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Identifying with Nature: Graham Sutherland and Canadian Art, 1939-1955

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Résumé de l'article

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Il semble, en effet, que l'art moderne de la Grande-Bretagne et surtout la peinture de Sutherland jouissaient d'une grande renommée internationale peu après la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. En outre, une résistance active s'organisait dans certains quartiers du milieu artistique canadien contre l'influence grandissante de l'avant-garde artistique et la culture de masse américaines. Enfin, une grande partie de la peinture de Sutherland se développe autour de fragments d'origine organique : arbres, ajoncs, bouquets d'épines considérés comme des métaphores de la forme humaine. Pendant que le motif organique connotait la disjonction et la désintégration autant dans l'oeuvre de Sutherland et que dans celle des artistes canadiens intéressés par son oeuvre, l'artiste anglais désignait un nouveau lieu d'appropriation par une identification renouvelée à la nature.

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Karen A. Finlay, University of Victoria

Résumé

Les historiens d'art et les conservateurs ont souligné les affinités entre l'art du peintre britannique, Graham Sutherland, et les artistes canadiens, Jack Shadbolt, Oscar Cahén, Michael Forster, Bruno Bobak, Gordon Smith, William Ronald, Ray Mead, Harold Town et bien d'autres, mais sans plus. Cette étude se propose d'explorer le sujet en développant les questions suivantes: de quelle manière les artistes de ce pays ont-ils connu l'art de Sutherland pendant les années quarante et cinquante? Quel contexte politique et culturel permettait à la communauté artistique canadienne de se tourner vers l'art contemporain britannique? Et, enfin, quels aspects particuliers de la pratique de Sutherland ont trouvé de véritables échos dans le milieu de l'art canadien?

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Continuities between the art of British painter Graham Sutherland and Canadians Jack Shadbolt, Oscar Cahén, Michael Forster, Bruno Bobak, Gordon Smith, William Ronald, Ray Mead, Harold Town and undoubtedly others have been remarked upon by Canadian art historians and curators, but have not tended to be explored.[1] This study addresses the following questions. By what means did Canadians come to know Sutherland's art during the 1940s and early 1950s? What was the political and cultural context that predisposed the Canadian visual arts community to pay attention to modern British art and Sutherland in particular? And what aspects of Sutherland's work were resonant in the Canadian milieu?

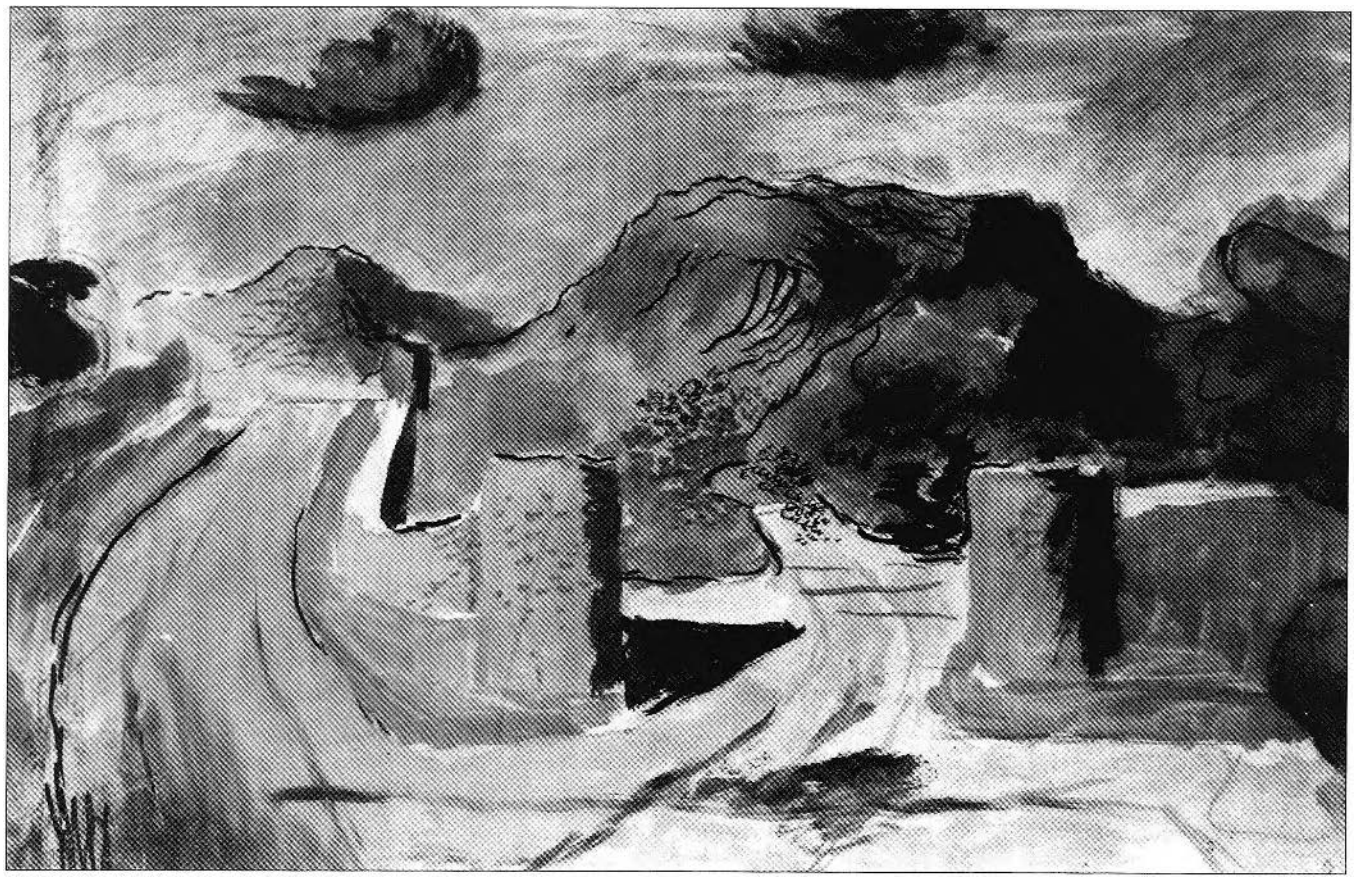
Although Sutherland's name is little known today outside his native Britain, his painting acquired an impressive international public and critical reputation right after the Second World War. At the 1952 Venice Biennale, for example, his work was featured in a retrospective exhibition, and an international jury awarded him the acquisition prize of the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo.[2]

The recognition that Sutherland's work received was part of the acclaim that modern British art, especially the sculpture of Henry Moore, enjoyed generally right after the War. Sutherland was a key figure in the Neo-Romantic movement, which dominated British art from the late 1930s to the early 1950s. As the apocalyptic mood grew during the 1930s, so too did English nationalism. Publications and lectures that reclaimed British cultural history, and schemes that documented its topographical and architectural landmarks punctuated the period.[3] In 1946, in a four-part series "The Heritage of British Painting" for *The Studio*, the artist Michael Ayrton argued loftily that Britain was "... the European nation now most likely to undertake the maintenance of that great and general tradition which has been handed down from country to country throughout history."[4]

English nationalism ushered in a revival of the reputation of the early nineteenth-century Romantic painters and poets, which had suffered in the early twentieth century. English art critics Roger Fry and Clive Bell had strongly endorsed the formalism imported from France over native traditions. According to Kenneth Clark, Fry considered J. M. W. Turner "a disaster."[5] In 1942, the English artist John Piper published *British Romantic Artists*, in which he traced the Romantic impulse in British painting from the late eighteenth to the twentieth century. He stated that "... the philosophy of nature was already in the air" in Britain by the eighteenth century, and invoked Wordsworth's belief that poetry "is the image of man and nature."[6]

The reclaiming of Romanticism owed a great deal to Herbert Read, who dominated British art theory and criticism during the 1940s and who came to be well-known and widely read in Canada. He would figure significantly in the promotion of modern British art of the neo-Romantic generation in this country. Read charted the lineage of romanticism through to Surrealism, arguing that, with the aid of Freud, Surrealism had finally put the nature of artistic inspiration on a scientific footing; it showed that classicism and rationalism were repressive, and actually contradicted the creative impulse. "Classicism is the intellectual counterpart of political tyranny. ... Wherever the blood of martyrs stains the ground, there you will find a

Figure 1. Graham Sutherland, *Rocky Landscape with Gateway (Pembrokeshire)*, 1937. Watercolour on paper, 32.7 x 50.2 cm. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, Gift of the Massey Foundation, 1946. © Graham Sutherland 1996\VIS*ART Copyright Inc. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada).



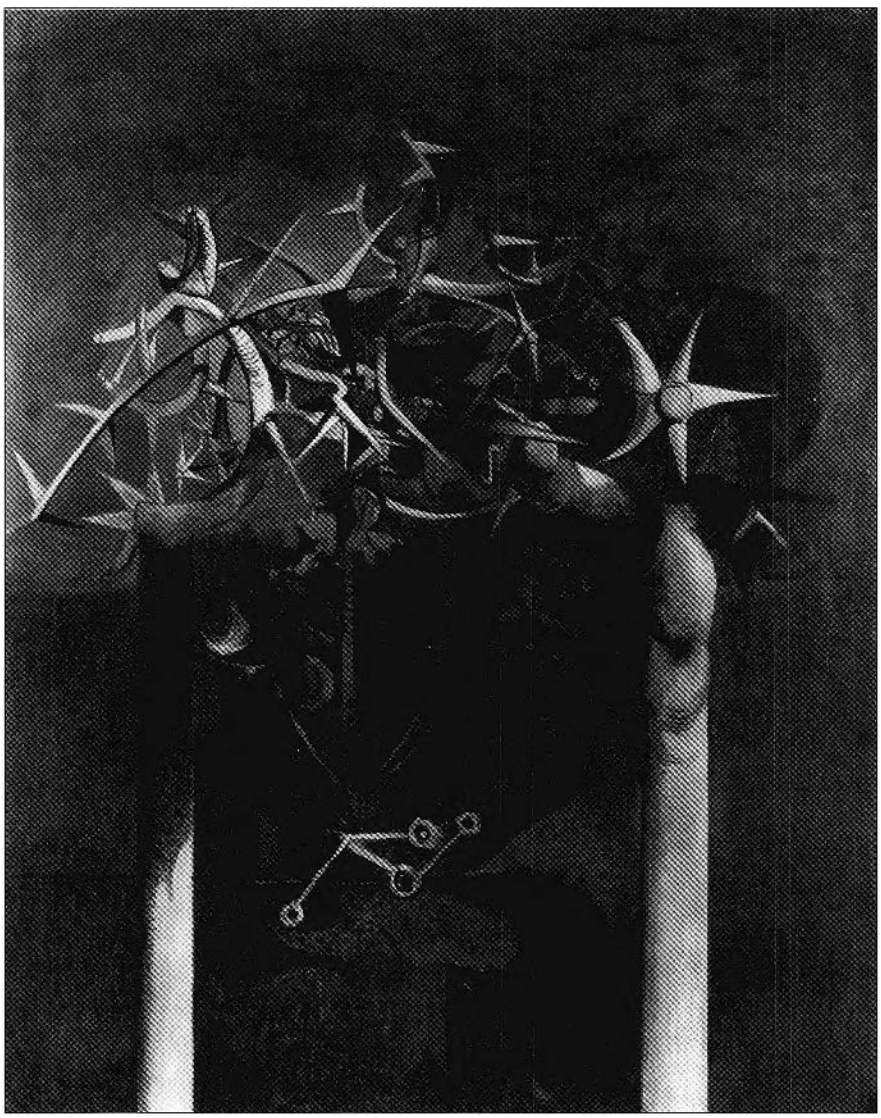
doric column...." He continued: "There is a principle of life, of creation, of liberation, and that is the romantic spirit...."[7] He also regarded romanticism to be native to England as a northern country.[8]

Graham Sutherland spent his early career as a devotee of the nineteenth-century English Romantics, especially Samuel Palmer, and inherited their deep reverence for nature and a faith in the subjective. He stated in 1941: "It's the force of the emotion in the presence of... a subject which determines and moulds the pictorial form that one chooses."[9] Characteristic of his early landscapes is the watercolour *Rocky Landscape with Gateway (Pembrokeshire)* of 1937 (fig. 1) in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada. His approach to landscape here is sweeping, approximated and abstracted. Broken lines, fragmentary forms and intermittent textural passages and shadows work with the road and gateway motif to create the sense of being on a threshold that is as much psychological or emotional as physical. The viewer is made conscious of the artist's highly subjective editing process. His preoccupation with fragments taken from nature would dominate his future work.

