



fig. 1 Arthur Lister, Portrait of Hector Charlesworth, 1931-1933, pen and blue ink on wove paper, 12.8 x 10.2 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Gift of F. Maud Brown. (Photo : National Gallery of Canada)

BEAUTY MY MISTRESS

Hector Charlesworth as Art Critic

During fifty years as a journalist Hector Charlesworth (1872-1945) wrote on average only two or three reviews a year dealing with the visual arts, but his critical opinions have acquired an important place in the history of Canadian art. His limited engagement with the subject was determined in large part by the relative scarcity of art exhibitions in Toronto until about 1925,¹ by his editorial duties and also by his greater commitment to writing about music and drama; however what he had to say was expressed with authority and forcefulness, especially when it came to the Group of Seven. For them he became the embodiment of reactionary opposition to new ways of painting the Canadian landscape. They counter-attacked with articles and letters to editors, and Arthur Lismer's well-known caricature presents their view of him as both sanctimonious and doltish (fig.1). Eventually, when their success was assured, he could be dismissed with amused tolerance as "Old Heck," but their original feelings may have lingered to the end. When Charlesworth's daughter met A.Y. Jackson at the McMichael Collection in the 1960's she was rebuffed, and believed it was because of the old animosity toward her father.²

"Old Heck" is now quoted regularly to exemplify the traditionalism triumphantly overthrown by the Group of Seven. Nevertheless, from the beginning of his career as a regular critic in 1912, Charlesworth supported a form of modernism in some ways more radical than the Group's own. Although he deplored an almost total preoccupation with landscape in most exhibitions of Canadian painting,³ he welcomed the early works of these young landscapists as continuations of what he regarded as the newest tendency. Later, he criticized their departures from his modernist canon with a degree of venom that he probably came to regret, but examination of the reviews reveals that his objections were based on deep feelings and thoughtful consideration.

Hector Charlesworth described his professional career in three volumes of reminiscences including evocative passages about his early life and education.⁴ His father was a shoe salesman who later rose to become manager of a factory in Hamilton but the family was not sufficiently affluent to permit Charlesworth to continue his education beyond the age of fifteen. Fortunate to have had an inspiring teacher of English and literature in secondary school, he continued his education in a public library near the Toronto office where he was apprenticed to an accountant for two years. He read literature and philosophy, aspired to become a writer and sent examples of his poetry and prose to the weekly paper

Saturday Night. The editor not only published his work but included a notice inviting the anonymous author to a job interview in 1891. At the age of seventeen he was hired as an assistant editor, inaugurating a journalistic career that took him to several Toronto newspapers where he gained experience reporting on crime, politics and business affairs as well as music and drama.⁵ In 1910 he returned to *Saturday Night* and retired as editor-in-chief in 1932.

At *Saturday Night* Charlesworth continued to write arts criticism and a column of "Reflections," often about books and looking back over his career in later years, he took pride in having been able to maintain his artistic and literary interests in spite of the pressure of editorial duties. This had the practical effect, he maintained, of keeping his writing skills in tune while helping him to report on public events and personalities with the detachment of an artist. Also, it clearly provided him with some compensation for his abandonment of an early ambition to travel to London and attempt serious writing during what he regarded as "the golden years" of English literature between 1894 and 1914. He always looked back with admiration to the period designated as "The Renaissance of English Art" by Oscar Wilde, whose works Charlesworth had read together with those of Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, J.M. Whistler and George Moore. These figures were founders and protagonists of the aesthetic movement of the 1890's, which is described in the classic study published by Holbrook Jackson in 1913. Charlesworth praised the book in terms which confirm aestheticism as the source of his artistic tastes and literary ambitions.⁶

"Even such parochial centres as the cities of Canada felt this awakening,"⁷ he wrote and a minor result was his own juvenile nature poetry, composed from the age of sixteen onward. These verses were inspired by the pastoral landscape of southern Ontario that he fondly recalled in his reminiscences:

If one stands on Ward's Hill, Port Hope, on the old roadway that used to run back of Trinity College School, one may see straight away to the north, across four miles of beautiful rolling country, the gables of the farmstead my grandfather completed in 1859, set down amid ten acres of apple orchard. In blossom time, when the apple trees, the giant lilac bushes, and the locust or acacia trees were in bloom, the scent and sights were thrilling in their loveliness. I have memories of summer nights when the singing in the chapel of Trinity College could be heard across four miles of valley, and when the moon rose the whippoorwill would respond with plaintive cries.⁸

Charlesworth's earliest verses were conventional and sentimental⁹ but his later sonnets attracted friendly attention from the poet William Wilfred Campbell, who included a group of them in his *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* (1913).¹⁰ This brief appearance in the company of Canada's leading poets was the zenith of Charlesworth's literary achievement. It confirmed his adoption of what he later described as a double life initiated when, "as a boy of 16 I had made beauty my



fig. 2 Hector Charlesworth, Frontispiece, *I'm Telling You : Being Further Candid Chronicles...*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1937. (Photo : McMaster University)

mistress, and whatever my pursuits I have never lost sight of her."¹¹

The pride that Charlesworth took in his famous resemblance to King Edward VII is evident in a photograph taken for the frontispiece for his last volume of reminiscences (fig.2), but the elegantly tilted homburg, carefully trimmed beard, handkerchief and cane also reveal one who cultivated the sensibilities of an Edwardian aesthete with a keen interest in literature, music and the theatre. Of course the visual arts had been important to him as well, ever since his first year at *Saturday Night* where he met the artists C.W. Jefferys, Robert Holmes, Otto Jacobi, Carl Ahrens, Daniel Fowler and many others. Later he remarked that this was how he had become familiar with most Canadian painters of importance. His expertise was demonstrated as early as 1892 in an article on "Painting in Canada," where he over-confidently castigated the shortcomings of many artists while, with more reason, condemning the Canadian public for its ignorance of art.¹² In the same year he intervened on behalf of a controversial painting by Ernest Thompson Seton and prevented its exclusion from the Canadian section of the Fine Arts exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.¹³ He visited that exhibition in 1893 and its vast display of world art became a reference point to which he often referred during a career deprived of foreign travel.

