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Leonora Carrington: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness

WHITNEY CHADWICK

Surrealism offered many women their first glimpse of a world in which creative activity and liberation from family-imposed social expectations might coexist. It did not, however, supply women artists with a model for mature, autonomous, creative activity. Leonora Carrington's (b. 1917) background and life typify in many ways those of other women associated with the movement during the 1930s and 1940s; but her commitment to linking psychic freedom with a specifically feminist political consciousness gives her a unique place in Surrealist history. From the beginning her revolution was a private one, having nothing to do with Marx, Freud, or Surrealist theorizing. It was a direct frontal assault not on the family as an institution, but on one particular family, hers, leading lives of Catholic piety and capitalist gain in a remote corner of Lancashire, England. Her father was a wealthy textile manufacturer, her mother the daughter of an Irish country doctor. The outlines of her life are well known: a rebellious childhood, the precipitous meeting with Max Ernst at a party in London in 1937 and the couple's life together before World War II, Ernst's arrest as an enemy alien, Carrington's flight to Spain and subsequent mental collapse, the year of exile in New York preceding her final move to Mexico in 1942.

One of the founders of the Women's Liberation Movement in Mexico in the early 1970s, Carrington's insistence on woman's right to secret powers not shared by man and the development of a visionary imagery in her work have been documented by feminist scholar Gloria Orenstein.¹ But the origins of her feminist vision lie in the paintings and writings produced between 1938 and 1947 and in the events that plunged Carrington into a period of personal crisis and redirection. A detailed examination of these works reveals both the sources of her feminism and her transition from personal awareness to political consciousness.

Carrington's first paintings from the period of her life with Ernst contain themes and images drawn from childhood and are often presented as whimsical satires on upper-class English society. Filled with animals and birds, they spin a web of mystery and fantasy in an illusionistic space derived from Giorgio de Chirico and from the early Ernst. Fairy tales and bible stories filled Carrington's childhood; their influence lends her early paintings an air of gentle narrative.

Carrington's life with Ernst strengthened both art-

ists' associations with nature. At St. Martin d'Ardeche, a village near Lyons, they renovated a group of old buildings, and Ernst covered the walls with cement casts of birds and mythical animals. Carrington's paintings of this period reveal a growing vocabulary of magical animals, at the center of which lies the image of the white horse.

Although previously dated between 1937 and 1940, two paintings, *Self-Portrait* (Fig. 1) and *Portrait of Max Ernst* (cover illustration), should be regarded as companion pieces. Both were probably executed in late 1938 or early 1939. They offer evidence of Carrington's early interest in the alchemical transformation of matter and spirit and her response to the Surrealist cult of desire as a source of creative inspiration. She had read her first books on alchemy in 1936 while a student at Amedée Ozenfant's academy in London. Ernst's interest in the occult tradition extolled by André Breton in the second Surrealist manifesto of 1929 encouraged her in this direction. In *Self-Portrait*, the artist depicts herself perching on the edge of a Victorian chair in an otherwise empty room. The clear colors, crisp edges, and enamel-like surface of almost imperceptible brushwork contribute a feeling of compelling intensity. The images, though exactly defined, convey a sense of symbolic and elusive narrative. Animals surround the figure: a white rocking horse floats against the wall, another horse gallops into a landscape outside the open window, and a small hyena, possessed of an almost human expression and three pendulous breasts, warily approaches the chair. Behind the hyena a patch of ectoplasm² indicates the animal's recent materialization. The artist's eyes burn with intensity; her thick chestnut hair springs from her head like a horse's mane. The line between human and animal, the animate and the inanimate, is blurred, and the shadows cast by the chair, the seated figure, and the hyena's body merge into a single form.

The images of the horse and the hyena have powerful personal associations for Carrington and reappear in a number of later paintings and stories. The hyena makes its first appearance as an agent of transformation in Carrington's work in her early short story "The Debutante," first published in Breton's *Anthology of Black Humor* (Paris: Le Sagittaire, 1941). In the *Self-Portrait* she places herself between the lactating hyena, a nocturnal animal belonging to the fecund



Fig. 1. Leonora Carrington, *Self-Portrait* (c. 1938), oil on canvas, 25½" x 32". Pierre Matisse Collection.

world of the dream and the imagination now associated with Ernst (she has given the hyena his piercing blue eyes),³ and the white rocking horse, which remained for many years her most powerful and most personal image. A lonely child, she had cultivated an imaginary relationship with a rocking horse that stood in the nursery corner; the image reappears consistently in her later work.