Increasingly, Sutherland would extract a single motif from nature as his subject matter: parts of trees, gorse or thorns. Usually, they were fragments which by virtue of having offered up "some thrilling vital conjunction for myself"[10] would be extracted from a scene, enlarged, centred and dramatically lit as the subject of one or more of his compositions. That he viewed fragments as having an integrity of their own is significant, as is his propensity for finding these fragments to be substitutes for the human form. The integrity of the fragment as an entity seems to have resided in a couple of factors, its potency for the artist (which will "vary according to one's mood"[11]), and its manifestation of the life force. Sutherland stated: "My forms are based on the principles of organic growth, with which I have always been preoccupied."[12]

Under the aegis of the early nineteenth-century German Romantics and Coleridge, who drew upon the ascendant science of biology, the plant model had replaced mechanical models and the physical sciences as the paradigm of ideation and creativity.[13] The organic model proliferated in western art during the first half of the twentieth century, surviving through into Abstract Expressionism. In the visual arts, the Surrealists, in particular Arp, Miro and Ernst, vastly augmented the signification of organic form. Max Ernst spoofed the science of biology by collaging together implausible spe-

Figure 2. Graham Sutherland, *Thorn Tree*, 1945–46. Oil on canvas, 127 x 101.5 cm. London, The British Council. © Graham Sutherland 1996\VIS*ART Copyright Inc. (Photo: The British Council).

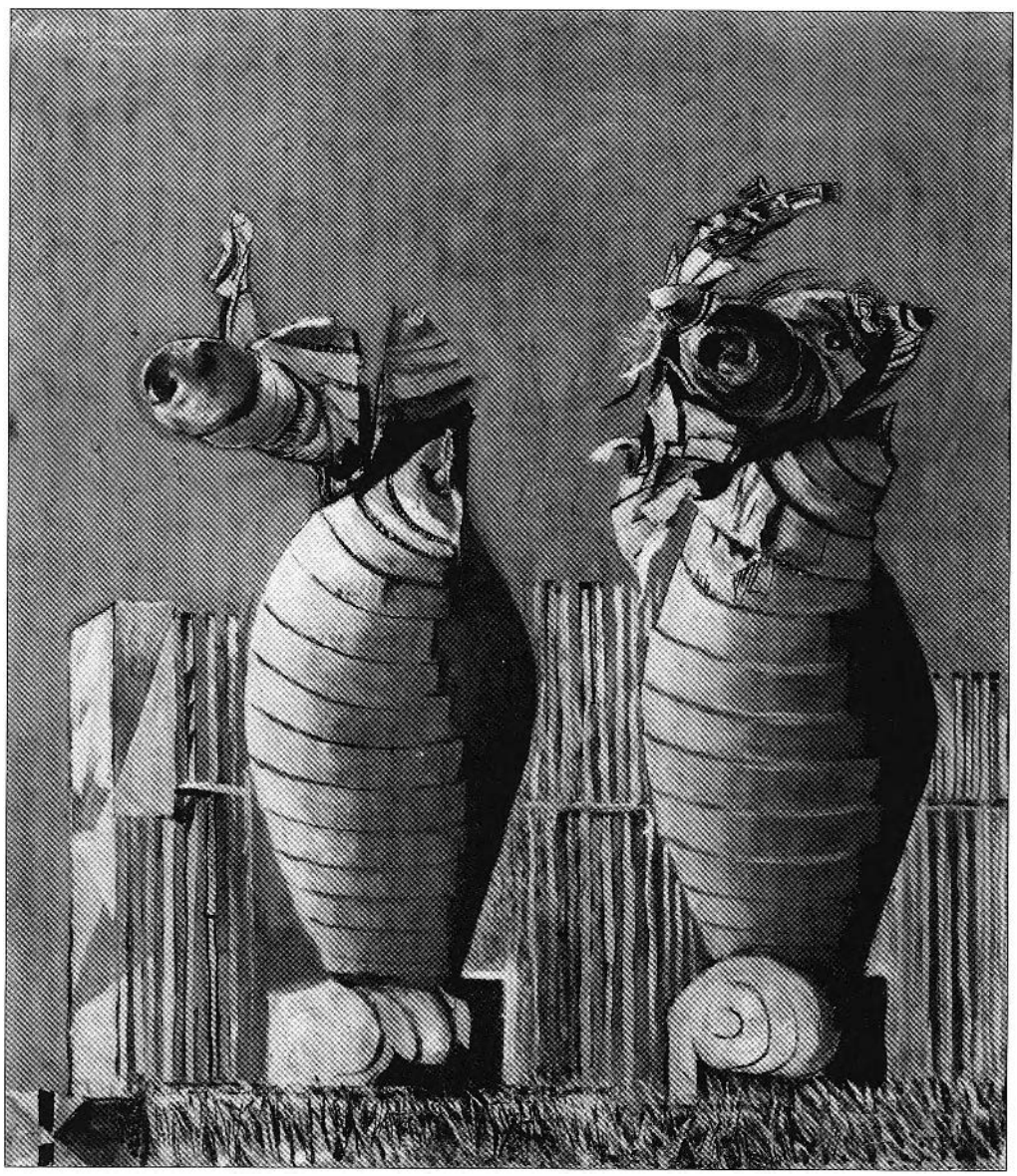


cies. On numerous occasions he took botanical illustrations, literally turning them upside down, and painted over and around them, so as to create comical and fantastic new organisms.[14] These creatures were a Surrealist response to the discredited human figure in art, the repository of beauty and rationalism, and hitherto the centrepiece of western art. Arp and Miro conceived semi-abstract, biomorphic shapes, alternately sober and whimsical, that evoke elemental life forces and forms. The Surrealists, like the Romantics, generally equated the organic with the creative and the life-affirming. The organic preserved a place for the inexplicable in the field of human experience, especially artistic inspiration. It stood in opposition to the mechanical, the rational and the technological. The organic could also denote a belief in the existence of an inherent wholeness in nature, the authority of which was extrapolated to other fields.

In England, on the occasion of the First International Surrealist Exhibition (1936), which featured work by continental and British artists including Sutherland, Hugh Sykes Davies lectured on the relationships between Surrealism and biology.[15] Herbert Read, too, relied heavily on the organic example. In an essay on Henry Moore, he identified two principle modes of making art: the constructive, which he associated with geometric abstraction, and the organic, which he associated with the vital and human. Read referred to Moore's "plunge into the psychic depths of the organic process."[16] According to Read, "the artist makes himself so familiar with the ways of nature — particularly the ways of growth — that he can out of the depth and sureness of that knowledge create ideal forms which have all the vital rhythms and structure of natural forms."[17] The organic seems to have encompassed the naturally occurring, if not always the living, for example, stones, shells, fossils. Moore himself hazarded a reason for his and his compatriots' deep preoccupation with the organic: "The metaphoric origination and sustenance of life seemed in the heat and aftermath of the nation's defiance of Nazism, to be the natural, predestined path for British culture."[18]

Unlike Moore's view of nature which was generally benign, Sutherland's organic forms are often malevolent. His "thorn tree" series (see fig. 2) grew out of a commission that Sutherland received for a Crucifixion for St. Matthew's, Northampton, in 1944. He explained that the thorns were a "stand-in for the Crucifixion and a crucified head... [and] sprang from the idea of potential cruelty."[19] Other modern artists took up the theme of the Crucifixion, Picasso among them. But it was Picasso's *Guernica* (1937, Reina Sophia Gallery, Madrid) that had a particular effect on Sutherland. Sutherland saw the mural when it was on exhibition in London in 1938 with its sixty-seven preparatory sketches.[20] Sutherland wrote that Picasso's work "confirmed me in my belief that my interests were mainly subjective: that one's emotions when facing an object could transform that object and give it a new vitality, transcending ordinary appearances."[21] The angular distor-

Figure 3. Graham Sutherland, *Two Standing Forms Against a Palisade*, 1949. Oil on canvas, 66.2 x 66.0 cm. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, Gift of the Women's Committee Fund, 1951 (Photo: Art Gallery of Ontario).



tion and fragmentation of form, the gaping mouths, clutching hands, the spear-like tongues, the flame-like rays employed by Picasso in *Guernica* to express the anguish and brutality of war gained widespread currency in the art of the West. An echo of the mural can be observed in the dismembered, spiky and grasping silhouettes of Sutherland's "thorn tree" pictures.

For Sutherland the organic fragment was clearly a stand-in for human form. Very broadly, the propensity to analogize human nature and external nature can be traced again to the Romantics.[22] That Sutherland subscribed to this process of identification is suggested by numerous remarks that he made, for example: "In a sense the landscape painter must almost look at the landscape as if it were himself — himself as a human being."[23] Elsewhere he stated: "... I became aware that landscape itself, once one had ceased to think of it as being a view or scenic, was in a curious way like a great figure."[24] The critic Geoffrey Grigson wrote about Sutherland's 1939 *Gorse on a Sea Wall* (Ulster Museum, Belfast), "... but it is not gorse. ... It is Sutherland."[25] As can be observed in Sutherland's British Council *Thorn Tree* (fig. 2), the large cluster of thorns are set on two bony-looking legs, clearly a semi-figurative metaphor. Sutherland's close colleague, the painter Paul Nash, also took natural objects such as tree stumps, rocks and bones as his subject matter. Under the influence of the Surrealist "found object," Nash disquietingly enlarged them and dotted them across his landscape paintings, and referred to them as "object-personages."[26]

In 1949 Sutherland began a series of "standing forms," his most full-blown organic personages to date. In *Two Standing Forms Against a Palisade* (fig. 3) of 1949 (Art Gallery of Ontario), a pair of chrysalid-like figures stand on a platform against a palisade. They are on guard, defiant, slightly malevolent, their heads faceless except for a crude snout. Sutherland referred to his "standing forms" as "monuments and presences."[27] Like the Surrealists, Sutherland created bizarre stand-ins for the devalued human figure, partly as a means of conveying the shaken human identity in the aftermath of world war. Sutherland's organic figures are indebted to Surrealism's use of the humble, even banal, "found object," often a fragment only, which is dislocated from its context and consequently assigned greater impact, and to the disintegrated sense of identity of which these fragments seem to speak. Conversely, while Sutherland

shared Surrealism's deference towards the organic, his art continued to be much more rooted in naturalism and the landscape tradition in the seeming conviction that connection with a kind of wholeness could be found there, a wholeness that found expression through "some vital conjuncture" between nature and his subjective response to it. His art drew sustenance not from the irrational or the unconscious as did Surrealism, but from the Romantic practice of twinning human nature, in its subjective elements, with nature. It perpetuated a strong identification with the principles of growth in nature as a means of validating the self, at a time when rationalism was increasingly disavowed by artists and others as the foundation of the Western sense of identity. The use of organic fragments, while speaking of disjuncture, affirmed the integrity and wholeness of natural and human creativity.