Perhaps it was at Chicago that he began to develop his taste for the relatively new trend in the United States toward "poetic" landscape painting initiated by the late work of the American George Inness and his followers.¹⁴ They abandoned grandiose scenes, careful detail, anecdote and moralizing in favour of pastoral themes imbued with gentle melancholy that were "dissolved into soft, muted, shimmering color... dreamlike, light-saturated." Their intention was to create delicate, ethereal moods and assimilate painting to music or poetry by means of tonal nuance, rhythmic composition and suggestion.¹⁵ Although such painting was an international phenomenon inspired by Corot in France, Whistler in England, J.H. Weissenbruch in the Netherlands and R. Macaulay Stevenson in Scotland, an historian of American art is probably correct in asserting that "in no other country has it affected any such proportion of landscape work as in America."¹⁶

It was inevitable that Canadian artists would become involved in this new tendency. Painters like Archibald Browne (1864-1948), F. McGillivray Knowles (1859-1932), Carl Ahrens (1862-1936) and W.E. Atkinson (1862-1926) assimilated the influences of Whistler, Corot, Inness and Stevenson and by 1904 they were exhibiting works in Toronto which challenged viewers to appreciate vague, generalized arrangements of shapes and colours suggesting moonlight, twilight and mist in the river valleys of southern Ontario. In Toronto studios painters and poets could then be overheard discussing ways of creating visual equivalents of poetry, or arguing about Mallarmé's views regarding the pre-emi-



fig. 3 Archibald Browne, *Bewitchment*, c. 1910, oil on canvas, 91.0 x 63.0 cm, Private Collection. (Photo : Harry Korol)

nence of pure beauty over "expressive meaning."¹⁷ At least one critic heaped scorn on this "dreamy, non-committal, low-toned, washy style" which "induced the true believer to go into a state almost hypnotic over a spot of dim orange surrounded by dark purple...supposed to represent the verdant mead of the poets."¹⁸ But it was this popular school of landscape painting with which the next generation of artists had to compete in Canadian exhibitions, not the Dutch painters ridiculed by A.Y. Jackson as foreign interlopers on native soil.¹⁹ Responding to the challenge, the Group of Seven, their youthful energy and op-

timism in tune with the spirit of nation-building, succeeded in overwhelming the painters of pastoral dreams and virtually eliminated them from Canada's art historical memory.

Charlesworth's familiarity with Whistler's "Ten O'Clock Lecture," Oscar Wilde's "The Decay of Lying" and George Moore's *Modern Painting*,²⁰ enabled him to recognize the new mode as an important aspect of the aesthetic movement that had first influenced him through its literature. He began to champion its exponents with enthusiasm and in his first signed review for *Saturday Night*, in 1913, he singled out Archibald Browne (fig.3) for special praise as "one of the most individual of our new painters [who] seeks out nature in her evanescent moods of mist and shadow, [giving] the impression of dreams rather than actualities." Later he praised Browne for taking a truly Whistlerian viewpoint of his subjects "in the lovely Don Valley." Another favorite was W.E. Atkinson (fig.4), "a genuine seer of nature," with his "tender, poetic style...tranquility of coloring [and] true atmospheric feeling." Carl Ahrens, who was personally acquainted with and influenced by George Inness, painted woodland scenes described by Charlesworth as "interpreting with poetic truth" the "most lovely pastoral scenes imaginable in the Humber Valley." He complimented the eclectic F. McGillivray Knowles, who was closely connected with the American art scene, in similar terms. He also delighted in the "landscapes of exceptional loveliness, thrilling in...delicate vibration of tones and poetry of arrangement" painted by Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles (1866-1928), works which were perhaps even more typical of what may be called the aesthetic school of landscape painting.²¹ (fig.5)

Charlesworth remained faithful to these artists and their methods throughout his career, but their fondness for pastoral scenes of the kind celebrated in his youthful poetry enabled him to link them with Homer Watson (1855-1936) and Horatio Walker (1858-1938), whose paintings were more detailed, earthy and moralizing in their treatment of the rural scene in Ontario and Québec. In this regard they contravened the aesthetic movement's ban on emphatic subject matter and didactic messages, but Watson's poetic quality had been admired by Wilde and Whistler, and Walker was redeemed by his link to the Barbizon painters who had been so important for the origins of aesthetic landscape painting. In fact, Charlesworth was always willing to enlarge his roster of favourite painters to include strong and divergent artistic personalities. He had been taught by George Moore to respect some of the most revolutionary painters of the 19th century - Courbet, Manet, Degas, Whistler and Monet²² - so he was able to admire the up-to-date colourism and handling of Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté (1869-1937), inspired by French Impressionism but imbued with the requisite "poetic feeling." James Wilson Morrice (1865-1924), now regarded as a pioneer of post-impressionist modernism in Canada, was also praised by



fig. 4 W.E. Atkinson,
October, 1904, oil on
canvas, 74.3 x 99.7 cm,
Government of Ontario
Art Collection,
Toronto. (Photo : Tom
Moore)



fig. 5 Elizabeth M. Knowles,
Misty Evening, 1913,
oil on canvas, 30.3 x
23.2 cm, Art Gallery of
Ontario, Toronto. Gift
of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon
Conn, 1937. (Photo :
Art Gallery of Ontario)

Charlesworth for his "peculiar poetry, warmth, mystery and aesthetic appeal."²⁵

When the younger artists who were to form the Group of Seven came to Charlesworth's attention in 1912 he tended to judge them with reference to criteria provided by the aesthetic landscapists. His approval of J.E.H. MacDonald's *Tracks and Traffic* (fig.6) was based on a liking for its "poetic and decorative treatment of the unusual subject of a railway freight yard," an approach to urban themes sanctioned by both Whistler and Monet, as Charlesworth was well aware. Although he often found his favourite ingredients lacking, he could praise A.Y. Jackson's *Red Maple* (1914, National Gallery of Canada), shown at the R.C.A. in 1914, as a "very vivid and original" painting, with "a striking composition." In 1915 he seemed inclined to regard the newcomers as having great potential within the Canadian school. It was "the startling glow of color" they brought to the annual exhibition of the O.S.A. that he found impressive. His expectation of low-toned dreaminess in landscape painting was challenged. He sensed the excitement of a rebellion in the making and as one who traced his own artistic awakening to the assault on Victorianism by youthful innovators in the nineties, he could hardly withhold guarded approval. "No doubt some of

