair is pulled back into a bun. She stands beside her painting of a living room interior which Hale refers to as On the Black Chair

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[22] Michele Barrett, Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis (London: Verso, 1987), 187-199.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Barrie Hale, "From Ultra Modern to Representational," Toronto Telegram, 30 November 1963, S 18.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

from ultra modern...

to representational

Figure 5. Above, Photograph of Michael Pflug with his painting, Evening on Yonge Street. Below, Photograph of Christiane Pflug with her painting, On the Black Chair. As reproduced in Barrie Hale, "From Ultra Modern to Representational", Toronto Telegram, 30 November 1963, S 18.

(1963).[27] Beneath the photograph is the caption "to Representational" which is printed in Gothic script (fig. 5, below).[28] These pictures establish Michael Pflug as a paternal figure and associate him with the modern city. Christiane Pflug, on the other hand, is presented as a maternal figure located in a domestic sphere.

Hale reinforces a notion of modernity which associates masculinity with urbanity and places the female subject in the realm of the home. According to Matthew Rohn, this concept was developed by Clement Greenberg who believed that modern art depicted city life.[29] He linked this with male abstract painters who filled the role of the Bohemian and remained individuals by rejecting conventional society.[30] They carefully balanced colour and form within the confines of the canvas and presented an ordered view of reality.

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[27] This picture was entitled On the Black Chair II (1963) by the artist and was the final painting in a sequence of works which also included On the Black Chair I (1963). See Davis, 208-209. Hale, however, separates it from the earlier piece and presents it instead as a single, isolated painting.

[28] Hale, "From Ultra Modern to Representational," S 18.

[29] This relates to the notion of the nineteenth century "flaneur" which Griselda Pollock discusses in her article "Modernity and the Spaces of Feminity." According to Pollock, the male "flaneur" observed life in the city and embodied the gaze of modernity. Matthew Rohn, "Gendered Values in Clement Greenberg's Criticism," Art Criticism 9, no. 1 (1994): 52-54; and Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in The Expanding Discourse, ed. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), 253.

[30] Rohn, 47-48.

These paintings symbolized a logical mode of thinking and represented the efficiency of modern urban living.[31]

Hale likewise suggests that Michael Pflug takes an individual approach and detaches himself from his immediate surroundings. He quotes the painter who reveals that "an artist is isolated and confronted by the world as it is and has all the agony of finding a pure form for himself."[32] Michael Pflug believes that painters simultaneously participate in society, yet also separate from their environment and follow their own ideals.

Moreover, Michael Pflug describes the act of art making as an intellectual procedure which depends upon his knowledge of painters from the past and the present. Hale indicates that "Pflug received his first training in Paris" and cites the artist who suggests that "some see a European influence in my paintings now."[33] Pflug then reveals that "in Europe, the artist is immediately placed within a tradition," but in North American "he lives in a different world."[34]

He then expresses his appreciation for art in Canada which he believes "is a place where no one wants to go yet there is a very rich movement in the country which permits a

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[31] Ibid., 58-59.

[32] Hale, "From Ultra Modern to Representational," S 18.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

painter to achieve his own form of expression."[35] Pflug exposes his understanding of European and North American art, yet indicates that Canada allows him to create in seclusion, so he can explore the painting tradition that exists.

Hale furthermore states that Michael Pflug is "committed to watching the inside of the painting, making the paint a whole thing in itself, rather then observing the world outside."[36] The critic implies that the artist turns inward and examines the mechanics of art making. Pflug explores the texture of the paint and creates a unified composition which provides evidence of intellectual control.

This is evident in the piece titled Evening on Yonge Street (fig. 5, above) which Hale reproduces in the review and suggests that it combines together "vertical bands of pure colour."[37] In Hale's opinion, Michael Pflug presents an abstract image of Toronto and reduces the objects around him to simple forms. He connects Evening on Yonge Street to what Pflug says about his works and implies that it confirms the painter's subjectivity as a self-sustaining artistic agent. Although Pflug borrows from his surroundings, he turns inward to explore the structure that lies beneath the surface appearance of things and presents an ordered view of

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

the world.

Whereas Michael Pflug analyzes the art in Europe and discusses his own concepts on painting, Christiane Pflug is not given the opportunity to talk about her works. As mentioned earlier, Hale locates Christiane Pflug in the private realm of the home and reproduces a photograph of the artist which places her in front of the image, On the Black Chair (1963) (fig. 5, below). The painting shows a white doll and a stuffed rabbit seated on a chair inside a living room.

Hale not only equates Christiane Pflug with the white female doll, but he also describes how she looks and refers to her as Michael Pflug's "pretty, dark wife."[38] He establishes her as an object of display which comes under the scrutiny of the male gaze. He once again connects her to the paintings she produces which were exhibited at the Isaacs Gallery and presented as show pieces for the critic to view. Hale links Pflug to the artistic decor and reinforces the notion of feminine ornamentation which, according to Matthew Rohn, underlies Greenberg's notion of Modernism.

Rohn suggests that Greenberg promoted male abstract artists and masculine concepts of art by denigrating female painters and the feminine qualities that their works represented. Greenberg characterized works by women writers

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[38] Ibid.

and artists as superficial adornments which examined the minor and insignificant details of life.[39] He believed they combined together a series of minutiae in an apparently arbitrary manner and created fragmented images of the world. Greenberg deplored the insular character of their works which explored the trivial affairs of the female domestic and criticized their studies of nature which he associated with a precivilized state of existence.[40] At the same time, he described the works by women as subjective and believed that they provided evidence of emotional instability.[41]

Hale similarly characterizes Pflug's paintings as sentimental works of art and suggests that she formed emotional attachments to her home in Canada. He describes both Christiane Pflug and her husband as "two young German born painters" and reveals that for both "Toronto was somewhat of a shock."[42] He quotes Christiane Pflug's observation that "one has to change one's attitudes, give up everything that one used to like and find a personal connection between oneself and the things which one hated."[43] Thus while Michael Pflug expounded upon his art,

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[39] Rohn, 46-47.

[40] Rohn, 46-47, 50-51, 54-55.

[41] Rohn, 51-52.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Barrie Hale, "From Ultra Modern to Representational," S 18.

Christiane Pflug was only allowed to discuss her experiences as an immigrant. In Hale's opinion, the artist learned to appreciate Canadian culture and bonded with the people in her new country of residence, sacrificing her beliefs and relinquishing her own heritage in order to adapt to life in Toronto.

According to Hale, both the artist and her husband, Michael Pflug "came to Canada from France via Tunis, in search of a livelihood."[44] He states that "there is nothing pleasant in being uprooted, but the Pflugs feel there is a definite advantage to be gained from the contrast of cultures."[45] The critic establishes Christiane and Michael Pflug as "foreigners" who came from a place outside of Canada and lived in various countries. He associates the immigrant experience with disruption, presenting the painters as unstable subjects who shift from one location to another.

Hale then praises Canadian culture and indicates that Christiane Pflug and Michael Pflug believe that "the younger generation of painters in Canada have more to say then their European contemporaries."[46] He then quotes Michael Pflug, who asserts that the "art scene in Toronto was a revelation" and juxtaposes this to comments by Christiane Pflug, who

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

states that "in Paris, Canada is only a place with a few peasants who speak bad French."[47] The critic promotes Canadian centralism and extols cultural life in Toronto which was predominantly populated by Anglo Saxons, meanwhile denigrating Quebec and European societies.

Hale then examines the Toronto paintings that Christiane Pflug and Michael Pflug produced, suggesting that "their works offered a view of our world that made it richer."[48] He connects Toronto with "our world" and opposes this to the "Pflugs' Toronto," thus separating the Canadians who the critic speaks on behalf of, from the German immigrants who the artists represent. The critic sets up a relationship of "us" versus "them", implying that there are those that belong and those, such as the Pflugs, who do not belong. In this sense the review negates Christiane Pflug on two accounts, for it not only casts her as an outsider and excludes her from Canadian culture, but it also detaches her from her European heritage and erases her ethnic identity.

Hale then examines one of Christiane Pflug's paintings which "provides a lucid rendering of a view of a freight yard from the artist's apartment window."[49] Although he does not specify any image when he makes this comment, the critic could be referring to Window on Yonge Street (1962) (ill. 4)

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

which shows a white doll seated on a chair in front of a window which looks onto a railway station. Hale does not discuss On the Black Chair (1963)(fig. 5, below) which is reproduced in the article and presents a domestic interior, but instead describes a piece which is not available for the reader to see and depicts an industrial scene. He establishes her works as fragmented pictures that are disconnected from each other and from what the critic writes.

Hale then quotes Michael Pflug, who suggests that his wife "approaches things without intellectualizing and paints representatively."[50] Michael Pflug removes his wife's works from the realm of logic and indicates instead that she records detail for detail the various forms that surround her. Her works act as mirror doubles and not only imitate exterior reality, but they also depict dolls which mimic and duplicate the female subject.

Hale furthermore connects the white doll to Christiane Pflug who is established as a woman artist as well as a German immigrant housewife and mother. She is presented as an outsider who is detached from Canadian society and removed from the European environment where she once resided. She not only lacks cultural identity, but is also objectified by the critic and her husband and placed on display for the reader. Like the painted doll, Pflug acts as

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[50] Ibid.

a mirror image which reflects the male subject. She is nothing more then a projection of the critic's imagination and contrasted with her spouse, Michael Pflug. Christiane Pflug is thus described as that which her husband is not. She is established as the feminine negative of the masculine self.

SURREALISM AND GERMAN FEMININITY

This chapter compares Kay Kritzwiser's review of Christiane Pflug's doll paintings[1] with her critique of Mary Bauermeister.[2] These are two separate articles which are located on the same page of the Globe and Mail, but whereas the piece on Bauermeister concentrates exclusively on the artist, the commentary on Pflug is part of a larger column which examines a number of Toronto shows that featured female artists. In addition to Pflug's pictures, Kritzwiser also analyzed the works by such Canadian painters as Molly Lamb Bobak and Lynne Connell.

I juxtapose Kritzwiser's descriptions of Bobak's and Connell's pieces with her reviews of Christiane Pflug and Mary Bauermeister. I examine the critic's definition of the term "Surrealism" which she uses to describe both Pflug's and Bauermeister's works and place her discussions within a wider art historical context. I consider the way the Surrealist discourse is gendered and focus on the critic's construction of German femininity through her review of the art of Bauermeister and Pflug.

Kritzwiser begins her discussion of Christiane Pflug by situating the painter within the Toronto artistic milieu,

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[1] Kay Kritzwiser, "Hockey Rink Is Theme for Woman Painter," Globe and Mail, 16 May 1964, 15.

[2] Kay Kritzwiser, "Patched Sheets Help Surrealist," Globe and Mail, 16 May 1964, 15.

revealing that her works are on view "at the Isaacs Gallery until June 5."[3] She then examines Pflug's painting technique and states that "she has had no formal lessons but paints slowly with acute observation."[4] According to the critic, the artist inspects the world around her and copies what she sees. This review furthermore implies that Pflug works gradually and takes her time, carefully depicting one detail after another, to produce an accurate record of reality.

Kritzwiser suggests that the artist "becomes so involved with her paintings she cannot bear to look at them again for months after she has finished them."[5] The critic describes an intense working procedure and presents Pflug as a highly concentrated person who is absorbed by her art. At the same time, she indicates that her pictures show "a strange arrangement of her daughters' dolls and furniture" and evoke a "mood of fantasy that becomes almost surrealistic."[6] This article places the doll paintings in a realm of make believe and establishes them as childhood images which signify an infantile state of existence.

Kritzwiser does not refer to any paintings by name when she makes this observation, but she may be describing The

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[3] Kritzwiser, "Hockey Rink is Theme for Woman Painter," 15.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

Kitchen Door at Night I (1963) (ill. 5) and The Kitchen Door at Night II (1963) (ill. 6) which were included in the exhibition under review.[7] These works show an interior view of the kitchen with an open doorway which leads out onto the balcony. A black and white doll are furthermore located on the terrace against a dreamy, night-time scene of the garden. In my opinion, the artist combines together a realistic view of her home surroundings with an imaginary landscape setting and unites the conscious with the subconscious.

Kritzwiser likewise describes the element of fantasy in Pflug's pictures and juxtaposes them to the works produced by the New Brunswick painter, Molly Lamb Bobak, and the Ontario artist, Lynne Connell. The critic commences her discussion of Molly Lamb Bobak by locating the artist's pictures in a Toronto art institution, revealing that her paintings are "at the Roberts Gallery until May 23."[8] She then suggests that the painter and her husband, Bruno Bobak come from New Brunswick, stating that "Bruno Bobak directs an art centre in Fredericton, and New Brunswick residence reflect in Molly Lamb Bobak's work."[9]

Kritzwiser describes the theme of the artist's show as

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[7] See Appendix A.

[8] Kay Kritzwiser, "Hockey Rink is Theme for Woman Painter," 15.

[9] Ibid.

the hockey rink and states that "in each picture she brings bright vitality in surges of activity expressed in blue and red masses, skating, charging or fighting on the white ice area."[10] Next, the reviewer examines the picture entitled The Provincial Ball which she believes "slyly catches the starchy formality of uniforms in a society conscious of its Beaverbrooks."[11] Kritzwiser indicates that Bobak deals with social themes that are specific to New Brunswick and records the customs and habits of the people in the local region. As such she connects her paintings to the cultural environment in which they were produced and establishes them as "canadian" works of art. Moreover, she prioritizes Bobak by mentioning her picture of The Hockey Rink in the title of her critique and discussing her works at the beginning of her column.

In addition, Kritzwiser examines the drawings by Lynne Connell and describes her as a "young Toronto artist," stating that her works are on display "at the David Mirvish Gallery until May 31."[12] From the reviewer's perspective, Connell is concerned with such themes as motherhood, as is evident in her piece, Trial, where "black masses of paint resolve into the mother with a weeping gash of a mouth,

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

falsely placed because the tears are false."[13] This picture examines the reaction of a woman "who weeps over a son charged with murder," protesting that "my boy was always such a good boy - while her guilty hands grasp out in every direction."[14] Kritzwiser focuses on Connell's use of colour in this image, indicating that she uses the paint to give substance to the female form. At the same time, she believes that the figure is full of feeling and moves beyond the confines of the picture to take on a life-like quality.

Kritzwiser emphasizes the physical and emotional character of Connell's painting and opposes her works to Pflug's imaginative pictures of dolls. According to the critic, "a kind of social document underlies Miss Connell's Trial" which deals with the feelings of remorse that women face as mothers when their children commit acts of violence and break the law.[15] Pflug, on the other hand, produces "strange, almost surrealist works" and explores the world of make believe.[16]

Kritzwiser similarly refers to the artist, Mary Bauermeister[17], as a surrealist in her review entitled

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Bauermeister produced predominantly sculptural pieces which were made from wood, linen sheets, plaster, stones, sand and straws. She combined these materials with

"Patched Sheets Help Surrealist."[18] Before I begin a discussion of this critique, I would like to examine the article entitled "Surrealism" which was written by the Ontario art critic, Paddy O`Brien, during the sixties for Canadian Art.[19] O'Brien analyzes Surrealism in Canada and traces the movement back to the theories developed by the French painter, André Breton.[20] From O'Brien's perspective, Breton rejected the bourgeois class and the laws of logic and reason which governed society. Instead, he delved into the realm of the subconscious, promoting "the omnipotence of dreams and the disinterested play of thought."[21]

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drawings to create designs which imitated molecular structures as well as land, water and stellar formations. She also added various sized lenses to her compositions which distorted and altered the image on the canvas. In addition, she incorporated writings into the works which described Karlheinz Stockhausen's theories on music as well as her own working technique. These pieces included the artist's personal letters and poems which examined various aspects of life. Maria Velte, "Mary Bauermeister - Das Werk," in Mary Bauermeister Gemälde und Objeckte 1952-1972 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein Museum, 1972), v-xiv.

[18] Kay Kritzwiser, "Patched Sheets Help Surrealist," Globe and Mail, 16 May 1964, 15.

[19] Paddy O'Brien, "Surrealism," Canadian Art 20, no. 6 (Nov/Dec 1963): 348-353. I chose to examine Paddy O'Brien's article on Surrealism because it was written at the same time as Kritzwiser's reviews of Pflug and Bauermeister and as such is historically relevant to my examination of the artists' works. For further discussion of the Surrealist movement in Canada see also: Surrealism in Canadian Painting (London: London Public Library and Art Museum, 1964); and Natalie Luckyj, The Legacy of Surrealism in Canadian Art (Kingston, Ontario: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1978).

[20] O'Brien, 348-349.

[21] Ibid., 349.

However, as art historian Whitney Chadwick points out, Surrealism depended upon masculine based concepts which established the female psyche as a source of male creativity.[22] In Chadwick's opinion, Breton was influenced by Pierre Janet who conducted studies on women suffering from hysteria and implied that they exhibited a form of behaviour known as l'amour fou which put them in touch with their erotic desires. Breton was also aware of the concept of transference love which was established by Sigmund Freud who suggested that men developed sexually by projecting their fantasies onto the female 'other'.[23]

Breton furthermore invented the myth of the femme enfant who provided access to the erotic and irrational and inspired the artistic talents of men. He believed that the female figure marked the passage from life to death, from reality to fantasy and from the earthly to the transcendental, giving insight into the subconscious world

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[22] Whitney Chadwick, Women Artists and the Surrealist Movement (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 13-65. For further discussion of the gendered politics of Surrealist art see also: Rudolf Keunzli "Surrealism and Misogyny," in Surrealism and Women, ed. Mary Ann Caws, Rudolf E. Kuenzli and Gwen Raaberg (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991), 17-26; Mary Ann Caws, "Ladies Shot and Painted: Female Embodiment in Surrealist Art," in The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives, ed. Susan Rubin Suleiman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), 262-287; and Susan Rubin Suleiman, Subversive Intent: Gender, Politics and the Avant-Garde (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 20-27, 146-163.

[23] Chadwick, 35-36 and 50-55.

of make belief.[24] As such the femme enfant assisted man on his quest for spiritual knowledge and not only helped the artist discover his inner self, but also allowed him to explore his hidden fears and desires. She acted as a subsidiary figure who stimulated painters to produce works of art and assured the continuance of male creative ingenuity.[25]

Susan Rubin Suleiman in her book on gender politics and the avant-garde likewise examines the Surrealist movement in France which she suggests was predominated by men at its inception in the late twenties and early thirties.[26] These male artists often created montages, joining together pictures and text and presenting fragmented, disunified images of reality. On the surface their pieces challenged cultural order and offered an irrational view of the world which celebrated the subconscious.[27] However, the objects of their fantasies were typically women who were visually violated in the art that the men produced. Pictures of females often showed them in distorted poses, their bodies

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[24] Ibid., 33-35.

[25] Ibid., 33-35.

[26] According to Suleiman, women members of the group were small in number during the founding years and the art that they produced was rarely exhibited or promoted in the journals published by their male counterparts. Susan Suleiman Rubin, Subversive Intent: Gender Politics, and the Avant-Garde (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 12-32, 141-180.