The source of Carrington's magical white horse lies in the Celtic legends that nourished her childhood and which she first heard from her Irish mother. Sacred to the ancient tribe of the *Tuatha de Danann*, many references to which occur in Carrington's own work, the Celtic horse was faster than the wind and could fly through the air. The mythical Queen of the Horses is the goddess of the Other World and her horse travels through the space of night as an image of death and rebirth.⁴

Carrington's first published short story, "The House of Fear," written in 1937,⁵ introduces the horse as a psychic guide, a friendly animal who conducts the young heroine into a world marked by mysterious ceremonies and rituals of transformation. In his preface to the first edition, Ernst refers to Carrington as his "Bride of the Wind."⁶ "Who is the Bride of the Wind?" he writes. "Does she know how to read? How to write French without errors? She is warmed by her intense life, by her mystery, by her poetry. She has read nothing, but she had drunk everything."⁷

Carrington's animals identify the instinctual life with the forces of nature. The hyena, joining male and female attributes into a nurturing whole, belongs to the fertile world of night and the dream. The horse also became for her a metaphor for transcendent vision and a symbolic image of the sexual union which the Surrealists believed would resolve the polarities of male and female into an androgynous creative whole. In *Horses* (1941; Fig. 2) she makes explicit the union of sexual energy and eruptive nature. As symbolic intermediaries between the unconscious and the natural world, Carrington's animals replace male Surrealists'

reliance on the image of woman as the mediating link between man and the Marvellous, and suggest the powerful role played by nature as a source of creative power for the woman artist.

In *Portrait of Max Ernst*, shamanic power resides in the figure of the loved one rather than in animal images. Here it is Ernst, dressed in striped socks and the violet fur coat of the shaman and striding across an icy wasteland, who will release the imprisoned and frozen horses. The work, tiny in scale and jewel-bright in tonality, reinforces the symbolic content of the *Self-Portrait*. These portraits reveal the importance of magic and alchemical transformation to Carrington's early vision. They also suggest the pivotal role of the loved one in the person of the shaman in supporting Carrington's creative life during these years.

Carrington and Ernst remained at St. Martin d'Ardeche until 1940. While Ernst painted in the studio, Carrington worked in a small upstairs bedroom. The outbreak of war shattered this period of calm and plunged Carrington into a world temporarily beyond the reach of love.

Carrington's short story "Down Below" (published in New York in 1944 in the Surrealist periodical *VVV*) contains an account of her experiences during the next months, the harrowing story of the collapse of her world and her mental breakdown.⁸ After Ernst's second arrest Carrington, convinced that she must leave the village or face imprisonment as a foreigner herself, sold the house and fled to Spain with friends, hoping to procure a visa for Ernst in Madrid. The trip became a nightmare of paralyzing anxiety and growing delusions. The final breakdown came in Madrid. Institutionalized, she was given cardiazol, a powerful, shock-inducing drug: She was filled with images of pain and violence.

In the language of the alchemist's journey to self-knowledge, Carrington also tells the story, in "Down Below," of a psychic quest for autonomy. Drawing heavily on the symbolism of the alchemical laboratory, she attempts to structure her understanding of psychic

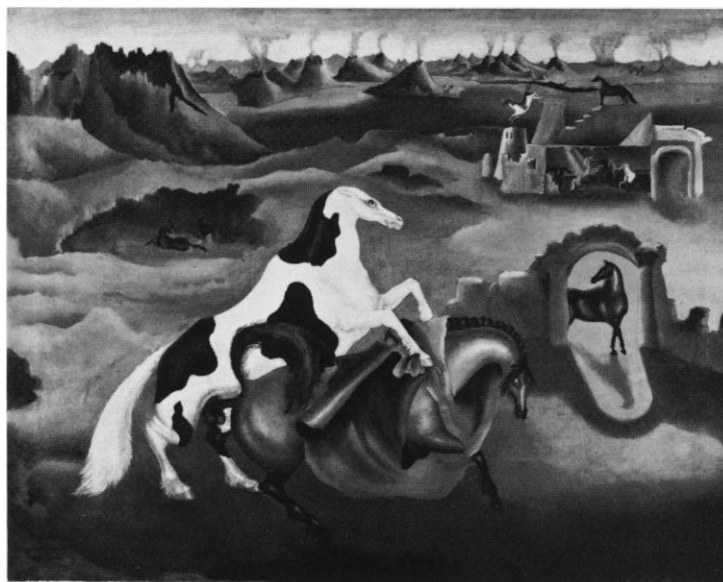


Fig. 2. Leonora Carrington, *Horses* (1941), oil on canvas, 26¼" x 32½". Private Collection. Photo: Dr. Solomon Grimberg.



Fig. 3. Leonora Carrington, *The House Opposite* (c. 1947), egg tempera on panel, 13" x 32 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Edward James Foundation, Sussex.

reality by using the language of alchemical lore. Carrington had never shared Surrealism's interest in Freud and the Freudian language of the dream and the unconscious; her earliest paintings rely on a magical realism based on autobiographical detail, legend, and personal symbolism. The use of alchemical imagery enabled her to establish more profound connections between individual perception and cosmic unity.