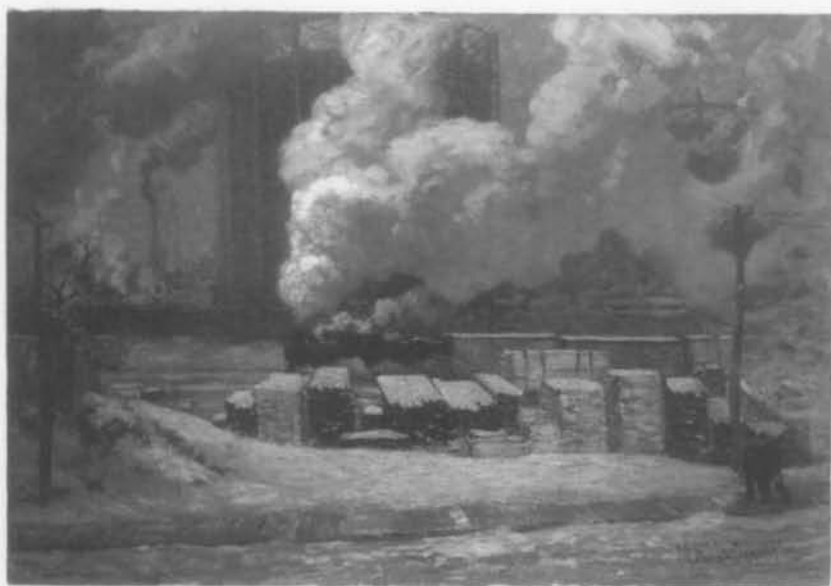


fig. 6 J.E.H. MacDonald, *Tracks and Traffic*, 1912, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 101.6 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Walter C. Laidlaw, 1937. (Photo: Art Gallery of Ontario)



fig. 7 Tom Thomson, *Northern River*, c. 1914-15, oil on canvas, 115.1 x 102.0 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada)

these younger men see their tones in an exaggerated degree," he wrote, "but their influence has been on the whole good. They have wakened up their elders." Harris, Jackson, and Varley were all complimented and Tom Thomson's *Northern River* (fig.7) was singled out as "fine, vigorous and colourful," a work Charlesworth later came to regard as "one of Canada's finest possessions" by an artist who had been a "brilliant young interpreter of the Canadian wilds." The paintings of these young men seemed "almost to shout at us from the walls as if to inform us that Canada has a wealth of color in its vistas that cannot be surpassed in any land."²⁴

A year later in 1916, the tone was very different. Harris's *Snow II* (c.1916, National Gallery of Canada) he found to be "one of the best in his current style," but now he felt that, on the whole, the younger artists were "inspired by no sincere passion for beauty," resorting as they did to what he called the tactics of the vaudeville manager, using any means to catch the eye of the public. Their vivid colour was condemned instead of praised and J.E.H. MacDonald's works were singled out for a savage attack. How can one account for this dramatic change of heart? Possibly Charlesworth's acquaintances among the aesthetic painters had indicated to him that the strong colour and design of the new painters, when ranged in the competitive arena of an exhibition, aimed a death blow at the muted tonal gradations in which they specialized.²⁵

At the beginning of this 1916 review Charlesworth used a recently-coined term that was being applied to new and aggressive art when he remarked that "applied or quasi-'futurism' had gotten hold of the hanging committee." This epithet was loaded with unpleasant connotations as a result of the controversy that had erupted in Britain during the exhibition of Italian Futurist art in London in 1912. Engaged in a gleeful assault on time-honoured concepts of man, nature and art, the Futurists had used publicity stunts to promote their harsh, highly coloured abstractions and London was outraged. The long-standing suspicion that modernist art was allied with anarchism and communism in seeking to subvert civilization was heightened to fever pitch when the new art was taken up by young British artists calling themselves "Vorticists."²⁶ "Futurism" began to be used indiscriminately in the English speaking world to denote any form of radical modernism in art that offended and alarmed the general public.

Rumbles from these explosions reached Canada primarily through verbal description, commentary and a few illustrations in the British press (closely followed in loyal Ontario) but Charlesworth republished a diatribe against the new style by an American critic reacting to the Armory Show.²⁷ Such sources told him that the latest rebels in art were a more dangerous breed than the relatively gentle and gentlemanly innovators he had admired in his youth. It is not surprising that when the outbreak of war confirmed fears of a general assault on established values, he associated the attempted reform of Canadian painting with extremist art overseas. Joining with those who closed ranks against threats to the old order, he condemned the relatively mild novelties of colour and form introduced by what he described in 1916 as "militant Canadian artists full of new ideas with a liking for delirious subjects and startling colors."²⁸

Actual military duty claimed the services of most of the young insurgents after 1916. When their work as chroniclers of the conflict was exhibited in Toronto in 1919 and 1920, Charlesworth acknowledged the value of their contribution to Canada's war effort. These exhibitions also gave him an opportunity to see even more radical works by Wyndham Lewis and William Roberts, former members of the Vorticist group who had served in the Canadian War Records scheme. Not surprisingly, he found their paintings "crude" and "hideous" but he was prepared to acknowledge that defiance of convention by the use of extreme methods could serve as a means of conveying to future generations "a more effective message of what Canadians endured in the Great War."²⁹ Of course he was not prepared to countenance the continued application of such methods, however attenuated, to the Canadian scene. When the returned artists began to do so he admonished "the younger iconoclasts, the abandoned color splashers" that they must realize the function of painting is to be as consolatory as music.³⁰

This insistence on the need for relief from the stresses of the past four years coincided with a post-war reaction in Europe against a violently radical art identified with mechanization and irrationalism in the contemporary world and with the plunge into the horrors of modern warfare. British artists, once enthusiastic about the destructive aims of Futurism, had seen miles of front-line desolation and they now sought out placid, rural subjects associated with the wholeness and tranquillity of pre-war existence.³¹ Undoubtedly a comparable sentiment motivated those Canadian artists who retreated from the wreckage of Europe into the wilderness, but Charlesworth refused to be consoled by their renewed activity.

His feelings about the "iconoclasts" boiled over in December of 1922 when, after a visit to Ottawa, he wrote a front-page article entitled "The National Gallery a National Reproach." Here he characterized the young radicals, now formally constituted as the Group of Seven, as a canny, organized minority who had successfully lobbied to have their works over-represented in the National Collection. A great outcry ensued, with a reply from Sir Edmund Walker, Chairman of the Board of Trustees; an attack by artists on the critic's credentials as a judge of art and spirited answers from Charlesworth. He took the high ground that he was only adhering to "eternal standards of poetry and beauty which are being allowed to languish and die, in part by official connivance."³²