[27] Suleiman, 16, 146-150.

cropped or split into pieces. In this sense Surrealist paintings promoted the defilement of woman and asserted the subjectivity of the male artist who assumed a position of power and secured patriarchal control through their works.[28]

According to Paddy O'Brien, Canadian Surrealism was developed by male painters during the sixties and depended upon the free play of thought.[29] However, the critic distinguishes the contemporary movement in Canada from French Surrealism of the twenties and associates the former with predominantly English Canadian artists.[30] O'Brien suggests that English Canadian painters followed a rational procedure and placed objects in deliberate juxtaposition to each other. The composition of forms, however, seemed out of the ordinary and not only lacked visual logic, but also appeared dream-like. The critic roots this in the absurdity

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[28] Ibid., 16, 150-163.

[29] O'Brien, 348-349.

[30] O'Brien also discusses another strand of Surrealism in Canada which was practised by Quebec artists during the forties and fifties. She feminizes French Canadian painters by suggesting that they explored the subconscious which is associated with female irrationality. She then opposes this form of art to Surrealism practised in the sixties by English Canadian painters who took a logical method of approach, consciously working out their ideas through painting. As such O'Brien dichotomizes Quebec and English Canadian artists on cultural and gender terms and ensures the intellectual superiority of the later painters. I chose specifically to concentrate on the critic's analysis of English Canadian Surrealism because it relates directly to Kritzwiser's reviews of Pflug and Bauermeister who similarly worked on a conceptual level and rationalized the world around them when making art.

of contemporary society which she believes is full of paradox and goes against reason.[31]

O'Brien then discusses the "beatnik generation" which celebrates the subconscious and accepts dream interpretation as a form of self-knowledge. This is particularly evident in such artistic phenomena as Happenings and Abstract Expressionism which the critic describes as spontaneous creations of the human psyche. Similarly, modern science defies logic and exposes the arbitrary, inconsistent nature of being. From the critic's perspective, the art created by Surrealist painters in the sixties is an expression of the times and provides evidence of the extent to which the banal has become a part of everyday life.[32]

O'Brien focuses on the work produced by such artists as Alex Colville,[33] Kazuo Nakamura and Kenneth Lochhead.[34] She

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[31] Ibid., 349.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Alex Colville's paintings are also placed in the category of Magic Realism which I will discuss in the next chapter. Although there are similarities between Surrealism and Magic Realism, both of which combine together the conscious and the subconscious, there are also significant differences. Whereas Surrealism was developed by Breton and a circle of artists who gathered in France during the 1920s and 1930s, Magic Realism is linked to Neue Sachlichkeit which was established by such painters as Otto Dix in Germany at about the same time. The two movements thus developed out of separate artistic traditions and were shaped by varying social and historical circumstances. See Whitney Chadwick, Women Artists and the Surrealist Movement (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 13-65; Susan Suleiman Rubin, Subversive Intent: Gender Politics, and the Avant-Garde (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 12-32, 141-180; Lincoln Kirstein, "Introduction",

examines the moral and social components of their paintings and suggests that the artists contemplate the contemporary condition. They carefully work out their thoughts in the art they make and place the figures in strange positions. Although they take an intellectual approach and produce recognizable images of reality, their paintings appear paradoxical due to the fantastical forms that they invent and the odd placement of the objects in their paintings.[35]

O'Brien uses Kazuo Nakamura's painting, Power Structures (fig. 6, above left), as an example of Surrealist art practised by English Canadians in the sixties.[36] The piece depicts a series of columnar shapes placed one beside each other and recalls "Chirico paintings which show strange objects casting long shadows in deserted streets."[37] Although this painting resembles the works produced by a Surrealist artist at the beginning of the twentieth century, it "has a very contemporary suggestion of science fiction,

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American Realists and Magic Realists, ed. Dorothy C. Miller and Alfred H. Barr (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1969), 7-8; and Franz Roh, German Art in the 20th Century (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1968).

[34] O'Brien, 349-353.

[35] Ibid.

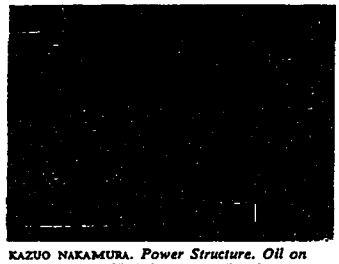
[36] Although Kazuo Nakamura was a Japanese Canadian, Kritzwiser groups him with English Canadian artists who produced Surrealist images and makes him part of a collective that was predominated by painters of British descent. Ibid, 323.

[37] Ibid.

surrealism

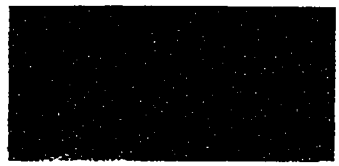
sentation of an intellectual invention that is intriguing to the spectator because at the time that it appears "real," it is patently absurd. The artists are getting through to the spectator on the basis of the fact that, as human beings, they both actually know a lot more in terms of society's experience than either the artists or the public of the 1920s.

Nakamura's *Power Structure*, with its in-



KAZUO NAKAMURA. *Power Structure. Oil on panel. 36" x 48". (Photo: Tess Boudreau)*

tense contrast of light and dark, may hark back to Chirico and his long shadows cast by strange objects in deserted streets, but at the same time there is a very contemporary suggestion of science fiction, as though the static forms were robots on the moon. Contrast with this Kenneth Lochhead's *The Dig-*



KENNETH LOCHHEAD. *The Dignitary. 16" x 30". The National Gallery of Canada*

nitary, in which a similar sensation is present, although odd figures take the place of geometric objects. In the same context is Lemieux's *Le voyageur sur la terre* – a dream-like atmosphere that is on the borderline between surrealism and romantic fantasy. By the same token, Tony Urquhart's the subconscious, juggling and dissecting a woman until the pieces fall into aesthetically controlled relationships and patterns. The drawings of Gécin, Beauchemin and Wilson,

MICHELINE BEAUCHEMIN. *La métropole. Pencil drawing. 11" x 8". Dorothy Cameron Gallery*

equally decorative from a visual point of view, also relate directly to a subconscious process of association that involves the spectator in a strangely plausible but quite absurd world.

Another facet of surrealism is that in which the artist uses surrealistic means virtually to preach a moral. Fred Hagan's *Passing Grandparents* combines, with magnificent lack of visual logic, the symbols of life and death, youth and age, into a strange allegory reminiscent of Dorothea Tanning. Again, Edwy Cooke's paintings of monstrous egg shells and chess boards placed in mountainous landscapes are "classic" surrealist compositions. Yet another variation is Louis de Niverville's *I Remember as a Child, No. 2* – a work full of deliberate clues that most of us can probably readily relate to the subconscious, and the altered natures of the three figures make them – according to Breton – surrealistic "facts."

A "social commentary" type of surreal-

Figure 6. Above left, Kazuo Nakamura, Power Structure, oil on canvas, 36 x 48 inches. Below left, Kenneth Lochhead, The Dignitary, 16 x 30 inches. As reproduced in Paddy O'Brien, "Surrealism," Canadian Art 20, no. 6 (Nov/Dec 1963): 352-353.

as though the static forms were robots on the moon."[38] According to the critic, Nakamura creates an imaginary world which is inhabited by motionless, mechanical figures and depicts a technological society devoid of human presence.

O'Brien then compares Power Structures with Kenneth Lochhead's The Dignitary (fig. 6, below left) which presents a group of people crowded around a high ranking officer. She believes that the piece resembles the painting by Nakamura although "odd figures take the place of geometric objects."[39] The people look like wooden dolls which are carefully lined up in front of a dignitary who assumes a position of command. The artist presents a structured view of reality and critiques a regime which forces people to acquiesce to the representative of the state. Lochhead places a female figure in the role of the dignitary and establishes her as a symbol of cultural order. The doll signifies authorial control and acts as a power head who structures society based on the laws of logic and reason.

Woman thus becomes a substitute for the Patriarch which the male painter must overthrow in order to establish his own vision of reality. According to O'Brien, Lochhead re-invents the world through art making and creates an imaginary landscape that is inhabited by robot-like figures. The critic suggests that the artist works on a theoretical

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[38] Ibid., 353.

[39] Ibid.

level and relies on his mental abilities when producing paintings.[40] As such she places Lochhead in a position of intellectual superiority and implies that his images are conceived according to male rationality. O'Brien affirms the subjecthood of the male painter who must eradicate the social system as represented by the female figure in order to retain artistic control.

Kritzwiser borrows from O'Brien's article on Surrealism when reviewing Bauermeister's pieces and engages in masculine discourse. She uses gender-biased terms to describe the artist's works, identifying "Miss Bauermeister as the daughter of a scientist," indicating that "the intensely questing mind of the scientist has not been denied in her work."[41] Kritzwiser states that the artist observes the elements of nature and "is struck by its artificial equivalent," creating pieces which combine together synthetic matter which "build, grow, twist, search out their own growth."[42] The reviewer suggests that Bauermeister produces artistic structures which imitate the patterns of life and replicate reality.

Kritzwiser furthermore indicates that the artist produces pieces which combine together "pebbles and shells she collected in Sicily" as is evident in the work "now

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Kritzwiser, "Patched Sheets Help Surrealist," 15.

[42] Ibid.

housed in the Museum of Modern Art in New York."[43] Although she does not specify any piece by name, the reviewer may be referring to the 1963 Stein Progression (Stone Progression) (fig. 7), which consists of four square wooden boards covered with stones, lime and sand. The boards are joined at the edges to form an enclosed quadrangle and the rounded pebbles are placed one on top of the other in a sequence of rows.

Kritzwiser believes that the artist has composed the objects to look like a "charred wooden trunk" surrounded by a group of "small coconuts, washed in by the sea."[44] She focuses on the "circle of blackened pebbles" and indicates that "growing downward to meet it in central unity is an arrangement of shells."[45] The critic describes the formation of stones which converge in the middle of the composition. She suggests that Bauermeister follows a structured procedure and re-orders the elements of nature to create a balanced artistic design.

In my opinion, Bauermeister presents a controlled view of reality and categorizes the world around her according to a system of logic. At the same time, I believe that she challenges and undermines the conventions of painting established by the male Surrealists who promoted patriarchal

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

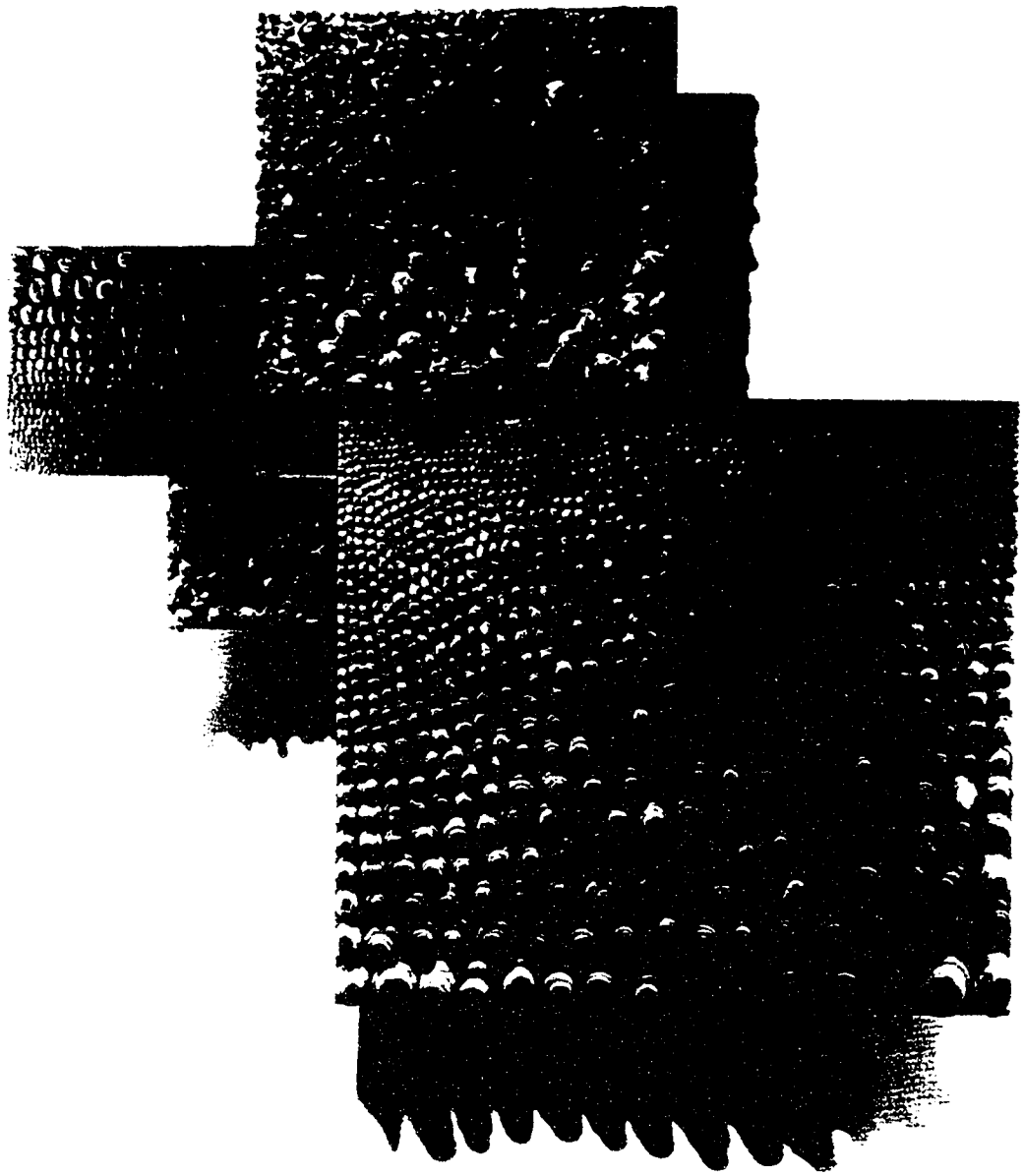

Figure 7. Mary Bauermeister, Stein Progression (Stone Progression), 1963, stone, sand, lime and wood, 130 x 120 inches. As reproduced in Maria Velte, "Bildteil," in Mary Bauermeister Gemälde und Objeckte 1952-1972 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein Museum, 1972), plate 38.

rule through their works. As Susan Rubin Suleiman points out, women Surrealists followed the traditions established by men, yet at the same time some remained critical of the artistic canon and took on a "double voice" when they made paintings by introducing their own marginal perspective into the existing discourse.[46] In this sense they subverted the rules of art making and exposed the gender hierarchy which governed Surrealism, presenting the experiences of women from the point of view of the female subject.[47]

Their works were shaped by cultural conventions, yet at the same time remained a source of creative play which allowed them to undo the social norms and explore their fantasies. Through painting women reinvented the Surrealist language as well as the "symbolic order" which that discourse supported and secured a place for themselves in the artistic arena.[48] They discovered their inner emotions and entered a world of make belief, where they came face to face with their hidden fears and desires. Their works thus

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[46] Suleiman, 20-32, 146-169. For further discussion on women Surrealists see also: Gwen Raaberg, "The Problematics of Women and Surrealism," in Surrealism and Women, ed. Mary Ann Caws, Rudolf E. Kuenzli and Gwen Raaberg (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991), 1-10; Robert J. Belton, "Speaking with Forked Tongues: 'Male' Discourse in 'Female' Surrealism ?," in Surrealism and Women, ed. Mary Ann Caws, Rudolf E. Kuenzli and Gwen Raaberg (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991), 50-62; and Gloria Feman Orenstein, "Towards a Bifocal Vision in Surrealist Aesthetics," Trivia 3 (Fall 1983): 70-87.

[47] Rubin, 12-15, 26-27, 141-146, 166-180.

[48] Ibid.

asserted feminine agency and enabled the painters to celebrate womanhood from the position of the creative art maker who reshapes her life through the images that she produces.

Whitney Chadwick discusses women Surrealists and suggests that they undermined the art system by assuming a voice of their own.[49] According to the critic, many of the female painters made self portraits and took on the dual role of artistic producer and objectified "other". They depicted their inner and outer reality, examining the material conditions which shaped their lives and subverted gender norms by entering the world of make believe where they asserted their creative talents as painters.[50]

Women Surrealists delved into the realm of the imaginary and discovered the transformative powers of nature, gaining insight into the cycles of birth and death. They explored their fantasies and reformulated the existing myths of femininity by depicting themselves as creators with intuitive knowledge of the generative processes which regulated life.[51] They established a new identity for themselves and analyzed the psychic and cultural experiences of womanhood, uncovering the varying aspects of the female subject.

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[49] Chadwick, 74-93.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., 93-102.

This relates to Kritzwiser's review which establishes Bauermeister as an active producer of art and indicates that she showed her works "at the Jerrold Morris International Gallery" and "the Edward Johnson Building" in Toronto.[52] The critic then discusses Bauermeister's experiences as a woman explorer and presents her as a "strapping fraulein from Germany whose surrealist compositions are gathering a growing reputation on this continent."[53] Kritzwiser describes the artist's trip to Italy and states that "in Sicily, she is the visitor the peasants describe by placing fingers to their temples."[54] This gesture not only draws attention to the thought process involved in art making, but also implies that Bauermeister behaves abnormally. The critic suggests that the artist leads the unstable life of a Bohemian travelling from country to country, engaging in activities which go against the accepted norms.

Kritzwiser indicates that Bauermeister inhabited a woman's space while in Sicily and approached the peasant housewives who sold her "old patched sheets that have been in the families for generations."[55] The reviewer states that the artist "takes the reality of the linen sheets and adds

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

her own illusion in a way that is fascinating."[56] The critic could be describing the work Leinen - Nähbild - Lichtkasten (Linen - Close-up - Photographs) (1963) (fig. 8) which joins together several quilts in the shape of a large rectangle.

Bauermeister covered the linen rectangle with circular and square pieces of material which form flaps that open and close. In addition, the sheet consists of three dimensional painted images of needles, thread and pleated cloth that appear to fold and buckle before the viewer's eye (fig. 9). The drawn pictures are indistinguishable from the actual material flaps that project forward or remain on the surface of the linen canvas. In my opinion, the bed sheets lose their significance as family heirlooms and become art objects which play with the notion of artistic illusion and spatial depth. I believe that Bauermeister combines together reality and make believe, fantasy and truth and shifts from one realm of existence to another.

Kritzwiser also suggests that Pflug produces surrealist works and depicts lifelike images of the world. She indicates that the artist "works in her kitchen with the view from her balcony as a backdrop"[57] and as such establishes Pflug as a seeing subject who records her home environment. At the same time, Kritzwiser describes the

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Kritzwiser, "Hockey Rink Is Theme for Woman Painter," 15.

Figure 8. Mary Bauermeister, Leinen - Nähbild - Lichtkasten (Linen - Close-up - Photographs), 1963, dyed linen, india ink, needlework and canvas, 206 x 112 inches. As reproduced in Maria Velte, "Bildteil," in Mary Bauermeister Gemälde und Objeckte 1952-1972 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein Museum, 1972), plate 36.

