DOROTHY KNOWLES'S RURAL LANDSCAPE PAINTING:
MODERNITY AND TRADITION IN URBAN SASKATCHEWAN

By

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ABSTRACT

Between 1955 and 1965, Saskatchewan painter Dorothy Knowles established her main category and style of production as "painterly" representation of rural landscape. The literature to date attributes the emergence of this practice to Knowles's encounter with Clement Greenberg, the patriarch of formalist criticism, at the 1962 Emma Lake Artists' Workshop. In fact, critic Andrew Hudson has called Knowles's work "the most important art to emerge out of Greenberg's workshop." Herein lies the problem central to this thesis: how did a woman artist negotiate (with critical and market success) the gender constraints of her artistic context while addressing additional social and artistic issues by means of rural landscape painting?

Previous examinations have constructed Knowles's landscape work as an autonomous, "feminine" and artist-centred activity. These constructions are dependent on Greenberg's formalist doctrine and charged with gendered precepts that have masked, if not negated, the paintings' social roots. However, little work has been done to revise this reading. Therefore, a deconstruction of Greenberg's gendered formalist language is undertaken in Chapter I. Evidence drawn from Greenberg's written and oral comments about women artists and critics demonstrates that formalist doctrine delineated masculine and feminine roles and styles, and consequently denied women's production a place in serious art practice.
Historical circumstances are then reconstructed to initialize a rereading of the elements that shaped the emergence and meaning of Knowles's rural landscapes. Two factors are documented: the urbanization of Saskatchewan in the 1950s with attendant transitions in art practice, as demonstrated by paintings and reviews produced at that time; and the literary and painting traditions of the myth of the Canadian prairie as a Garden of Eden, taken up in the idiom and content of Knowles's work. This material indicates that Knowles's rural landscape painting was not simply a result of formal manipulation of the medium nor of Greenberg's perceptive insight into the artist's "creative" inclinations. Knowles's early rural landscape painting is found to have registered seemingly contradictory and yet intermingled social desires for both an urban modernity and traditional rural prairie values.
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CHAPTER I
Constructions and Cross-Purposes

"I think all artists are agreed
That Truth is very tough to read,
So now we ask, is Greenberg right?
For Truth is also hard to write."

Moncrieff Williamson
May/June 1963

Women and modernism: it is a strategic proposition.
One that suggests an alternative avant-garde embodying a
whole new group of dissidents, set of values and site of
action. The suggestion of such an avant-garde challenges
the hegemony of traditional modernist art history, as indeed
it challenges the method of "the new art history." The
former confines its paradigm to art as object; the latter to
art as social practice. Nevertheless, both structure the
history of modernist art production in terms of a challenge

1Moncrieff Williamson, "South of the Borduas--Down Tenth
Street Way," Canadian Art 20 (May/June 1963):196. This is
an excerpt from "some doggerel inspired by some dogged yet
inspired criticism" and written by Williamson as one among
many critical letters to the Editor of Canadian Art magazine
in response to Clement Greenberg's analysis of art
production on the Canadian prairies, "Painting and Sculpture
in Prairie Canada Today," commissioned by the magazine and
published in the previous issue: Canadian Art 20
(March/April 1963):90-104.

2Griselda Pollock, "Vision, Voice and Power: Feminist Art
History and Marxism," Block 6 (1982):3. Although she agrees
that Marxism offers a viable paradigm for the new art
history, whose project is to reach a "radically new kind of
understanding of artistic production," Pollock argues that
the production of art is structured as much by "relations of
inequalities between the sexes" as by inequalities between
classes. A study of gender is the prerequisite of the
feminist social art history method.
to that which has gone before; and both presuppose the male artist as the active artist on the leading edge of art production. The notion of "women and modernism" calls into question this supposition.

This thesis is meant to intervene in the dominant discourses on modernist art practice on the Canadian prairies with a re-examination of the practice and production of a senior contemporary artist, Dorothy Knowles. Traditionally, the emergence of Knowles's rural landscape painting between 1955 and 1965 has been credited to critic Clement Greenberg. The historical circumstances that determined the content, meaning and mode of representation have been evacuated from the account. To date this reading has not been critically challenged, nor the historical circumstances reconstructed. The purpose of

3The terms "modernity", "modernism" and "modernist" are used in specific ways in this paper. "Modernity" defines the nature of an historical period in Saskatchewan from the end of World War II to 1965 wherein particular social conditions generally understood to be related to that term were found to be active. These will be delineated and examined in Chapter II. "Modernism" is to be understood as an art practice. In broad art historical terms it generally refers to work concerned with a manipulation of the medium itself whether in addition to, or regardless of, reference to external subject matter. Such work in various idioms is found from the late nineteenth-century onward. In the parameters of this discussion, "modernism" refers to art practice of this nature in post-World War II Saskatchewan. The artists engaged in such practice are then called "modernists". As will be seen in the literary evidence drawn upon in Chapter II, Saskatchewan's critics understood "modernists" to be "non-representational", that is, painting in an abstract idiom without overt external reference. This paper expands that categorization. Rather than grouping according to style, the artists are defined as "modernists" on the basis of their attitude to art production. All share an interest in expression through manipulation of the medium.
this thesis, then, is to undertake a feminist analysis of the social and artistic conditions of production with the goal of restoring Knowles's art practice to its historical context. This is not a project that can offer definitive explanations. The context is problematic; complexities continue to emerge as its structures are questioned. The evidence for rebuilding the historical situation is itself diverse and little critical work has been done with it in either art history or other fields. As a result, this thesis can be only an initial contribution.

I must acknowledge the drawbacks of restricting the query to one artist's circumstances and work. Such an approach calls up the traditional artist's monograph wherein the artist is elevated to the position of hero and genius. If biographical and individualistic, a monograph can efface any understanding of that artist's production as a social process, shaped by conscious and unconscious elements of the producer's circumstances. It is a problem common to monographic works; one that can lead to the interpretation of production as privately motivated rather than socially determined. Relative to this problem, Griselda Pollock proposes that the art historian consider two points: one, the producer's social formation within class and gender relations (I would add nationality and race); and two, the process of production "as the site of a crucial social interaction between producer and materials." Those materials must be recognized as economically and culturally
determined whether they be "technical—the legacy of
conventions, traditions and procedures—or those social and
ideological connotations of subject."\(^4\) Pollock also argues
that

positioning the painting as historical text is
paralleled by a stress on art-making as a social
and historical practice...[diminishing] the
centrality of the artist as originating individual
by focusing on the social and the historical
circumstances in which productive activities take
place....Part of [the] historical conditions of
existence was the presence of an intending
agent...

Knowles's production needs to be repositioned as visual
evidence, alongside historical literary documentation, of
the forces at work in the circumstances of her art practice.
This monographic approach precludes an extensive critical
reconstruction of the diverse on-going art practices in
which Knowles's work is only one element. As such it is not
to be construed as representative of all landscape or all
women's production. However, this approach offers a
worthwhile means of initiating a rereading of a specific
historical moment of interaction between women's production
and modernism; one that has been documented and discussed at
length--the 1962 Knowles-Greenberg encounter.

Greenberg was the patriarch of American formalist art
criticism in the 1950s and 1960s. His eloquent support for
Abstract Expressionism, and its foremost practitioner

\(^4\)Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity,"
in *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the

"Griselda Pollock, "Van Gogh and the Poor Slaves: Images of
Rural Labour as Modern Art," *Art History* 11 (September
Jackson Pollock, had been a major force in placing American art at the vanguard of the post-war art world. Greenberg was a figure of international stature in the art world when he visited Saskatchewan in 1962 and of paramount influence in the way that Knowles has been constructed in the literature to date.

Greenberg’s formalist theories, developed and refined between 1939 and 1964, were rooted partially in Heinrich Wölfflin’s nineteenth-century characterization of art history. Wölfflin explained changing style as an internally motivated and logical progression driven by artists of succeeding generations as they engaged in solving formal problems of the recent past so that styles succeed one another teleologically. As such, art production was constructed by Greenberg as an autonomous activity, concerned primarily with the material of the medium. It was not, by Greenberg’s definition, a form of political activity nor a tool of cultural engagement. The ultimate end of this self-critical process is "pure art," that is, an art focused on its irreducible formal elements.

Greenberg’s seminal essay, "Avant-garde and Kitsch" was published in 1939. The apex of his theoretical construction of the evolution of art was his formal introduction of Post Painterly Abstraction in an exhibition and catalogue essay for the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1964.

Clement Greenberg, "Modernist Painting," (1960) in Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology, ed. Francis Frascina and Charles Harrison (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), 5. Greenberg explained the significance of this theory in this way: "What had to be exhibited and made explicit was that which was unique and irreducible not only in art in general, but also in each particular art.... Thereby each art would be rendered 'pure', and in its 'purity' find the guarantee of its standards of quality as
example,

flatness alone was unique and exclusive...The enclosing shape of the support was a limiting condition, or norm, that was shared with the art of the theatre; colour was a norm or means shared with sculpture as well as the theatre. Flatness, two-dimensionality, was the only condition painting shared with no other art...

Greenberg believed that American Abstract Expressionism, which he called painterly abstraction, had come closest to this "pure" state. He interpreted it as being without extraneous subject matter and, instead, solely concerned with working with the elements of painting to articulate more clearly the painting surface.