Clearly his attack on the National Gallery was partially motivated by a desire to protect the aesthetic painters from neglect, but he was also troubled by a growing suspicion of the Group of Seven as a symptom of a broader threat to the cultural and social well-being of Canada. His nostalgia for pre-war days was based on stronger and older memories than those of the re-grouped artists. He looked back on the age of Laurier as the happiest time the Canadian confederation had ever known, a period when a thriving agricultural economy was supported by strong Imperial ties.³³ It was an age when society, shaped by "vital rural districts," had been "a veritable forcing house of originality," producing characters "possessed of an individuality in outlook and pungency of utterance characteristic of the Canadians of the Confederation era, picturesque qualities we do not associate with the comparatively standardized Canadian of today."³⁴ Individualism had, in his view, fallen victim to paternalism in government, a process much accelerated when strong actions taken by parliament induced Canadians to work together in a national war effort.³⁵ Charlesworth saw this change reflected in the Group of Seven, who seemed to propose, he wrote later, that a national school of painting could be created "by inducing all young painters to feel, see, think and paint in exactly the same way," and when he thought the National Gallery was promoting the work of believers in a national art effort to the exclusion of divergent tendencies, he feared that Canadian art would harden into one official style.³⁶

In 1925, in his only review of a Group of Seven exhibition, he phrased this criticism with reference to what he perceived as the artists' advocacy of a "Group System" in art:

The group system in politics has of late been tried in several parts of the English speaking world and found wanting; but there still seem to be persons who have a childlike faith in the group system in art. There is an analogy between the two. The new political groups in Canada have been a congeries of regimented opinion, pledged to fixed programs, in which it is treason to look aside at anything unrelated to the main object....Something like the very same attitude of mind governs the body of painters known as "The Group of Seven."³⁷

Here one discerns a connection between his views on art and what the editorial pages of *Saturday Night* described as a dangerous internal threat to progress and good government in Canada. This threat materialized when the United Farmers of Ontario, aided by Labour, were able to form a government after the election of 1919. They overthrew the British two-party system and initiated a period of political unrest that had repercussions throughout the country.³⁸ According to *Saturday Night's* fevered editorials, influenced no doubt by the "Red Scare" sweeping North America in the wake of the Russian Revolution, this outcome posed multiple, interrelated threats to democracy: a form of the Teutonic domination the country had opposed during the war; a local adaptation of Russia's [Socialist] message to mankind and a class-based "Group System" of government imported from populist politics of the American west.³⁹ The possible consequence for art had been spelled out in an editorial from 1920 in which Charlesworth had described the dominance in Soviet Russia of "an abstract, fantastically crude art, devoid of all beauty - futurism, [a style] in keeping with a socialism without beauty and a communism without equality."⁴⁰

He can hardly have believed the activities and works of the Group of Seven were very closely allied with radical political movements supposed to be threatening the British parliamentary system in Canada. However the fact that the Group was supported by and contributed to the progressive Toronto periodicals *The Rebel* and its successor *The Canadian Forum*⁴¹ must have encouraged that leap of the critical imagination which, for over a hundred years, had identified the work of artistic rebels as analogues of political disruption.⁴² Consequently Charlesworth returned again and again to the Group's supposed similarity to the Futurists. He referred to their "hit 'em in the eye" efforts⁴³ to capture the attention of the public by radical departures from artistic norms, their ability to intimidate some artists, their success in recruiting others to their cause and their use of official channels to publicize their work. In attacking the Group's stylistic innovations he compared their work with garish posters, a jazz orchestra in full blast and Greenwich village wallpaper.⁴⁴ In 1925 Charlesworth

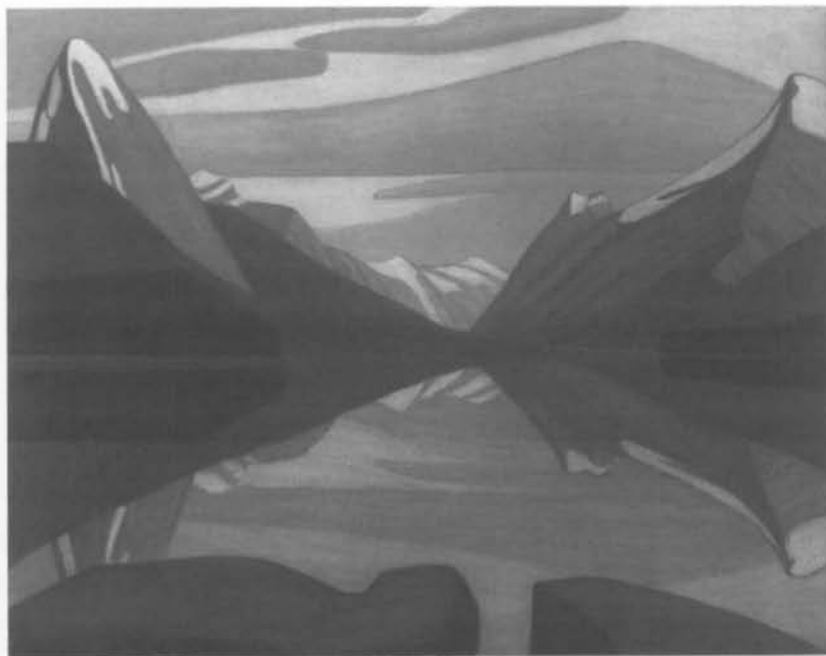


fig. 8 Lawren S. Harris, *Maligne Lake, Jasper Park*, 1924, oil on canvas, 122.8 x 152.8 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada)

assailed Lawren Harris's *Maligne Lake* (fig.8) for its hard outlines, kaleidoscopic angles and spirals (said to resemble mechanical drawings) combined with "lighting akin to the weird glare of the calcium lamp." This seems to identify Harris, surprisingly enough for the contemporary reader, as the leader of a renewed Futurist threat to Canadian art.⁴⁵ Clearly the Group's art and their organization had begun to obsess him as a danger to the future of Canada and as a focus for his resentment about the passing of an age in which his personality and artistic sensibility had matured.

Charlesworth's nostalgia reached far back to "the sterling yeoman settlers of British origin" who, like his grandfather, had arrived early in the nineteenth century to complete the transformation of southern Ontario into farmland.⁴⁶ He shared not only their liking for British forms of social and political order but their dislike of an untamed, disorderly wilderness. The wilds existed only to be transformed, if possible, into fertile land, a process he believed was the best illustration of the axiom that life is change, change is life, a principle he found confirmed in *The Outline of History* by H.G. Wells. In a lengthy and enthusiastic book review he provided his own, significant illustration of this point: "It is only non-living things that

never change, never grow, never reproduce, like the primordial rocks of which Canada, with its Laurentian formation, is the abiding place."⁴⁷