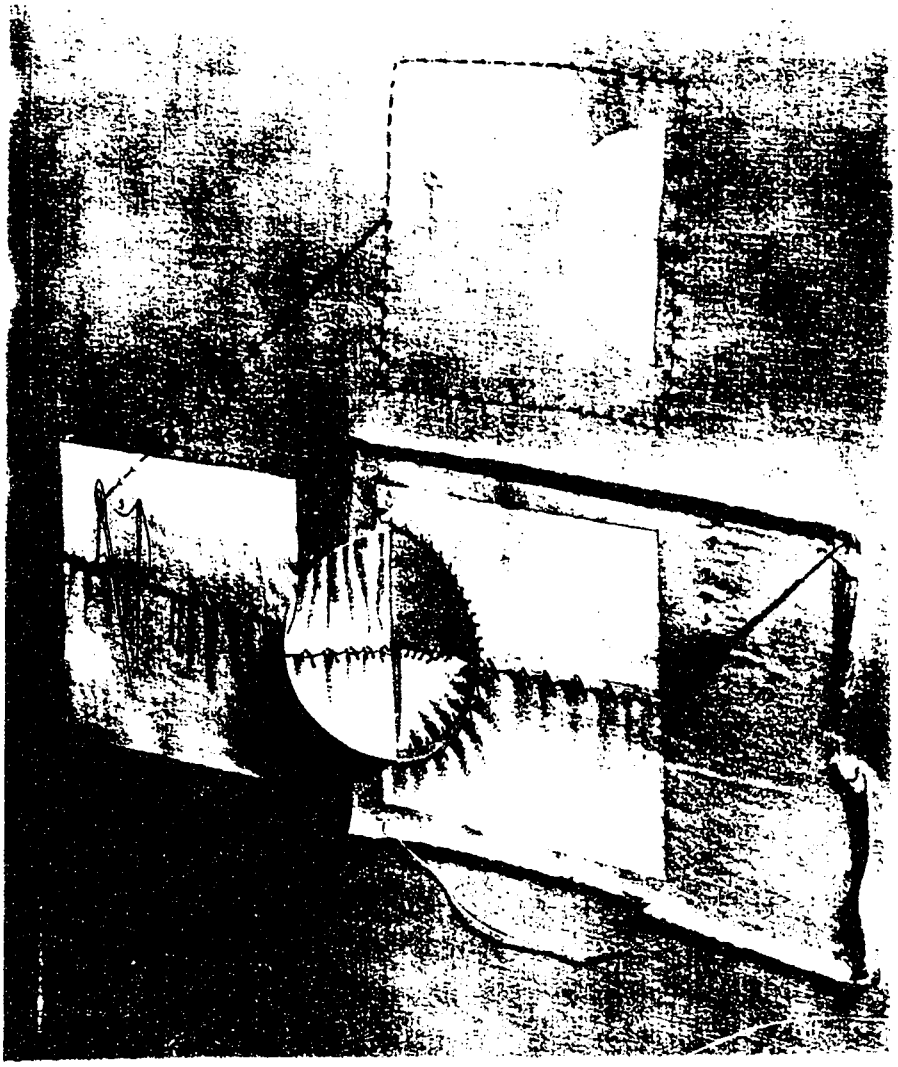

Figure 9. Mary Bauermeister, detail of Leinen - Nähbild - Lichtkasten (Linen - Close-up - Photographs), 1963, dyed linen, india ink, needlework and canvas, 205 x 112 inches. As reproduced in Maria Velte, "Bildteil," in Mary Bauermeister Gemälde und Objeckte 1952-1972 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein Museum, 1972), plate 37.

artist as a "dark, smooth-haired woman"[58] and from my perspective, connects her to the black dolls represented in such images as The Kitchen Door At Night I (1963) (ill. 5) and The Kitchen Door at Night II (1963) (ill. 6).

The Kitchen Door At Night I (1963) shows the black female doll on the balcony at the doorway between the home and the backyard. The light from the interior filters across her face and lights up the white dress she is wearing so that she stands out slightly from the night-time garden scene. The lines of perspective furthermore push the doll up toward the picture plane, detaching her from the background. The Kitchen Door At Night II (1963) once again places the black doll outside at the entrance to the home, but locates her further back in space, closer to the balcony railing. The white dress that the doll wears is less visible and she is obscured by the shadows of the night, fading into the forest-like scene of trees and leaves.

In both cases, the doll is placed against a fertile landscape setting which provides evidence of the cycles of life and growth. In my opinion, the black female figure is established as Mother Earth, whom as Michele Wallace has argued, represents the quintessential mother with infinite sexual, life-giving and nurturing reserves.[59] I believe that

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Michele Wallace, Black Macho and the Myth of Superwoman (London: Verso, 1990), 106-109.

the doll in Pflug's painting is likewise associated with the forces of procreation and associated with nature's generative processes.

Patricia Morton also discusses African American female imagery which places women of colour in the role of Mammy.[60] According to Morton, the black female slave is presented as a sexually uninhibited creature who acts as a nurturing figure to the white family. She sets off the stereotype of the Anglo American woman who is established as an embodiment of ideal femininity and defined as chaste, pure and religiously pious. This dichotomization of female identity ensures the subordination of black woman and protects the elevated status of the white "Lady".[61]

Similarly, the black female doll in both The Kitchen Door at Night I (1963) (ill. 5) and The Kitchen Door at Night II (1963) (ill. 6) bends her head down in deference and stands behind the white doll who is seated on a chair which is pushed up toward the picture plane. The light from the kitchen fully illuminates the white female doll and brings her into the foreground of the painting, thus placing her in the home. From my perspective, the white doll is found in a private realm and occupies the same space as Pflug who makes art from the kitchen. As such this figure

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[60] Patricia Morton, Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), 8-10.

[61] Ibid.

inhabits the painter's work place and symbolizes the artist as producer.

In addition, I believe that Pflug changes the composition from The Kitchen Door at Night I (1963) and The Kitchen Door at Night II (1963) and rearranges the white doll and furniture. Whereas The Kitchen Door at Night I (1963) acts as a preliminary piece with the figures and forms randomly placed in the kitchen interior, The Kitchen Door at Night II (1963) offers a much more detailed and ordered view of Pflug's home. The cabinet, sink, door, and walls are reduced to a series of delineated, rectangular forms which are incorporated into a grid-like design.

This piece is tightly structured and shows a sparsely furnished room which is painted with dull colours, varying little in tone. In my opinion, the white doll is located in a barren, interior space and carefully composed within a sequence of objects. She is established as a domesticated subject and regulated by the artist who re-structures her surroundings in the paintings she makes. The white doll therefore provides evidence of social order and represents the disciplined female self.

I believe that The Kitchen Door at Night I (1963) and The Kitchen Door at Night II (1963) polarize the black and white doll by setting up an opposition of inside and outside, culture and nature. The black female doll is connected with the untamed forces of nature, meanwhile the

white doll is established as the socialized female self. The white doll acts as a symbol of cultural order and signifies the codes and conventions which govern women's behaviour and determine gender.

According to Kritzwiser, the doll paintings were made by Pflug who was "born in Berlin in 1936" and "has travelled a not entirely serene route from Berlin to Paris, where she met her husband, Dr. Michael Pflug."[62] The critic establishes the artist as an outsider who has no roots in Canada, but rather moves from one country to another. She suggests that Pflug does not sustain any particular nationality and describes her as an unstable subject who leads the life of a wanderer.

From my perspective, Kritzwiser presents Pflug as a marginal female who has no fixed identity, but rather is exposed to people of different cultures. I believe that this recalls the changing position of the painted black and white dolls which are located on both the interior and the exterior and signify the "artistic Self" and the "represented Other." As such they represent the altering subject and symbolize a breakdown in feminity.

As is evident, Kritzwiser uses similar terms to describe the art of Pflug and Bauermeister, and in this sense sets up comparison between the two artists. She

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[62] Kay Kritzwiser, "Hockey Rink is Theme for Woman Painter," 15.

implies that both observe their surroundings and imitate directly what they see, producing works which replicate reality. At the same time, she describes their pieces as "surreal" and places them in the realm of the imaginary, which is removed from the world of the everyday.

However, the two artists produced vastly different works and there is little likeness between them either in terms of medium, style or subject matter. Pflug produced doll paintings such as The Kitchen Door at Night I (1963) (ill. 5) and The Kitchen Door at Night II (1963) (ill. 6) which depict her home environment as well as the toys that her children played with. The artist recorded her domestic surroundings and her works document the experiences of a German immigrant housewife and mother living in Toronto.

Mary Bauermeister, on the other hand, created such pieces as Stein Progression (Stone Progression) (1963) (fig. 7) and Leinen - Nähbild - Lichtkasten (Linen - Close-up - Photographs) (1963) (fig. 8) which consist of a series of found and made objects. Whereas Stein Progression (Stone Progression) (1963) shows an arrangement of stones which imitate the patterns of life and growth, Leinen - Nähbild - Lichtkasten (Linen - Close-up - Photographs) (1963) includes a group of quilts which combine together flat, decorative designs with three dimensional images. Bauermeister produced a wide range of works which simultaneously record the processes of nature and examine women's craft as well as the

tradition of linen embroidery.

Although Pflug and Bauermeister explored different avenues of interest, Kritzwiser focuses on the similarities between their works and emphasizes the "german-ness" of the women[63], segregating them according to gender and nationality. She suggests that they were both born in Germany and travelled to Paris and Sicily, establishing them as female explorers who moved from one place to another. From my perspective, she presents them as outsiders and opposes them to such Canadian painters as Molly Lamb Bobak and Lynne Connell.

Whereas the critic indicates that Bobak and Connell depict life in Canada and record contemporary social events, she describes Pflug and Bauermeister as immigrant women.[64] I believe that Pflug and Bauermeister introduced an alternative perspective into the Toronto art scene and produced works which blurred the boundary between the different realms of consciousness, offering insight into the experiences of the marginal subject who lives on the border of mainstream society. The artists thus disrupted the prevailing hegemony and subverted the existing canon which granted painters merit according to Canadian nationality.

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[63] Kritzwiser, "Hockey Rink is Theme for Woman Painter," 15 and Kritzwiser, "Patched Sheets Help Surrealist," 15.

[64] Ibid.

MAGIC REALISM, NEUE SACHLICHKEIT AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

This chapter will analyze Elizabeth Kilbourn's 1964 review of the work of Christiane Pflug.[1] I examine the critic's use of the term "magic realism" and place this within an art historical context. I shall consider the cultural implications behind painting discourse and relate this to the social environment in Toronto during the sixties. This chapter will also compare the critic's study of Pflug with Kilbourn's discussion of Bauermeister, concentrating on the representation of German identity in the reviewer's written analysis of the artists.

Kilbourn's review focuses on Christiane Pflug's doll paintings and locates these images in the category of "Magic Realism".[2] This term is explained further in Ken Lefolii's book, A Century of Canadian Art: Great Canadian Painting, which examines the Magic Realist paintings by Alex Colville.[3] The author first mentions Colville in the section

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[1] As mentioned in the introduction, Kilbourn's review of Christiane Pflug is part of a larger column which examines various exhibition within the Toronto region. In addition to Pflug's show at the Isaacs Gallery, Kilbourn also analyzes Mary Bauermeister's works which were on exhibition in Toronto at the Edward Johnson Building from May 16th to May 17th, 1964. Elizabeth Kilbourn, "Abstraction No Cover", The Toronto Daily Star, 23 May 1964, 15.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ken Lefolii, A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting, (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966). I have selected this text because of its historical and artistic relevance to Elizabeth Kilbourn's review of

entitled "Daily Life" which traces a line of development from Cornelius Krieghoff's genre paintings to the works produced by George Reid and Robert Harris.[4] According to Lefolii, these latter two artists followed the North American Realist tradition and created straightforward, documentary images.[5] The critic then goes on to examine Alex Colville's paintings which for Lefolii provide an accurate record of the world, yet go beyond the surface appearance of things to explore the hidden meaning of reality. Lefolii suggests that the painter ponders life's mysteries and creates fantastical works of art.[6] He places Colville's pictures in the category of "Magic Realism" which he continues to discuss in the section entitled "Feelings and

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Christiane Pflug's doll paintings. Lefolii's book was not only published around the same time as the critique, but Kilbourn helped edit the text and I would argue borrowed the ideas developed by Lefolii for her analysis of Pflug's works.

For further discussion of Magic Realism in Canada see also: Magic Realism in Canadian Painting (London, Ontario: London Public Libraries and Museums, 1966); and Nancy-Lou Patterson, Magic Realism in Canada (Guelph: University of Guelph, Department of Art, 1969). For discussion of Magic Realism and the art of Alex Colville see also: Helen J. Dow "The Magic Realism of Alex Colville," Art Journal 24, no. 4 (Summer 1965): 318-329; and Patrick A.E. Hutchings. "Realism, Surrealism and Celebration: The Paintings of Alex Colville in the Collection of the National Gallery of Canada," The National Gallery of Canada Bulletin 4, no. 2 (1966): 16-28.

[4] Ken Lefolii, "Daily Life," in A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966), 52-66.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., 61.

Ideas."[7]

The critic indicates that the "Magic Realists" examined their surroundings and created ordered images. At the same time, they established everyday figures and objects as symbols of a dream-like state.[8] They examined the human psyche and explored the inner forces of life. These artists depicted both the conscious and the subconscious, the real and the imaginary, the everyday and the fantastical.

Lincoln Kirstein similarly presents "Magic Realism" as a North American style of painting in the catalogue, American Realists and Magic Realists.[9] In Kirstein's view, "Magic Realism" developed out of a tradition of Realism which was established in the United States during the nineteenth century.[10] He describes the earlier Realists as anti-expressionists and suggests that they followed a disciplined method of approach. As such they recorded visual data and produced accurate records of the world.[11]

The critic then discusses the "Magic Realists" who created make believe art and constructed detailed images

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[7] Ken Lefolii, "Feelings and Ideas," in A Century of Art: Great Canadian Painting (Toronto: Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1966), 94-116.

[8] Lefolii, 96.

[9] Lincoln Kirstein, "Introduction," in American Realists and Magic Realists, ed. Dorothy C. Miller and Alfred H. Barr (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1969), 7-8.

[10] Kirstein, 7.

[11] Ibid.

which showed an arrangement of carefully delineated figures and forms.[12] He links the North American "Magic Realists" to the artists involved with the "Neue Sachlichkeit" movement in Germany during the twenties. From the critic's perspective, these German artists rejected Abstract Expressionism and produced works which combined the "human and concrete, cruel and fantastical, meticulous and exact."[13]

He discusses the ethical component of these paintings and implies that Neue Sachlichkeit or New Objectivity represents a "desire for responsibility and self-discipline after the unlicensed waste of the first World War and the accidental rot of its ensuing peace."[14] Kirstein believes that this style of painting developed during the interwar years in Germany at a time of political and economic turmoil.

Moreover, the critic suggests that the artists reacted against the chaos and attempted to re-order society through painting. They thus followed a structured method of approach and produced accurate records of world. However, these paintings were devoid of feeling and presented a cold, harsh view of reality.[15] They provided evidence of spiritual loss

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., 8.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

and moral decay. The painters thus captured the mentality of many German people during the twenties.

Franz Roh likewise describes the "Magic Realist" paintings produced in Germany during the interwar years in his book, German Art in the Twentieth Century.[16] Roh links this type of art with scientific developments in the twenties which were concerned for molecular structures as well as the laws of motion. Scientists analyzed the physical world and studied the forces of life, attempting to uncover the essence of being.[17]

In Roh's opinion, the "Magic Realists" or "New Objective painters" also examined the material world and depicted people or things around them. However, they went beyond physical reality and analyzed the human spirit. In addition, they studied the mores of society and pondered the

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[16] Franz Roh, German Art in the 20th Century, (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1968), 112-128. I selected to examine this book because Roh was the first art historian to use the term "Magic Realism" in his text, Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten Europäischen Malerie (Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1925). As such his writings provide a historical background to the writings on this art movement and give additional insight into Elizabeth Kilbourn's stylistic analysis of Magic Realism.

For further discussion on Magic Realism and New Objectivity in Germany see also: Seymour Menton, "Germany: Neue Sachlichkeit, Magischer Realismus," chap. 1 in Magic Realism Rediscovered, 1918-1981 (London, England: Associated University Press, 1983), 26-45; and Irene Guenther, "Magic Realism, New Objectivity, and the Arts during the Weimar Republic," in Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community, ed. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris (Durham, England: Duke University Press, 1995), 33-75.

[17] Franz Roh, 112-128.

meaning of life.[18] Roh then discusses several different artists who practised this form of painting in Germany, dividing the artists according to geographic location and praising in particular the works produced in the North Eastern region.[19]

Roh indicates that the artists from this area examined the world around them and criticized humanity. He concentrates in particular on Otto Dix who recorded the horrors of war and painted prostitutes, matchsellers and labourers.[20] From Roh's perspective, Dix's works provided evidence of the hardships that people faced during the interwar years. Roh establishes these images as Momento Mori

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[18] This relates to the notion of "zeitgeist" which Rohe discusses in the introduction of his book. He examines the cultural context of art and relates it to psychology, science, and politics. In Roh's view, German artists absorbed these various influences and studied contemporary society. They examined the "spirit of the time" and uncovered the inner forces of life. Ibid, 12-13, 112-128.

[19] Roh also examines Magic Realism in Munich and South Germany and connects this movement to Italian Arte Metafisica. According to the critic, the German artists were influenced by early Italian Renaissance painters and produced monumental works of art. However, he criticizes this strand of Magic Realism for its conventionality and describes the paintings as decorative art pieces.

Roh also identifies a third strand of Magic Realism which developed out of South Western Germany and spread to the North. He suggests that the painters belonging to this group were influenced by Rousseau and produced toy-like images. They depicted the world in miniature and recorded all the intricate details of life. Franz Roh, German Art in the Twentieth Century, 114-125.

[20] Franz Roh, German Art in the Twentieth Century, 118-120.

and suggests that they represent human loss and suffering.[21] As such the artists involved in "New Objectivity" examined society and reflected upon the modern condition. They thus absorbed their environment and captured "the spirit of the times."

By using the term "Magic Realism" to describe Christiane Pflug's doll pictures, Kilbourn places the artists' works in a German painting tradition. She furthermore characterizes Pflug's images following the same criteria that was used by Kirstein and Roh to define "Magic Realism". Kilbourn states that "Miss Pflug's technical control and her super-refined realism, put her, I suppose, in the category of 'Magic Realism'."[22] She indicates that the painter produces structured images and records, detail for detail, the world around her.

According to Kilbourn, Pflug makes "drawings of bits of Toronto seen from the vantage of her Woodlawn Ave. house."[23] She believes that the artist views her surroundings and reproduces directly what she sees. The reviewer suggests that the artist's drawings "combine a delicate and deliberate precision with an apparent tenderness for the touch of pencil on paper."[24] She analyzes the emotional

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Elizabeth Kilbourn, "Abstraction No Cover," 15.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

quality of these works and compares them with Pflug's "1961 oils...of railway, yards and buildings which retain a gentle haunting mood."[25]

Kilbourn juxtaposes the drawings and images of railways with the artist's current pieces and reveals that "something of the affectionate sense of the medium is lost, especially in her recent paintings."[26] The critic then refers to Pflug's pictures of black dolls and white dolls and states that "far from being a sentimental female picture of domesticity, Miss Pflug's kitchen seems a battleground of alien and alienating forces."[27] Kilbourn establishes the artist's domicile as a site of conflict and presents the black and white dolls as disruptive figures that destabilize social order. This recalls the changing position of African and German Canadian women in Ontario during the fifties and sixties.