The international reputation garnered by modern British art was but one of many factors in the dissemination of knowledge about Sutherland's painting in this country. Between the early 1940s and the mid-1960s, in some artistic quarters in Canada, there was active resistance to American progressive and popular culture and, conversely, a purposeful renewal of interest in British culture. During the 1920s and 1930s Canada had moved towards a greater continentalism; however, in 1939 Canada alone in the Americas was at war. American entry into the War with the bombing of Pearl Harbor soon endangered Canadian sovereignty over its own defense policy, which, in turn, fuelled Canadian animosity towards its closest neighbour. [28] The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences (the Massey Commission), reporting in 1951, sounded the alarm about growing American domination in the cultural sphere. Similar fears in the economic sector were reiterated by the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, chaired by future Liberal finance minister Walter Gordon (reported 1957). American capital investment and direct ownership of natural resources and business ventures in this country, while fuelling Canada's post-war prosperity, reached proportions that frightened Gordon and others.[29] Critics as diverse as Vincent Massey, Harold Innis and George Grant argued for a renewal of the Canadian cultural enterprise in the face of the growing American presence. Massey and Innis were among those who viewed strengthening connections with European and especially British traditions as a source of cultural survival.[30]

In the area of the visual arts, the preference for British over American models can be quickly demonstrated by a perusal of the exhibition histories of Canada's two largest art museums, the National Gallery of Canada and the Art Gallery of Ontario (then the Art Gallery of Toronto).[31] Despite their proximity to New York City which, with the advent of Abstract Expressionism, was securely the new mecca of western art, these two institutions displayed astonishingly little American contemporary art until the mid-1960s. Meanwhile, a veritable parade of exhibitions of modern British art was featured at Canadian art museums. The National Gallery of Canada had a policy, confirmed in writing in 1956, of not collecting American contemporary art on the grounds that it was readily accessible across the border.[32] (This is thrown into sharp contrast by the large sums spent in the past decade by the same institution in acquiring paintings by Barnett Newman and Mark Rothko.)

The art of Graham Sutherland began to be known in Canada as early as 1939. His work was included in one of the British Council's first major international exhibitions, a survey of twentieth-century British art for the 1939 New York World's Fair. The exhibition toured Canada under the auspices of the National Gallery of Canada from late 1939 through the spring of 1940 and was enthusiastically received, according to press accounts and attendance figures.[33] Kathleen Fenwick, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery, stated that the show was "the first official exhibition shown on this side [of the Atlantic] to reveal that the [modern] British School boasted of painters other than Steer, Sickert and John."[34] Although British material entered Canada from a variety of sources, the British Council thereafter became a mainstay of modern British art exhibitions entering the country.

Other major exhibitions during the 1940s served to familiarize Canadians with recent British art. *British Contemporary Painters*, organized by Andrew C. Ritchie, Director of the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, with British Council assistance, showed at the Art Gallery of Ontario (then Art Gallery of Toronto) in 1947. It included the Albright's recently acquired Sutherland *Thorn Trees*. The version of the exhibition catalogue that accompanied the Toronto showing explained: "His [Sutherland's] vision of nature, ominous and mysterious, is one that conceives the objects in a landscape as a commentary upon human impulses."[35] In 1949, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, the Art Gallery of Toronto organized *Contemporary Paintings from Great Britain, the United States and France*. Anthony Blunt, then director of the Courtauld Institute, London, and an art advisor to the Art Gallery of Toronto, chaired the British section of the exhibition. He described Sutherland as "an artist in whom emotion seems always about to burst out of control" and referred to "his obsession with such nightmarish elements as his *Thorn Trees*."[36] After its Toronto showing, the exhibition circulated to other Canadian public galleries. The Art Gallery

of Hamilton and the London Public Library and Art Museum took only the British section.[37]

Writing about Sutherland appeared with increasing frequency in various publications with a Canadian readership. In 1943, *The Penguin Modern Painters* series was launched, with Kenneth Clark as its editor. The first two volumes were devoted to Henry Moore and Graham Sutherland. Each had a generous supply of full-page colour and black-and-white reproductions of the artist's work. Jack Shadbolt received a monograph on Sutherland (presumably the Penguin volume) while on military assignment in Petawawa, Ontario, in 1944.[38] Another series, published in England during the War, was *War Pictures by British Artists*, which included reproductions of Sutherland's work as a war artist. Gordon Smith, while stationed in London, acquired two of the volumes from this series.[39]

The magazine *Canadian Art* (founded 1943) published periodic articles on modern British art, reviewed new books on the subject, and noted pertinent exhibitions and acquisitions in Canada. Surveying contemporary art in 1947, Donald Buchanan, one of its editors, wrote: "... the vitality and genius of modern French art is slowly exhausting itself. ... It may be that a renewal ... [will] now have to come to French painting again from England.... ...the English painter, Graham Sutherland, is the artist to study and watch."[40] A Sutherland picture, *Horned Forms* (Museum of Modern Art, New York), was reproduced with the article. In the same issue Kathleen Fenwick wrote about her recent visit to the British section of the *UNESCO International Exhibition of Modern Art* in Paris : "... Nash, Spencer, Piper, Sutherland and Moore ... promised an independent way to the [new] generation to follow."[41]

The English art critic Eric Newton, who was known in Canada as early as 1937 when he toured the country giving lectures and making radio broadcasts under the auspices of the National Gallery of Canada, wrote an article on Graham Sutherland for *Canadian Art* in early 1952. Newton referred to Sutherland as likely "England's most original and most typical painter." He quoted from a new monograph on the artist by Robert Melville (published 1951): "[Sutherland] is probably the only living artist who can be said to have enriched our imaginative perception of nature." Newton compared Sutherland to Turner because of his "extraordinary gift for identifying himself with the forces of nature."[42] As late as 1955, George Elliott in *Canadian Art* viewed Sutherland along with Hans Hofmann, Francis Bacon and Miro as artists who had "an incalculable mortgage on the brushes of many Ontario painters."[43]

Canadians were also increasingly able to learn about modern British art from their own art museum collections. Vincent Massey, who was Canada's High Commissioner to Great Britain from 1935 to 1946, returned home with a sizeable collection of modern British art which was gifted to the National Gallery of Canada in 1946 and then toured the country. The National Gallery went on to acquire several paintings and drawings by Sutherland, notably his 1948 *Large Vine Pergola*, purchased in 1952 and included in the 1952 Venice Biennale, as well as *Head* (1951) and *Articulated Form* (1949), both purchased in 1956. The latter two works were acquired while Alan Jarvis was the Gallery's director (1955-59). A Canadian who had studied and worked in England and an associate of Kenneth Clark,[44] Jarvis proved to be a vigorous supporter of contemporary art in Canada.[45] He was an enthusiast of the modern British school and a great admirer of Sutherland. He owned two canvases by the artist at the time of his appointment as National Gallery director.[46]

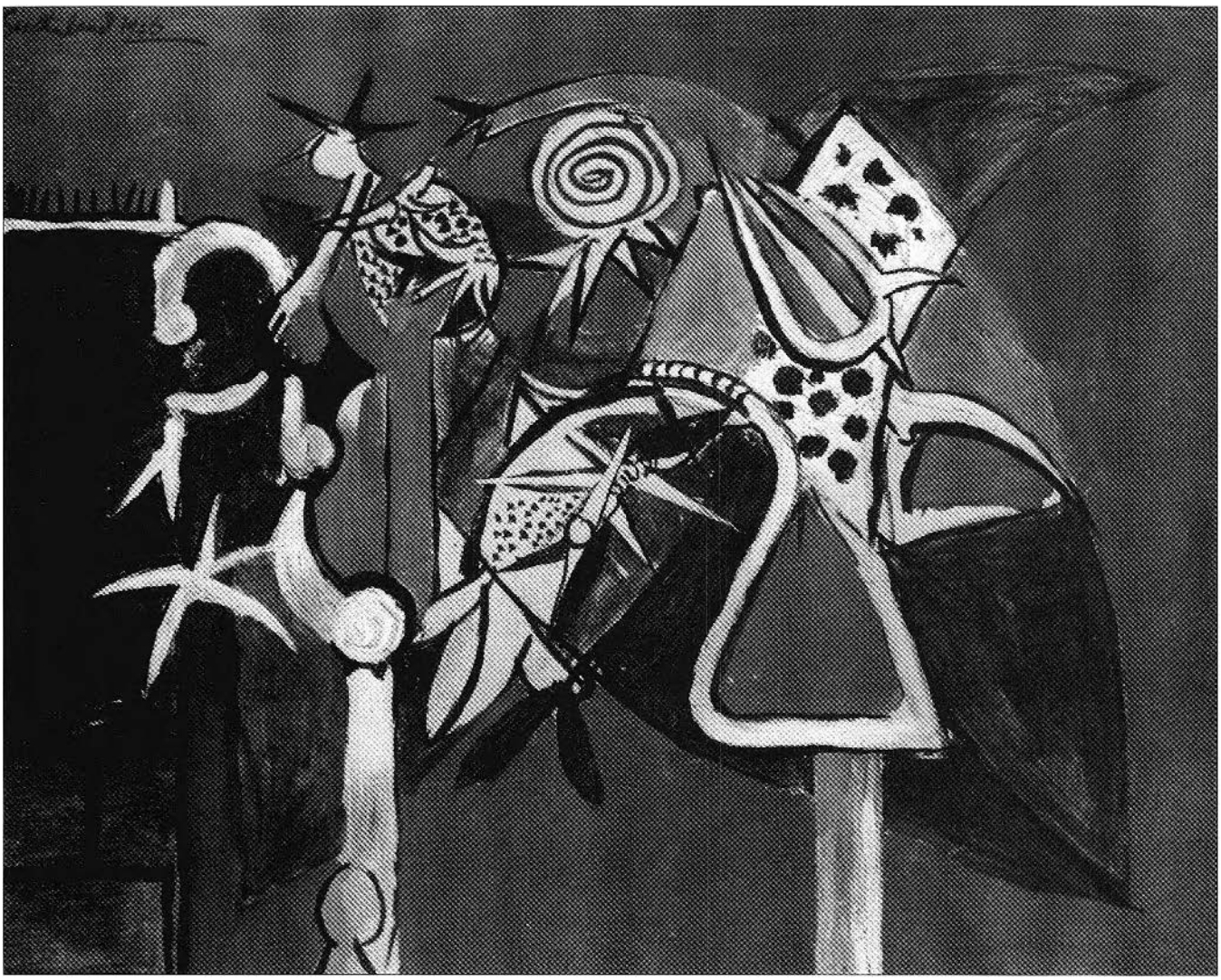
As part of a concerted effort to strengthen its modern British collection between 1949 and 1953, the Art Gallery of Ontario acquired two Sutherland pieces. Both were gifts of the Gallery's Women's Committee, which was established in 1945 and made its first purchase in 1950 with the help of the British Council.[47] The Committee acquired a string of modern British works including Sutherland's *Two Standing Forms Against a Palisade* (fig. 3) in 1951, which was reported in *Canadian Art*.[48] This is perhaps the first of Sutherland's "standing form" pictures.[49] Also in 1951, the Committee gave Sutherland's *Gouache Design for "Wading Birds"* (1949).