Charlesworth's unforgiving view of the Northland was not modified until 1928, but this came too late for him to appreciate the discovery of its aesthetic potential by the Group of Seven.⁴⁸ Long before, within the milieu of Toronto's Bohemia in the 1890's ("a real Bohemia" more delightful, he said, than anything to be found after the War⁴⁹), he had become devoted to artists who shared his reverence for the rural scene and its capacity to inspire deep poetic sentiment. In spite of Charlesworth's subsequent career as a city journalist and chronicler of the rise of modern commerce, he remained spiritually committed to an ideal of beauty rooted in the agrarian myth of husbandry as the source of all that is most valuable in human culture.⁵⁰ Mechanization and industrialization heightened a sense of loss that led him to reject the subject matter of Group of Seven paintings as works depicting areas of primeval rock and jack pine instead of pastoral land "as lovely in its contours as a beautiful woman, glowing with exquisite and subtle gradations of tone."⁵¹ For him the Group had been and always remained "painters [who elect] to present in exaggerated terms the most sinister aspects of the Canadian wilds, and [who have] steadily campaigned against all painters of more suave and poetic impulse."⁵²

Charlesworth's lament about the Group's devotion to the "sinister wilderness" was written during the culmination of his campaign against them in 1924. It came when the Royal Canadian Academy lost out to the National Gallery in an acrimonious struggle to control the organization of an exhibition of Canadian art to be shown during the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in England. The result was a strong showing of the Group of Seven in this relatively prestigious venue.⁵³ Charlesworth, perceiving another triumph for "the organized minority," complained that "what some of us has feared has come to pass" and launched a front page attack under the screaming headline, "Freak Pictures at Wembley." Many British reviewers admired the younger Canadian artists but Charlesworth dismissed their comments as "flub-dub, every word of it" and suggested they were politically motivated as they attempted to "cement the Empire with friendly allusions to 'an original Canadian school of art.'" Nonetheless, as an enthusiastic anglophile he was certainly troubled by praise from this quarter, which the National Gallery was careful to collect and distribute widely in a pamphlet.⁵⁴ He must have experienced a sense of betrayal when British critics praised works that they might previously have regarded as abhorrent forms of modernism. In reaction he clung stubbornly to his old convictions and at the same time displayed colonial insecurity by worrying that representations of the Canadian wilderness at Wembley would create an impression among the British at large that "Canada is a land of ugliness and its art a reflection of a crude and tasteless native intelligence."⁵⁵

From a more practical point of view he was afraid that the Group's paintings, with their presentation of the Canadian scene as unrelentingly wild and presumably infertile, would discourage visitors to our shores. It is doubtful that he was thinking of tourists as much as the continuing need for Canada to attract the type of British settler who had come to Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century to make it "the granary of the British Empire."⁵⁶ As an old-fashioned Conservative loyal to the British monarchy, he saw great hope for Canada's future in its continuing association with the British Empire, which he could describe with awe as "an ever-potent factor in the affairs of this terrestrial sphere."⁵⁷ In the post-war period of continuing immigration by central Europeans, the traditional British source of new citizens must have seemed even more essential to Charlesworth, as it did to many others, for the orderly development and prosperity of the country. "From the standpoint of business," he wrote, "the Group of Seven are as bad an advertisement as this country ever had,"⁵⁸ one that would contribute to loosening the ties binding Canada to Britain and the Empire, further endangering economic and political stability.

Charlesworth's youthful ambition to pursue a literary career had been thwarted by geography, insufficient talent, necessity and opportunity, all of which propelled him into journalism; but throughout a long career his attention was divided studiously between the empyrean realm of the arts and public events in the noisy arena of an industrial city. The tragedy of his life, if such a term can be applied to one who impressed all who knew him as a contented man and happy warrior, was that the two realms could not be kept separate. This had seemed possible when the aesthetic movement defined creative work as the product of imaginative and spiritual energy far removed from material concerns. His "double life" was increasingly threatened by the social, technological, political and cultural changes that culminated in World War I. Younger artists and critics met the challenge of the compaction of art and life by redefining aesthetic value in terms of new subjects and forms adapted to the changed conditions of the twentieth century. One result was the success of the Group of Seven together with the public discrediting of Charlesworth's taste in art and the apparent relegation of his world view to the domain of ideas and principles outmoded by progress.

Charlesworth continued to find solace in music, his greatest love among the arts,⁵⁹ but even here there was no escaping the frantic tempo of the age. In spite of his fondness for the light entertainment of vaudeville, the circus and minstrel shows, he could not abide the wildly popular music that gave the post-war decade its name - jazz. For him it was a pejorative epithet, suitable for application to works by the Group of Seven, a parallel symptom of the corruption of art in modern times. It may also have brought his career as a critic to a sudden end that was sadly appropriate for an old journalist who had delighted in

recording unexpected twists and quirks in the lives of public figures. Family history relates that his last, highly abrasive music review of a concert by Duke Ellington resulted in an angry phone call from the musician, a call so stressful that it precipitated a final heart seizure.⁶⁰

For some there may be an appearance of grim justice in this last act of Charlesworth's career as a critic, and this account of his opinions and their origins may seem an unnecessary exercise in the pathology of reactionary criticism. Yet his objections to the Group of Seven were based on a clearly defined set of beliefs and principles that are not totally irrelevant at the present moment. Charlesworth believed that radically heightened aesthetic sensitivity, as advocated by the doctrine of art for art's sake, was an essential feature of human nature in its fully developed state. Against the odds, he did whatever he could to encourage this faculty in what he saw as a largely uneducated, frontier society devoted to the pursuit of material success. Motivated by fierce opposition to the philistinism of the church-ridden, money-centred society he had known during his youth in Toronto,⁶¹ he thought the manners and taste of his countrymen might be refined by acquaintance with the subtleties of the best of ancient and modern art. He was certain that this could not be achieved by a modernism in painting that he found to be crassly commercial in its appeal to a growing appetite for sensation and quick emotional satisfaction.