Greenberg's critical analysis became a powerful and accessible model for aspiring critics and artists in Saskatchewan after he first visited the province in 1962. Terry Fenton, who has produced the only major catalogue of Knowles's painting, first studied and practiced art criticism in Saskatchewan in the mid-1960s. His catalogue essay on Knowles's production takes an uncompromisingly formalist approach. He introduces his topic by stating that he "had intended to write more about the relation of her art to tradition...but [it] proved to be too complex."

well as of its independence."
Instead, Fenton proceeds with a formal analysis of Knowles's work between 1964 and 1982. The paintings are removed from their own time and place of origin and investigated as autonomous objects positioned solely in terms of stylistic change. Knowles's early career, prior to her meeting Greenberg in 1962, is relegated to a biographical footnote at best. Fenton merely outlines her education and technical changes in her painting from 1948 to 1963. No mention is made of specific works, subject matter or context for her production at that time. However, it is the very complexity of the development and position of art production within its historical context that makes an examination of it worthwhile. Through an interrogation of the social and artistic environments in which the work emerged we can begin to reconstruct the historical meaning and function of the work itself. It is this complexity, however, that formalism chooses to leaven, preferring a seamless teleological progression of style.

Turning, then, to the historical context, it was in August 1962 that Clement Greenberg took up an invitation to lead the Emma Lake Artists' Workshop in northern Saskatchewan. The thirty-five year old Dorothy Knowles was among twenty-one artists who gathered for the annual two-week workshop for professional artists sponsored by the University of Saskatchewan. Art historical literature has

11 John King, The Emma Lake Workshops (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1972). Six of the twenty-one artists were women. Participation by women artists at Emma Lake between
enshrined this first encounter of the Canadian woman artist with the American male critic. It has been established as the pivotal moment in her painting career when, as workshop participant Andrew Hudson has said, she was "persuaded by [Greenberg] to go towards nature, where her feelings lay."

Greenberg subsequently commented on Knowles's work in his controversial article "Painting and Sculpture in Prairie Canada Today," published in Canadian Art magazine in 1963. He wrote that Knowles's painting would be strengthened and its tendency "toward the monumental" fostered, by applying her knowledge of abstract art to landscape, the subject matter which, he said, attracted her interest.

The juxtaposition of a woman painter and landscape subject matter calls up one of the operatives in social and artistic practices—the stereotyping of femininity. A feminine stereotype was fundamental to the shaping of the formalist discourse and crucial to the readings of Knowles's production in the literature to date. Griselda Pollock's definition of "femininity" is succinct.

Femininity is not the natural condition of female persons. It is a historically variable ideological construction of meanings for a sign *W*O*M*A*N which is produced by and for another social group which derives its identity and imagined superiority by manufacturing the spectre.

1955 and 1965 was 57/177, an average of 30%, from a high of 9/20 at the first workshop in 1955, led by Jack Shadbolt to a low of 0/14 at the workshop led by Barnett Newman in 1959. Knowles was born 7 April 1927.

12Ibid., 118.
of this fantastic Other.\textsuperscript{15}

That is, women are not "feminine" because they are female. Femininity is a framework of the cultural expectations of women. The issue of femininity becomes central in analyses of women's production because it carries social meanings that shape women artists' lives and work. The elements of femininity vary with the historical moment. For example, the moment of modernity paramount in the Knowles literature is that of 1962 Saskatchewan. The meanings given to femininity at that time and the ways in which femininity was activated were predicated in part by formalist theory.

Greenberg and his followers would claim that their position is not gender-biased and indeed that the autonomy of the art object makes an artist's gender irrelevant. However, the very paucity of comment from Greenberg on the work of women artists is itself indicative of the marginal role of the production of women in Greenberg's canon.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 71.

\textsuperscript{16}American feminist critic Lucy Lippard recognized and has discussed the irony of this in her own work. She realized in the mid-1970s that she was a cultural product herself--conditioned to believe and propagate the authoritative male canon. As an art historian she had not had any compunction about dealing solely with the canon because women artists had been virtually eliminated by past historians. (See Rozika Parker and Griselda Pollock, \textit{Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology} (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), for a discussion of the exclusion of women art producers by art historians.) As a critic, however, Lippard actively resisted working on art produced by women because, as she later realized, she was ambitious to achieve a position of authority in the field and was "decidedly not accustomed to identifying with female underdogs--oppressed and unknown artists, yes, but women--that was too close for comfort. 'I made it as a person, not as a woman,' I kept saying. Androgyny was only attractive because it was too hard to be a woman." From Lippard, "Changing Since Changing," in \textit{From
yet his words reveal his attitudes and are relevant in piecing together an understanding of the opportunities available to Knowles, and the social and artistic expectations she encountered in her work, as a maturing woman artist.\(^\text{17}\)

Of the scores of articles written by Greenberg only one was, ostensibly, about the work of a particular woman artist. Written in 1968 for the popular "women’s magazine" *Vogue*, rather than for a "serious" art journal, the article is excellent documentation of Greenberg’s gendered critical perceptions.\(^\text{18}\) It was about Minimalist sculptor Anne Truitt. Greenberg used the opportunity to dismiss Minimal Art as irrelevant and merely fashionable. He did this by ridiculing male Minimalists for their "feminine sensibilities." Truitt, too, displayed feminine

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\(^\text{17}\) Knowles would not have made these choices with a conscious consideration of her options as a woman. As the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* of 1970 commented: "...many women have accepted as truth the social constraints and the mental images that society has prescribed, and have made these constraints and images part of themselves as guides for living....This is particularly true of individuals who cross the border separating them from the majority and who then adopt its attitudes and standards." *The Report*, #47, 14.

sensibilities that she showcased, according to Greenberg, by applying colour to her sculpture. Had she made monochrome works, Greenberg wrote, "the artist would have been able to dissemble her feminine sensibility behind a more aggressively far-out, non-art look..." That is, it would have appeared more like that of the male Minimalists and, implicitly, have been unsuccessful. "But," he added, "Truitt is willing to stake herself on the truth of her sensibility, feminine or not...." In fact, Greenberg's description of Minimal Art in this article is carefully constructed using adjectives traditionally perceived as feminine attributes: "'soft', facile, and ultimately conventional..."\(^{19}\)

Greenberg described Truitt as a "housewife, with three small children, living in Washington" and wondered how, with those things against her, she could possibly belong to the centre of the art world (New York).\(^{20}\) Indeed, those do seem to be formidable obstacles. However, they were obstacles for which Greenberg had earlier found other uses. In 1960, he had been watching and encouraging the work of Morris Louis and Kenneth Noland who in 1963 he would introduce as the post painterly vanguard. Like Truitt, Louis and Noland lived in Washington. Like Truitt, both were married with

\(^{19}\)Ibid., 212.
\(^{20}\)Ibid. See also Cindy Nemser, "Stereotypes and Women Artists," in Feminist Collage: Educating Women in the Visual Arts, ed. Judy Loeb (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1979), 156-166, for her discussion of the stereotypes of women artists based on traditional biological notions constructed in art criticism by both male and female critics.
children. And, like Truitt who was a full-time homemaker and professional working artist, the men were both fully employed (as teachers) and working artists. And what was Greenberg's reaction to Louis's and Noland's similarly dismal state of affairs? He was optimistic and encouraging. Isolation in Washington could work to advantage for these artists, he wrote, because "from Washington you [Louis and Noland] can keep contact with the New York art scene without being subjected as constantly to its pressures to conform as you would be if you lived and worked in New York."²¹

It may be considered a given that Greenberg's view was a product of a cultural time and place which defined women's primary abilities and duties as biological and domestic. Men's roles were defined as intellectual and public. As a result, women and serious art production were mutually exclusive in Greenberg's doctrine. He applied these principles to Anne Truitt's work. And he applied them to Knowles and her production as well.²²

Recalling the 1962 Workshop, participant Roy Kiyooka described Greenberg's advice to Knowles.

I also remember...him talking with Dorothy [Knowles] Perehudoff, and telling her in her despair of being a woman and having to do all

²²Another woman artist who painted at Emma Lake in 1962 was perceived in the same manner. In a letter to Ken Lochhead of 9 October 1962 Greenberg commented in passing that he had recently received a letter from Ina Meares, an abstractionist, and wrote that "she should go on to greater things, and most probably would if she were not a woman." From an unpublished letter in the Emma Lake Archives of the Department of Art, University of Regina.
those things and not having enough time to paint, that if she was serious about being a painter, those things that took up her time, those domestic things would have to be dealt with in a way that gave her more time; and that as a woman no exceptions would be made for her in terms of that energy that must go into painting. She would have to deal with it somehow.\textsuperscript{23}

The stereotype of woman as passive, derivative and unambitious played havoc with Greenberg's perception of women and his advice to women artists. These are also the very qualities that he attributed to women critics in an interview published in the \textit{Montreal Gazette} in 1976. Speaking to critic Virginia Nixon, he said that women art critics "...stink. Female art critics and female curators are the bane of the art world." Why? Because, he told Nixon, "they are timid, afraid to use their own eyes, afraid to be original."\textsuperscript{24}

Revealed here is the paradox for women in that art environment. Women were not allowed entry to "the sanctity of the studio" or gallery. Nor were women allowed credit or recognition for their work. Although they would deny the significance of the artist's gender, formalists (and Greenberg in particular) nevertheless promoted the concept of the "masterpiece" and the artist as creator and innovator. Only males qualified for these accolades.