The term 'alien' was used throughout this period to refer to immigrants in Toronto, a city which up until then had been predominantly populated by British people.[28] The immigration laws in the early fifties regulated entry to white Europeans and only permitted a restricted number of

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 60-73.

black people into the country.[29] A small group of African Canadians resided in Toronto, but they were gradually confined to the Harbord, University, Queen, and Bathurst area,[30] segregated into a lower middle class district and denied housing in the more affluent neighbourhoods of town.[31] People of colour were discontent with this state of affairs and began to oppose these acts of discrimination by demanding equal access into all regions of Canada.

In 1954 the Negro Citizenship Association led a march to protest immigration policies and shortly after government officials changed the laws so that people were granted residency status based on their economic skills and qualifications.[32] A significant number of black immigrants, however, were single Caribbean women who were only permitted entry into the country under the condition that they work as

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[29] Peter Stamadianos, "Afro-Canadian Activism in the 1960s" (M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1994), 29-30.

[30] Stamadianos, 68.

[31] Ibid., 32-33.

[32] During this period a number of skilled and educated Caribbean men were granted entry into Canada, a large percentage of whom came to study at university. There was however a class discrepancy between these newcomers and the previous generation of black immigrant men who came predominantly from the United States and were unskilled workers. By the mid 1950s many of the latter African American immigrants were employed as porters for railway companies, meanwhile others worked in factories, airports and car wash services. Stamadianos, 1-2, 34-41; and Agnes Calliste, "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme," in Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers, ed. Jesse Vorst et al. (Winnipeg: Society for Socialist Studies, 1991), 150-152.

housemaids.[33] These women entered the job market, but were relegated to the domestic sphere, where they took the position of "outside" help in the homes of mainly white middle class women.[34]

Many German immigrant females, on the other hand, came to Canada with their husbands and children and belonged to one of the largest ethnic groups in Ontario starting from

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[33] Other black women also arrived from the West Indies and Great Britain in the late 1950s and mid 1960s as nurses, teachers, doctors, clerical workers and students on visas. Noga A. Gayle, "Black Women's Reality and Feminism: An Exploration of Race and Gender," in The Anatomy of Gender: Women's Struggle for the Body, ed. Dawn H. Currie and Valerie Raoul (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1992), 236.

I am focusing specifically on Caribbean women who worked as domestics since this relates to Pflug's pictures which show the black doll within the home of a white German female. For further information on domestic workers see: Agnes Calliste, "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme," 136-168.

[34] Many Caribbean immigrant women felt isolated when they first arrived in Canada and were overburdened with the demands of work. Only single female domestics were granted entry into the country, but a significant number later sponsored their prospective spouses or relatives into Canada. The men from this group had difficulties finding employment and were often streamlined into low paying jobs. Women of colour were thus financially responsible for their children and put in long, hard days in order to earn the wages. Although some of the middle class families that they worked for allowed them time off so that they could upgrade their education, many others were unsupportive of their needs. Instead they placed high expectations on the domestic workers and kept the women in a position of servitude. Noga A. Gayle, "Black Women's Reality and Feminism: An Exploration of Race and Gender," 235; and Agnes Calliste, "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme," 151-156.

the early 1950s.[35] By the late 1950s, however, the number of families moving from Germany to Canada had significantly decreased and only a small percentage established homes for themselves in the Toronto area.[36] The majority of German

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[35] There was a mass influx of German people coming to Canada during the early 1950s due to the change in immigration policy. In 1950 the federal government had removed the German enemy alien prohibition in effect since 1939 and had permitted more German people entry into the country. However, these immigrants had to go through a meticulous process of medical, occupational and security screening and only received their visas after long delays. In addition, they were allowed into the country only to be employed as workers in agricultural, logging, mining and manufacturing industries. They were thus streamlined into low paying jobs and forced to endure harsh working conditions. Gerhard P. Bassler, The German Canadian Mosaic Today and Yesterday: Identities, Roots and Heritage (Ottawa: German Canadian Congress, 1991), 15-18.

[36] A large percentage of German people lived in Toronto, but they were shunned by some Ontario residents. These people harboured feelings of resentment towards Germany and in particular the Nazi regime for the role that they played in the Second World War. Directly following the War, German citizens were branded "enemy aliens" and only a limited number were permitted into Canada. Although the policies later changed and the German Canadian population grew in Toronto, Nazi trials continued into the fifties and sixties. During this period German people were found guilty of war crimes and sentenced to prison for the acts that they committed. Despite the economic advantages that the new immigrants enjoyed, they had to live with the stigma of the past and the aftermath of a history that continued to haunt them. Rudolf A. Helling, A Socio-Economic History of German Canadian - They, too, founded Canada (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1984); Hans W. Panthel, With My Heart Half-Aglow: Impressions and Discourses in a German-Canadian Context (Bochum: Universitatsverlag, 1991), 75-85; Gerhard P. Bassler, The German Canadian Mosaic Today and Yesterday: Identities, Roots and Heritage (Ottawa: German Canadian Congress, 1991), 15-18; and John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 73-91.

women took on the role of housewife and mother,[37] but some also entered the work force where they were employed as clerical workers and housekeepers, reaching the same level of employment as British immigrant females.[38]

In addition, German Canadians established separate language schools, newspapers, radio stations and organized cultural events which celebrated the German heritage.[39] At the same time, there was increased cultural and economic exchange between Canada and Germany due to the improvement in the German socio-economic system.[40] As such German immigrant women were in a position of relative power and enjoyed greater financial security then Caribbean women who

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[37] In contrast to Caribbean women, a large number of German females were financially dependent on their husbands. During the 1960s German immigrant men predominantly worked in low paying jobs as machinists, plumbers, mechanics and repairmen. However, a significant number also filled professional positions and obtained a similar status as British immigrant males who were employed as professionals, managers and clerical workers. These men earned the highest salaries of all ethnic groups and their families enjoyed the financial benefits of a steady income. Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin and Margaret McPhail, Feminist Organizing for Change: The Contemporary Woman's Movement in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 199-205; and Census of Canada, Labour Force: Occupation by Sex Showing Birthplace, Period of Immigration and Ethnic Group: Canada and the Provinces, v. 3. pt. 1, table 22.21-table 22.24.

[38] Census of Canada, Labour Force: Occupation by Sex Showing Birthplace, Period of Immigration and Ethnic Group: Canada and the Provinces, v. 3. pt. 1, table 22.21-table 22.24.

[39] Helling, A Socio-Economic History of German Canadian - They, too, founded Canada, 88-93, 133-148.

[40] Ibid., 116-123.

took on the position of domestics in the home.

This situation changed in Toronto during the late 1950s when African Canadian females left the service industry and fought the racial and gender discrimination which kept them in a position of servitude. Women of colour formed networks of support with family and friends and became involved in black community groups. Through these various associations they gained information on education as well as alternative employment opportunities and began to fill higher paying positions which were better suited to their qualifications.[41] Caribbean women challenged white hegemonic rule by filling jobs held by Anglo Saxon women and altered existing racial relations.

Kilbourn's review of Pflug's doll paintings hints at the changes in the social system and recalls the situation of German and African Canadian women in Toronto. The critic focuses on the image of the doorway and indicates that the artist "adds to the scene a small Shirley Temple doll (or it was in my youth) and a large Negro doll."[42] She describes Pflug's painting technique and indicates that the painter "uses the door with its multiple rectangular shapes to give a tense structure to the scene."[43]

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[41] Calliste, "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme", 136-168.

[42] Elizabeth Kilbourn, "Abstraction No Cover," 15.

[43] Ibid.

This could describe With the Last Snow (1964) (ill. 1), The Kitchen Door in Winter I (1964) (ill. 7) and The Kitchen Door in Winter II (1964) (ill. 8) which were included in the exhibition under review.[44] Each of these paintings shows a white and black female doll outside on the balcony behind a closed kitchen door. Kilbourn furthermore states that Pflug "takes a black wicker chair and sits a doll in it and then paints them with painstaking veracity."[45] She may be referring to The Black Chair Upstairs (1963) (ill. 9) which was likewise included in Pflug's show at the Isaacs Gallery.[46] This picture presents a white doll on a chair inside the home, in front of an open doorway and contrasts with the former images which locate the dolls on the exterior.

The black and white dolls in particular occupy opposing positions, for whereas the white doll moves from an interior space to the balcony, the black doll in The Kitchen Door in Winter I (1964) (ill. 7) and The Kitchen Door in Winter II (1964) (ill. 8) remains outdoors, banned from the home. Kilbourn focuses on this figure and asks "why is the black doll standing outside the kitchen door? Because Miss Pflug put her there to give focus to her composition?"[47] The

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[44] See Appendix A.

[45] Ibid.

[46] See Appendix A.

[47] Ibid.

critic emphasizes the doll's alien status and excludes her from the interior, placing her in a position of "otherness" to the artist who paints from inside her home.

Bell hooks discusses this hierarchization of "self" and "other" and points out that "as subjects, people have the right to define their own reality, establish their own identities" but "as objects, one's reality is defined by others, one's identity created by others only in ways that define one's relationship to those who are subject."[48] In this instance, the painter depicts the black female doll and the critic takes it upon herself to not only establish a locale and stance for the doll, but also labels black femininity. Kilbourn uses such adjectives as "Negro" and "black" in her discussion of the doll[49] and characterizes her according to race and the colour of her skin. These traits act as markers of difference which set the black doll apart and reaffirm her status as the "outsider" and the female "other". Kilbourn thus aligns herself with Pflug and takes the role of the authoritative art critic who represents and names black female identity, thus asserting a white, purportedly "neutral" point of view.

The critic then describes and identifies the white

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[48] bell hooks, Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1988), 42-43.

[49] See footnote 41 and 56.

doll, but refers to her as "Shirley Temple"[50] and associates the doll with a Hollywood idol, ensuring the superior position of the white female subject. Furthermore, the paintings With the Last Snow (1964) (ill. 1) and The Black Chair Upstairs (1963) (ill. 9) show the white doll both inside the home and outside on a balcony against a distant view of the city. The female doll occupies a similar stance to Pflug, who according to Kilbourn inhabits a transitional space and looks at the "railway yards, trees, gardens, distant skyscrapers and domestic paraphernalia from her house."[51] The critic links the white doll to the artist/producer and establishes the doll as a symbol of the female self. The painted doll represents feminine agency and confirms the identity of the German immigrant woman.

In Kilbourn's view, Pflug's paintings of the white doll mark a trajectory from the interior to the exterior and juxtapose domestic scenes with industrial images. They explore the perceptions of the female immigrant whose gaze moves from one locale to another, dissolving the borders between the different cultural spaces. This corresponds to Janet Wollf's discussion of the alien which she equates with the female traveller who escapes social conventions by going away from home and takes up a position of discursive

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[50] See footnote 41.

[51] Ibid.

marginality in the new country of resident.[52] As a stranger she both relates to, yet maintains a distance from the cultural environment and takes up a changing position traditionally associated with the male explorer, thus challenging gender norms.[53]

I would argue that Pflug followed a different set of cultural beliefs and subverted social convention through her doll paintings. These images examine Canadian reality from the point of view of the female "other" and depict the home as well as the city, bringing this subject matter into an exhibition space. I believe that Pflug crossed the border between the private and the public and presented the daily experiences of the German "alien" to a viewing audience. In this sense her pictures challenge the sexual and ethnic divide and signify a rupture in the accepted codes of behaviour.

Kilbourn also describes the order of Pflug's paintings as a transgression of female sentimentality and implies that the artist defies gender ideals. She indicates that "there is certainly an almost frightening air of unreality in the midst of her intransigent and tightly controlled naturalism."[54] The reviewer then states that "the mystery

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[52] Janet Wollf, Resident Alien: Feminist Cultural Criticism (Cambridge, Mass.: Polity Press, 1995), 5-6.

[53] Wollf, 125-127.

[54] Kilbourn, "Abstraction No Cover", 15.

suggested in the artist's use of artificial creatures is heightened by her fierce control and livid shadowless colours."[55] In Kilbourn's opinion, Pflug produces structured works of art and arranges the dolls within a regulated painting composition.

This is evident in the pieces With the Last Snow (1964) (ill. 1), The Black Chair Upstairs (1963) (ill. 9), Kitchen Door in Winter I (1964) (ill. 7) and Kitchen Door in Winter II (1964) (ill. 8). These images place the black and white doll at an entranceway surrounded by the frame of a door which itself echoes the border of the canvas. From my perspective, the door acts as a picture within the actual painting and references the outer frame which functions as an artistic device. These works present an ordered view of the world, yet at the same time destabilize the painting structure by exposing the mechanics of representation which lie behind the picture. I believe that the white and black dolls act as images in the making which never reach completion, but rather remain in a state of becoming, thus signifying the instability of the feminine subject.

Moreover, the black doll changes form in Kitchen Door in Winter I (1964) (ill. 7) and Kitchen Door in Winter II (1964) (ill. 8). Kitchen Door in Winter I (1964) is a sketch and only shows the bottom half of the kitchen with the black doll standing outside. Pflug loosely applied translucent

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[55] Ibid.

washes of colour to the canvas and worked out the preliminary design of the image in this study. The doll forms one of a sequence of two dimensional objects which are placed one behind the other and ordered within the rectilinear pattern of lines formed by the door frame.

Kitchen Door in Winter II (1964) is the last piece in this series of pictures and shows a more complete view of the artist's house and garden. Pflug filled in the details of the image and painted with tight, thin brushstrokes, covering the canvas with opaque layers of colour. The doll now looks three dimensional and is located on the balcony beyond the kitchen interior. The terrace leads onto gardens, houses and buildings which fade off into the distance, thus suggesting spatial recession.

In my opinion, Kitchen Door in Winter I (1964) and Kitchen Door in Winter II (1964) show the different stages in the painting process and unmask the act of art making, exposing what is not available for the viewer to see. They demonstrate Pflug's working technique and reveal what remains concealed in the final image, symbolizing a breakdown in the artistic procedure. As such the black doll paintings undermine the truth of pictorial representation and signify a crisis in the mechanics of perception.

According to Kilbourn, the black doll acts as an unstable figure and like the white doll, she disrupts the cohesivity of the female self by "posing certain abrupt

questions about the real and the artificial, the seen and not seen."[56] Kilbourn indicates that Pflug goes beyond the surface appearance of things and uncovers life's hidden truth, to ponder the essence of being. Her works explore the contemporary human condition and examine the changing experiences of the feminine subject, symbolizing a state of psychological turmoil.

I also believe that the doll paintings give insight into the thought process of the artist who acts as a female alien, taking up the position of the immigrant 'other' in Canada. From my perspective, Pflug's pictures represent emotional upheaval and explore the experience of displacement that the transient undergoes as she moves from one country to another. These works present the viewpoint of the outsider who shifts in and out of realities, constantly gaining a new perspective and outlook on life.

Kilbourn uses similar terms to describe the works by Mary Bauermeister in a review located beneath her discussion of Christiane Pflug's paintings.[57] According to the critic, Bauermeister's "orientation is almost totally in the natural sciences, in microbiology or astronomy."[58] She implies that the artist produces "exquisitely delicate and concrete drawings" which look "like the illustrations for a textbook

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

on the esoteric and extraordinary geography of a fantastic but insistently familiar cosmos."[59] Kilbourn suggests that Bauermeister takes an analytical approach to art making and studies nature, the planets and the stars, copying directly what she sees.

The reviewer then focuses on Bauermeister's technique and states that "she creates a surrealist space cosmos of circles like planets or pebbles or geometric patterns."[60] Although Kilbourn does not name a piece, she may be referring to Ordnungsschichten (Order) (1962) (fig. 10) which shows a series of circles that are alternately arranged in a group of rows and scattered across the canvas in an arbitrary and chaotic manner. The critic concentrates on the artist's sense of design and emphasizes the fantastical quality of her works, yet at the same time describes Bauermeister imitating molecular structures as well as stellar and planetary constellations.

The artist not only examines the pictorial elements of line and form, but she also creates imaginary pieces and analyzes organic elements. Kilbourn believes that Bauermeister is interested in both art and science and offers an objective and a subjective view of the world. This implies a change in perception and indicates an alteration in communication, suggesting the different ways that reality

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

Figure 10. Mary Bauermeister, Ordnungsschichten (Order), 1962, india ink, tempera, water colour and wood, 120 x 120 inches. As reproduced in Maria Velte, "Bildteil," in Mary Bauermeister Gemälde und Objeckte 1952-1972 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein Museum, 1972), plate 32.

manifests itself.

Bauermeister's pieces thus examine the interpretative mechanisms which regulate meaning and furthermore pose philosophical questions. In Kilbourn's opinion, the artist "is pursuing a crucial area of concern in art, the nature of illusion, the tension between reality and appearance, the mysterious line where a real and a made object meet and counteract."[61] The reviewer then states that "her drawings, with their minute and obsessive writing (she makes a landscape of ja, nein, sort of 'to be or not to be' ambivalence) have a field theory look" and "everything is everything else all the time."[62]

Kilbourn could be describing Flächen-gefaltet-Skulptur (Folded Sculpture) (1963) (fig. 11) which consists of several rectangular wood pieces joined in the form of the walls and floor of a building. The wood is divided into triangular patches which are covered with plastic tubes, straws, sand, lime and drawings. Kilbourn examines the drawings (fig. 12) and focuses in particular on the words "ja" and "nein", which are contradictory terms that oppose each other, signifying a polarity of thought.

Kilbourn connects this phrase to the "to be or not to be" speech in Shakespeare's Hamlet and pinpoints a moment in the play when Hamlet contemplates death and the futility of

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

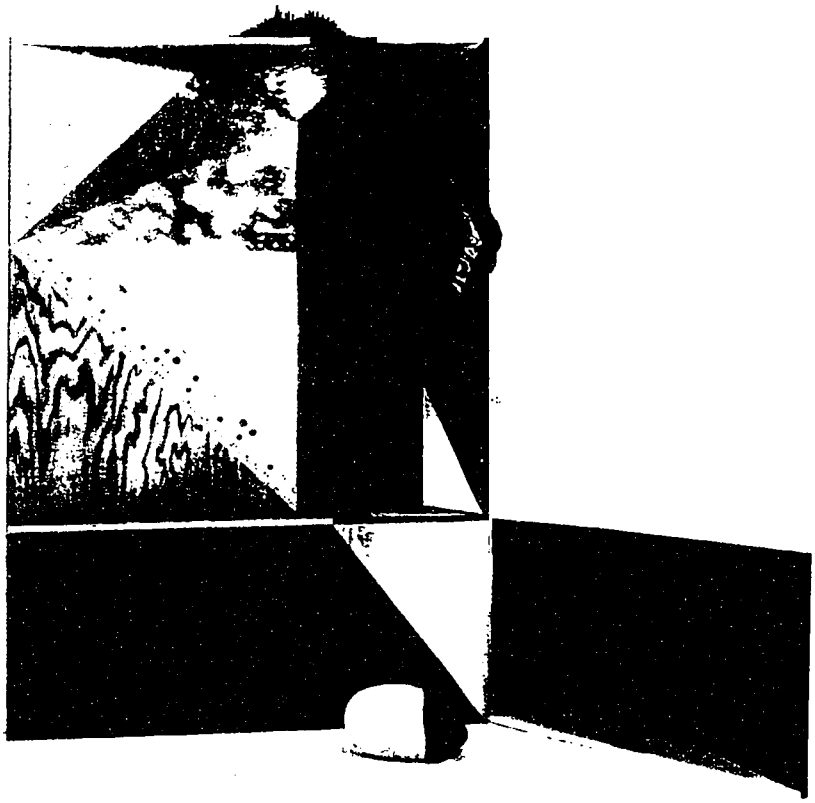

Figure 11. Mary Bauermeister, Flächen-gefaltet-Skulptur (Folded Sculpture), 1963, india ink, plastic straws, lime, plastic tubes, sand, stones and wood. As reproduced in Maria Velte, "Bildteil," in Mary Bauermeister Gemälde und Objeckte 1952-1972 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein Museum, 1972), plate 34.