About this time the Vancouver Art Gallery resolved to enhance its modern British collection. At its founding in 1931, its first priority had been to build a British collection. Apparently until the early 1960s a preference for British works prevailed.[50] In 1949, this commitment was renewed with the creation of the Contemporary British Picture Purchase Fund.[51] Through this fund, Sutherland's oil on canvas *Thorn and Wall* (fig. 4) of 1946 was acquired in 1951 from the exhibition *21 Modern British Painters*, hosted by the Vancouver Art Gallery that year. Among other Sutherland works that the Gallery went on to acquire, the most imposing is a tapestry that entered the collection in 1964, *Wading Birds* (1949), for which the Art Gallery of Ontario's gouache is a preparatory piece.

The winter 1951-52 issue of *Canadian Art* summarized the current collecting of modern British art by Canadian art museums:

> The Art Gallery of Toronto and the Vancouver Art Gallery have recently been trying to outdo each other in improving their collections of contemporary English

Figure 4. Graham Sutherland, *Thorn and Wall*, 1946. Oil on canvas, 40.4 x 50.9 cm., Vancouver Art Gallery, Founders Fund, 1951. © Graham Sutherland 1996\VIS*ART Copyright Inc. (Photo: Vancouver Art Gallery).

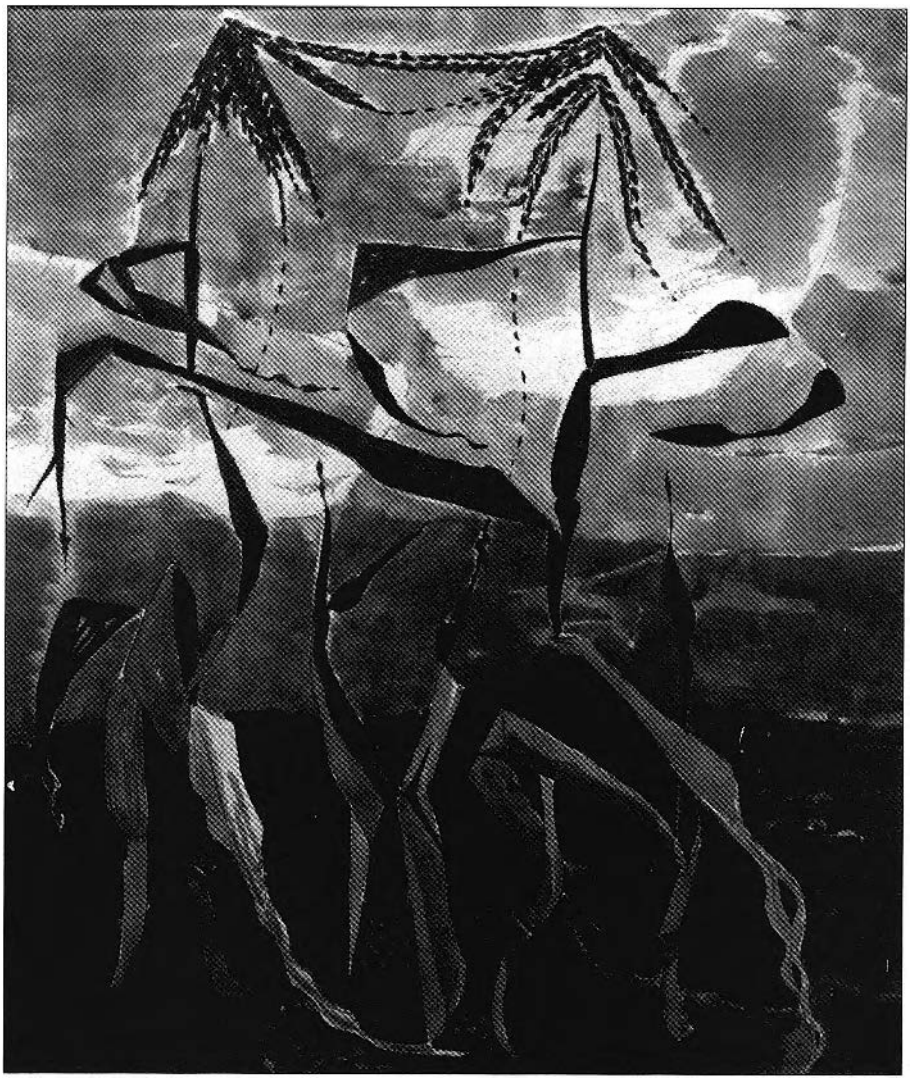


painting. They are to be congratulated on what they have achieved, although they naturally do not yet have the resources to enable them to match the group of 75 modern English paintings which the Massey Foundation presented to the National Gallery of Canada in 1946. To this gift, the Foundation has since added 11 other works, mainly by younger artists. But painting in the United Kingdom is today so diverse and lively in character that even the Massey collection, comprehensive as it is, does not give one a complete picture of this activity. Thus, paintings by Ben Nicholson and Robert Colquhoun are missing; also that great genius of the contemporary generation, Graham Sutherland, is represented by only relatively minor works.

These particular gaps have been filled, not by Ottawa, but by Toronto and Vancouver. ... in addition to other English works, both these galleries have been acquiring Sutherlands. On the other hand, the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts remains curiously weak in its modern British section. It, however, continues to build up its French collection and to add to its gallery of old masters.[52]

Other Canadian art museums, the Art Gallery of Hamilton, the London Public Library and Art Museum, the Winnipeg Art Gallery and the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, also set their sights on collecting modern British art,[53] but the most ambitious was the new gallery being formed in Fredericton, the Beaverbrook Art Gallery (opened 1959). Lord Beaverbrook was a tremendous supporter of Sutherland. His first correspondence with the artist dates from 1951, and he helped Sutherland buy his house in Menton on the Riviera in 1955.[54] Meanwhile, he was quickly assembling a sizeable Sutherland collection. Most of the works are related to the portrait commissions that increasingly

Figure 5. Bruno Bobak, *Cornstalks*, 1950. Watercolour on paper, 67.0 x 55.6 cm., Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, Gift of the Albert H. Robson Memorial Subscription Fund, 1951 (Photo: Art Gallery of Ontario).



occupied Sutherland from 1949, including a portrait of Beaverbrook. In 1957, Beaverbrook wrote to Sutherland:

> You know this [Beaverbrook Art Gallery] is to be the great Sutherland gallery. I have every reason to suppose that I will have the Churchill portrait in time. When these are all assembled it is my hope that there will be no more portraits painted by Sutherland, — just great splendid imaginative works, as in the days before the portrait of Somerset Maugham [1949] ....[55]

Other Canadians collected works by Sutherland. The artist was commissioned to paint a portrait of Mrs. Signy Eaton of Toronto in 1957 (now in the Beaverbrook Art Gallery). According to Roger Berthoud, she acquired two other Sutherland paintings as well.[56] The noted Vancouver collector, Ella Fell, owned, as well as distinguished works by Paul Nash, a Sutherland watercolour, *Waterfront Study No. 1*, of 1947.[57] Roloff Beny acquired Sutherland's *Standing Form 1 (Thorn Tree)* (1953) in 1953 in New York (University of Lethbridge Collection).

Vancouver artists B.C. Binning and Alistair Bell both acquired works by Sutherland. In 1950 Bell and his wife, Betty, travelled to England. They took letters of introduction from Molly Bobak to the British war artist Edward Ardizzone, and from Lawren Harris, to the British Surrealist, John Tunnard, whom they visited several times.[58] Bell also wrote to Graham Sutherland at his home in Kent, and he and his wife were invited for tea. *Standing Figure* (against a laurel hedge) of 1950 was on Sutherland's easel on this occasion.[59] The Bells acquired a small Sutherland work from the Redfern Gallery, London, in July of 1950, *Thorn Tree in Red*. In a 1956 Christmas card, Alistair Bell wrote to Sutherland from Vancouver: "Four delectable Sutherlands here just now with a British Council show of watercolours and drawings!"[60] This exhibition would have been *British Watercolours and Drawings of the Twentieth Century*, organized by the British Council in conjunction with the London Public Library and Art Museum. It had an almost two-year circuit in Canada, visiting the Vancouver Art Gallery from 13 November to 1 December 1956.

Bert and Jessie Binning also made contact with Sutherland, probably as a consequence of their trip to England in 1951. Sutherland wrote the Binnings on 22 November 1953: "I constantly meet young Canadians who have met you — or have studied under you — so talk of you is very frequent;" he requested that Bert Binning send photographs of his own work and inquired when the Binnings were likely to return to Europe, saying that he did not "see much prospect of my coming to Canada."[61] The Binnings acquired a work by Sutherland during their 1951 trip, a gouache and chalk entitled *Studies* of 1950 (Vancouver Art Gallery). The relationship between Binning and Sutherland was one of mutual respect, not artistic influence, although Binning's work has affinities with another British modernist, Ben Nicholson.

Figure 6. Gordon Smith, *Orchard*, 1954. Oil on masonite, 80.0 x 89.5 cm. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, Gift from J.S. McLean Canadian Fund, 1954 (Photo: Art Gallery of Ontario).

Canadian artists were introduced to the new generation of modern British artists both at home and abroad, some being among the half-million Canadians who served in the U.K. during the War. Gordon Smith, Michael Forster and Bruno Bobak, for example, saw modern British art while stationed in London. As Linda Jansma has observed, Forster, who met Sutherland and Moore in London, produced work that has affinities with Sutherland's war drawings.[62] Bruno Bobak met a number of British artists during his tenure as an offical war artist, but parallels between his art and Sutherland's date primarily to around 1950, when he was a teacher at the Vancouver School of Art. Works by Bobak in the collections of the Art Gallery of Ontario, the National Gallery of Canada, the Art Gallery of Hamilton and the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria all display a similar preoccupation with organic forms placed stage-like in the foreground of a landscape. Usually the forms are plants — corn, milkweed, cow parsley — but also include birds and rocks. Sutherland also made various paintings and drawings of corn (maize).[63] In Bobak's *Cornstalks* of 1950 (Art Gallery of Ontario) (fig. 5), two cornstalks appear to gesticulate, even dance, their fragile but sinuous forms silhouetted against an abstracted landscape. Bobak obviously analogizes plant and human life, here in a whimsical, slightly comical manner. In a later work, *Stone Resting*, 1953 (Vancouver Art Gallery), the tone is more sombre.[64] A broken, pitted pair of stones become a fallen, vulnerable "figure," threatened with disintegration or entanglement by its bleak setting.