Helen Frankenthaler's case is the infamous example of this practice. Rather than being lionized for her revolutionary technique of staining raw canvas to

\textsuperscript{23}King, \textit{Emma Lake Workshops}, 120.
aggressively assert that irreducible element, the painting surface, her work was constructed in the literature by contemporary formalist critics as merely a "design stage" between two male artists, Jackson Pollock and Morris Louis. Frankenthaler's actions on the canvas were patronized as femininely intuitive, that is, done without conscious reasoning, and dependent on Pollock's technique. In contrast, according to formalist mythology, Louis, upon seeing both Pollock's and Frankenthaler's work, was able to respond intellectually and so understand the significance and exploit the potential of Pollock's technique. Frankenthaler merely provided "the clue." Louis was able to act upon it. Formalist critics have gone to absurd lengths to maintain the canon of a masculine teleological evolution of art practice. Women's production, because of devaluation, is ignored in the account.

The entire weight of this tradition must be understood to have been solidly in place and fully active at the time of Knowles's encounter with Greenberg in 1962. Knowles was not familiar with his work when she met him. Yet the paintings she produced immediately after the encounter convey a considered application of many of the principles of

26 Ibid., 13.
27 Kenneth Lochhead suggested to registrants for the 1962 Emma Lake Workshop that they read Greenberg's Art and Culture, a collection of Greenberg's writing, which had been published the previous year. Dorothy Knowles, in an interview 28 January 1988, stated that she had not read Greenberg's book nor any of his work prior to meeting him at Emma Lake.
painterly abstraction, as interpreted by Greenberg at that specific point in his theoretical evolution.

At Emma Lake in 1962 some artists, male and female alike, were encouraged by Greenberg in their efforts at abstraction. Others, again male and female, were advised to concentrate on landscape. As such it might appear that, as Knowles herself has said, Greenberg did not discriminate against women artists. However, as has already been suggested, Greenberg didn’t believe that women, especially those far from the centre of the art world, had any future as leading artists, and certainly not within the elite and masculine category of Post Painterly Abstraction.

Knowles’s production is one example of how the constraints of formalism, as a site of masculine art production, were dealt with by a woman artist. Denied entry as a "Post Painterly" abstractionist, Knowles retained a coveted position as a "modernist" by applying a "feminine" formal vocabulary to "less ambitious" and therefore more suitable "feminine" subject matter endorsed by the authoritative male critic. At the same time she could maintain the support of the local critics who had traditionally praised the "feminine" attributes of her production.

28 Ina Meares, William Perehudoff, Arthur McKay and Kenneth Lochhead were among many abstractionists encouraged by Greenberg. Knowles, Andrew Hudson and Ernest Lindner were among those artists encouraged to pursue representational painting. See King, Emma Lake Workshops.
30 In 1976 Greenberg called her "the best landscape painter in Canada." Nixon, "Greenberg's words prove colourful," 40.
In 1957, for example, a Regina critic had written that this artist relies heavily upon her feminine instincts. Her colours are soft and sensuous, her forms are rounded and devoid of harsh lines or awkward shapes. She tries to understate and thus allow for imaginative scope within her misty, genre world....In her role of genre and still life painter she is playing an important role in Saskatchewan.31

Regardless of category, style, skill or meaning, the overt presence of "feminine" attributes was of singular importance, the guarantee of critical approval.

The presumption of a female aesthetic is not confined to traditionalist critics and historians. Even early contemporary feminist critics of the 1970s considered such an idea in their analyses of women's art production. Lucy Lippard's stand on this issue is an early and provocative example.32 Lippard was "convinced that there is a latent difference in sensibility" between men's and women's work. She tentatively suggested that qualities such as "earthiness," "organic images," "curved lines" and "centralized focus" distinguished women's art production. However, "inane clichés of 'feminine' art based on superficial characteristics such as delicacy, prettiness, paleness, sweetness, and lack of structure" must be rejected, she said.33 Lippard was trying to determine

31R.B.S., "North artist's work on display," Regina Leader-Post (25 May 1957). Knowles had her first two solo exhibitions in 1957--a major 81-work show at the Saskatoon Art Centre in March and a smaller 15-work show at the Regina Public Library in May.
33Ibid., n.p.
whether or not biological differences were apparent in art production. She did not tolerate the idea that culturally contrived "feminine" characteristics were relevant.  

The gender implications of seemingly routine analyses of a woman artist's work become clear when understood in terms of these socially structured notions of "femininity."
The most telling example in the Knowles literature of the dangers and contradictions inherent in collapsing women and nature is one made by Terrence Heath in a feature article about Knowles in *artscanada* magazine in 1972.

I don't think Dorothy Knowles is primarily an interpreter of the prairies. She gives the viewer a canvas of the topology of her personality rather than an insight into her environment. She has been called a diffident person but in her paintings she is far from this. They are passionate, joyous, spontaneous paintings which use the landscape as an occasion rather than an objective subject. When I asked her "Why landscape?" her reply was, "Some sort of specialization is necessary."

34Lippard's theory is a controversial contribution to the debate whether cultural phenomena such as politics, economics, class, gender and religion, rather than biology, shape art production. If constructed as biologically predetermined, women's art production remains ghettoized as autonomous and universal. Instead, it must be recognized as heterogeneous; a culturally determined practice within the varying artistic and social contexts of its origin.

35Terrence Heath, "Dorothy Knowles," *artscanada* 29 (Early Autumn 1972):70. The reference to Knowles's diffidence alludes to Clement Greenberg's remarks about the artist in his article "Painting and Sculpture in Prairie Canada Today," 104.

See also Christopher Varley, *Winnipeg West: Painting and Sculpture in Western Canada, 1945-1970* (Edmonton Art Gallery, 1983), 45-46. Varley invokes clichés that evaluate Knowles's art production as biologically determined. For example, Knowles's "delicately tinted paintings spontaneously capture the ephemeral beauty of prairie summers." In contrast, and in an equally stereotypical masculine vocabulary, Varley writes that William Perehudoff "butted simple shapes up against one another...[and]
Even if personal acquaintance with the artist were to indicate a "diffident" personality, fusion (or confusion) of the artist’s personality with the mood of the painting is inappropriate, inaccurate and misleading. Indeed, the artist herself refutes Heath’s interpretation with her pragmatic response to his ingenuous question.

Recognizing how feminine stereotyping informs readings, such as Heath’s and Greenberg’s, of women’s art production is important. Analyzing how women’s actions and their art production have been shaped by cultural stereotypes of women is equally important. Such gender analyses of the formalist doctrine of art production are particularly needed in the Canadian context where formalism pervaded art production in the 1950s and 1960s.

Examinations thus far of Knowles’s work have contributed biographical information along with descriptions of technical and stylistic changes in her landscape painting since 1964. It is as an autonomous, "feminine" and artist-centred activity that Knowles’s production has been employed high keyed colour." The formal description of a collision of forms and the deliberate rather than spontaneous use of colour implies an artist of strength and reason. Otto Rogers "made intelligent use of David Smith’s pictorialism and disjunction." Again, intellect is stressed and intuition rejected. Finally, "beneath the intense chroma of his later paintings [Henry Bonli] still alluded to the flat, open prairie landscape." Unlike Knowles who worked "spontaneously" and thus merely reflected nature’s mood, leaving it untouched and unchanged, Bonli is presented as an artist who intervened intellectually in his representation, not merely painting what was in sight, but reinterpreting his "flat, open," that is stable and expansive, subject matter in a distinctive and meaningful manner.
constructed in the literature to date. I propose, therefore, to initiate a rereading of this production by considering two questions: one, how notions of modernity operated in Saskatchewan between 1955 and 1965, during which time Knowles's rural landscape production developed; and two, what place was available to a woman artist and her work in that time and place.
"It's difficult enough to be
An artist on the Far Prairie."

Moncrieff Williamson
May/June 1963

Saskatchewan (or the prairie)...isn't there as much as it used to be--there isn't one picture, for instance, of wheat fields which spotted many former shows. The absence of representational landscapes has a significance too complicated to be analyzed here, but the surface explanation of the difference of the present exhibit from those of a half dozen and a dozen years ago is that there are more pictures of a professional kind being painted today than in former years.

A change in style, subject matter and attitude to art making is the issue central in this passage from Jean Swanson's review of the 1955 Saskatchewan Arts Board exhibition. Especially interesting is her comment on the absence of representational landscape and its significance, "too complicated to be analyzed here." The purpose of this chapter is to do such an analysis; that is, to outline the transition marked by Swanson and examine how it was shaped by the social and artistic circumstances of Saskatchewan between 1955 and 1959.

Urbanization of the province in the 1950s coincided with, and was probably a necessary condition for, a rapid

development of the arts. New urban concerns on the part of both artists and patrons contributed to the decline of representational wheatfields. Urban themes, activated by an abstracted idiom, were of interest to artists, critics and the art-buying public. For example, Knowles’s Reflections on the River of 1955 (Figure 1) was purchased by the graduating class of Bedford Road Collegiate. A cathedral spire marks the specific location of this urban landscape as the west bank of the Saskatchewan River in downtown Saskatoon. The style is "modernist"—an abstract Cubist grid composition constructed through paint application by palette knife.

The historical circumstances that shaped the new "professional" art production of the 1950s presented a particular framework for women’s art practice. The options for women painters, evinced in the visual production and literary evidence of the period, will be central to the discussion in this chapter. Problems to be addressed include how an idea of "modernity" was defined and functioned in artistic and social practice; the conflicts that attended the social and artistic transitions of this period; the options available to women and the tactics adopted by Knowles specifically in relation to women’s expectations and opportunities; and, finally, the manner in which such "modernity" was inscribed in written reviews of art production and in Knowles’s painting itself.