At the same time, he believed that a strongly defined character, verging on eccentricity at times, was essential if men and women were to be capable of lasting achievements and deserve the admiration of others. Respect for artistic originality was a natural corollary of this conviction and so was his insistence on the need for freedom of expression. The result was that in his own way, and in the context of contemporary events, he opposed any form of regimentation or control requiring subordination of individuality to a dominant principle or idea. His dislike of "group systems" requiring such repression enabled him to recognize a troubling tendency toward authoritarianism inherent in revolutionary, modernist art.⁶²

It was also an important principle for him that nature, both human and external, should be enjoyed as many-sided phenomena. "I know the woods and wilds of Canada as well as most men," he wrote, "and I am just as well equipped as any man to recognize a true interpretation," but his preference was for the delights of the softer, more "feminine" aspect of nature in a cultivated state, which over the centuries had released what he believed was the truest spring of poetry and art in humanity. He deplored the glorification of wilderness and the narrowness of what he called "the prevailing shibboleth of ruggedness" and "the vaunted qualities of strength" exemplified by the Group of Seven as they sought out their subjects in the Northland, their hearty outdoorsmanship inspired by the example of lumberjacks, fur trappers and other pioneers of wilderness ex-

ploitation.⁶³ Charlesworth felt there should also be a place for delicate and sensitive temperaments of the kind often found, he believed, in the women artists to whom he frequently referred with respect and esteem.⁶⁴

Old-fashioned loyalty to family, city, province, nation and Empire was also a marked trait of Charlesworth's system of values. It must have seemed essential to him as a means of binding together and strengthening the elements of individuality. It was this that helped to give his own character the kind of "pungency" he admired in others. Strong social loyalties keep individuality from becoming totally self-regarding, but repeated shifts and changes of loyalty, with an increasing focus on ideologies, weakened this unifying tendency in the modern age. Consequently, artistic activity turned increasingly inward, giving rise to what Charlesworth called "self-expression without limitation,"⁶⁵ a feature of modern art to which he strongly objected. Of course, it is hardly necessary to emphasize that Charlesworth has no claim to be considered a profound critical thinker. But today one might regard his resistance to twentieth-century modernism as a rudimentary form of an awareness that has evolved into complex arguments devised by contemporary critics to identify the multiple defects of twentieth century art, including commodification, beaurocratization, authoritarianism, male dominance, and narcissism.⁶⁶

In addition, some of his more specific complaints about the work of the Group of Seven, re-drafted from a more contemporary point of view, have come to dominate critical opinion. For example, many later critics have considered that, as a whole, the paintings of the Group (excepting their outdoor sketches) display a rather monotonous, commercialist version of modernism's flattened form and space, as Charlesworth maintained. An excessive emphasis on landscape has also been noted, a fault that Charlesworth had criticized in the overall aspect of Canadian art.⁶⁷ Even one of the Group's closest associates and supporters from the early days, Barker Fairley, adopted a view comparable with Charlesworth's about the stifling effect of such preoccupation with "pictures of rocks and trees."⁶⁸ Their emphasis on distinctive topography was also criticized with reference to an up-dated version of Charlesworth's aesthetic criteria by the Montreal painter and critic, John Lyman. In the spirit of Roger Fry and Clive Bell, he disapproved of their emphasis on subject matter rather than "significant form" or, as he phrased it, their preoccupation with "sentimental geography" instead of "the subjective element of artistic creation." Lyman also echoed and confirmed one of Charlesworth's major reservations when he contended that the Group did not respect "the sensibility and imagination of the individual."⁶⁹

But it was only after World War II that versions of Charlesworth's highly critical view of the Group acquired decisive influence. The artist and critic George Swinton exemplifies this development in an article from 1955 when he wrote of the Group's unfortunate influence in making landscape painting synon-

ymous with art in Canada and of how they were "fettered by stylization and decoratively contrived geometric form from which all allusions to humanity must be excluded for fear of sentimentalism and effeminacy." In his view the remedy lay with "a rebirth to the ways of contemporary painting" through younger artists linked to the latest avant-garde tendencies. This process was well under way as he wrote, leading to final liberation from Group of Seven dominance, an ironic outcome with regard to Charlesworth's career as a critic. There followed the complete integration of Canadian art with twentieth-century modernism during the 1960's. However, only a decade later the validity of twentieth-century modernism as a whole was called into question, and in this ongoing debate there are, as noted above, further ironic echoes of criticisms voiced by Charlesworth in the 1920's.⁷⁰

PAUL H. WALTON

Department of Art and Art History
McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

Notes

1 The Royal Canadian Academy, The Ontario Society of Artists, The Canadian Art Club, the Art Gallery of Toronto and the Canadian National Exhibition mounted most of the exhibitions reviewed by Charlesworth during his most active years as an art critic (1913-1927).

2 A.Y. Jackson records the Group's nickname for Charlesworth in A.Y. JACKSON, *A Painter's Country: The Autobiography of A.Y. Jackson* (Toronto: Clark Irwin, 1958), 79. For the anecdote about Charlesworth's daughter (the late Mrs. Constance MacKay) and for other helpful information I am indebted to Mrs. Marion E. Thompson, Toronto.

3 *Saturday Night* (24 May 1913): 6; (21 Mar. 1914): 5; (9 May 1914): 5.

4 Hector CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles: Leaves from the Note Book of a Canadian Journalist* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1925); *More Candid Chronicles: Further Leaves from the Notebook of a Canadian Journalist* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1928); *I'm Telling You: Being the Further Candid Chronicles of Hector Charlesworth* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1937).

5 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 123-25, 71.

6 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 316-17; Holbrook JACKSON, *The Eighteen Nineties: A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Grant Richards, 1913).

7 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 317.

8 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 18.

9 See his "Wych-Hazel," *Saturday Night's Christmas* (Dec. 1890): 18.

10 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 89-91; Wilfred CAMPBELL, ed., *The Ox-*

ford *Book of Canadian Verse* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1913), 304-06.

11 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 315.

12 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 91-5; 328-36; "Art in Canada To-day," *The Lake Magazine* (Aug. 1892): 57-61.

13 *Saturday Night*, 17 Dec. 1892, 4; 24 Dec. 1892, 14; CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 334-36. Seton's painting, entitled "Awaited in Vain," depicted a winter landscape with wolves in the foreground devouring the remains of a man attacked as he returned to his cabin.

14 Elizabeth BROUN, "American Paintings and Sculpture in the Fine Arts Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1976), "The Poetic Landscapists," 96-131.

15 E.P. RICHARDSON, *Painting in America* (London: Constable, 1959), 304. For a general discussion of this trend see Wanda M. CORN, *The Color of Mood: American Tonalism 1880-1920*, exhibition catalogue, M.H. De Young Memorial Museum and the California Palace of the Legion of Honour (San Francisco, 1972).

16 RICHARDSON, *Painting in America*, 304.

17 A conversation along these lines between the artist Elizabeth McGillivray Knowles (fig. 5) and the poet Bliss Carman was recalled by NEWTON MACTAVISH in his reminiscences *Ars Longa* (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co. Ltd., 1938), 69.

18 The new tendency is noted by an anonymous reviewer of the O.S.A. exhibition in 1904 (*The Mail and Empire*, 20 Feb. 1904, 6), and it was criticized by J.A. RADFORD "Canadian Art and its Critics," *Canadian Magazine* (Oct. 1907), 518.