Also working in Vancouver after the War was Gordon Smith, who later recalled: "The major cultural influence [in Vancouver] was that of England, and in fact in the forties, the major influence on painters was that of contemporary English artists such as Sutherland, Moore, Pasmore and Nicholson."[65] "Moore and Sutherland were always a special starting point for me."[66] He explained further:

> There were two big shows in the late 40's-50's; one of a general nature and one on the group of painters from St. Ives. These paintings were very influential, especially Graham Sutherland — on myself and others. Binning was very much struck by the work of Nicholson. ... I think basically it was the imagery rather than the handling of the paint which was important. The imagery was a lot like the imagery here — root forms, the sea.[67]

Although Smith went on to explore hard-edge abstraction in the 1960s, in an early work such as *Orchard* (fig. 6) of 1954 (Art Gallery of Ontario), a stand of naked trees, their branches pruned hard and silhouetted against the sky, function as expressionistic metaphors of struggle.[68] A profound affinity for natural form has since resurfaced in his work. In a recent painting entitled *Growth* (1993), a white tree-like form surmounted by an actual twig emerges from a darkly evocative, multi-layered web of almost cosmic vegetation.[69] Frontal, centralized, quietly resolute, with pervious borders and a mesh-like interior, the form is a metaphor for a sense of being that is nearly continuous with nature. While such a work is far removed from the direct influence of Graham Sutherland, it reveals a deep-seated aspiration to bridge nature and the self through organic fragments.

One of the Canadian artists whose work demonstrates

Figure 7. Graham Sutherland, *Association of Oaks*, 1940. Gouache, watercolour and pencil on paper mounted on board, 68.6 x 48.6 cm. Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art (Photo: Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art).

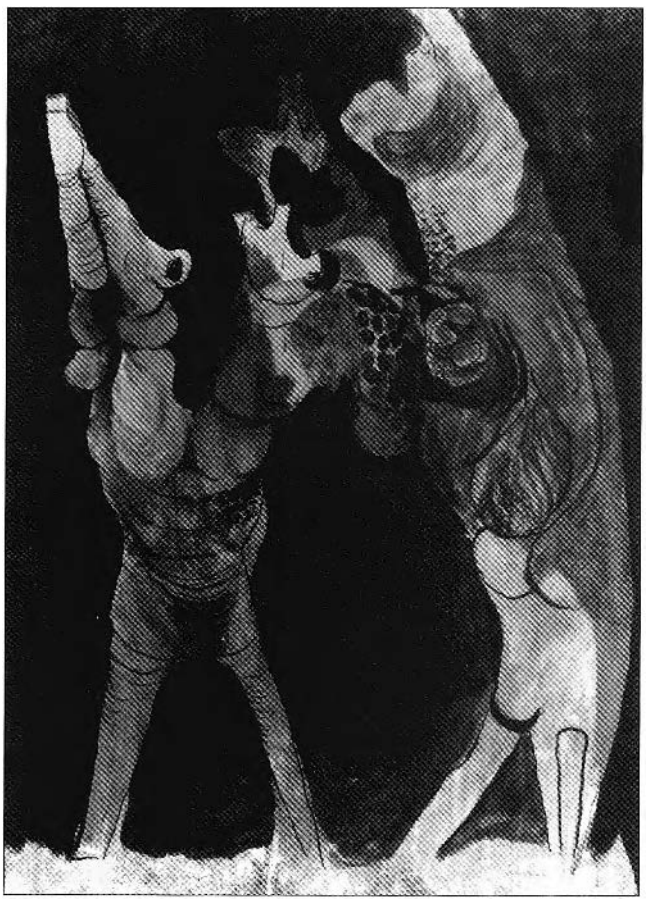
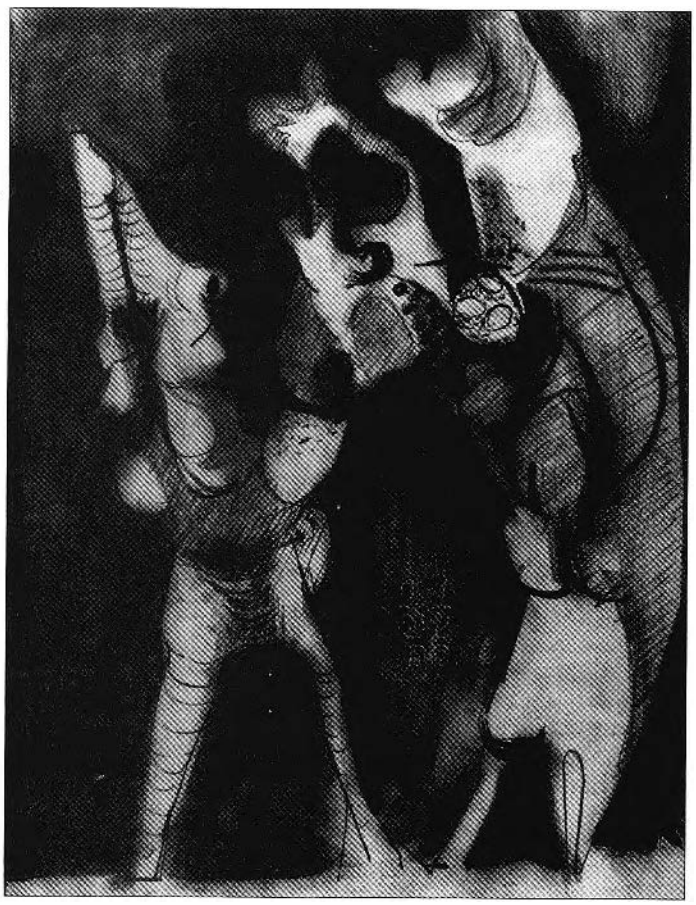


Figure 8. Jack Shadbolt, *After Graham Sutherland's "Association of Oaks"*, 1948. Pencil, pen and ink and brown chalk on paper, 20.2 x 28 cm. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections and University Archives Division (Photo: University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections and University Archives Division).



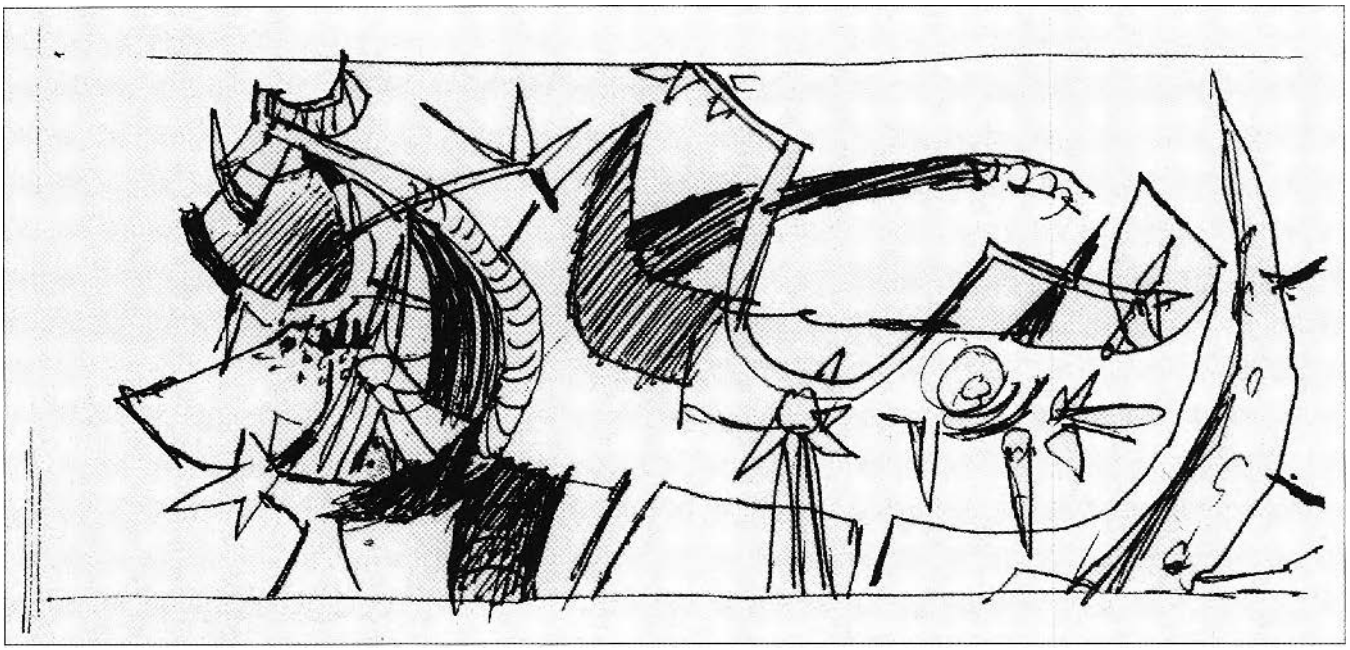
most clearly Sutherland's influence is Jack Shadbolt. Shadbolt had become acquainted with Sutherland's work at various points in his early career, but it was during his formative stay in New York City during 1948-49 that he reckoned seriously with the British painter's work. He visited a Sutherland exhibition held at the Buchholz Gallery from 16 November to 4 December 1948. From it he sent a catalogue to Bert and Jessie Binning in Vancouver inscribed with a letter in which he stated that "most people here think I am an offshoot of Graham Sutherland..."[70] Amongst Shadbolt's New York sketchbooks are five drawings by Shadbolt after Sutherland. Three are full-page sketches in pen and ink, the first dated 30 November, after early Pembrokeshire landscapes. Another is a drawing after Sutherland's *Association of Oaks* of 1940 (figs. 7 and 8), a depiction of two bulbous root-like "figures" in dialogue. A fifth is an extrapolation from one of Sutherland's "thorn heads" (fig. 9), in which the thorns have become the head of a full-length spiky creature in profile. As Scott Watson has stated, Sutherland was one of the two most important influences on Shadbolt at this time, the other being Picasso.[71] In an article written in New York in 1948-49, Shadbolt referred to Sutherland as an "English Picasso — and no less English for being so."[72] Presumably Shadbolt was thinking of Picasso's spiky, expressionistic *Guernica* period in drawing this comparison.