1955 was the 50th Anniversary of the founding of
Saskatchewan as a province. Festivals were mounted throughout the year that not only paid tribute to the province's senior generation—the last of the pioneers—but also celebrated modernization and prosperity. "Coming of age" seems to have been the underlying theme, one which was called up in two major exhibitions of art production that year. One exhibition was designed specifically as a Golden Jubilee tribute. "Ten Artists of Saskatchewan," curated by Richard B. Simmins of the Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery, toured the prairie region on the Western Canada Art Circuit. In his catalogue essay, Simmins offered an apologia for past Saskatchewan art which, he suggested, had remained outside the "mainstream of Canadian art" right up until 1955. "At the present time, however," he wrote, 

there are a large number of young artists in Saskatchewan, well trained, energetic and conscious of the necessity of improving standards and competing on a national rather than on a regional level....This exhibition...includes most of the younger moderns whose work is of a high standard. 

What constituted a "modern" work had been succinctly defined in December 1952. A reviewer with the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix reported that "an exhibition of work of two of

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4Richard B. Simmins, Ten Artists of Saskatchewan, Exhibition catalogue (Regina: Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery, 1955). The artists were Henry Bonli, Reta Cowley, MacGregor Hone, Dorothy Knowles, Kenneth Lochhead, Arthur Mckay, Douglas Morton, Wynona Mulcaster, Clare Samuels and Anthony Thorne. Three of Knowles's works were included: Still Life with Tulips (illustrated in the catalogue), Still Life with Mauve Flowers and Mother and Child.
5Ibid., n.p.
Saskatoon’s most modern painters, Dorothy [Knowles] and Bill Perehudoff...is causing more than usual interest. Most of the paintings and drawings shown are the work of the couple while in London and Paris...."6 This was the twenty-five year old Knowles’s first time in exhibition and her work was immediately ranked with the "moderns." The four reproductions accompanying the review (Figure 2) reveal the style that earned this rating in Saskatoon in 1952. Bedroom Interior (Figure 3), for example, is a small, 50.5 x 38.4 cm., work in oil on masonite. The tightly enclosed composition and domestic subject matter are reminiscent of Mary Cassatt’s late nineteenth-century paintings. The view is framed from the foot of the bed in which a woman is seated, resting against the iron headboard; a second female figure stands to the right, back turned to the viewer, gazing out of the window behind the head of the bed. Both the point of view and the second figure’s turned back draw the viewer, as a third person, into the compact circle around the bed. The colours are dark and there is little recession.

The reviewer explained that "the couple believes in the necessity for the human element in scenes showing figures in repose and in movement."7 By definition of these paintings, "modern" works were figural and urban landscape, painted in a turn of the century French style. Their pedigree was

7Ibid.
buttressed by references to the artists' travel to international art centres; the inclusion of numerous sketches in the exhibition, rather than just "finished" paintings; and a final comment that a prominent local collector, Fred Mendel, had loaned a number of the works displayed.

The themes expressed in the Simmins catalogue, "modern" and "high standard," recur in the text of the catalogue for the second major show of 1955, the Sixth Annual Exhibition of Saskatchewan Art, sponsored by the Saskatchewan Arts Board. The judges divided entries into three defined categories: professional, amateur and primitive. The professional work had "a reality peculiarly its own" and demonstrated artists' awareness of and concern for the medium and manipulation of formal compositional elements. Amateur works were defined as those lacking "struggles with layers of meaning and plastic relations, but instead [offered] a simple directness of statement, a sort of pleasure painting--a setting down of one's immediate world...a concentration on nature in a purely visual sense." Finally, primitive works were those which today are generally termed "folk art" and which the judges defined as showing no awareness of "any art past or present other than [the artist's] own."8

Meanwhile, critical commentary by local observers of Molly Bobak and Richard E. Williams, *Saskatchewan Arts Board Sixth Annual Exhibition*, Exhibition catalogue (Saskatoon Art Centre, 1955), n.p. 45 works by 34 artists were accepted from 183 entries.
these exhibitions took up the same themes. The Saskatchewan Arts Board exhibition in Saskatoon was exhaustively described by Jean Swanson. She found the exhibition's most noteworthy aspect to be a "visible improvement of quality" with an attendant change in the predominant styles and content and concluded that

if the exhibit shows anything, it is that art in Saskatchewan is in a state of transition from the almost entirely amateur work of a decade ago to a position of containing a large body of work on a professional level.\(^\text{9}\)

Swanson was implying that the subject matter and style of professional work differed from that of the traditional prairie landscape painting that had been dominant in Saskatchewan from the 1920s to the early 1950s and a large part of past Saskatchewan Arts Board exhibitions. Instead, works that were more concerned with a manipulation of the medium itself, rather than only depicting a faithful illusion of an external reference, were believed to "modern" and "professional."

Dorothy Knowles's entry in the exhibition was Early Spring, a watercolour of a city street (Figure 4). The modernist abstracted style shows that Knowles was paying attention to previous art that had concentrated on an analysis of the medium itself. The style is, in fact, dependant on the late work of Cézanne and the 1907-1912

\(^9\)J[ean] S[wanson], "Saskatchewan Art Exhibition," Saskatoon Star-Phoenix (19 March 1955):3, 14. Because of the large number of entries and varied levels of skill demonstrated, Swanson called for the formation of a Saskatchewan Society of Artists to impose and maintain standards of production. A group by that name was established within a year.
Cubist landscapes of Picasso and Braque. Earth tones reduce the push and pull of space while vertical strokes of paint draw the distant landscape forward somewhat to the surface of the picture plane. The sense of the multiplicity of viewpoints from various times and places was rooted in the interest of Cézanne and his contemporaries who had been trying out ways of visually representing the new experience of modern life by presenting a series of experiences at one place on one canvas.

_Early Spring_ offered new subject matter in Saskatchewan; an urban landscape rather than the traditional prairie landscape. The work also offered a new way of thinking about the subject matter. Rather than attempting to mobilize it with a traditional representational style, a modernist abstracted style supported the contemporaneity of the subject matter. In turn the subject matter and style carried meaning shaped by and understood within the social circumstances of the period.¹⁰

In 1944, Saskatchewan had elected a C.C.F. government, the first socialist administration in North America. During the twenty-year tenure of the C.C.F., the province underwent economic restructuring which in turn led to social restructuring. The historically co-operative agriculture-based economy expanded and diversified. Participation in Canada’s post-war reconstruction efforts in Europe, good

¹⁰ Work of this period by Saskatchewan modernists also included still life and genre and an occasional rural landscape. The unifying factors were the abstracted mode of representation and the non-traditional subject matter.
weather with subsequent large crop yields, and natural resource discoveries—oil, uranium, salt and potash—accompanied by the growth of support industries contributed to unprecedented economic growth in the 1950s. In addition, technological development led to more efficient farm production. Larger farms were needed in turn to improve the machinery's cost-effectiveness. The traditional small family farm became no longer economically viable and fewer people were needed to operate farms that were evolving into large corporate enterprises. And so many prairie residents, forced to leave the land for economic reasons, moved to urban centres and employment opportunities there.

Saskatoon especially benefitted from the economic diversification and population shift. The city grew rapidly: from 53,268 in 1951 to 72,858 in 1956, to 95,526 in 1961, and to 115,000 by 1966. By comparison, in 1946, 25.1% of the provincial population was urban. By 1966, 49.0% lived in urban centres. Demand for education and

13 J. Howard Richards, "The Status of Saskatchewan vis-a-vis the Western Interior," The Canadian West: Social Change and Economic Development, ed. Henry C. Klassen (University of Calgary, 1977), 137 and John Archer, Saskatchewan: A History (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980), 360. In terms of percentage changes, Saskatoon grew by 36.8% between 1951 and 1956; 36.1% between 1956 and 1961; and 21.3% between 1961 and 1966 (Richards, "The Status of Saskatchewan," 137). Not all of the population growth is attributable to rural depopulation. A post-war baby boom was also underway. During the 1950s, industrial, commercial and residential areas grew rapidly. The need for housing exceeded construction. Many families "doubled up" in houses
leisure opportunities accompanied the urban growth. Enrolment at the University of Saskatchewan in the 1950s grew from 2,000 to 4,500.\textsuperscript{14} New facilities, including a research and teaching hospital and a library, were built. The city built parks, rinks, pools and ball diamonds while participation in the performing and visual arts grew.