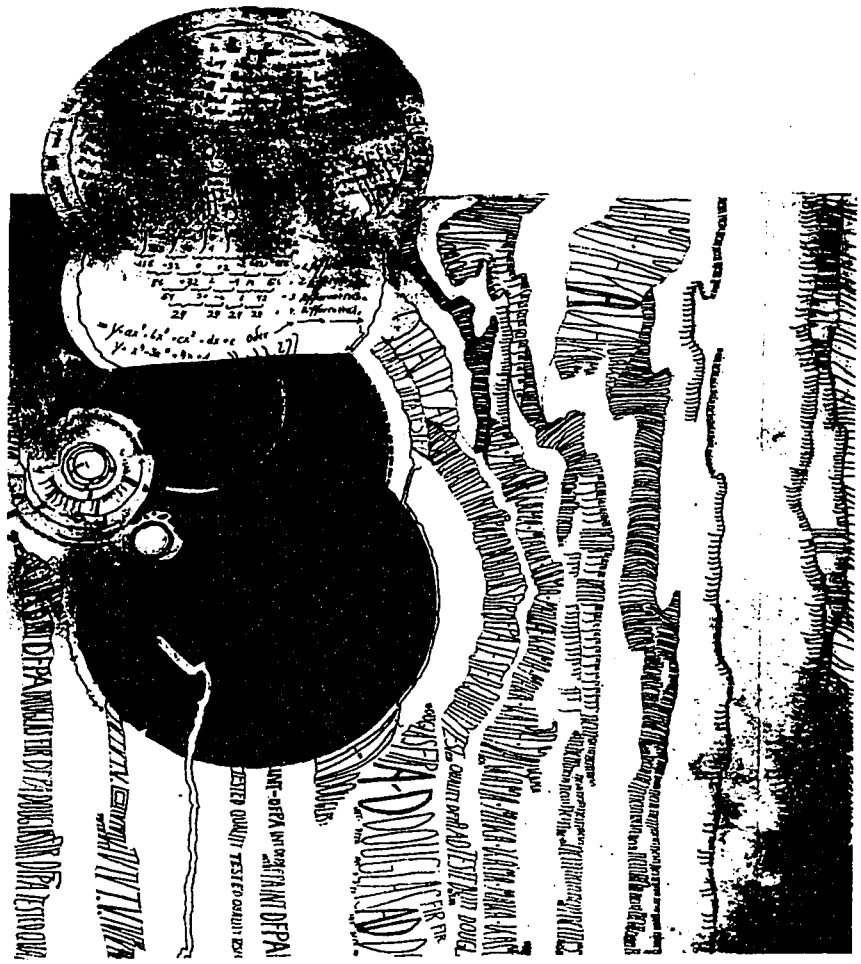

Figure 12. Mary Bauermeister, detail of wood panel from Flächen-gefaltet-Skulptur (Folded Sculpture), 1963, india ink on wood. As reproduced in Maria Velte, "Bildteil," in Mary Bauermeister Gemälde und Objeckte 1952-1972 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein Museum, 1972), plate 35.

life.[63] The critic relates Bauermeister's drawings to the moral dilemma that the prince faces as he considers the meaning of existence and ponders his own mortality. In this sense she suggests that the artist's piece touches on philosophical issues and recalls Christiane Pflug's paintings which similarly go beyond objective reality to examine human consciousness.

As is evident, Kilbourn compares Christiane Pflug with the German artist, Mary Bauermeister, and groups them according to their nationality. This review furthermore recalls Roh and Kirstein's analysis of "Neue Sachlichkeit". As mentioned earlier, these painters produced art in Germany during the interwar years. According to the critics, Lincoln Kirstein and Franz Roh, they absorbed their environment and captured the "spirit of the times." As such their works provided evidence of spiritual loss and moral decay.

Similarly Pflug and Bauermeister's works signify mental turmoil and chaos. From Kilbourn's perspective, their pictures symbolize emotional angst and in this sense reflect the mentality of the German people. At the same time, the artists study modern humanity and ponder the meaning of life. They take a philosophical method of approach and follow a German painting tradition. These reviews thus establish Pflug and Bauermeister as 'Northern artists' and

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[63] William Shakespeare, Hamlet, in The Illustrated Stratford Shakespeare (London: Chancellor Press, 1982), act 3, scene 1, lines 56-89, p. 812.

connect their works to pictures produced in Germany.

GERMAN ART HISTORY AND WOMAN AS ARTISTIC PRODUCER

This chapter examines Harry Malcolmson's[1] and Constance Mungall's articles[2] on Christiane Pflug and Mary Bauermeister. I consider the method that the critics take and relate this to the theories of art history developed in Germany during the twentieth century. I will begin by discussing Malcolmson's reviews of the artists which focus on the psychological and social aspects of Pflug's and Bauermeister's pictures. The critic followed a form of analysis which is closely connected to the method established by E.H. Gombrich who was born in Vienna. Gombrich received an academic education in Austria and Berlin[3] and worked at the Warburg Institute in London where he came into contact with the ideas developed by German theoreticians.[4] By following this type of approach

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[1] Harry Malcolmson, The Telegram, 23 May 1964, 21.

[2] Constance Mungall, "Ontario Artists: Christiane Pflug," Ontario Homes and Living, September 1964, 16-17.

[3] W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "Psychology of Perception and Artistic Tradition," chap. 9 in Modern Perspectives in Western Art History: An Anthology of Twentieth-Century Writings on the Visual Arts (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 271-273.

[4] The Warburg Institute was established in 1904 by Aby Warburg in Hamburg, Germany. The institution then moved in 1933 to the Thames House in London, England and was incorporated into the University of London in 1944. Fritz Saxl, "The History of Warburg's Library," in Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography, E.H. Gombrich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 325-338. There were a number of German and Austrian scholars working at the institute when

Malcolmson thus places Pflug's doll paintings in a German art historical tradition and characterizes her works according to German national identity.

E.H. Gombrich developed his approach to art history in various books and articles published throughout the sixties.[5] He analyzed the symbolic content of art and indicated that painters conveyed a particular idea through

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Gombrich arrived there in 1936 and their ideas were disseminated throughout England and the United States. Canadian art historians Elizabeth Kilbourn, Robert Hubbard and Jean Sutherland Boggs also trained in England and America during the fifties where they came into contact with the ideas established by Austrian and German academics. Boggs, Jean Sutherland, "The History of Art in Canada", in Scholarship in Canada, 1967: Achievement and Outlook, ed. R. H. Hubbard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 40-50; and "Elizabeth Kilbourn," Canadian Art 19, no. 4, (July/Aug. 1962): 301.

[5] The books and articles by Gombrich which I chose to focus on include: Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960); Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other Essays on the Theory of Art (London: Phaidon Press, 1963); "The Use of Art for the Study of Symbols," American Psychologist 20 (1965): 34-50; and "In Search of Cultural History," the Philip Maurice Deneke Lecture delivered at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, 19 November 1967, in Art History and Its Methods: A Critical Anthology, Eric Fernie (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), 223-236.

For contemporary discussions on Gombrich's early texts see also: Richard Woodfield ed., Gombrich on Art and Psychology (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "Psychology of Perception and Artistic Tradition," chap. 9 in Modern Perspectives in Western Art History: An Anthology of Twentieth-Century Writings on the Visual Arts (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 271-284; Murray Krieger, "The Ambiguities of Representation and Illusion: An E.H. Gombrich Retrospective," Critical Inquiry 11 (December 1984): 181-194; and David Carrier, "Gombrich on Art Historical Explanations," Leonardo 16, no.2 (1983): 91-96.

the works they produced.[6] He examined how the artist manipulated light, colour, form and texture to produce an emotional effect. Gombrich believed that the style of painting provided evidence of the artist's temperament and gave insight into the psyche of the painter.[7]

Gombrich examined the cultural environment in which art was created and suggested that painters promoted the values and beliefs governing society at a particular moment in time.[8] At the same time, pictures were re-interpreted by viewers who followed conventional practice when examining paintings. They relied on social and artistic norms which taught them how to read images and re-invented a notion of reality which confirmed existing ideology.[9] Gombrich implied that art was multifaceted in its meaning and described a signification process which worked on both a cultural and individual level, involving both the artist and the viewer in a complex visual relation.

Malcolmson similarly examines the interaction between

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[6] See Gombrich. "The Use of Art for the Study of Symbols," 34-50; Gombrich, Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other Essays on the Theory of Art, 30-69, 127-142; and Carrier, "Gombrich on Art Historical Explanations," 91-96.

[7] See Gombrich, Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation, 3-32, 291-329; and Gombrich, Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other Essays on the Theory of Art, 1-11, 30-44.

[8] See Gombrich, Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other Essays on the Theory of Art, 86-94; and Gombrich, "In Search of Cultural History," 223-236.

[9] Ibid.

the artist and the viewer in his review of Bauermeister and Pflug.[10] He begins his article by focusing on the spectator, stating that "they either like precise, disciplined terse work or they want their art in a free-wheeling luxuriant style."[11] The critic then examines the works on display at the Jerrold Morris Gallery, asserting that "the lovers of the particular and the precise meet in the room devoted to the drawings of Mary Bauermeister and then move east to the Isaacs Gallery to inspect the haunted, introverted work of Christiane Pflug."[12]

Malcolmson situates Bauermeister's and Pflug's pictures within a public realm where they are looked at and analyzed by the passing observer. He furthermore acknowledges the viewer's taste in art, implying that the public has former knowledge of paintings and can evaluate pictures based on their artistic style. Malcolmson assumes that the spectator is educated in the conventions and traditions of painting and uses this information to examine the pieces before them. As such he recognizes the role that the public plays in decoding a work of art and indicates that they engage with the artist in the signification process. The viewer

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[10] As mentioned in the introduction, Malcolmson's reviews of Bauermeister and Pflug are contained within the same column. This column examines various Toronto exhibitions and describes the content and form of the works on display. Harry Malcolmson, The Telegram, 23 May 1964, 21.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

therefore brings another level of meaning to the pictures and continues the cycle of artistic interpretation.

Malcolmson then describes the technique behind Bauermeister's and Pflug's images and suggests that they "construct work of great cumulative power out of the most painstaking labor."[13] He then focuses on Bauermeister's drawings suggesting that the artist "fills her page with hundreds of whispered words so that the drawings resemble illustrated poems."[14] He may be referring to the piece, Nutzlose Nadeln (Needless Needles) (1964) (fig. 13), which combines together images of needles with the written word "needle".[15]

In my opinion, the image and text blend with drawings of circles and lines, shifting from realistic representation to decorative design, so that the needle loses its function as a sewing instrument to take on the role of an art object. I believe Bauermeister examined the practical purpose that a needle served and considered how it worked as an art

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] According to Murray Krieger, Gombrich dissolved the distinction between painting and literature. Gombrich believed that images and texts worked on a symbolic level to convey a particular concept and suggested that artists examined the act of writing and painting. In this sense words and pictures acted as signs which not only expressed an accepted idea but also gave insight into the mechanics of representation which govern reality. Krieger, "The Ambiguities of Representation and Illusion: An E.H. Gombrich Retrospective," 181-194.

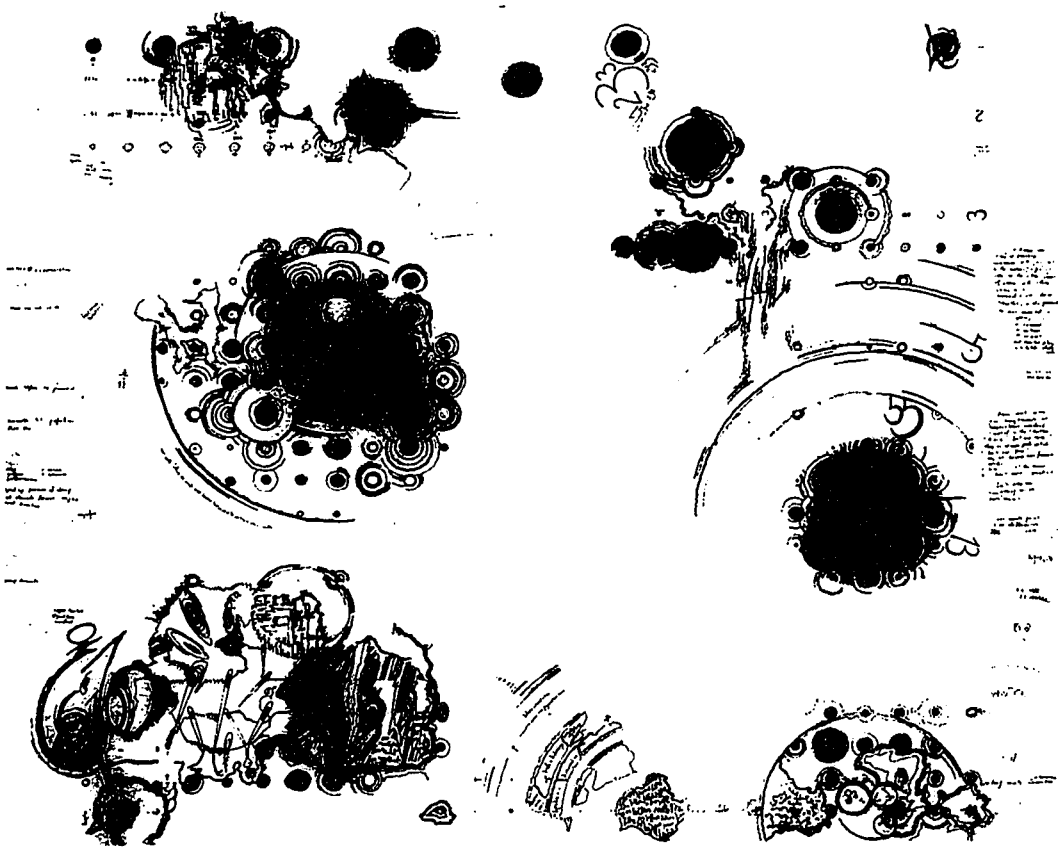

Figure 13. Mary Bauermeister, Nutzlose Nadeln (Needless Needles, 1964, india ink, water colour and paper. As reproduced in Maria Velte, "Bildteil," in Mary Bauermeister Gemälde und Objeckte 1952-1972 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein Museum, 1972), plate 48.

instrument, thus establishing the craft of sewing as both a learned skill and a creative act. The artist works theoretically and conveys her ideas on contemporary issues through pictures and words.

From Malcolmson's perspective, Bauermeister also explores abstract concepts through such pieces as Verteidige Deine Freiheit nicht mit vergifteten Pilzen oder Ehrung an John Cage (Don't defend your freedom with poisoned mushrooms or Hommage à John Cage) (1964) (fig. 14). The critic describes the work as "one enormously imaginative drawing" and reveals that the artist "attaches a real mushroom at right angles to a drawing in which we see a pencilled representation of a mushroom and also pencilled mushroom forms."[16] He then states that "the real mushroom, its drawn representation and its symbolic equivalent (the atomic cloud) continuously flow through and into one another."[17]

The critic uncovers the hidden meaning behind the image, indicating that Bauermeister explores the theme of war, placing a natural life form beside a drawing of nuclear fallout. The material object disintegrates into a pictorial emblem and not only provides evidence of physical deterioration, but also signifies modern weaponry and shows the damaging effects of contemporary technology. The reviewer believes that the piece works on a metaphoric level

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[16] Malcolmson, 21.

[17] Ibid.

Figure 14. Mary Bauermeister, Verteidige Deine Freiheit nicht mit vergifteten Pilzen oder Ehrung an John Cage (Don't defend your freedom with poisoned mushrooms or Hommage à John Cage), 1964, india ink, tempera, paper and mushroom on glass, 60 x 74 ½ inches. As reproduced in Maria Velte,"Bildteil," in Mary Bauermeister Gemälde und Objeckte 1952-1972 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein Museum, 1972), plate 40.

and touches on issues of global importance offering insight into the human condition.

Malcolmson similarly explores the symbolic content of Christiane Pflug's doll paintings and examines the psychological aspects of her pictures. He "doesn't see how it is possible to avoid recognizing the terror in the artist's paintings and drawings"[18] and describes the emotional quality of the images by juxtaposing them to the works produced by Bauermeister. According to Malcolmson, "far from using her art as a means of confidently exploring the world as Bauermeister does, Pflug's art is a device to keep the threatening world at bay."[19] This implies that Pflug fears the outside and withdraws from external reality, losing herself in her own thoughts.

The critic confines the artist to the domestic realm of the home: "every painting and drawing is executed from a specific spot in Pflug's kitchen and all her views look out onto the back porch."[20] Malcolmson then focuses on the image of the porch door which he believes has "great symbolic power, when closed it shields and protects, when open it allows the unknowable outside again to threaten."[21] The locked door thus acts as a pictorial emblem and signifies

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

the mental state of closure and withdrawal. Although the critic does not mention any paintings by name when he makes this comment, there were several pictures in the exhibition to which he could have been referring. Two of these include With the Last Snow (1964) (ill. 1) and The Kitchen Door at Night II (1963) (ill. 6).[22]

With the Last Snow (1963) shows the inside of a kitchen with a closed glass door which looks out onto a daytime scene. A white doll is visible through the lower right hand panel of the glass door, outside on the balcony seated on a chair with her back to the viewer. The Kitchen Door at Night II (1963) presents a similar view looking through an open kitchen door toward the terrace. A black doll and white doll are now placed in the foreground of the painting, directly in front of the steps which lead up to the kitchen. From my perspective, the dolls move closer to the viewer and break the confines of the frame to take on life-like dimensions. As such these pictures confuse the boundary between reality and illusion, pulling the spectator into a world of make believe that is removed from the realm of the everyday.

In Malcolmson's opinion, Pflug produces imaginary works of art and "frequently places a single doll in a chair, strangely propped up in a formal, unnatural way - as though for a sick child to see."[23] This could describe On the Black

[22] See Appendix A.

[23] Ibid.

Chair II (1963) (ill. 10) which was included in the exhibition under review and shows a white female doll seated on a black wicker chair beside a stuffed rabbit.[24] The reviewer associates the image with illness and suggests that Pflug confines the doll to an interior space. He indicates that the painter engages in a form of infantile play through art making, producing pictures which provide evidence of mental regression.

Moreover, Malcolmson states that "for all their lifelessness, these dolls stare straight at the viewer with bug-eyed hostility."[25] According to the critic, the painted doll has an animal-like presence and confronts the spectator with a menacing glance. Malcolmson "wouldn't recommend purchasing a Pflug for Mother's Day," but asserts that "they have a personal vision of hypnotic intensity."[26] The reviewer examines the psychological impact of the doll paintings and describes the trance-like effect that they have over the spectator. He implies that the pictures give access to the artist's hidden fears and offer insight into her state of mind, signifying emotional internalization.