After his return to Vancouver, Shadbolt wrote about his aim of finding alternatives to human form:

> ... rare in Canada are interpretations of the figure.... However, in many cases, the most sensitive observers will try to imply the figure through other forms. Perhaps it is this ever-present implication of what is lacking which makes the most persistent overtone of contemporary painting a disturbing loneliness. This is offset... in the mysterious "nature presences" of [among others]... Sutherland. There seems to be a preponderant return to nature moods as the key area of experience through which one can get back into touch with reality.[73]

A preoccupation with what Shadbolt refers to as the "'organic-nature' matrix" runs throughout his work.[74] Shadbolt had begun to develop a theory of organic form in the late 1930s, based in part on his intense study of the art

Figure 9. Jack Shadbolt, *After Graham Sutherland's "Thorn Heads"*, 1948–49. Pen and ink on paper, 8.3 x 20.2 cm., Vancouver, University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections and University Archives Division (Photo: University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections and University Archives Division).



of Emily Carr.[75] At this stage he contrasted what he called the "synthetic" art of the Group of Seven with the "organic" art of Emily Carr. By organic he meant "a process of 'wholeness' and not of separate existing units."[76] He also meant vitality; he referred to Carr as being "exalted by the power of growth in nature."[77] His former student Molly Lamb Bobak recounted fifty years later how Shadbolt the teacher, "grasped [his] calf to show us the tension and aliveness of organic form."[78] It is not clear at what stage Shadbolt became acquainted with the writings of Herbert Read, but in his 1948-49 New York Sketchbooks he referred to Read's "Organic and Geometric Concepts."[79] As recently as 1989, Shadbolt compared the organic with the creative process itself, writing of the work of art as being "defined by its own evolutionary necessities."[80]

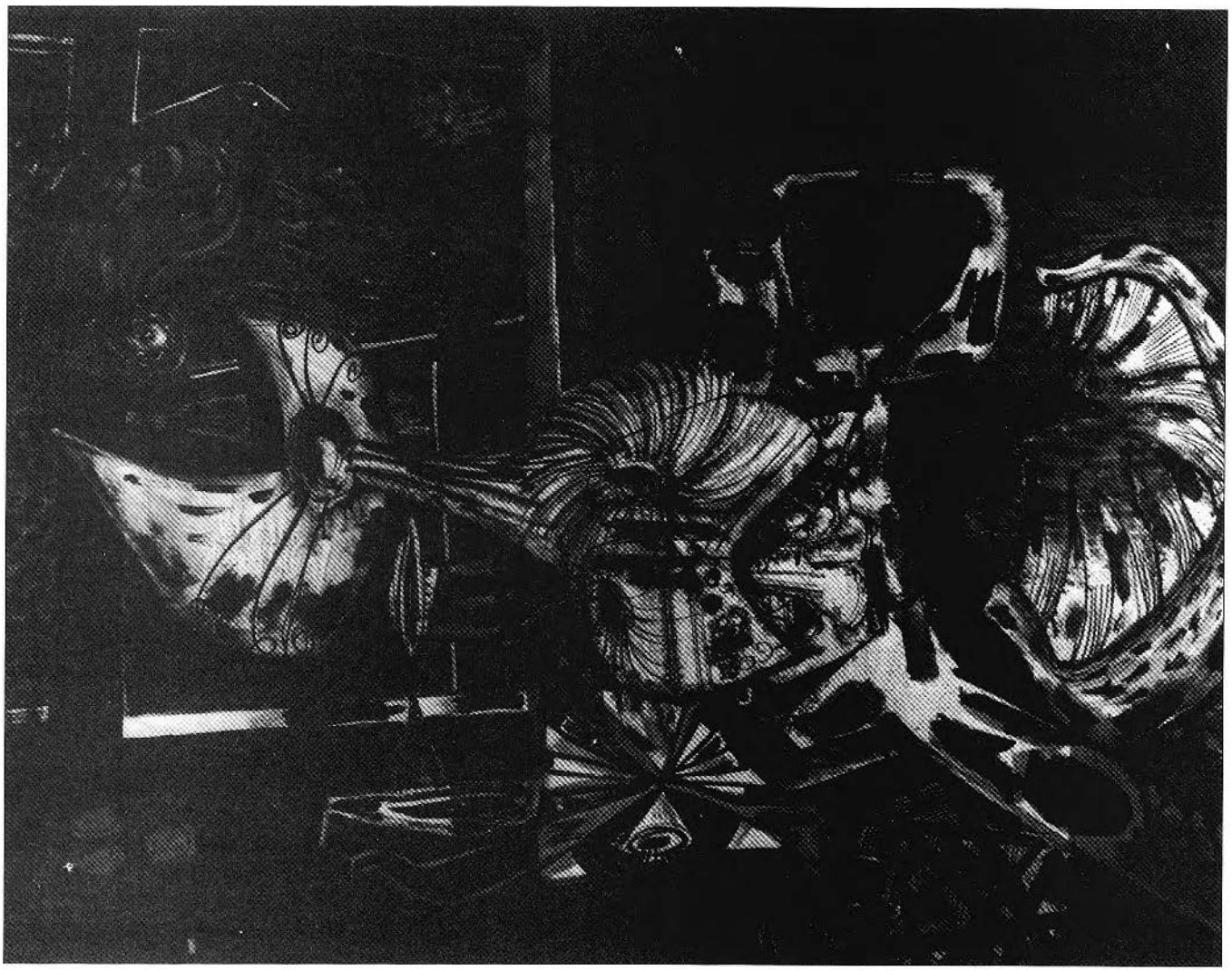
By the late 1940s, organic form for Shadbolt had developed from principle to metaphor. He wrote with reference to his "Field Grass" series of 1949, in which a throng of insect-like creatures assemble to do metaphoric battle:

> ... deep among the golden stems ... may be re-enacted the silent struggle of life — the lust, rapine, brutal murder, frustrated sadism, depredation, sterile withering — or in more positive moods, the joyful acrobatics of new youth — the protagonist being part insect, part bird, part animal, but never quite.[81]

"Protagonists" that are cobbled together from pseudo-animal and vegetative bits recur in his work in subsequent years. In *Dark Fruition* of 1952 (Seattle Art Museum), a creature with a large, gaping, pod- or shell-like mouth is about to trap its prey (fig. 10). On its torso is a texturing that resembles lichen, a favourite motif in Sutherland's landscapes and organic-figures (see *Association of Oaks*, fig. 7). Shadbolt's exploration of the vocabulary and metaphoric import of organic fragments continued in, for example, *Winter Theme No. 7* of 1961 (National Gallery of Canada).[82] Here although the subject of the painting was inspired by boats at a jetty, it coalesces with the idea of beetles feeding at a stem, as Shadbolt explained in his *In Search of Form*.[83] The structure of the pictorial space is further suggestive of two frontal bird-like figures virtually coincident with the picture plane, like specimens pinned under glass. As this work indicates, Shadbolt's interest in the organic was sustained by many sources, but it was surely strengthened by the "nature presences" of Graham Sutherland.

Around 1980, a more explicitly naturalistic treatment of organic form, clearly reminiscent of Sutherland's "figures," resurfaced in Shadbolt's work in, for example, the triptych *Grey Morning*, 1981 (Private Collection).[84] A chunk of tree trunk, frontally presented, is the central motif in each of the three panels. A natural found object, its truncated branches seem to writhe and gesticulate. Even at his most abstract, for example, in *Equivalent for Landscape #3*, 1980 (Private Collection),[85] Shadbolt's work retains its centralized image, vestiges of organic form, and an ambient space. Like many other first generation Canadian Abstract Expressionists, Shadbolt found organic form too potent metaphorically to abandon entirely. As recently as 1989, he wrote: "My pre-disposition to inject almost completely abstract elements into the somewhat "'organic-nature' ma-

Figure 10. Jack Shadbolt, *Dark Fruition*, 1952. Ink and casein on paper, 66.7 x 90.0 cm. Seattle Art Museum, NW Annual Exhibition Purchase Fund (Photo: Seattle Art Museum).

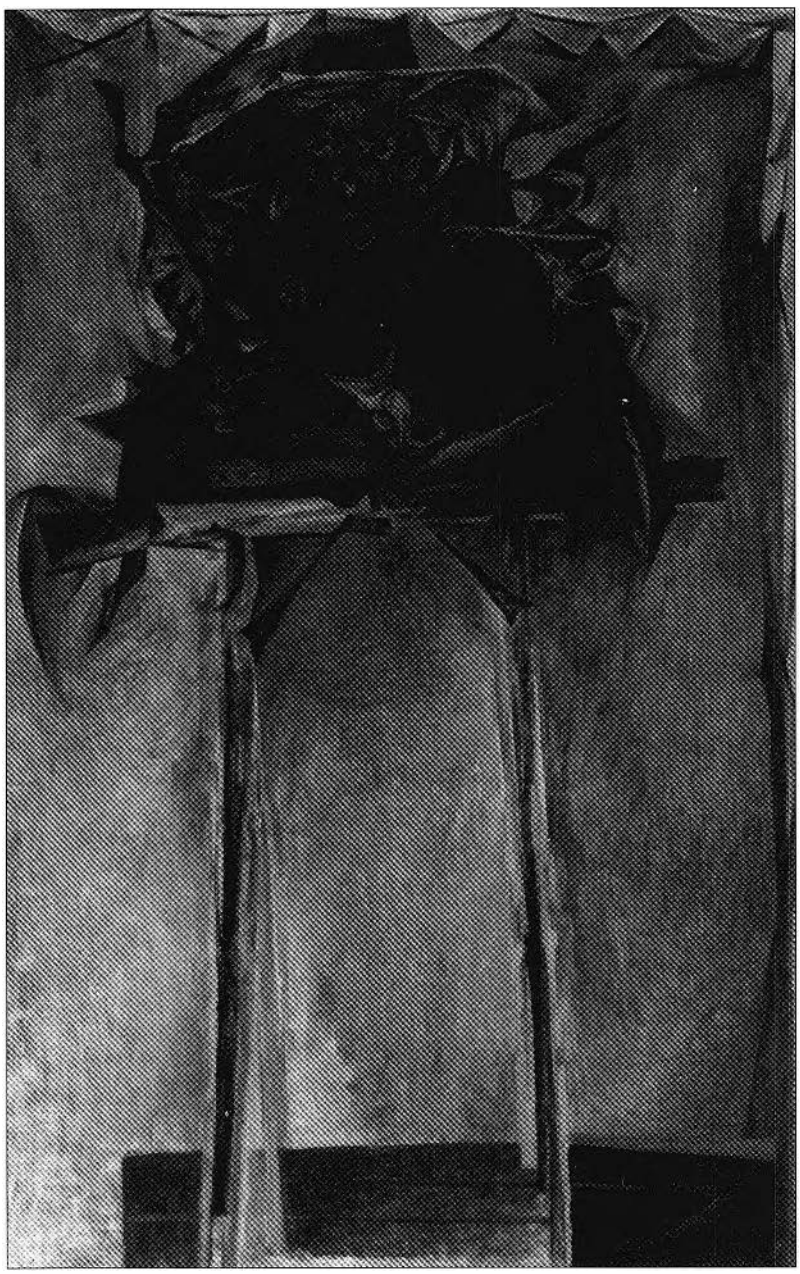


trix" of my work and the problem of fusing these has probably been one of the main intrigues for me of painting."[86]

Members of Painters Eleven (formed 1953), including Harold Town, Ray Mead, William Ronald and, most notably, Oscar Cahén were also interested in the art of Graham Sutherland. A work such as Town's *Side Show Performer* of 1950 (National Gallery of Canada) is obviously indebted to Sutherland's "Thorn Trees" (fig. 11). Surmounted on two legs, similar to the bony supports used by Sutherland in his "Thorn Trees," is a tangle of thorny vegetation, out of which peers a devilish visage. The figure stands on a plinth in a shallow space. Organic form is employed explicitly as a metaphor for a tortured and fragmented human form.