In 1944, the artist-run Saskatoon Art Centre had been founded. The Saskatoon art community had also participated in the establishment of the Western Canada Art Circuit, a body that coordinated travelling exhibitions throughout western Canada.\textsuperscript{15} In 1948, the Saskatchewan Arts Board was established by the provincial government to support development of the arts. Juried exhibitions, purchases and travelling exhibitions were established for the visual arts sector. In 1951, the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences submitted its Report (popularly known as the Massey Report, named after the commission's chairperson, Vincent Massey) recommending

and basement suites because they could not afford to build or to move to higher priced rental units. At the same time there was opposition to low rental public housing. Nonetheless, the first public housing was built in 1955 through federal subsidies allowed for in the National Housing Act. A demand for seniors' accommodation also emerged as the traditional multigeneration prairie family separated into small units in the city. A seniors' residence was built in 1953. (Delainey and Sarjeant, \textit{Growth}, 75.) The quality of housing was also upgraded throughout the city with grants for homeowners to "modernize" their homes with indoor plumbing. Information on the difficulties of various groups in settling in the city that suddenly outgrew its long-range plan, established in 1927, is somewhat sketchy.\textsuperscript{14} Delainey and Sarjeant, \textit{Growth}, 62.\textsuperscript{15} The idea for the Western Canada Art Circuit originated with Lawren Harris in 1944.
the establishment of the Canada Council. University of Saskatchewan historian Dr. Hilda Neatby served as one of five commissioners.16 In Regina, the Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery opened in 1953, the only "A" space in the province—that is, of sufficient quality to safely exhibit works from the National Gallery's travelling exhibitions programme. And, in 1955, the Fine Art Department of Regina College, an affiliate of the University of Saskatchewan, established a summer workshop for professional artists at the University's art camp facilities at Emma Lake.

The modernization of Saskatchewan presented particular opportunities for women, apparently on economic and gendered bases.17 It would appear that the primary work available to women during the 1940s and early 1950s was homemaking. However, in the aftermath of the economic crisis of the Great Depression, when women's paid domestic labour had often been crucial to survival, women of a yet to be defined segment of society, rural and urban alike, completed high school and took further professional training. The

16 The Canada Council was not established until 1957 when funds from the estates of two wealthy Canadians were set aside for such a council by the federal government. Half of the Canada Council's founding capital was marked for distribution to Canadian universities to finance building projects. These funds enabled the University of Saskatchewan to build in the 1950s.

17 Because I have been unable to locate any studies that have analyzed the social constraints and expectations of rural and urban Saskatchewan women at this time, or documented their educational and employment histories, this information is based on acquaintance and interviews with numerous women of this generation. There is work to be done in this area of Saskatchewan history. (Much more work has been done on the pre-World War II era.)
traditionally female occupations of nursing, teaching and secretarial work were the main options, but limited to those who could afford to pursue such studies. Women from families who could afford to pay for a university education were able to earn undergraduate degrees generally leading to employment in fields related to the above occupations. Those interested in pursuing art studies, whether female or male, did so as a leisure pastime, but not as a profession. Knowles, for example, pursued a degree in biology and a career as a laboratory technician. She began part-time art studies at the University of Saskatchewan's Emma Lake Art Camp in the summer of 1948 after completing her degree, then continued painting studies at night classes, starting in the fall of 1949. Meanwhile, she continued working as a laboratory technician until becoming a full-time homemaker with the birth of her third child in 1959.

For example, women did not pay for a nursing education, which at that time was undertaken in hospitals rather than at universities. Instead, nursing students worked in hospitals in exchange for training, room and board. "Pocket money" was the student's responsibility, obtained by at least some from their parents.

Interview with Knowles 30 January 1988. Knowles stated that art production was not just a hobby but a "vocation," a particularly "special quest" in the 1950s, partly because it was "so difficult to come by." Access to seeing and instruction was sparse and precious because the art centres were so remote from Saskatoon. In addition, painting had a "special feeling." For Knowles it was a means of working through and "finding" herself.

Interview with Knowles 28 January 1988. Knowles clearly recalls a moment in a 1949-50 night class when her art professor at the University of Saskatchewan told her she "could be an artist." Nicholas Belajac's class was like "magic" to the young Knowles who found that he was able to "draw the best" from her. Knowles also states that she
Some artists supported themselves as art teachers, although opportunities were limited and apparently available on a gendered basis. For example, in the 1940s, both men and women, such as Horace Wickenden, Wynona Mulcaster and Reta Cowley, taught art at the secondary school level. However, post-secondary positions appear to have been filled exclusively by men.

The head of the art school at Regina College, from its establishment in 1936 until his death in 1947, was Augustus Kenderdine. He was succeeded in 1950 by Kenneth Lochhead of Ottawa. Studio art professors at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon in the late 1940s and early 1950s included Eli Bornstein and Nicholas Belajac, both from Milwaukee. At the Saskatoon Technical Collegiate, Ernest Lindner was employed as art instructor. It would appear from this evidence that women were excluded from prestigious post-secondary positions, both by their training and prevailing social attitudes, and thus from positions of administration and authority. As a result, aspiring women artists did not have reference to any advanced professional women role models.

A small number of artists in the community, women and

found that night classes offered the camaraderie and interaction that she missed after graduating from university and starting to work full-time.

21 The gender discrimination encountered by qualified women applying for positions with the University of Saskatchewan (as well as other Canadian and American universities) in the 1940s is related in the biographical introduction to *So Much to Do, So Little Time: The Writings of Hilda Neatby*, ed. Michael Hayden (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1983), 7-41.
men alike, pursued painting seriously, even though they did not hope to make it a profession. Although unable to make a living from their art (the market in Saskatoon was very small) they did take classes and exhibit regularly. Knowles, probably like many others, financed her production through her sales.22 These artists were the "professionals" and some of them the "moderns" in the early 1950s.

The 1950s transition in art practice in Saskatchewan, from representational prairie landscape to abstracted works of urban interest, did not occur easily or quietly. In March of 1958 a headline in the Regina Leader-Post proclaimed: "Traditional artists lose out to modernists." "The current art war" and "warring art factions" were said to be clearly delineated in the juried hanging of the 9th annual Saskatchewan Arts Board exhibit.23 Only 4 of 39 works could be described by reviewer Mary Ann Fitzgerald as "traditional." Modernist works were defined as abstracts stressing colour, form and composition. Robert Murray, Roy Kiyooka, Henry Bonli and Arthur McKay were "modernists" and award winners. The jury had found that traditionalist works "had nothing to say about painting" and were "winter scenes and cottage scenes," that is, representational. In fact, one of the submitted "traditionalist" works that the jury was said to have rejected, Winter Grandeur by a Mrs. V. Lawrence of Yorkton, was published alongside the article.

Reproduced immediately beneath it, to illustrate the difference between "traditionalist" and "modernist," was Arthur McKay's "modernist" Painting No. 1 (Figure 5). Fitzgerald believed that "orthodox viewers" would prefer Mrs. Lawrence's work to that of McKay.

Fitzgerald was clearly on the side of the traditionalist painters. The style and subject matter of the modernist works did not well fit her expectations. She denied value in work that seemed concerned solely with itself rather than an external reference, as did the following Saskatoon critic who questioned the modernists' relation, or rather lack thereof, with society.

The anonymous Saskatoon commentator had written an extensive article on the Saskatchewan Society of Artists' exhibition held six weeks earlier. This article is an important document concerning the issues of debate in the late 1950s. Acknowledging Saskatchewan artists' increased access to artworks, artists and ideas outside the region, the reviewer took exception to these works which were paintings which are painted for painters not for the public. When language takes precedence over subject, the result approaches very near to being Art for Art's sake, the fallacy of which approach was long since exposed. But as they [the artists] do live and work in Saskatchewan, it is surprising that they do not reflect more of their immediate environment in their work...the artists, obviously, do not feel a part of society.\(^4\)

\(^4\)In the 1950s communications links with other regions were strengthened through new roads, airport expansion, and the establishment of a television station and two more radio stations, one English and one French.

This critic, whether consciously or not, had touched on a point of delineation of the modernist artist and by extension was addressing the appropriate role of art and artists in society. "Negation," that is, challenging the mainstream from a position apart from it, was an established strategy in art production dating from the late nineteenth-century. In this case, the critic notes that "language takes precedence over subject matter." Language is the strategy of negation here--avoiding representational art with Saskatchewan subject matter by substituting abstraction. For example, the works whose relevance beyond "Art for Art's sake" was being questioned were four paintings which were described as the "most ambitious" in the show. Each was entitled Landscape. Three were painted by William Perehudoff and one by Arthur McKay, both Emma Lake participants. The critic was careful to point out that they "are not abstracted landscapes, they are the artist’s expression of a landscape in terms of the language of visual art." Understanding of the goals of this work is evident in these comments. But the critic was concerned that they were goals that sacrificed the role of art as "communication":

The quality one misses [in these works]...is what can only be called artistic vision. Without it, however skillful, however technically interesting, however visually arresting a picture is, there can

27 "At the Art Centre," 13. There is no known visual documentation of the works being discussed.
be no sense of communication between artist and spectator, and without that sense, art is an idle exercise, for art is, first of all, communication.\textsuperscript{28}

The critic was calling for art that was engaged in addressing the concerns of the society in which it was produced. Instead, the critic found that most of the member artists of the professional Society of Saskatchewan Artists seem to be creating in a vacuum, and to have taken a negative attitude to society. They are not in tune or out of tune with the life around them; they are apart from it. Great art has seldom been born out of negativism.\textsuperscript{29}

And yet, "negativism" has been the moral imperative of modernist art production, standing aside and challenging the norms and traditions of the social order. And, it has been argued, the site of action for this negativism has been the medium itself.\textsuperscript{30} The Saskatchewan modernists had been praised as professionals by the 1955 judges who separated the modern and professional from the traditional and amateur by evidence of concern for the medium.\textsuperscript{31} The artists were no longer depicting landscape in a traditional representational manner. Rather, they were manipulating the medium as the vehicle for expressing the landscape.