19 A.Y. JACKSON, "Dutch Art in Canada: The Last Chapter," *The Rebel* (Nov. 1919): 65-6; *A Painter's Country*, 14-15.

20 James MCNEILL WHISTLER, "Mr. Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock Lecture'," *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (London: W. Heineman, 1892); Oscar WILDE, "The Decay of Lying," *Intentions* (London: Heineman & Balestier, 1891); George MOORE, *Modern Painting* (London: Walter Scott, 1893).

21 *Saturday Night* (24 May 1913): 6; (19 Oct. 1918): 7; (10 Nov. 1917): 7; (9 May 1914): 5; (5 Jan. 1918): 3; (21 Mar. 1914): 5; (3 Nov. 1923): 3.

22 See his reviews of paintings sent to Toronto from New York and seen in the Metropolitan Museum in *Saturday Night* (11 Mar. 1922): 2; (24 Nov. 1923): 3; (21 Apr. 1927): 2.

23 *Saturday Night* (21 Mar. 1914): 5; (24 May 1913): 6.

Charlesworth later adopted the view that "Montreal artists put Toronto's Group of Seven far into the shade," especially Ozias Leduc, whose "*Golden Snow*" he admired as a "unique composition...beautiful in its handling of mist and shadow half penetrated by dull gold sunlight." Clarence Gagnon was also singled out for special praise (*Saturday Night* [22 May 1926]: 5).

24 *Saturday Night* (20 Mar. 1915): 4; (16 March 1912): 7; (28 Nov. 1914): 4; (30 Dec. 1922): 3; (21 Feb. 1925): 3.

25 *Saturday Night* (18 Mar. 1916): 5. Charlesworth's suggestions for alternative titles for MacDonald's paintings, "Hungarian Goulash" and "Drunkard's Stomach," has become notorious.

- 26 The sole Vorticist exhibition took place in London in 1915. See Richard CORK, *Vorticist and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*, 1 (London: G. Fraser, 1976), 275-80.
- 27 Kenyon COX, "Futurism in Art," *Saturday Night* (9 Aug. 1913): 7; British reviews easily available to Charlesworth were: Anon., "Art Exhibition. The Futurists," *The Times*, 1 Mar. 1912, 9; Sir Claude PHILLIPS, "Sackville Gallery. Italian Futurist Painters," *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 Mar. 1912, 9. For further comment on reaction in the British press to the Futurist and Vorticist exhibitions, with illustrations of caricatures of the art and artists see CORK, *Vorticist and Abstract Art*, vol.1, 26-7, 276-78.
- 28 *Saturday Night* (19 Aug. 1916): 5.
- 29 *Saturday Night* (13 Sept. 1919): 2; (18 Sept. 1920): 2.
- 30 *Saturday Night* (26 Nov. 1921): 5.
- 31 Richard CORK, "Machine Age, Apocalypse and Pastoral," *British Art in the 20th Century: the Modern Movement*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, ed. Susan Compton (London, 1987), 67-72.
- 32 *Saturday Night* (9 Dec. 1922): 3; (23 Dec. 1922): 2; (30 Dec. 1922): 3; *Mail and Empire*, Toronto (19 Dec. 1922): 13.
- 33 CHARLESWORTH, *The Canadian Scene: Sketches Political and Historical* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1927), 91.
- 34 CHARLESWORTH, *The Canadian Scene*, 106; *More Candid Chronicles*, 2; *Saturday Night* (8 Oct. 1938): 11.
- 35 CHARLESWORTH, *More Candid Chronicles*, 123.
- 36 *Saturday Night* (26 Apr. 1924): 3.
- 37 CHARLESWORTH, "The Group System in Art," *Saturday Night* (24 Jan. 1925): 3.
- 38 See John HERD THOMPSON with Allen SEAGER, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discontent* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 14-37, 104-37 for the destruction and tentative restoration of the two party system during the 1920's.
- 39 *Saturday Night* (1 Nov. 1919): 1; (24 Jan. 1920): 1. Henry Wise Wood, a farmer from Missouri and leader of the United Farmers of Alberta envisioned a form of government in which power resided with citizens grouped according to occupation and class consciousness. These groups were to co-operate in restoring democracy by the elimination of what he regarded as economic and political oppression imposed by an existing party system serving the interests of "a few individuals controlling large amounts of wealth." See H.W. WOOD, "In Defence of Group Politics," *The Canadian Forum* (Dec. 1922): 72-4; W.K. ROLPH, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta* (Toronto: University Press of Toronto Press, 1950), 63-6; E.C. DRURY, *Farmer Premier: Memoirs...* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1950), 94-5.
- 40 *Saturday Night* (26 June 1920): 2.
- 41 Margaret F.R. DAVIDSON, "A New Approach to the Group of Seven," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, IV:4 (Nov. 1969): 9-16; Joan MURRAY, "Graphics in the Forum," *The Canadian Forum* (May 1970): 42-5.
- 42 On one occasion he compared the Group with the extreme nationalists of the Ku Klux Klan. *Saturday Night* (22 May 1926): 2.
- 43 *Saturday Night* (18 Mar. 1916): 5.
- 44 *Saturday Night* (26 Nov. 1921): 5; (24 Mar. 1923): 2.