Ray Mead was apparently taught by Sutherland in London before arriving in Canada in 1946,[87] although he recalls being most interested in Ben Nicholson among modern British artists.[88] In the early 1950s he executed works such as *Winter Garden II* (c. 1952) and *Fighting Birds* (both The Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa) in which can be observed spiky, thorny, expressionist "figures" from the same family as Sutherland's. William Ronald's work of the early 1950s, such as *Night* (The Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa) and *The Sportsman* (Art Gallery of Ontario), both of 1952, participates in the iconography of thorny vegetation. Even Kazuo Nakamura, the member of Painters Eleven whose painting is most removed from the organic Abstract Expressionism that characterizes much of the others' work, provides insight into the role of modern British art in Toronto of the early 1950s. He recalls that *Time* magazine featured a full-page reproduction of a Sutherland "thorn tree" picture (3 Aug. 1953), which he tore out and posted up.[89] In discussing the art of Painters Eleven in an interview with Joan Murray, he used British art as his model, comparing his own work to the geometrical forms of Ben Nicholson

Figure 11. Harold Town, *Side Show Performer*, 1950. Oil on masonite, 101.5 x 64.3 cm. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, Gift of the Estate of Harold Barling Town, 1991 (Photo: National Gallery of Canada).



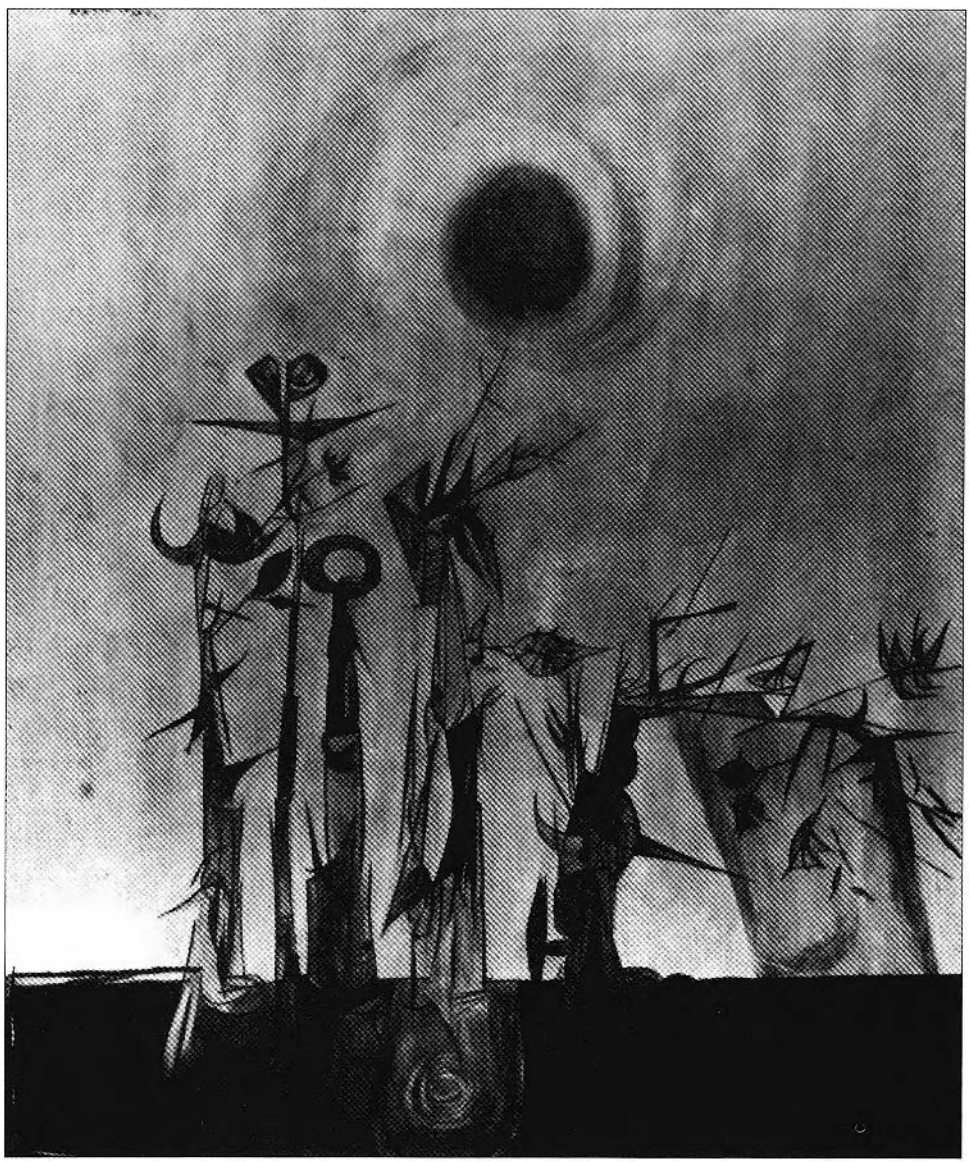
and the work of the other group members to the expressionistic forms of Graham Sutherland.[90]

Oscar Cahén's knowledge of Sutherland appears to date from his early years in Toronto, where he settled in 1944, rather than from his brief stay in England at the beginning of the War.[91] According to Harold Town, Cahén "was terribly influenced by the English painter, Graham Sutherland, he was just fascinated by him."[92] Sutherland's work was on view at the Art Gallery of Toronto several times during the late 1940s and early 1950s, and as already noted, both the Albright Art Gallery and the Art Gallery of Toronto acquired works by Sutherland during this interval. In Cahén's *Vegetation* (Drabinsky & Friedland Galleries, Toronto) the Sutherland model is at its most apparent (fig. 12). A cluster of standing, spiky, plant-like forms grows from an inhospitable plinth-like slab of ground. The branches have thorns; one is broken and bent while the others strain towards the sun. The iconography is indebted both to Sutherland and to the expressive notation and fragmentation of form employed by Picasso in *Guernica*. The hook-like shapes can be compared to Picasso's upward-gaping mouths, the thorns to his pointed tongues and flames. Christine Boyanoski has also discussed Cahén's imagery in relation to the "crucifixions" of the American Rico Lebrun.[93] However, the overriding debt is to Sutherland's "thorn" pictures and his subsequent "standing forms." Cahén's expressionistic plant-figures, set on their bleak stage, are an especially dismal metaphoric evocation of the life force.

Thorns, hooks, claws, spikes, bristles, as well as orbs/eyes (sometimes a lollipop shape with an eye at its centre) recur throughout his work, as, for example, in *Subjective Image* (Estate of the Artist, c/o Drabinsky and Friedland Galleries) (fig. 13) and *Objective Painting* (Private Collection).[94] Despite having moved into the realm of full-blown abstraction, Cahén retained these organic bits and pieces, and presumably so too their metaphoric content. The "eyes" are watchful; the hooks, invariably pointing upward, are gaping or viciously defending; the thorns are tortured; little whiskers on crude ovoids connote the primordial; and swelling forms suggest growth, as several of his titles confirm. Clearly, organic form was much more resonant for Cahén and other Canadian artists of his generation than has tended to be recognized. The fragmentary character of the organic material, as well, conveys disintegration and pertains to the passage into abstraction of the art of Cahén, Shadbolt and others.

An earlier generation of Canadian artists had analogized plant and human life, for example, in *The West Wind* by Tom Thomson of 1917 (Art Gallery of Ontario) or Lawren Harris' *North Shore, Lake Superior* of 1926 (National Gallery of Canada). A centralized and isolated pine tree in the former and a charred tree stump in the latter, both anthropomorphized, stand resolutely, like sentinels, against a broad

Figure 12. Oscar Cahén, *Vegetation.* Oil on masonite, 56.5 x 46.3 cm. Estate of the Artist, c/o Drabinsky & Friedland Galleries, Toronto (Photo: Art Gallery of Ontario).



and bleak expanse of land. In examples such as these, the Group of Seven and their contemporaries attempted to bridge what Bruce Elder has trenchantly characterized as "the appalling split between nature and [Canadian] consciousness,"[95] and to render intelligible Canada's largely intractable and inhospitable terrain.

By the 1950s the impulse to secure a relationship with nature had been transformed in Canadian painting into an internalization of landscape references. Donald Buchanan, writing in 1958, commented:

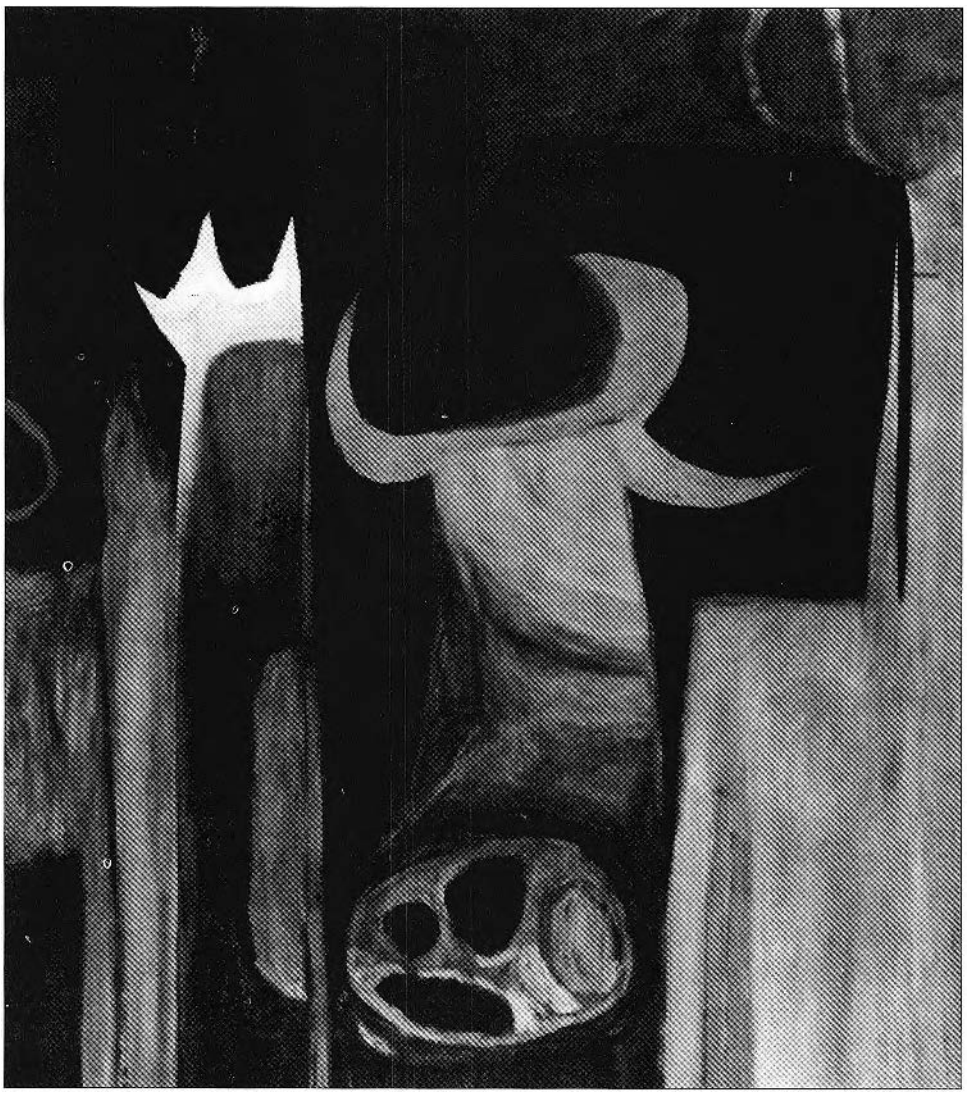
> Canadian art is no longer linked, as intimately as it used to be, to Canadian geography. ... As we mature, our painting passes from the objective to the subjective; in it the personal, the more intimate, even the introspective, take control. This may be seen even in many of the landscapes done by those of more recent generations ... [for example, Goodridge Roberts, Ken Lochhead, Jack Shadbolt, Alex Colville and Jean-Paul Lemieux].[96]