What did the reviewer think was worthwhile content in art production? The desired engagement in communication was certainly not one that was critical or questioning of society's structures, values or attitudes, that is, "born

\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., 3.
\textsuperscript{29}Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{30}Clark, "Greenberg's Theory," 58.
\textsuperscript{31}Bobak and Williams, Saskatchewan Arts Board Sixth Annual Exhibition, n.p.
out of negativism." In contrast to the comments above, the
critic applauded Knowles's works in the exhibit as her "best
yet; they are bursting with beauty and overflowing with her
joy in creation." Presumably these works were celebratory,
born of "positivism" rather than negativism.

While it is unknown which of Knowles's works were
exhibited in 1958, examples from her first one-artist show
held a year earlier suggest that her production was meeting
the critics' demands. Although some criticized Knowles's
painting for its "sketchy, inconclusive brushwork,"
reviewers liked the "feminine" attributes of her abstracted
style and they approved of her subject matter that presented
contemporary everyday objects, places and people. 32 Eighty-
one works are listed in the catalogue, most of which had
been painted in the previous year; prodigious output for a
working mother painting in her basement while "keeping an
eye on her children." 33 There were 55 oil paintings, 19
watercolours, 3 drawings, 2 etchings and 2 lino cuts.
Paintings exhibited included figurative works such as
Standing Child (Figure 6) and The Red Skirt (Figure 7);
landscapes such as Bridges (Figure 8); and still lifes such
as The White Flowers (Figure 9). These and others were
reproduced alongside various articles in the Saskatoon and

32 R.B.S., "North Artist's Work on Display," Regina Leader-
33 Dorothy Perehudoff: Paintings, Drawings and Watercolours,
Exhibition catalogue (Saskatoon Art Centre, 1957) and
Interview with Knowles 28 January 1988. Knowles kept a
basement studio, which allowed her easy access to her
painting while homemaking.
Regina newspapers in 1957 and 1958. Many reviewers agreed that "this artist paints as the birds sing,"34 that is, with "joy" and "beauty."

The issue of negativism demonstrates that a schism had formed between modernist art practitioners and their viewers. One group of artists was singled out. These were the artists most closely associated with the Emma Lake Workshop, newly established for professional artists. With the 1955 founding of the Workshop an overt wedge was driven between the amateur and professional in Saskatchewan. New influences had come to bear on the production of Saskatchewan artists as they came face to face for the first time, in their own environment and by their invitation, with prominent contemporary Canadian and American abstract painters.35 After 1959 this wedge was even more pronounced. Between 1955 and 1959 the Emma Lake Workshops were led by Jack Shadbolt, Joe Plaskett, Will Barnet and Barnett Newman. As a result, Knowles and many of her colleagues who painted at Emma Lake began to push further towards abstraction in

34"At the Art Centre: Saskatchewan Society of Artists Exhibit," Saskatoon Star-Phoenix (30 January 1958):3, 13. This comment was first made in 1957 by Eva Mendel Miller at the opening of Knowles's one-artist exhibition in Saskatoon. It was quoted as a suitable metaphor in the reviews of 1957.
35Workshop founder Kenneth Lochhead explained that "the idea of this workshop arose as a partial answer to the problem of isolation. Few serious artists working on the prairies had contact with art centres and the stimulation that could arise during a short, intense, period of work in the studio would be of great benefit to these people....The purpose of the program is to provide an opportunity for painters and sculptors to work and exchange ideas...under the leadership of an artist of contemporary reputation." In John King, The Emma Lake Workshops (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1972), 2.
their work. As Knowles has stated, she and many of her colleagues felt at the time that "abstraction was what should be done because it was new and exciting. Landscape should be left behind you."\textsuperscript{36}

In addition, the attitude that art production was not a viable profession was rejected in 1959 by the Emma Lake artists as they watched and listened to Barnett Newman. The New York artist's view of his own work and its legitimacy motivated the Saskatchewan artists to take on a new ambitious attitude themselves. Kenneth Lochhead, who had not attended the Newman workshop, commented on its effect afterwards: "...it was the dedication and commitment of [Newman] which seemed to be reflected through the others...[who] were far more serious about their own work as a result of this contact."\textsuperscript{37}

The Newman workshop was pivotal in terms of the establishment of a solid connection with New York and the introduction of a new dominant style and attitude to art production in Saskatchewan. However, it was also the only workshop at which there were no women artist participants. One has to wonder why. Was it merely a coincidence that no women attended that year? Dorothy Knowles, for example, was at Emma Lake but as an observer only. Unable to get child-care, she could not participate.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{36}Interview with Knowles 28 January 1988.
\textsuperscript{37}Kenneth Lochhead in King, \textit{Emma Lake Workshops}, 385.
\textsuperscript{38}Interview with Knowles 28 January 1988. Knowles and her family would all go to Emma Lake during the summer workshops. The artist's mother, who usually went along to care for the children while Knowles painted, was unable to
The ideological separation not only of the traditional from the modern, but of women from men and art, was enforced at the Emma Lake Workshops in a manner unprecedented in Saskatchewan. Painter Ted Godwin recalled the environment at the 1959 workshop:

I'll never forget [Newman's] wife standing outside the studio in the rain waiting for him to come out, because she wouldn't break the sanctity of the studio....Barney never goes anywhere without Annalee; she's the thing that holds him together. She's a beautiful woman. But the important thing was that she really understood. She felt so much the sanctity of the studio, that she stood outside in the rain rather than come in and break the space.

Godwin reveals not only the ideological separation of women and art at that time but also how the ideology was being absorbed by the Emma Lake artists.

A woman artist would have been an aberration at the

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39 The mythology of the male artist pervades much of the anecdotal information about the period of 1955 to 1965 in Saskatchewan. Because Abstract Expressionism, or painterly abstraction, became celebrated as the free and personal expression of an individual, the individual himself—the masculine pronoun alone is appropriate—as the subject matter for his painting achieved celebrity status and notoriety. He was popularly seen as ambitious, driven, passionate and powerful in the creative sanctity of his studio, and equally passionate and powerful with women. See Carol Duncan, "Virility and Domination in Early 20th Century Vanguard Painting," *Artforum* 12 (December 1973):30-39 for a discussion of this tradition.

40 Ted Godwin in King, *Emma Lake Workshops*, 84. Another participant, Roy Kiyooka, has recalled that "...the most memorable occasions spent with Barney were always outside the context of the workshop and what went on; that is, the painting that we were doing. Whenever we got together over a bottle of vodka he would tell us yes, he would spin for us that mythology and all its legendary heroes and non-heroes and un-heroes and their women there, various and valourous women--yes, that was part of it." In King, *Emma Lake Workshops*, 87.
Newman workshop. It was within this new circumstance that Knowles had to function as an artist in the late 1950s and early 1960s, excluded by virtue of her gender. This exclusion was pivotal to the emergence of Knowles's rural landscape painting.

Modernization in Saskatchewan marked the fifteen years following World War II. The region underwent social changes familiarly associated with modernism such as the breakup of traditional rural communities and relationships, the displacement of persons from rural to urban areas, and increased industrialization. Entwined in these social circumstances was a changed artistic practice. The gendered ideology that intervened in the modernist situation with the founding of the Emma Lake Artists' Workshop became the dominant artistic practice with which both women and men artists interacted. As urban social values contributed to the transition from representational landscape painting to an abstracted style and urban subject matter, the problematic gender constraints of formalist art practice contributed to the consequent emergence of Knowles's rural landscape production and is one factor to be considered in undertaking a rereading of this production.
CHAPTER III

The Myth of the Garden

"He was most succinctly fair
Regarding our Canadian flair
For landscape, which is rather pop,
As you will note in every shop."

Moncrieff Williamson
May/June 1963

Trees in the Moonlight of 1961 (Figure 10) shows a decisive change in Knowles's subject matter and mode of representation. The artist's formalist intent is clarified by formal analysis: colour, paint application, surface, "overall" composition, and size are the central interests of this rural landscape painting. Knowles worked in the studio directly on masonite from her imagination, building paintings with colour and texture. Thick oils of high-keyed colour, applied with a palette knife, assert both tactility and the two-dimensionality of the surface. The bright colour and texture combine to create a shimmering effect when light reflects off the paint surface, forcing the eye to move around the work rather than rest at a centre of focus.

The question that remains, however, is why rural landscape appeared as primary subject matter in Knowles's work and why in a painterly mode of representation. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to initiate a fuller

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reading of Knowles’s early 1960s rural landscape production; one that moves beyond description to take into account the artistic and social factors that contributed to its shape and meaning. The gender values of formalism, Saskatchewan’s traditions of landscape painting, and social values vis-a-vis "the prairie" will constitute the framework of this initial rereading. Questions to be considered include why Knowles manipulated formalist criteria to paint images of the rural landscape; how the material elements of painting functioned to carry meaning; why the prairie could be restored as legitimate subject matter; and how issues of the prairie and urbanization were activated and understood.

In Saskatchewan, Knowles’s new landscape interest was applauded by some local observers who read it as work addressing a general social interest: the Saskatchewan landscape and how it might be interpreted in art practice. Such comments are scarce, however, as few reviews published after the intrusion of formalist criticism in Saskatchewan in 1962 offer comment beyond formal analysis. One of the exceptions was written in 1964 in response to a Knowles exhibition at the Saskatoon Art Centre, entitled Nine Views of the Ou’Appelle Valley (Figures 11 and 12). The reviewer was favourably impressed with the exhibit, as others must also have been—eight of the nine canvases were sold and two were reproduced alongside the article. Knowles’s style was tied to her subject matter by the reviewer, the former being called recognizable as "the artist’s own" just as the
Qu’Appelle Valley was recognizable as "Saskatchewan’s own."