- 45 *Saturday Night* (24 Jan. 1925): 3.
- 46 CHARLESWORTH, *The Canadian Scene*, 106.
- 47 *Saturday Night* (18 Dec. 1920): 2.
- 48 CHARLESWORTH, "The Northland: Its Wonders, Its People and Its Meaning to Canada," *Saturday Night* (28 Jan. 1928): 2.
- 49 CHARLESWORTH, *More Candid Chronicles*, 324.
- 50 For more extended commentary on the agrarian myth in relation to the Group of Seven and Charlesworth's criticism see Paul H. WALTON, "The Group of Seven and Northern Development," *RACAR*, XVII:2 (1990): 171-79.
- 51 *Saturday Night* (17 May 1924): 1.
- 52 *Saturday Night* (17 May 1924): 1; (8 Nov. 1924): 1.
- 53 Ann DAVIS, "The Wembley Controversy in Canadian Art," *The Canadian Historical Review*, LIV: 1 (Mar. 1973): 48-74.
- 54 *Saturday Night* (17 May 1924): 1; (13 Sept. 1924): 1; (24 Jan. 1925): 3; (National Gallery of Canada), *Press Comments on the Canadian Section of Fine Arts: British Empire Exhibition, 1924-1925* (Ottawa, 1925).
- 55 *Saturday Night* (8 Nov. 1924): 1.
- 56 CHARLESWORTH, *Candid Chronicles*, 15.
- 57 CHARLESWORTH, *I'm Telling You*, 152.
- 58 *Saturday Night* (13 Sept. 1924): 1.
- 59 Charlesworth's proudest memory of a short and difficult tenure in Ottawa as Chairman of the forerunner of the CBC, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, was his introduction of fine music to a wider audience (CHARLESWORTH, *I'm Telling You*, 96-7).
- 60 Information from Mrs M.E. Thompson; CHARLESWORTH, "Ellington Tests Nerves in Orgy of Cacophony," *Globe and Mail*, 28 Dec. 1945, 21.
- 61 See Charlesworth's comments on Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1869) and its description of philistinism as it was to be found in "the Toronto I knew as a lad, and from which his writings were an intellectual escape...." (*Saturday Night* [27 Jan. 1923]: 1).
- 62 See Max KOZLOFF, "The Authoritarian Personality in Modern Art," *Artforum*, XXI:8 (May 1974), 40-7.
- 63 *Saturday Night* (30 Dec. 1922): 3; (6 Dec. 1924): 3; (18 Mar. 1916): 5. For more comment on the Group of Seven as wilderness workers see WALTON, "The Group of Seven," 176-7.
- 64 Tension between the "poetic" landscapists and the "rugged" Group of Seven as articulated by Charlesworth and others may be seen as a reflection of a literary quarrel in England during the "decadent" phase of aestheticism in the 1890s. It was between two groups jovially nicknamed the "arties" and the "hearties," the latter a counter-decadent movement led by the poet W.F. Henley. (Karl BECKSON, *Aesthetes and Decadents of the 1890s* [New York: Random House, 1966], xxxiii, note 22).
- 65 *Saturday Night* (18 June 1932): 9.

66 Anthologized recently in Howard RISATTI, ed., *Postmodern Perspectives: Issues in Contemporary Art* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1990); see also Suzi GABLIK, *Has Modernism Failed?* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984).

67 See note 3.

68 Barker FAIRLEY, "Canadian Art: Man vs. Landscape," *The Canadian Forum* (Dec. 1939): 284-86.

69 John LYMAN, "Canadian Art" [letter to the editor], *The Canadian Forum* (May 1932): 313-14.

70 George SWINTON, "Painting in Canada," *Queen's Quarterly* 62 (1955): 540-45.

Résumé

«BEAUTÉ Ô MA MAÎTRESSE»

Ou Hector Charlesworth et la critique d'art

Ses attaques répétées contre les oeuvres du Groupe des Sept, particulièrement de 1916 à 1926, avaient valu à Hector Charlesworth, éditeur de l'hebdomadaire torontois *Saturday Night*, d'être devenu à leurs yeux l'incarnation des préjugés anti-modernistes. Une telle opposition, chez cet autodidacte cultivé, possédant des ambitions littéraires et un grand intérêt pour le théâtre, les lettres et les arts, venait de ce que son goût avait été formé par l'esthétisme radical des années 1890, tel que transmis par la littérature et la critique d'art britanniques de l'époque.

Au début, en 1910, il avait manifesté de l'admiration pour des artistes aux tendances diverses, dont James Wilson Morrice, Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté et Ozias Leduc, mais, inspiré dans une large mesure par l'art paysager américain, sous l'influence des dernières oeuvres de George Inness, ainsi que par les écoles de Barbizon, de La Haye, de Londres et de Glasgow, il soutenait surtout la cause des adeptes ontariens du culte international d'un art paysager qui joignait la rêverie poétique au charme pastoral. Si les noms d'artistes comme Archibald Browne, Elizabeth Knowles, Carl Ahrens et W.E. Atkinson sont maintenant virtuellement effacés de la mémoire artistique des Canadiens, cela est dû en partie à ce que, malgré ses efforts, ils ont été éclipsés par des artistes plus jeunes, partisans des couleurs vives, des formes schématisées et des sujets puisés dans la nature sauvage.

Ces peintres de la nature sauvage qui allaient former le Groupe des Sept, Charlesworth les admirait, au début, pour l'originalité de leurs coloris. Mais il

allait bientôt leur reprocher leur goût du sensationnel et leur crudité de formes. Il en vint à les regarder comme des radicaux de la même espèce que les futuristes italiens, menés par l'ambition commerciale et l'égoïsme et décidés à rompre avec les concepts traditionnels de la beauté qui, pour lui, étaient la base de l'esthétisme. Plus tard, lorsqu'ils réussirent à placer leurs oeuvres dans les collections de la Galerie nationale, à Ottawa, et à l'exposition de l'Empire britannique, à Wembley, en 1924, il interpréta cette réussite comme la victoire du nouvel esprit collectiviste issu, en grande partie, de la mobilisation pour la guerre et dirigé, à présent, vers la mobilisation pour l'organisation d'un art national. Puis, il élargit le champ de ses attaques en mettant ses lecteurs en garde contre les «systèmes collectifs en art» et leurs liens avec les extrémistes socialistes et nationalistes en Russie et aux États-Unis. Ces liens représentaient, il en était certain, une menace évidente au respect de l'individualisme inhérent aux traditions britanniques sur le plan social, politique et artistique. L'arrivée au pouvoir en Ontario, en 1919, d'un gouvernement de «Fermiers Unis d'Ontario» confirmait ce qu'il craignait le plus: les activités artistiques du Groupe des Sept étaient le signe d'une tendance dangereuse pour la société canadienne.

Le culte voué par le Groupe aux paysages du Grand Nord et leur affectation de rude masculinité choquaient aussi Charlesworth. Cela pouvait nuire à l'image du Canada et donner au public cultivé de Wembley l'impression de pionniers rustaude, étrangers aux valeurs antimatérialistes qu'avait définies au XIX^e siècle le poète et critique anglais Matthew Arnold, une de ses idoles littéraires. Les représentations de la nature sauvage étaient aussi à ses yeux la trahison des traditions culturelles enracinées dans un aménagement de la nature qui avait, au cours des siècles, nourri l'attrait pour le spirituel et perpétué un véritable sens de la beauté.

Les enthousiasmes et les antipathies artistiques de Charlesworth étaient le produit d'un système de croyances fondé sur l'esthétisme, l'individualisme, l'agriculture et la loyauté envers les traditions britanniques. Il s'est vu considéré comme un «fossile» opposé au progrès, mais, ironiquement, son opposition farouche au Groupe des Sept devait éventuellement trouver un écho chez des artistes et des critiques champions d'une plus grande sensibilité artistique et de l'intégration de l'art canadien aux formes les plus radicales du modernisme international. Il est aussi ironique de voir que son rejet en bloc du modernisme du XX^e siècle semble maintenant rejoindre les théories postmodernistes.

Traduction: Élise Bonnette