This may be said of Jock Macdonald, as well, as Joyce Zemans illuminates in her 1981 retrospective, in which she characterizes his abstractions as "inner landscapes."[97]

Canadian Abstract Expressionism, especially as practised in Toronto and Vancouver, has been accused, in the context of modernism, of a lingering pictorialism. Canadian artists retained a stronger sense of form in their painting than did the New York School; they included vestiges of organic matter longer, were more dependent on the relationship of figure to ground, and favoured centralized configurations. As Karen Wilkin has remarked: "... Toronto pictures are unlike New York pictures, just as they are unlike Montreal pictures. Most are oddly pictorial; even when they are most flat and most lay-out like, they are surprisingly animate. ... Often there are latent figure or landscape references."[98] Gary Michael Dault has also commented upon the organic character of Toronto painting of the period, adding: "after a time, the hooks and loops either dissipated or they coagulated into great, heraldic central presences — emblems of consciousness hovering in the centre of a vast performance space."[99]

Certainly, a recurrent referencing to nature survived well beyond the move into abstraction in the work of Canadian artists generally, taking various and complex forms. Shadbolt's evocation of "nature presences" is suggestive of the quest to bridge nature and the self, a propensity whose origins can be found in Romanticism and which was reinvented by Sutherland using the organic fragment. The art under consideration here, while shedding much of the specificity of visible phenomena, sought access to the un-

Figure 13. Oscar Cahén, *Subjective Image*. Oil on canvas laid on masonite, 121.9 x 106.7 cm. Estate of the Artist, c/o Drabinsky & Friedland Galleries, Toronto (Photo: Art Gallery of Ontario).



derlying principles and essences of nature. It affirmed a life force and coherence in nature, from which it drew empowerment and by which it sustained itself as a privileged site of creativity. While the organic fragment connotes disjuncture and even disintegration, it here disengages and confirms the subjective and the creative. The "crises of abstraction," to use Denise Leclerc's characterization of art in Canada in the 1950s,[100] was as much a crisis of identity. Organic form was not to be effaced readily from the art of this generation of Canadian artists, for whom identification with nature continued to resonate.

Thanks to Dr. Elizabeth Tumasonis, History in Art Dept., University of Victoria, for her editorial remarks, and Victoria Baster, University of Lethbridge Art Gallery, for her insightful discussions of Canadian-British art relations in the 1940s and 1950s.

1 Among those who have remarked upon the influence are: Donald F. P. Andrus, *Bruno Bobak: Selected Works/Oeuvres Choisies, 1943-1980* (Montreal, 1983?), 37; David Burnett, *Oscar Cahén* (Toronto, 1983), 12, and *Town*, (Toronto, 1986), 34; Christine Boyanoski, *The 1940s: A Decade of Painting in Ontario* (Toronto, 1984), 22 and 26, and *Jack Bush: Early Work*, (Toronto, 1985), 22, and *The 1950s: Works on Paper* (Toronto, 1988), 3, 6-7; Scott Watson, *Jack Shadbolt* (Vancouver/Toronto, 1990), 58; Patricia Ainslie, *Correspondences: Jack Shadbolt* (Calgary, 1991), 12-14; Linda Jansma, *Michael Forster: Order Out of Chaos — Sixty Years of a Canadian Artist* (Oshawa, 1993), 25; and Gordon Smith (interview by Peter Malkin), *Gordon Smith* (Vancouver, 1976), n.p.

2 Larger versions of the Biennale exhibition travelled to the Musée national d'Art Moderne in Paris (where his painting *Standing Forms* of 1952 was acquired), the Stedelijk Musuem, Amsterdam, and the Kunsthaus, Zurich. It concluded its tour at the Tate Gallery, London, and featured among the coronation celebrations for Queen Elizabeth II in the summer of 1953. A second retrospective was organized by the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston, Mass., in 1953 and toured North America, including a stop at the Vancouver Art Gallery (*Sutherland and Moore*, Sept. 15 — Oct. 11). Sutherland's first solo commercial exhibition in North America took place in 1946 at the Buchholz Gallery, New York. The same year, the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, organized a large survey, *British Contemporary Painters*, which included Sutherland, and acquired one of his major "Thorn Tree" canvases of 1945. The exhibition travelled to the Art Gallery of Toronto (Apr. 3-30).

3 David Mellor, *A Paradise Lost: The Neo-Romantic Imagination in Britain, 1935-55* (London, 1987), 11, 110.

4 *The Studio*, 132, no. 644 (Nov. 1946), 149.

5 Kenneth Clark, "The New Romanticism in British Painting," *Art News (New York)*, 45 (Feb. 1947), 25.

6 John Piper, *British Romantic Artists* (London 1946, c. 1942), 7-8 (Piper quotes from the preface to Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*).

7 Herbert Read, *The Philosophy of Modern Art* (New York, 1953), 107-09.

8 Read, *The Philosophy of Modern Art*, 80, and *idem*, *Contemporary British Art* (Harmondsworth, 1951), 39.

9 "Conversation between V. S. Pritchett, Graham Sutherland, Sir Kenneth Clark and Henry Moore," *The Listener* (13 Nov. 1941), cited in Julian Andrews, ed., *Graham Sutherland: Correspondences/Selected Writings on Art* (The Rhos, Picton Castle, Haverfordwest, 1982), 40.

10 Andrews, ed., *Correspondences*, 42.

11 Andrews, ed., *Correspondences*.

12 "Thoughts on Painting", 6 Sept. 1951, cited in Andrews, ed., *Correspondences*, 72.

13 M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (London/Oxford/New York, c. 1953, 1980), 167-77 and 184-225.

14 Dirk Teuber, "Max Ernsts Lehrmittel," *Max Ernst in Köln: die rhenische Kunstszene bis 1922*, ed. Wulf Herzogenrath (Cologne, 1980), 206-14.

15 Michel Remy, "Surrealism's Vertiginous Descent on Britain," *Surrealism in Britain in the Thirties: Angels of Anarchy and Machines for Making Clouds*, exh. cat. (Leeds, 1986), 26.

16 Read, *The Philosophy of Modern Art*, 211.

17 Read, *The Philosophy of Modern Art*, 205.

18 Quoted in "The Nurturing Body," Mellor, *A Paradise Lost*, 22.

19 Graham Sutherland, "Thoughts on Painting," *The Listener*, 6 Sept. 1951, cited in Ronald Alley, *Graham Sutherland* (London, 1982), 108.

20 Roger Berthoud, *Graham Sutherland: A Biography* (London 1982), 92.

21 Introduction to a catalogue of the Albrecht Dürer Gesellschaft, Nuremberg, 1969, cited in Andrews, ed., *Correspondences*, 103.

22 Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp*, 198-201.

23 "Art and Life", 13 Nov. 1941, cited in Andrews, ed., *Correspondences*, 44.

24 "Landscape and Figures", *The Listener*, 26 July 1962, cited in Andrews, ed., *Correspondences*, 79.

25 Geoffrey Grigson, "Authentic and False in the New 'Romanticism'," *Horizon*, XVII, no. 99 (Mar. 1948), 206.

26 Andrew Causey, *Paul Nash* (Oxford, 1980), 253-68.

27 Graham Sutherland, "Thoughts on Painting," *The Listener*, 6 Sept. 1951, cited in Andrews, ed., *Correspondences*, 72.

28 W. L. Morton, "Canada and the United States," *The Canadian Identity*, 2nd edn (Toronto and Buffalo, 1971), 75f.

29 K. A. MacKirdy, J. S. Moir, and Y. F. Zoltvany, *Changing Perspectives in Canadian History: Selected Problems* (Don Mills, 1971) and Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics and Provincialism* (Toronto/Buffalo/London, c. 1981, rev. 1989), 192-93.

30 Vincent Massey, *On Being Canadian* (Toronto/Vancouver, 1948), 97-112, and Harold Innis, "The Strategy of Culture," *Changing Concepts of Time* (Toronto, 1952), 2, 19-20.

31 Garry Mainprize, "The National Gallery of Canada: A Hundred Years of Exhibitions — List and Index," *RACAR*, XI, nos. 1 and 2 (1984), 3-78; and Karen McKenzie and Larry Pfaff, "The Art Gallery of Ontario: Sixty Years of Exhibitions, 1906-1966," *RACAR*, VII, nos. 1 and 2 (1980), 62-91.

32 *The National Gallery of Canada* (Toronto 1971), 49; Paul Duval noted and criticized this trend as early as 1956 in "Insular Art," *The Telegram, Toronto*, April 1956.

33 Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada Archives, "1939-40 Contemporary British Art/N.Y. World's Fair" files.

34 Kathleen Fenwick, "Revival of British Painting," *Canadian Art*, IV, no. 3 (May 1947), 119.

35 Andrew C. Ritchie, *British Contemporary Painters* (Toronto, 1947), 32 (condensed version of the Albright Art Gallery catalogue combined with a catalogue for the exhibition *Masterpieces of English Painting: Hogarth, Constable and Turner*).

36 Art Gallery of Toronto, *Contemporary Art from Great Britain, the United States and France with Sculpture from the United States*, exh. cat., Art Gallery of Toronto (Toronto, 1949), 6.

37 Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada Archives, "1950 Contemporary Paintings from Great Britain, the United States and France" exhibition file.

38 Conversation with Jack Shadbolt, 11 Dec. 1990, and subsequent correspondence.

39 Conversation with Gordon Smith, 15 July 1993, and subsequent correspondence.

40 Donald Buchanan, "Old Wine in New Bottles," *Canadian Art*, IV, no. 3 (May 1947), 114 and 117.

41 Kathleen Fenwick, "Revival of British Painting," *Canadian Art*, IV, no. 3 (May 1947), 118.

42 Eric Newton, "The Paintings of Graham Sutherland," *Canadian Art*, IX, no. 3 (Spring 1952), 116-21.

43 George Elliot, "The Search for Vitality in Ontario," *Canadian Art*, XII, no. 3 (Spring 1955), 95.

44 According to Roger Berthoud, it was probably on Kenneth Clark's recommendation that Jarvis was appointed director; Roger Berthoud, *Graham Sutherland: A Biography* (London, 1982), 96.

45 William Withrow, *Contemporary Canadian Painting* (Toronto, 1972), 10.

46 Press release, National Gallery of Canada appointment of Alan Jarvis as director, 16 Feb. 1955; see University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Alan Hepburn Jarvis Papers.

47 Karen Finlay, *20th-Century British Art from the Collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario* (Toronto, 1987), 9.

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49 Ronald Alley, *Graham Sutherland* (London, 1982), 175, cat. 249.

50 *Vancouver: Art and Artists, 1931-1983* (Vancouver, 1983), 56.

51 Minutes, Vancouver Art Gallery Council Meeting, 25 Nov. 1949, Vancouver Art Gallery Archives, Vancouver.

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59 Conversation with Alistair and Betty Bell, 10 June 1991. It is no. 66 in Robert Melville's *Graham Sutherland* (London, 1950).

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