Constance Mungall similarly examines the symbolic content of Christiane Pflug's works and takes what one might describe as an iconological approach in her analysis of the

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[24] See Appendix A.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

doll paintings.[27] This methodology was developed by the German theoretician, Erwin Panofsky, who conducted research at the Warburg Institute in Hamburg during the early twenties and thirties.[28] In Michael Ann Holly's opinion, the Institute gathered together scholars from various disciplines, a number of whom studied the philosophy of art and determined the art historical practice that Panofsky followed in subsequent years.[29] Panofsky was particularly interested in the study of iconology as is evident in such works as Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (1939) which expands upon iconology as a branch of study.[30]

This text divides art analysis into three stages which Panofsky referred to as pre-iconographic, iconographic and

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[27] Mungall, "Ontario Artists: Christiane Pflug," 16-17.

[28] As mentioned earlier E.H. Gombrich also taught at the Warburg Institute during the thirties where he came into contact with the ideas developed by Panofsky. W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "Psychology of Perception and Artistic Tradition," 271-273. As such there are similarities between their methods of approach for both analyzed the symbolic content of the work of art and placed it within a cultural milieu.

[29] Michael Ann Holly, Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History (London: Cornell University Press, 1984), 97-113.

[30] Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes In the Art of the Renaissance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939). Panofsky also developed his iconological approach in Early Netherlandish Painting, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953); and Meaning in the Visual Arts (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1955).

iconological.[31] At the first level, Panofsky described the formal properties of painting, focusing on the elements of shape, colour and texture. In addition, he identified the images represented by the artist, describing the figures and forms depicted in the work of art. At the second stage, Panofsky examined the symbolic content of the picture and consulted literary sources which provided more information on the ideas expressed by the painter. At the third and final stage, he uncovered the "intrinsic meaning" of a piece which he believed provided evidence of a "world view" and gave insight into the attitudes and beliefs prevalent in society at a specific moment in time.[32]

From Holly's perspective, Panofsky's notion of a "world view" recalls Hegel's concept of the "spirit of the time" which refers to the cultural environment in which paintings are produced.[33] The author suggests that both Panofsky and

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[31] Panofsky, Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes In the Art of the Renaissance, 3-32; and Holly, Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History, 158-193. For further discussion of Panofsky's iconological approach see also: Jan Bialostocki, "Iconography and Iconology," in vol. 7 of Encyclopedia of World Art, ed. Theresa C. Brakeley, trans. Wayne Dynes (London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), 770-786; W. J. Mitchell, "The Pictorial Turn," chap. 1 in Picture Theory (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11-34; and Michael Podro, "Panofsky," chap. 4 in The Critical Historians of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 179-208.

[32] Panofsky, Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes In the Art of the Renaissance, 3-32; and Holly, Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History, 158-193.

[33] Holly, 27-31.

Hegel connected art with the other branches of knowledge such as philosophy, science, politics and religion which expressed the essential tendencies of the human mind. However, whereas Hegel linked each piece to the "spirit of the time", Panofsky went further in his analysis and examined the mechanics of art making in relation to a system of codes and conventions.[34] As Holly reveals, Panofsky thought that social custom governed an artist's perception of reality and determined how a particular idea was to take form in a painting.

At the same time, he suggested that the act of representation was conditioned according to a "world view" and gave insight into the thought patterns of people from a particular time and place. According to Holly, Panofsky described a circular process of inquiry which moved back and forth from the painting to cultural politics. Panofsky thus reactivated a moment in time by analysing the social forces circumscribing artistic creation, describing the practice of painting in relation to the habits and customs of people.[35]

Panofsky's writings on iconology connect to the study of philosophy and not only uncover the underlying principles of art, but also explore the mental attitudes governing society. Mungall follows Panofsky's approach and places Christiane Pflug's doll paintings within a cultural

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[34] Ibid., 27-31, 171-187.

[35] Ibid.

framework, suggesting that the artist examines the experience of motherhood through art making. In the reviewer's opinion, Pflug inhabits a domestic space and "lives in a well-settled old house on Woodlawn Avenue west of Yonge Street."[36]

Mungall opposes the artist's domicile to the skyscrapers and new expressways and quotes Pflug who describes the "straight facade of a new apartment building," stating that "an artist cannot express something of himself through such sterility."[37] Pflug dwells instead in the older city and reveals that "the proportions of the buildings, the surroundings, the trees, the unity that derives from the fact that the houses have been there for a long time - these are all vital to me."[38] The artist places her domicile in a natural environment and connects it with the landscape.

Mungall furthermore reveals that Pflug lives with her husband in a house which is enriched by "the craft of their two small daughters."[39] The reviewer locates Pflug in a family setting and indicates that "on the white walls above the doors are tacked colourful 'hands', traced, crayoned and cut out by Ursula, 6, on days when Esther, 7, is at school

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[36] Mungall, 16.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

and her mother at work with her own painting."[40] The critic presents the painter as a female caregiver and associates the act of art making with the practice of motherhood.

Moreover, Mungall's article reproduces a photograph of the artist which shows her in the kitchen seated in front of a table beside a gas stove (fig. 15, above).[41] There are various pots and pans spread across the oven as well as spoons and ladles. The table top holds several jars filled with water, paint and brushes as well as a large rectangular container covered with a board that has thick gobs of paint stuck to it. These materials are presented as kitchen utensils and raw ingredients which are mixed by the artist. They are equated with food which acts as a form of nourishment and sustains human growth. This review links artistic invention with procreation and establishes the painting materials as the components sustaining artistic production.

The caption accompanying the photograph indicates that "Christiane Pflug works at home in the kitchen" and "paints in the morning and at night, when the light is right and her small daughters are occupied."[42] This describes the passing of time from one day to another which suggests seasonal and climatic changes. Mungall then discusses Pflug's painting

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Mungall, 17.

[42] Ibid.

handled before I do. I am not the only painter who is indebted to him this way."

Environment was important, too, in Tunisia, where Dr Pflug and his family went for his internship. "It was a good time. Just living in the old house was good for me, as being with the people who belong to an ancient and complicated culture was good."

By the same standards, life in the raw, noisy and comparatively new city of Toronto was hard for Mrs Pflug when she arrived in 1960. She began to paint the city scenes she saw from her apartment windows, first railway tracks and small factories, later the view through her glass-panelled kitchen door to a second floor balcony, the trees, gardens and old houses beyond. Often she used her children's dolls and toys as part of the composition.

"There is an almost frightening air of unreality in the midst of her intransigent and tightly controlled naturalism . . . to pose certain abrupt questions about the real and the artificial, the seen and the not seen . . . Mrs Pflug's kitchen seems a battleground of alien and alienating forces," said a Toronto art critic after her second one-man show, at the Isaacs Gallery last spring.

"I can understand that feeling, but it is not derived from the subject matter," said Mrs Pflug. "It must come from my increasing awareness of the unsolved things in life, that are answered by neither religion nor philosophy: 'Why does the world exist?' 'Why does human-kind exist in conditions as it does?'

"Life is basically absurd, but still there are rules to stay within. It is better to paint, for instance, than to worry about life. Painting helps when I get depressed.

"I work slowly. It is hard to paint day after day for two months on one painting and keep the same strength of vision. There is a danger that I will get tired, lapse into reproducing instead of really painting, putting dead paste on dead canvas instead of something that's really alive." —CONSTANCE MUNGALL

Christiane Pflug works at home in her kitchen. She paints in the morning and at night, when the light is right and her small daughters are occupied.

Three separate paintings from the "Black Chair" series. Left, Black Chair at the Window; middle, In the Black Chair; right, Doll Lying in the Black Chair. Photos by Ted Ring.

Figure 15. Above, photograph of Christiane Pflug. Below, Christiane Pflug, The Black Chair series. As reproduced in Constance Mungall, "Ontario Artists: Christiane Pflug", Ontario Homes and Living, September 1964, 17.

technique and quotes the artist who asserts that "I work slowly. It is hard to paint day after day for two months on one painting and keep the same strength of vision. There is a danger that I will get tired, lapse into reproducing instead of really painting, putting dead paste on dead canvas instead of something that's really alive."[43]

Pflug describes paint as an inert material which she brings to life when she creates a picture and thus equates the act of art making with the cycles of life and death. This is enhanced by the doll images accompanying the photograph. Although the critic does not mention any of these paintings by name in the written article, she does refer to the pictures as a collective group and leads the viewer to the specific works that surround the text. In this sense Mungall's discussion of Pflug's pieces is connected to the four doll paintings which are reproduced in the magazine article.

These four pictures show black and white female dolls in various locations and poses. The piece located on the first page of the review shows a black doll wearing a dress, standing outside on a balcony in front of a garden full of trees. The critic refers to this work as On the Balcony (fig. 16) and quotes Pflug who states that "this is Rousseau-like, not characteristic of my work."[44] By citing

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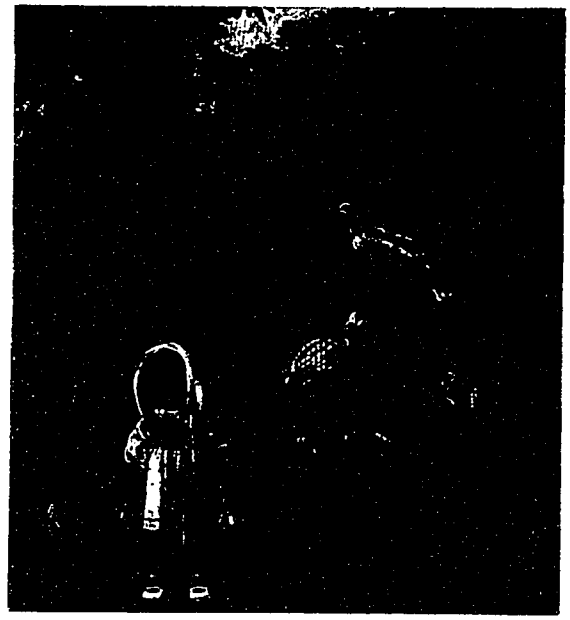
[43] Ibid.

[44] Mungall, 16.

Ontario Artists

CHRISTIANNE PFLUG

On the Balcony. "This is Rousseau-like, not characteristic of my work," says Mrs Pflug.



AS HIGH-RISE apartments alter the urban landscape, the untouched pockets of the city become all the more precious. Houses that owe their look of solidity to weathered bricks, back yards enclosed by chestnut trees, and a pleasant vista of other town houses, are cherished with an emotion nearer to nostalgia with every new expressway.

Christianne Pflug shares this appreciation for the older city, but with a special fervor. These old houses are not only where she feels most comfortable to live. She depends on them for the subject matter of her paintings.

"This is a peculiar problem I have, that abstract artists don't share," she says. "The proportions of the buildings, the surroundings, the trees, the unity that derives from the fact that the houses have been there for a long time—these are all vital to me.

"Take the straight facade of a new apartment building. An artist cannot express something of himself through such sterility."

Christianne Pflug herself lives in a well-settled old house on Woodlawn Avenue west of Yonge Street. It is a town house, but not a pretentiously converted one.

She and her doctor-artist husband Michael have furnished it with early Canadian pine furniture. The spare furniture is enriched by their own paintings, the treasures they collected in Europe and North Africa, and the craft of their two small daughters. On the white walls above the doors are tacked colorful "hands", traced, cut out by Ursula, 6, on days when Esther, 7, is at school and her mother at work with her own painting.

Surroundings have always been important for Mrs Pflug. Born in Berlin in 1916, she went to Paris to study fashion design when she was 17. "But Paris is such a wonderful surrounding, it leads automatically to painting. Once I'd started, I felt this was for me.

"My husband was then a medical student and a painter himself. When he saw my work, he felt I should paint seriously. And the Portuguese painter Vieira da Silva encouraged me."

This was the extent of Mrs Pflug's instruction in painting. "Supervision doesn't matter," she asserts. "Training consists of your own experience, the time spent doing it.

"My husband doesn't influence my painting directly, but he has a great understanding and often sees how my problems could be

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ONTARIO HOMES & LIVING

Figure 16. Christiane Pflug, On the Balcony. As reproduced in Constance Mungall, "Ontario Artists: Christiane Pflug", Ontario Homes and Living, September 1964, 16.

the painter, Mungall separates this piece from Pflug's oeuvre and associates it with the imaginary scenes produced by the white male artist, Henri Rousseau. Abdul J. Mohammed similarly discusses the imaginary text which he believes presents the stereotype as a projection of the colonialist self by imbuing the colonized with a series of negative characteristics, ensuring the subjectivity and ascendency of the colonizer.[45]

Rousseau and nineteenth century French artists likewise reproduced stereotypes by depicting black women in "exotic" desert or jungle settings seducing or calming animals which represent the evil forces of nature.[46] They are often shown in the evening, playing or resting beside a musical instrument and personify the artist who was himself a musician.[47] The black female figure embodies the primal instincts necessary for creativity which is equated with animalism and uninhibited sexuality. She is associated with a series of negative characteristics which in turn reflect the fears and desires of the white male artist.

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[45] Abdul R. Jan Mohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature," "Race", Writing and Difference, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 82-86.

[46] Michel Hoog and Carolyn Lanchner, "Notes to Plates," in Henri Rousseau by Roger Shattuck et al. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1985), 140-143, 181-183.

[47] Hugh Honour, The Image of the Black in Western Art IV: 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 229-232.

Rousseau's images perpetuated the stereotype of black people circulating in the texts and illustrations produced by the French colonialists visiting Africa at that point in time.[48] These written and visual images presented people of colour as an inferior race in need of control and ensured the superiority of the white European, while simultaneously justifying the oppression of Africans by the French people.[49] By repeating Pflug's association of her work with Rousseau's paintings, Mungall calls up these racist and sexist stereotypes and places the piece in the realm of colonialist discourse.

On the Balcony (fig. 16) recalls a number of images by Rousseau and shows a forest-like setting with a dense grouping of trees that sprout fresh green leaves. The doll wears a scarf over her head and stands in front of a bird cage covered by a blanket which resembles the costume worn by the black woman in Rousseau's work, La Bohémienne Endormie (The Sleeping Gypsy) of 1897 (fig. 17). The doll in Pflug's picture is partially concealed beneath a veil which falls off her shoulders and onto the floor. Moreover, the cage behind her is obscured by a striped cover which reaches half way across the railing. There are two pigeons inside the coop, trapped behind the metal bars, meanwhile another is perched outside on the ledge. In my opinion, the black

[48] Honour, 216-225, 229-232.

[49] Ibid.

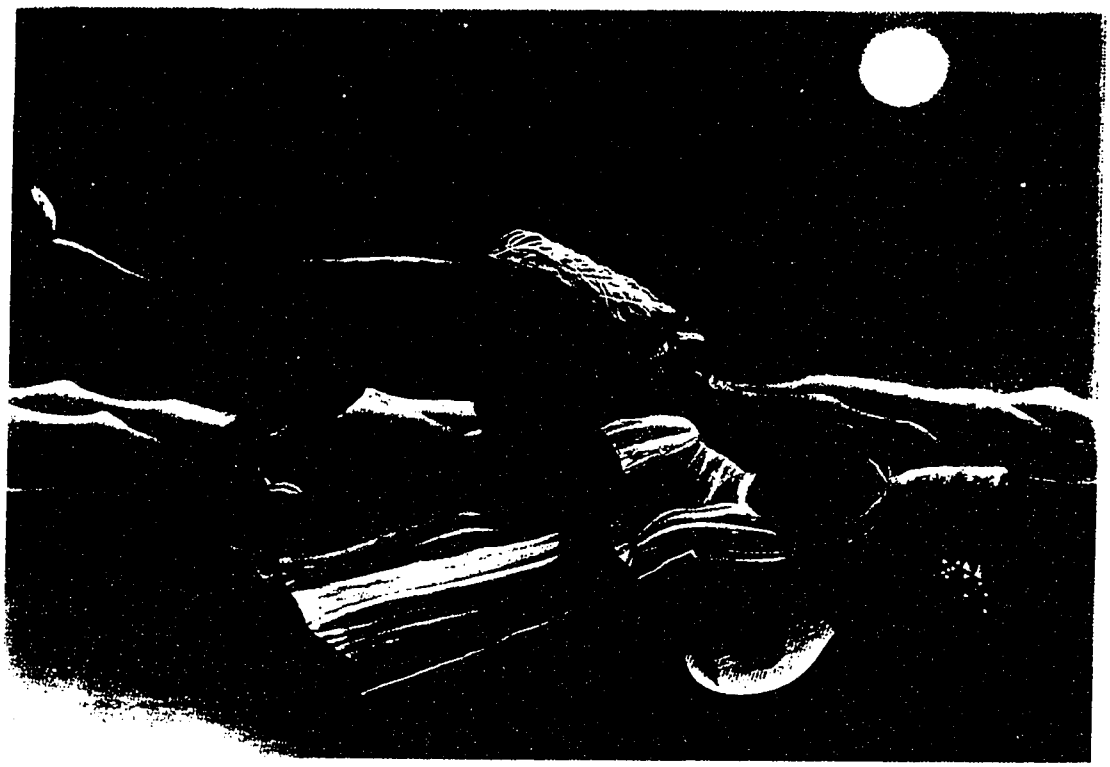

Figure 17. Henri Rousseau, La Bohémienne Endormie (The Sleeping Gypsy), 1897. As reproduced in Jean Bouret, Henri Rousseau, trans. Martin Leake (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1961), 85, fig. 13.

doll is not only connected to nature, but is also in a similar position as the birds and symbolizes a primitive mode of existence.

In addition to reproducing Pflug's painting of a black doll, Mungall indicates that the artist lived in Tunisia and quotes Pflug who describes her experiences as a German immigrant in North Africa. The painter states that "just living in the old house was good for me, as being with the people who belong to an ancient and complicated culture was good."[50] Mungall contrasts North Africa to Canada, asserting that "life in the raw, noisy and comparatively new city of Toronto was hard for Mrs. Pflug when she arrived in 1960."[51] By repeating Pflug's words, the reviewer establishes Africa as an archaic society and places it in opposition to Toronto which Mungall presents as a modern metropolis.

The critic's discussion of Tunisia circumscribes her analysis of On the Balcony (fig. 16) and establishes the black doll as a marker of cultural "difference". Mungall furthermore juxtaposes On the Balcony to the sequence of pictures located on the second page of the article which show a white doll on a wicker chair inside the home. The author refers to these images as Black Chair at the Window, In the Black Chair and Doll Lying in the Black Chair and groups them together as the Black Chair series (fig. 15,

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[50] Mungall, 17.

[51] Mungall, 17.

below).[52] The titles indicate the location of the furniture and describe the white doll moving from a seated to a reclining position in the chair. The black chair is presented as a prop of support which provides comfort, yet also encloses and overpowers the small white doll.

This recalls Phyllis Marynick Palmer's discussion of the Mammy figure who she suggests uses her power in service and nurturance of white people.[53] Although physically strong she is cast as the bad, unwomanly woman and opposed to the good Anglo American female who is pure, clean and physically fragile.[54] The white doll in Pflug's painting is likewise located in the seat of a large black chair which resembles a mother's lap where the doll reposes. I believe that the piece of furnishing is established as a protective environment which offers warmth and solace.