The reviewer recommended in conclusion that
everyone who is interested in the special tone and
individuality of Saskatchewan, whether
artistically inclined or not, should come to see
how Mrs. Perehudoff has interpreted Saskatchewan.
Who is calling? We are all calling for more
pictures of this style and calibre. 2

Neither the reviewer nor the buyers required an overtly
traditional style or prairie view. Rather, the writer’s
emphasis on both traditional prairie subject matter and the
value of a new modernist style indicates that contemporary
regional issues were of foremost interest.

Nevertheless, by virtue of the subject matter, rural
landscape, the work was excluded from the discourse on
significant contemporary production in Canada. 3 From the

2 P.H.W., "A Review: Dorothy Perehudoff’s Art," Saskatoon
Star-Phoenix (29 February 1964):n.p. This article,
incidentally, shows how hard old habits die. Although the
works are signed "Knowles," the artist was still referred to
by her married, rather than professional, name. In 1962
Knowles began consistently signing her works with her birth
name to avoid confusion with the work of her husband,
William Perehudoff—a singularly personal statement and
identifying gesture, particularly for a woman whose identity
as an individual is subsumed upon marriage by that of her
husband if she replaces her name with his. Knowles later
stopped signing her works on the front—a gesture towards
further autonomy of the artwork. When asked why, the artist
replied that she had done so on the advice of critics.

3 In 1963, Greenberg had claimed that landscape was Canada’s
most distinctive contribution to painting. "Landscape
painting is where Canadian art continues I feel to make its
most distinctive contribution," he wrote. He qualified his
statement, however, adding that "nothing in Canadian
landscape painting contributes to the ‘mainstream,’ exactly;
nothing in it amounts, that is, to major art." Nonetheless,
in the same article, Greenberg challenged the aspiring
abstractionist Dorothy Knowles "to come closer to nature and
literalness" if she had "the courage." In Clement
Greenberg, "Painting and Sculpture in Prairie Canada Today,"
Canadian Art 20 (March/April 1963):98, 104.
time of the establishment of the Group of Seven as a national and nationalist school, landscape painting in Canada had been deemed the primary visual means of expression of nationalist sentiments. By the 1960s, however, overtaken by rhetoric extolling abstraction as a universal and autonomous means of expression, landscape was no longer judged to be either a viable category for expression of nationalist sentiment or relevant art production. At best, landscape painting was considered to be of regional interest alone; insignificant in the principal art centres of New York and Toronto. In 1968, William Seitz, the curator of the Seventh Biennial of Canadian Painting, declared that "...landscape painting, the last stand of self-conscious Canadianism in art, is in decline."4

Knowles's production of the summer of 1962 shows how she began negotiating the gender constraints of her artistic environment by taking up landscape, a customarily "feminine" subject matter. Meanwhile she retained many of the formal attributes of painterly abstraction, some of which came to be interpreted as "feminine" in subsequent literature. Landscape Fantasy (Figure 13), for example, is big enough to command a considerable, and therefore potentially public, viewing space. There is no mistaking this work for minor or

conventional painting. At 89 x 102 cm., the work is large and imposing, unlike the generally small (38 x 48 cm.) landscape work of earlier Saskatchewan artists such as Augustus Kenderdine and Robert Hurley. The size argues for the legitimacy of Saskatchewan landscape as subject matter.

The medium is that of the professional, oil on canvas. It is not the "minor" and popular medium of watercolour, easily available to the leisure painter by virtue of its inexpensiveness, portability, accessible instruction and genteel overtones. Both oil and canvas were expensive. Until 1962, Knowles painted mainly in watercolour on paper or in oil on masonite, a cheap support available in large sizes that afforded her the luxury of painting big works in vast quantities. Masonite, however, is smooth, inflexible and non-porous. By painting on canvas with thin enough paint, the artist could emphasize the weave of the canvas and so assert the painting surface, its "irreducible element."

The material surface flatness of another 1962 work, Ripples (Figure 14), denies illusion of a three-dimensional reality. The viewer's vision is blocked; entry to the landscape is refused. Flatness is more than a material feature, though; it is also a matter of some visual significance for the prairie dweller, the "irreducible element" of the prairie landscape. In Knowles's work,

5 Ripples was published as Northern Lake in Greenberg, "Painting and Sculpture in Prairie Canada Today," 104.
6 T.J. Clark, "Greenberg's Theories," 12-13. Clark theorizes that "the literal presence of surface" has continued being
flatness of style and subject matter interact, mobilizing one another. Metaphorically, the landscape is held apart from the viewer who is denied an experience of the prairie in its expansive reality. A colourful, pleasant, circumscribed landscape rolls down the painting from top to bottom rather than from foreground to background. As such the painting mediates the viewer's concept of the prairie: what it looks like, how it is.

The appeal of Knowles's new production, at least to a formalist critic, was publicly acknowledged just two months after the 1962 workshop. Critic and workshop participant Andrew Hudson reviewed an exhibition of her work.

It is to be hoped that Dorothy Knowles Perehudoff, now [that] she has emerged with such a resonant and personal style of her own, will gather up more self-confidence, put all her past work behind her, and present us with a further show of large paintings in her new style within the next year.7

Knowles's new style activated her new subject matter and it did so in a manner that was tied into painting and social traditions. At the time that Knowles's rural landscape painting emerged to favourable regional review, of interest for art because it has been made to represent various things: manual labour; the modernity of two-dimensional posters and photos; art that excludes external meaning; and, as with Cézanne, standing "for the evenness of seeing itself."

See also B. Kaye and D.W. Moodie, "Geographical Perspectives on the Canadian Plains," in A Region of the Mind: Interpreting the Western Canadian Plains (Regina: Canadian Plains Study Centre, University of Saskatchewan, 1973), 32-33. Kaye and Moodie discuss the "monotony" of both natural and human-made geographical elements on the prairie.

Saskatchewan was moving to the right politically. The election of a Liberal government in 1964 ended the C.C.F.'s twenty-year mandate. Greater prosperity, "relief from high taxation," and 80,000 new jobs through industrialization had been promised during the campaign. The economic growth of the late 1940s and 1950s had moderated; the migration from country to city had slowed. Much of the Saskatchewan electorate was revealing a preference for the status quo. Within this context larger social considerations, dating from the late nineteenth-century, were shaping what was suitable subject matter and the meaning that could ultimately be ciphered into rural landscape painting.

Some of Saskatchewan’s early artists, including Augustus Kenderdine, were turn of the century immigrant homesteaders. Kenderdine’s work took up the rhetoric of the late nineteenth-century Canadian expansionist movement. Central Canadian political and business interests needed a settled western plains to secure their claim to the North West continental territory and to expand domestic industry

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9 See statistics Chapter II, p. 27.
10 Kenderdine was born 31 March 1870 in Lancashire, England, studied painting in Blackpool and at the Julian Academy in Paris, and in 1908 immigrated to a homestead at Lashburn, Saskatchewan. Kenderdine held his first exhibition in Canada in 1921 in Saskatoon. He was the first art teacher at the University of Saskatchewan and subsequently responsible for establishing the Emma Lake Art Camp in 1936. He and James Henderson were the only Saskatchewan artists represented in the National Gallery of Canada at the time of Kenderdine’s death in 1947.
and markets.11 Earlier careful assessments of possible uses for the prairie had been based on the 1859-1865 Reports of the Palliser Expeditions that documented and commented upon the possibilities for development within the climate, topography and geography of the region.12 Part of the southwest region adjacent to American territory, now known as Palliser's Triangle, was found to be dry and barren. However, the plains circling this region were found to be fertile. Through careful development, these areas might be made suitable for agriculture and cattle. This tone of caution, established by the Reports and taken up in government policies, soon changed to seemingly misleading promotion and marketing of the territory to attract immigrant settlers.13 By the early 1880s, the North West was being portrayed as "'the largest flower garden on the continent' [with a] climate so tame that it could be said to be 'very much the same as it was in England 30 years ago'."14 The "myth of the garden" was born; and herein lie

12The Palliser Expeditions were undertaken between 1857 and 1859.
13Henry Youle Hind, a Canadian geologist who had worked on survey expeditions to the North West in 1857 and 1858, wrote in 1883 that the government's portrayals of the North West 'have apparently one object, namely: to distort and magnify the physical features...for the purpose of inducing immigration.'" Quoted from Henry Youle Hind, Manitoba and the North West Frauds (Windsor 1883), 13 in Doug Owram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900 (University of Toronto Press, 1980), 162.
14Owram, Promise of Eden, 165. Quoted by Owram from Newton H. Chittenden, Settlers, Miners and Tourists Guide from
the roots of legendary prairie optimism.\textsuperscript{15}

According to expansionist rhetoric, the North West prairie region required only settlers to make it an agricultural utopia. Yet it was to be more than that. The people who settled there would establish a new and ideal society; one based on an agricultural and rural way of life in which the best of British customs and values would flourish.\textsuperscript{16} The prairie would be a Garden of Eden with humans and nature living in harmony and abundance.\textsuperscript{17}

The idea of the North West was thus grounded on a myth of its agricultural potential, rather than on its true physical condition. Myth and reality collided for the arriving immigrants, however, who sought the English landscape and culture promised by expansionist literature.\textsuperscript{18} Artists shared these expectations and, conversely, corroborated them in their work. For example, Kenderdine's "high art" production of oil and watercolour paintings not only contributed to the veneer of British civilization on

\textit{Ocean by the C.P.R.} (n.p. 1885), 44 and Peter Mitchell, \textit{The West and North-West} (Montreal 1880).