Moreover, Black Chair at the Window (fig. 15, below left) presents the white doll as a female infant who is naked except for a loin cloth attached around her waist. She

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[52] These paintings were produced at different points in time and were not intended to form a three part series. The Black Chair at the Window was titled Window On Yonge Street (1961) by the painter. In the Black Chair was called On the Black Chair No. 2 (1963) and Doll Lying in the Black Chair was referred to as On the Black Chair No. 1 (1963). Ann Davis, Somewhere Waiting: The Life and Art of Christiane Pflug, 181-183, 208-209. Mungall reverses the order of the last two images and presents them out of sequence.

[53] Phyllis Marynick Palmer quoted in Patricia Morton's Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), 11-12.

[54] Ibid.

has her back to the viewer and looks out a window toward a railway yard, factory buildings and a forest full of blooming trees. In the Black Chair (fig. 15, below middle) shows the same doll placed on a chair, high up in the picture plane facing the spectator. She now wears a dress with a string of beads around her neck, seated beside a stuffed rabbit clothed in a robe with a cap on its head. From my perspective, this image recalls paintings of the Madonna which show her on a throne with her disciples at her side. Mungall presents it as the biggest painting in a trilogy of works which resemble an altarpiece with one central image and two smaller pieces forming left and right hand side panels. Doll Lying in the Black Chair (fig. 15, below right) is the final picture in this series and shows the female doll reclining with her eyes closed. She is located in the lower half of the painting composition and placed on a chair which tilts down toward the ground. Behind the chair is a table with a vase full of flowers that are wilted and dying.

Mungall asserts that Pflug's white doll paintings show the female doll seated upright and lying down on a chair which, in my opinion, symbolizes a transition from a state of wakefulness to sleep. I believe that the critic places the white doll in a dream-like realm and establishes the doll as an ethereal figure which exceeds the bounds of reality. The Black Chair series furthermore combines

together city and landscape views with the image of cultivated plants that are decomposing. This sequence of images depicts both nature and culture and locates the white doll in a sterile domestic interior. From my perspective, the Black Chair paintings signify life and death, growth and decay and represent a spiritual journey from the earthly to the transcendental. The white female doll thus personifies the maternal spirit and contrasts with the black doll which symbolizes Mother Earth.

Mungall also establishes the black and white dolls as artificial constructs. Ann Oakley, for example, discusses dolls as stylized copies of the female subject and believes that girls in Western society traditionally play with dolls, taking on the role of mother.[55] They act as symbols of maternity and teach girls to fulfil their function as caregivers.[56] However, dolls are artificial imitations of females and follow current fashion trends.[57] In addition, they are often made of hard materials and the genitalia is smoothed over. As such they are detached from women's bodies and female biological processes. They act as regulatory agents which teach girls to deny their own sexuality and

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[55] Ann Oakley, Housewife (London: Allen Lane, 1974), 190-192.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., 193-194.

instead perform their duties as mothers.[58]

Similarly, Mungall establishes the painted black and white dolls as female copies and pictorial duplicates. She examines the arrangement of the objects in Pflug's paintings and states that the artist "often used her children's dolls and toys as part of the composition."[59] She presents the female doll as a formal element which is incorporated into the picture and describes it as a constructed image.

According to Svetlana Alpers, writing in her book The Art of Describing, Alberti likewise prescribed the ordered arrangement of figures and forms within the bounds of the canvas.[60] Alberti's notion of art was developed during the Italian Renaissance and relied on humanist thought which placed man at the centre of the universe. He advised artists to depict people in action and portray a particular event or "istoria" which would enlighten the viewer.[61] This relates to Mungall's article which describes Pflug arranging the black and white dolls within the frame of the painting. The critic furthermore reproduces pictures which show the dolls in standing, seating and lying position. Moreover, I believe that the artist alters the expression on the faces of the

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Mungall, 17.

[60] Svetlana Alpers, The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), xix-xxii, 41-49.

[61] Ibid.

dolls and moves them from one location to another, examining the changing facets of the female self.

Pflug's works explore feminine identity and analyze the conventions of painting. They compare with Northern art which Alpers suggests served a descriptive function and presented a detailed image of reality.[62] In Alper's opinion, Flemish artists depicted directly what they saw and carefully recorded their surroundings. At the same time, they exposed the mechanics of art making by uncovering the act of viewing which lay behind the painting process. The artists imitated the scanning motion of the camera obscura, combining together close up and distant views, offering multiple perspectives of nature. They painted a random selection of objects focusing on the reflective surfaces, textures and colours of the various materials, thus revealing the arbitrariness of vision. Northern art examined the artifice of the image which acted as a mirror and imitated reality, presenting a false illusion of the world.[63]

Mungall also believes that Pflug explores the mechanics of art making and states that the artist combines together the image of the painted doll with interior and exterior scenes. She describes the viewing process behind the works and asserts that Pflug "began to paint the city scenes she

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[62] Ibid., 26-71.

[63] Ibid.

saw from her apartment windows, first railway tracks and small factories, later the view through her glass-panelled kitchen door to a second floor balcony, the trees, gardens and old houses beyond."[64] The artist takes a specular approach for she gazes at the things around her and reproduces them in pictorial form. Mungall establishes the artist's method of painting as a form of replication and describes the object and figures in her pictures as mirrored doubles of the actual thing.

This article indicates that the female doll is a pictorial duplicate of a doll which is itself an imitation of the female subject. The painted doll acts as the double of a double and signifies female reproduction. In this sense she is connected to the artist who takes on the role of nurturer and caregiver. Mungall implies that Pflug simultaneously explores the processes of procreation through painting and examines the act of image making. The critic equates motherhood and women`s bodily experineces with the artist`s technique which is described as a structured procedure. This review establishes feminity as an artificial construct which conforms to a preestablished artistic scheme.

The doll paintings thus explore female biological processes, and examine the social practices that determine gender. From Mungall's perspective, Pflug's pictures analyze

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[64] Mungall, 17.

the complexities of the female experience and represent the changing facets of womanhood. In addition, the critic suggests that the artist herself alters positions and shifts in and out of communities. She states that the artist was "born in Berlin in 1936," but then "went to Paris to study fashion design when she was 17."[65] While she was in France, the artist met her husband, Michael Pflug who was then a medical student and later moved to Tunisia "where Dr. Pflug and his family went for his internship."[66]

According to Mungall, Pflug arrived in Toronto in 1960 and had difficulties adjusting to her new surroundings, but "appreciated the older city with a special fervour."[67] The artist settled down in a town house which "she and her doctor-artist husband furnished with early Canadian pine furniture...their own paintings, and the treasures they collected in Europe and North Africa."[68] Mungall reveals that Pflug produces her works in a domestic environment decorated with artifacts that provide evidence of her travels abroad. As such she places the artist in a private realm which is culturally removed from her Canadian surrounding.

The critic then refers to Elizabeth Kilbourn's review,

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[65] Ibid., 16.

[66] Ibid., 16-17.

[67] Ibid., 16.

[68] Ibid.

"Abstraction No Cover," which also examines Christiane Pflug`s doll paintings.[69] Mungall quotes Kilbourn as saying "there is an almost frightening air of unreality in the midst of her intransigent and tightly controlled naturalism...to pose certain abrupt questions about the real and the artificial, the seen and the not seen...Mrs Pflug's kitchen seems a battleground of alien and alienating forces."[70]

Mungall allows Pflug to respond to these comments and cites the artist as saying "I can understand that feeling, but it is not derived from the subject matter, it must come from my increasing awareness of the unsolved things in life, that are answered by neither religion or philosophy: Why does the world exist? Why does human-kind exist in the conditions as it does?"[71] This implies that Pflug ponders the meaning of reality and attempts to uncover the underlying principles that govern people's thoughts and actions.

According to Mungall, Pflug delves into the essence of being and finds the meaning of life in a feminine sphere. I would argue that the critic equates the black female doll with Mother Earth and opposes this to the white doll which

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[69] For Further discussion of Kilbourn`s review see Chapter 3.

[70] Ibid., 17.

[71] Ibid.

personifies the maternal spirit and signifies heavenly transcendence. Mungall establishes both the black and white dolls as artificial constructs which are shaped by cultural conventions. In my opinion, the critic believes that Pflug`s works provide evidence of the social norms governing society and give insight into the regulatory practices which determine gender.

Conclusion

The critics' interpretations of Christiane Pflug's exhibition at the Isaacs Gallery in 1964 provide evidence of the ideologies prevalent in Toronto during this period. The reviewers connect the female image to the artist herself and not only marginalize Pflug as a mother and housewife, but also characterize her works according to their "german-ness". They furthermore distinguish her works from the pieces by Canadian born artists who exhibited at the Isaacs Gallery.

This thesis describes the gendered politics shaping the art scene in Toronto during the fifties and sixties which favoured predominantly male artists who trained within the local region. Avrom Isaacs, for instance, exhibited works by painters living in Toronto and promoted a "Canadian style" that developed in Ontario.[1] In my opinion, the critics separate Christiane Pflug from the artists practising in Canada and establish her instead as an "outsider".

Chapter one discusses Barrie Hale's review, "Bounty for Browsers," which locates Pflug's doll paintings in a private, domestic realm.[2] I compare this with Hale's article, "From Ultra Modern to Representational," which

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[1] Avrom Isaacs, "The Isaacs Gallery," 181.

[2] Barrie Hale, "Bounty for Browsers," 25.

establishes the artist as a housewife and mother, situating her as a subordinate to her husband Michael Pflug.[3] This chapter also considers how Hale segregates both Christiane Pflug and Michael Pflug by positioning them as German immigrants in Canada.[4] I uncover the gendered politics behind Hale's review which assigns Christiane Pflug an inferior role as a woman and establishes her as a displaced person with no ancestral roots.

The second chapter examines Kay Kritzwiser's review, "Hockey Rink Is Theme for Woman Painter," and relates the critic's discussion of Christiane Pflug's doll paintings with her analysis of Mary Bauermeister's works.[5] I focus on the critic's use of the term "surrealism" which she uses to describe the pieces produced by both women, linking Pflug and Bauermeister based on artistic style and german nationality.[6] Kritzwiser furthermore establishes Pflug as a female immigrant and connects her to the doll paintings which, in my opinion, juxtapose the black and white doll and raise questions concerning the representation of changing female identity.

Chapter three concentrates on Elizabeth Kilbourn's

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[3] Hale, "From Ultra Modern to Representational," S 18.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Kay Kritzwiser, "Hockey Rink Is Theme for Woman Painter," 15.

[6] Ibid.

review, "Abstraction No Cover," which also compares the works by Christiane Pflug and Mary Bauermeister.[7] I examine the critic's analysis of Pflug's doll paintings which she places in the category of "Magic Realism" and relate this to Lincoln Kirstein and Franz Roh's texts on "Neue Sachlichkeit."[8] Kilbourn associates the pieces by Pflug and Bauermeister with psychological angst and establishes the black and white dolls in Pflug's pictures as symbols of emotional turmoil. I place the critic's review of the doll paintings within a cultural context and describe the changing race relations in Toronto during the late fifties and sixties, discussing the position of German and African Canadian women in the home and the public work force.[9]

The fourth chapter analyzes Harry Malcolmson's and Constance Mungall's reviews of Christiane Pflug and Mary Bauermeister.[10] First, I examine Malcolmson's critique and

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[7] Elizabeth Kilbourn, "Abstraction No Cover," 15.

[8] Lincoln Kirstein, "Introduction," in American Realists and Magic Realists, 7-8; and Franz Roh, German Art in the 20th Century, 114-125.

[9] For further information see: Noga A. Gayle, "Black Women's Reality and Feminism: An Exploration of Race and Gender," 233-242; Agnes Calliste, "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme," 136-168; Rudolf A. Helling, A Socio-Economic History of German Canadian - They, too, founded Canada, 88-93, 116-123, 133-148; and Gerhard P. Bassler, The German Canadian Mosaic Today and Yesterday: Identities, Roots and Heritage, 15-18.

[10] Harry Malcolmson, Toronto Telegram, 15; and Constance Mungall, "Ontario Artists: Christiane Pflug," 16-17.

compare his method with the theories developed by E.H. Gombrich who believed that pictures offered insight into the mindset of the painter.[11] Malcolmson likewise indicates that Pflug's doll paintings give access to the artist's psyche and compare with Bauermeister's works which express her thoughts on the modern condition.[12]

This chapter also considers the form of analysis that Mungall follows in her article on Christiane Pflug and relates this to Panofsky's studies on iconology which connects art to the mental attitudes shaping society.[13] I consider the racial politics behind Mungall's review which suggests that Pflug's doll paintings explore the female essence and in my opinion, place the white doll in a spiritual realm meanwhile associating the black doll with the untamed forces of nature, thus assuring the ascendency of white feminity.[14]

This thesis aims to contribute to the continuing dialogue on Christiane Pflug's art and focuses on the critic's analysis of the painter`s doll pictures. I present a feminist perspective of the reviews and consider the

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[11] See for instance: Gombrich, Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation, 3-32, 291-329; and Gombrich, Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other Essays on the Theory of Art, 1-11, 30-44.

[12] Malcolmson, 15.

[13] See Panofsky, Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes In the Art of the Renaissance, 3-32.

[14] Mungall, 16-17.

gendered politics of art as it relates to social practices governing women's experiences. This thesis strives to further enrich past and present scholarship which has examined varying aspects of Pflug's works[15] and proposes to raise questions concerning the representation of German feminine identity within Canadian art criticism, opening up the debate on issues of cultural diversity for future consideration.

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[15] See for instance: Ann Davis, Somewhere Waiting: The Life and Art of Christiane Pflug (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991); Christine Conley, "Memory and Desire: The Phenomenological Space of Christiane Pflug," March 1989, Michael Pflug Archives, Toronto; and Ferdinand Eckhardt, Christiane Pflug (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1966).

Illustrations

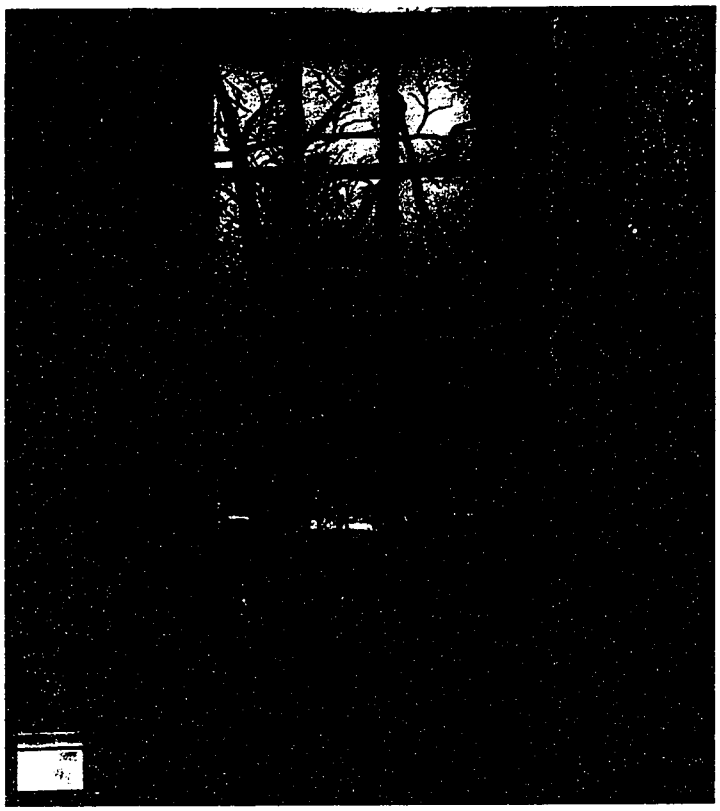

Illustration 1. Christiane Pflug, With the Last Snow, 1964, oil on canvas, 47 x 39 inches. Photographic reproduction courtesy of Michael Pflug.

Illustration 2. Christiane Pflug, On the Balcony I, 1963, oil on canvas, 10 x 8 inches. Photographic reproduction courtesy of Michael Pflug.

Illustration 3. Christiane Pflug, On the Balcony II, 1963, oil on canvas, 47 x 39 inches. As reproduced in Paul Duval, "Christiane Pflug," chap. in High Realism in Canada (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin Co., 1974), 134.

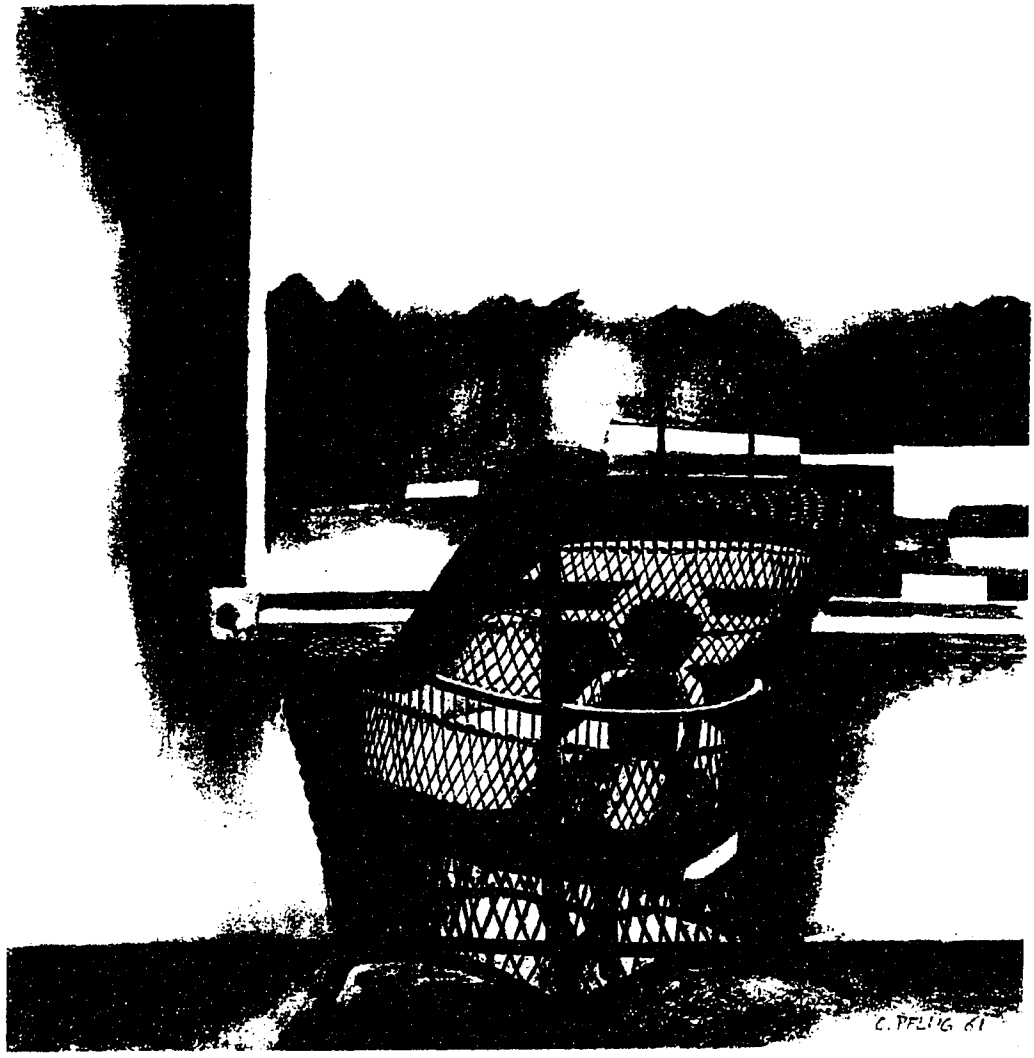

Illustration 4. Christiane Pflug, Window on Yonge Street, 1962, oil on canvas, 23 x 20 inches. As reproduced in Ann Davis, Christiane Pflug: 1936-1972 (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1974), no. 48.