\textsuperscript{16}D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton," 299.


\textsuperscript{18}David Smith, "Instilling British Values in the Prairie Provinces," \textit{Prairie Forum} 6 (Fall 1981):137-139.
the prairies; it perpetuated the myth by controverting the reality.

Kenderdine, trained in the nineteenth-century romantic tradition of British landscape, believed nature to be the most fitting subject for painting:

That is the artist’s task—to make the moment’s glimpse universal in its significance....We know that Canadian scenery is bold and grand, that most of the things we see from nature’s hand here are sturdy and ingenuous; (Canadian light, for the most part, is free from fog and mist; the atmosphere is clear, and we can see vast distances.)...(Canadian art will not be concerned with the merely romantic, the idyllic or the imaginative.) We will look for the truth, for perspective, for atmosphere. Underneath it all will be the feeling of a great country, of perfect freedom, the feeling of self-confidence and poise.19

The reality of the Canadian prairie was not represented in Kenderdine’s work, however. Instead, the prairie was transformed. The Road in the Valley, c. 1936 (Figure 15) is a lush, soft, almost hazy view of rolling hills bounded in the foreground by a stand of trees. A farmyard, with a painted white house and reddish barn, is comfortably and protectively nestled in the valley between the trees and the hill. The road, framed by a fence, indicates access. However, it disappears behind the trees, denying entry.

A cloudy sky and green hills suggest humidity and adequate precipitation to produce bountiful crops. The hills and foreground foliage enclose the landscape, belying

19Augustus Kenderdine quoted from a speech in the Saskatoon Daily Star (20 February 1923) and cited in Maeve Spain, Augustus Kenderdine, Exhibition catalogue (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1986), 26, fn. 20.
the vast and empty vistas around and beyond this one farm site. The isolation of the location is mediated to become a cozy, fertile garden. The light is not clear; we cannot see great distances. But "freedom, self-confidence and poise" are implicit in the security and sturdiness of the house and barn. "Truth" is located in the implied underlying harmony of the subject matter; nature is meant as a carrier of timeless and universal values. The historical truth of the prairie, as attested by the Palliser explorers, is no longer accurate, credible or even relevant for this society. Rather, as Kenderdine's mode of representation portrays it, the new "truth" is the belief in the prairie as a potential Garden of Eden.

Knowles's rural landscape paintings, such as Stream in the Woods of 1965 (Figure 16), were rooted in, and an expression of, this tradition of a mythological prairie. Social circumstances had changed, however. Prairie optimism had been sorely tested by concurrent forces of climatic and economic devastation in the Dust Bowl and Great Depression. Economically provoked migration to urban centres at mid-century reversed the flow of settlers onto the prairie. Nonetheless, even as the land was lost by many, faith in its regenerative force and potential had not. Nostalgia replaced expectation as new urban residents looked back with longing for something that had never really existed.²⁰

Knowles's rural landscape production was shaped by and

²⁰Francis, "Changing Images of the West," 15-16.
acted as a visual representation of that nostalgia, a particularly articulate expression of the urban prairie native's private, yet traditional, experience of the land. A painterly idiom was ideal for conveying this meaning. Although Knowles was not working with the same artistic doctrine as Kenderdine, her work functioned similarly as metaphors for the mythical prairie. The broken brushwork of her technique, through which the white ground shows, evident in *Stream in the Woods*, implies a delicacy and fragility to the view or moment of landscape represented; a landscape more ethereal than concrete.

This ethereal quality is further activated by a thin paint application that functions in a manner beyond asserting the painting surface. Although constructed in the professional, expensive, and durable medium of oil the thinness and liquidity of the paint recall the look and quality of watercolour, a traditional landscape medium long common among both professional and amateur artists and familiar to the local art-viewing public. Knowles's application of a contemporary technique recalling one that was traditional acknowledges two diverse social concerns: pursuing the sophistication of modernity while wishing to take comfort in the security of traditional values.

Additionally, the thin and broken application of paint activates a hazy scene from which nothing substantive emerges. In *Mauve Distance* of 1964 (Figure 17) the pale yellow, green and violet colours of vegetation are pleasant
and alluring; the landscape is inviting. The dreamy and tenuous quality of the work suggests a transformation of the land from a region with potential for agricultural production to a garden-like expanse with no sign of human intervention. Present is the mythical prairie, the one for which modern prairie dwellers yearned with nostalgia, the prairie that had existed only by tradition in writing and painting.\(^2\) As the early immigrants had been confronted with an unfamiliar way of life, so were the new urban dwellers of modernized Saskatchewan. Nostalgic elements in an urban art practice point to a sense of displacement, and are evidence of how the culture was thinking about its present condition and the way in which the past was remembered: as a conflation of myth, tradition and experience.

Knowles's rural landscape painting acted within these seemingly contradictory and yet intermingled social desires for both an urban modernity and traditional rural prairie values; values that served as stabilizing influences for displaced prairie residents. The prairie's return as legitimate subject matter marks a divergence from formalist doctrine; these landscapes are no longer merely art objects independent of their context. Instead, formalist practice effectively activated the meaning by mediating the subject matter with an airy, delicate idiom; one that is

conventionalized as "feminine."

Herein lies the significant achievement of Knowles's artistic practice which critic Andrew Hudson has cited as "the most important art to emerge out of Greenberg's workshop." In its mediation of divergent values operating in its social and artistic environment, Knowles's rural landscape painting stands as evidence of the complexity of art practice on the Canadian prairies in the early 1960s. As a woman artist, Knowles was confronted with negotiating the gendered constraints of formalist abstraction. As a landscape painter, she was faced with contemporary concerns of modernity in a newly urbanized society, concurrent traditional values of rural society made evident in the myth of the prairie as an abundant garden, and established conventions of Saskatchewan landscape production that participated in the rhetoric of that myth.

This does not mean to suggest that Knowles's landscape painting was now, in any way, intentionally socially engaged. Although working with reference to external subject matter, Knowles, like many of her Emma Lake colleagues, integrated the notion of "autonomy" in her practice, maintaining that political and social circumstances are not a factor in production. Nevertheless, as has been demonstrated, these works are shaped by social and artistic practices and traditions. In

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\begin{quote}
John King, The Emma Lake Workshops (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1972), 118.
\end{quote}

\[\text{23}
\begin{quote}
Knowles in conversation with the author and others 3 December 1987.
\end{quote}
1962, Knowles began shifting her main category and style of production to rural landscape painting in response to a changed artistic and social environment; an environment with gendered parameters. The "softness" of a painterly idiom, the "delicacy" of watercolour, and "nature" as subject matter negotiated expectations of femininity, notions of the prairie, and aspirations of modernity.

Women and modernism: Dorothy Knowles's engagement with the gendered values of formalist thought opens a path for further probing of this interaction on the Canadian prairies between 1955 and 1965. This thesis has questioned the context of that encounter. The complexity of the issues surrounding and mediated in Knowles's rural landscape painting, as demonstrated in this paper, argues for locating Knowles's work within the discourse on significant modernist art production in Canada.

Further work must be done to address gaps in the social and art historical literature that overlook gender and economic factors in Saskatchewan's social and artistic practices. In particular, there is need to examine the conditions for women in Saskatchewan in the post-war period; the practices of both women and men artists within and beyond the constraints of the Emma Lake formalist phenomenon; the idiosyncratic constructs of prairie
philosophies, mythologies and politics; and the location of these issues within Canadian cultural practice and its interaction with American post-war cultural strategies. Additional social art historical scrutiny would advance reconstruction of the events and circumstances of modernism on the Canadian prairies and the diversity of values, influences and production.

Knowles's art practice was one site of interaction between women and modernism. Her production was circumscribed in this period by changing social circumstances: urbanization and complementary nostalgia, the intervention of formalist art doctrines with a concurrent return and endorsement of the prairie as subject matter, and women's opportunities, expectations and limitations. Knowles negotiated these factors, taking up an approved idiom and subject matter, yet mediating the conventions of these forms to fulfill a particular agenda: the production of modernist art.
Figure 1. Dorothy Knowles, *Reflections on the River*, 1955
Figure 2.
Figure 3. Dorothy Knowles, *Bedroom Interior*, 1952
Figure 4. Dorothy Knowles, *Early Spring*, 1955
Figure 5.
Figure 6. Dorothy Knowles, *Standing Child*, 1957
Figure 7. Dorothy Knowles, *The Red Skirt*, 1957
Figure 8. Dorothy Knowles, *Bridges*, 1957
Figure 9. Dorothy Knowles, *The White Flowers*, 1957
Figure 10. Dorothy Knowles, *Trees in the Moonlight*, 1961
Figure 11. Dorothy Knowles, *Nine Views of the Qu’Appelle Valley*, 1964
Figure 12.
Figure 13. Dorothy Knowles, *Landscape Fantasy*, 1962
Figure 14. Dorothy Knowles, *Ripples (Northern Lake)*, 1962
Figure 15. Augustus Kenderdine, *The Road in the Valley*, c. 1936.
Figure 16. Dorothy Knowles, *Stream in the Woods*, 1965
Figure 17. Dorothy Knowles, *Mauve Distance*, 1964

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