Illustration 5. Christiane Pflug, The Kitchen Door at Night I, 1963, oil on canvas, 12 x 10 inches. Photographic reproduction courtesy of Mrs. Ackroyd.

Illustration 6. Christiane Pflug, The Kitchen Door at Night II, 1963, oil on canvas, 43 x 39 inches. Photographic reproduction courtesy of Michael Pflug.

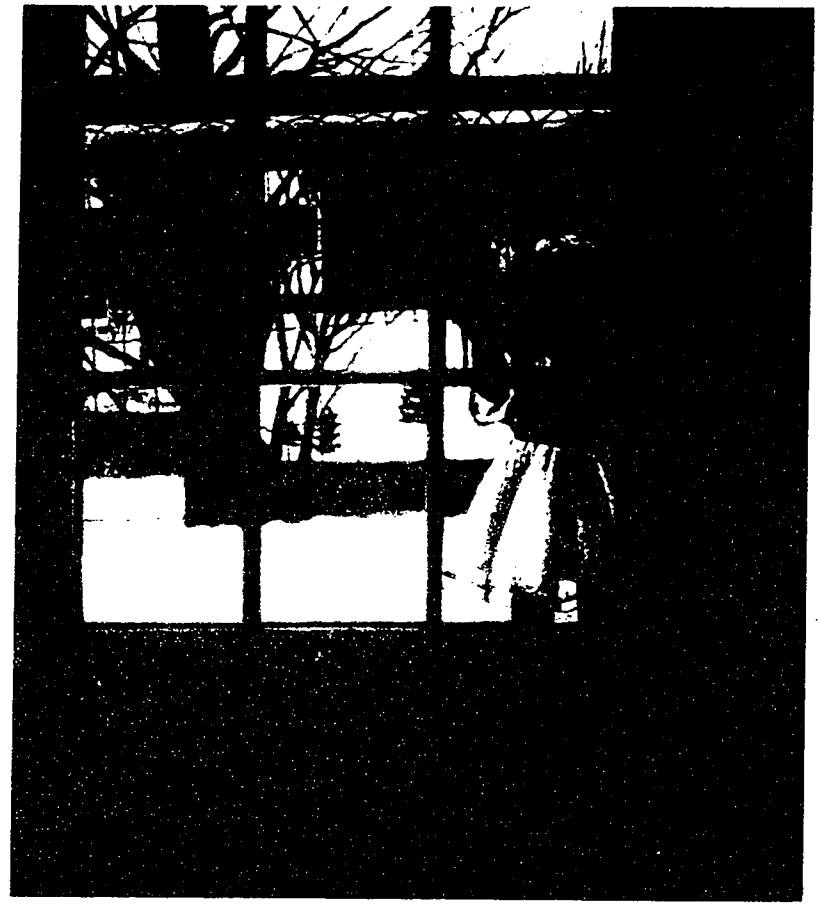

Illustration 7. Christiane Pflug, The Kitchen Door in Winter I, 1964, oil on canvas, 13 ½ x 11 inches. Photographic reproduction courtesy of Michael Pflug.

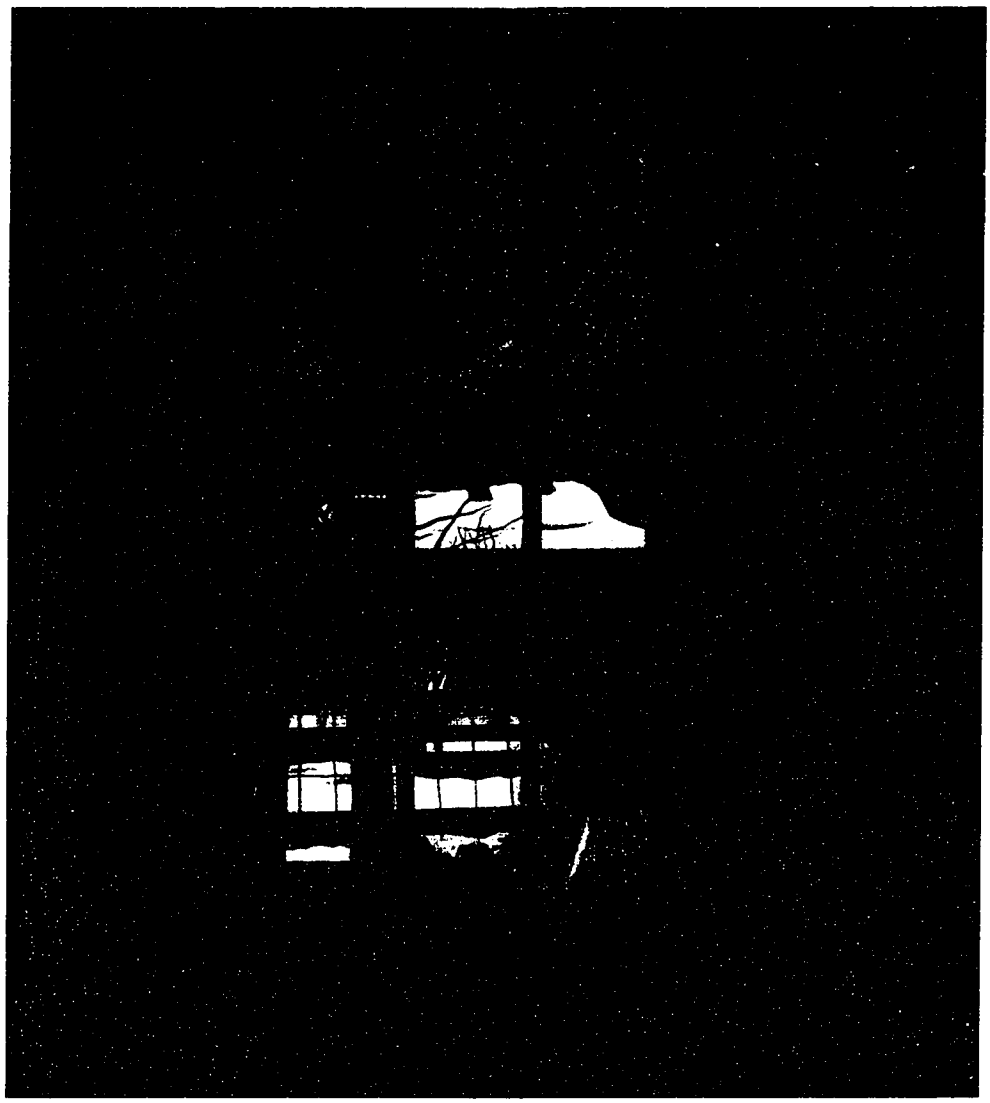

Illustration 8. Christiane Pflug, The Kitchen Door in Winter II, 1964, oil on canvas, 47 x 39 inches. Photographic reproduction courtesy of Michael Pflug.

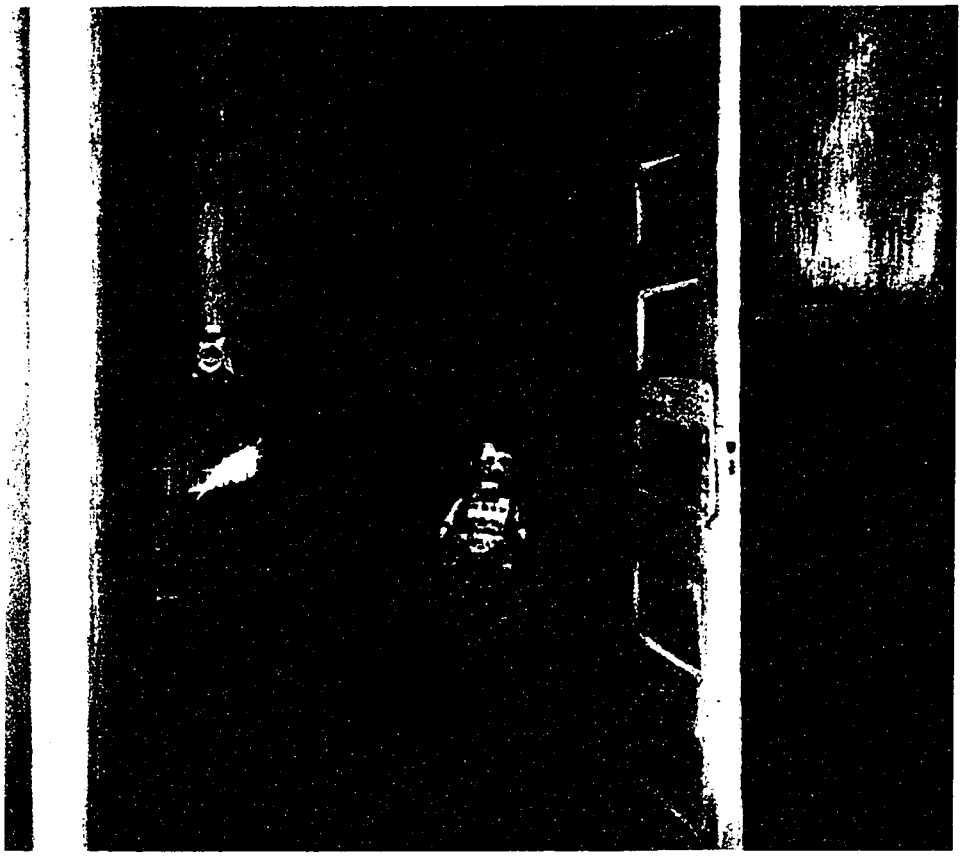

Illustration 9. Christiane Pflug, The Black Chair Upstairs, 1963, oil on canvas, 12 x 10 inches. Photographic reproduction courtesy of Michael Pflug.

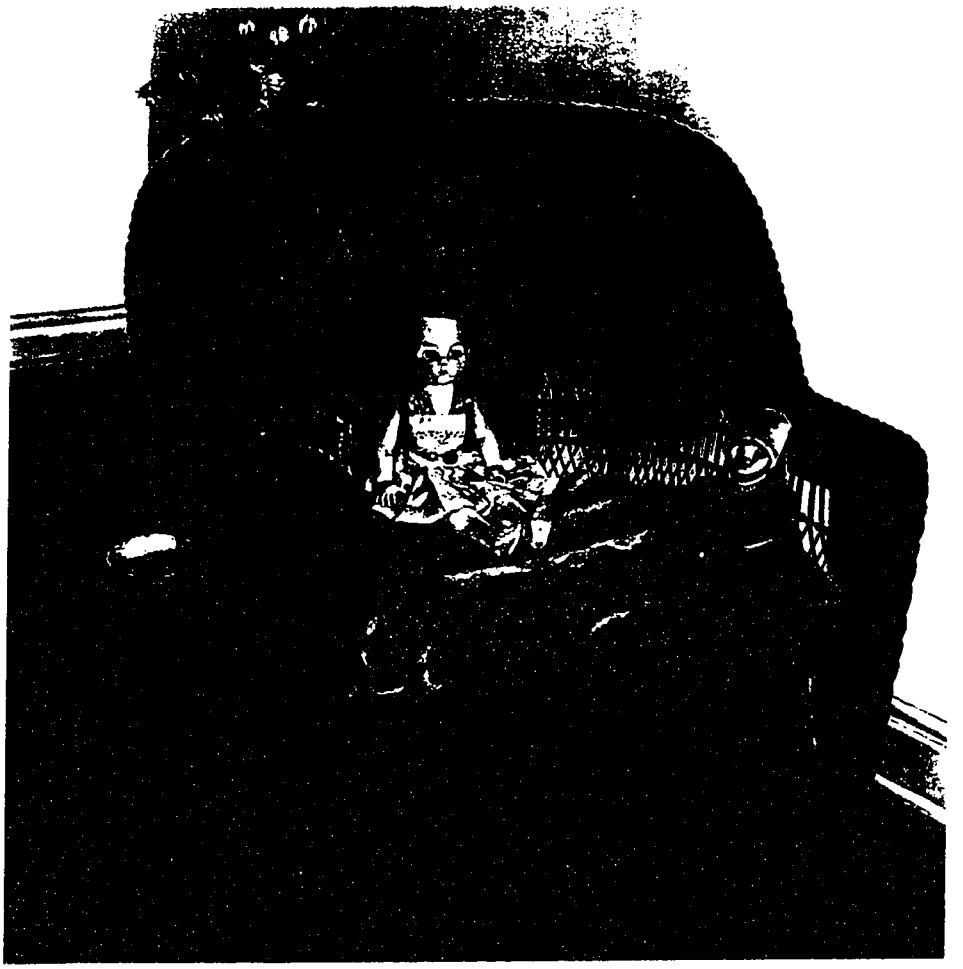

Illustration 10. Christiane Pflug, On the Black Chair II, 1963, oil on canvas, 33 x 30 inches. As reproduced in Paul Duval, "Christiane Pflug," chap. in High Realism in Canada (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin Co., 1974), 133.

Appendix

APPENDIX A: LIST OF CHRISTIANE PFLUG PAINTINGS EXHIBITED AT THE ISAACS GALLERY FROM MAY 15TH TO JUNE 5TH, 1964

1.	Winter Still Life	Oil	1963	$110	13 x 11 inches
2.	Roses and Dead Bird	Oil	1963	$135	11 x 19 inches
3.	Field Flowers	Oil	1962	$110	11 x 13 inches
4.	On the Balcony II	Oil	1963	$500	47 x 39 inches
5.	Railway Yard Off Yonge Street I	Oil	1961	$200	24 x 30 inches
6.	View At Summerhill	Oil	1961	$100	14 x 11 inches
7.	Railway Yard Off Yonge Street II	Oil	1961	$175	22 x 25 inches
8.	Pigeons	Oil	1961	$110	14 x 16 inches
9.	The Kitchen Door in Winter II	Oil	1964	$500	47 x 39 inches
10.	On the Balcony I	Oil	1963	$80	10 x 8 inches
11.	Cat and Russian Doll	Oil	1963	$65	6 x 6 ½ inches
12.	Doll and Flowers	Oil	1963	$65	6 x 5 ½ inches
13.	Dead Bird	Oil	1963	$65	6 x 5 ½ inches
14.	The Kitchen Door at Night II	Oil	1963	$475	43 x 39 inches
15.	The Kitchen Door in Winter I	Oil	1964	$110	13½ x 11 inches
16.	The Kitchen Door at Night I	Oil	1963	$110	12 x 10 inches
17.	The Black Chair Upstairs	Oil	1963	$110	12 x 10 inches
18.	With the Last Snow	Oil	1964	$500	47 x 39 inches
19.	On the Black Chair I	Oil	1963	$160	21 x 18 inches
20.	On the Black Chair II	Oil	1963	$375	33 x 30 inches
21.	Window on Yonge Street	Oil	1962	$160	23 x 20 inches

APPENDIX B: CRITICS' BIOGRAPHIES

Barrie Hale was born in 1937 in California, moved to Vancouver and then Toronto in either 1953 or 1963. He wrote art reviews for The Toronto Telegram from 1964 to 1969 and for the Star Weekly from 1968 to 1969. He submitted articles to artscanada, Arts Magazine, Globe Magazine, Maclean's and Saturday Night and worked as an art critic for CBC radio and TV magazine shows. Hale helped organize the Toronto Painting Exhibition 1953-1965 at the National Gallery, Ottawa in 1972 and the Graham Coughtry Retrospective at the Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa in 1976. He taught at the New Art School, Toronto ca. 1975 and died in 1986.[1]

Elizabeth Kilbourn studied art history with Donald Creighton, Frank Underhill, Bertie Wilkinson at the University of Toronto and with David Owen at Radcliffe College, United States and with Sir Kenneth Clark and E.H. Gombrich at Oxford, England. She became an art critic in 1957, was elected a member of the Toronto city art advisory committee in 1973 and taught humanities at University of Toronto from 1971 onward. She became an ordained priest ca. 1980, conducted services at the Holy Trinity Church in Toronto and acted as associate chaplain at the Toronto General Hospital.[2]

Kay Mullan Kritzwiser was born ca. 1910 in Regina, Saskatchewan and submitted features to the Regina Leader Post during the 1950s. She moved to Toronto ca. 1956 and from 1957 onward worked for Globe and Mail Magazine writing on such topics as canadian immigration, battered baby syndrome and abandoned mothers. Kritzwiser was also employed as an art critic for the Globe and Mail from 1964 until 1975

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[1] Barrie Hale, "Fine Art's Finest: The Powers Behind Canadian Art - What You See Is What You Get," Canadian Magazine, 29 March 1975, 18; "Barrie Hale, 49 Critic and Writer Was Art Collector," Toronto Star, 2 July 1986, A 13; and Ken Carpenter, "Tribute: In Memoriam of Andrée Paradis, Barrie Hale, Mario Amaya," Art Post 4, no. 2 (Oct./Nov. 1986): 5.

[2] "Elizabeth Kilbourn," Canadian Art 19, no.4 (July/Aug. 1962): 301; "105 Potential Women MPs," Chatelaine 44, no. 10 (Oct. 1971): 36; "Kilbourn's wife named to body advising on art," Globe and Mail, 13 April 1973, 13; and Elizabeth Kilbourn, "The Reverend Elizabeth Kilbourn's Family Christmas," Chatelaine 53, no. 12 (December 1980): 55, 118.

and continued contributing articles to the newspaper throughout the 1980s.[3]

Harry Alexander Malcolmson was born in 1934 and received a Bachelor of Arts in modern history at the University of Toronto in 1957. He completed a law degree at the University of Toronto in 1960 and founded the law firm Rosenfeld Malcolmson Lampkin and Levin with a former classmate, William Rosenfeld. During the sixties he was hired as an art critic first for the Toronto Telegram, then for the Toronto Star and Saturday Night magazine. Malcolmson served as chairman of the Canadian contemporary art purchase committee at the Art Gallery of Ontario ca. 1988 and volunteered for the Toronto Arts Council. In addition, he worked as associate director for the Ontario Securities Commission from 1982 to 1988 and was employed at the Toronto-Dominion Bank.[4]

Constance Vivian Mungall was born in Los Angeles, California and received a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Toronto in 1954. She wrote articles on art for Ontario Homes and Living and worked as a documentary maker for CBC from 1961 to 1977. Mungall founded the Super School, Toronto in 1969 and served on the Board of Directors for the Victoria School of Writing Society. From 1974 to 1992 she wrote and edited various books among which include: Changing Your Name in Canada, 1977; More Than Just a Job, 1986; and Planet Under Stress: The Challenge of Global Change, 1990.[5]

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[3] "Kay Kritzwiser Retires as Globe Art Critic; James Purdie Appointed," Globe and Mail, 9 August 1975, 23; Zena Cherry, "Art Critic's Birthday Party," Globe and Mail, 28 February 1980, T 2; and Edith Miles, "Art Criticism," Globe and Mail, 6 May 1981, 6.

[4] Jan Wong, "OSC's Gentle Soul Just Born Unlucky," Globe and Mail, 14 May 1988, B 1, B 4; and "Probes of Malcolmson Find Charges Can't Be Supported," Globe and Mail, 28 September 1988, B 7.

[5] Canadian Who's Who, 1997 ed., s.v. "Mungall, Constance Vivian."

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