Released finally from the mental hospital into the care of a former nanny sent from England by her family, she fled to the Mexican consulate in Lisbon where Renato LeDuc, a Mexican diplomat whom she had met in Paris through Picasso, arranged refuge. (She later married LeDuc as part of the arrangement that made possible her passage to New York.) Carrington met Ernst again, by accident, in a Lisbon market. He was now in the company of Peggy Guggenheim. Carrington had heard nothing about Ernst since leaving France and had feared that he had not survived his internment. In fact he was released during the winter of 1940 and had returned to St. Martin to discover that Carrington had given up the house and left the country. It was Guggenheim who came to his aid and arranged his passage to New York in 1941 and who later recalled two months of dreadful complications in Lisbon as she, Ernst, and Carrington attempted to regain control over their lives.⁹ As described by Guggenheim, Carrington was melancholy and unhappy, weakened by her recent illness, and devastated by the loss of Ernst; but Guggenheim was determined not to give up her new love. The dissolution of the peace at St. Martin d'Ardèche, the loss of the loved one, and the reverberations of these events left an indelible mark on Carrington's work between 1940 and 1944.

Unlike Breton, who transmuted the reality of thwarted love into visionary union, Carrington allowed its pain to inform her work in a barely disguised manner. She arrived in New York in the late summer of 1941. Her story "Waiting" was published later that year in the Surrealist magazine *View*.¹⁰ In "Waiting" there is a confrontation between two women whose attachment, one present, one past, is to the same man. "Do you fondly believe that the past dies?" a self-

possessed blond woman walking two dogs asks Margaret of the unfashionable clothes, untidy hair, and rhythmic pounding inside her head. "Yes," replies the latter, "if the present cuts its throat." As the story draws to a close, the blond woman mocks Margaret with evidence of her lovemaking. Margaret is overwhelmed by a powerful sense of loss.

Carrington's first meeting with Ernst in New York occurred by chance at the Pierre Matisse Gallery. The experience caused both of them deep unhappiness. "I don't recall ever again seeing such a strange mixture of desolation and euphoria in my father's face as when he returned from his first meeting with Leonora in New York," Ernst's son, Jimmy, later recorded. "One moment he was the man I remembered from Paris—alive, glowing, witty and at peace—and then I saw in his face the dreadful nightmare that so often comes with waking. Each day that he saw her, and it was often, ended the same way."¹¹ The elder Ernst recorded Carrington's presence in many of his major paintings of those years, including *Napoleon in the Wilderness* (1941; Museum of Modern Art, New York) and *Europe After the Rain II* (1940/42; Wadsworth Atheneum); she reunited the horse and Ernst's self-proclaimed alter ego, the Bird Superior Loplop, in a story called "The Bird Superior Max Ernst," which she wrote for a special number of *View* (April 1942) dedicated to Ernst. The setting is the alchemical laboratory where the Bird Superior and the horse merge into a single creative being in the presence of the alchemical fire that warms a large cauldron. The story ends with the physical transformation of the Bird Superior into a bird which unties the horse from the fire and leaps onto its back: "they escape through the war winds which leap out of the pot like smoke, like hair, like wind."¹² The presence of the horse and the alchemical language of transmutation provide stunning metaphors for the symbolic union of the lovers (now parted forever), the liberation of the imagination, and the release of the spirit.

Both *View* short stories contain true-life details and address the loss of love. The loss is accepted and mourned in "Waiting," then resolved metaphorically through fantasy and alchemical transmutation in

"The Bird Superior Max Ernst." Filled with references to a young woman's quest for autonomy, they present symbolic barriers to self-knowledge and indicate Carrington's desire to locate new sources of poetic expression.

It was in Mexico during the 1940s that Carrington evolved a new pictorial language, one autonomous and grounded in female sensibility and knowledge. In 1942 she joined Benjamin Peret, Remedios Varo, and other Surrealist exiles in the land that Breton had called the "Surrealist place *par excellence*."¹³ She and Renato LeDuc moved into an apartment in Mexico City just a few blocks from that of Varo and Peret. The LeDuc-Carrington "marriage of convenience" was short-lived, and in 1946 she married exiled Hungarian photographer Emerico 'Chiqui' Weisz, with whom she had two sons.

Carrington and Varo soon became the center of a group of Europeans. The existence of this active group of exiled painters and writers in Mexico during the 1940s set the stage for the creative activity that flourished there during the next decade. More significant for the history of feminist consciousness were the artistic results of the close emotional and spiritual relationship that developed between Carrington and Varo, which propelled their work into a maturity distinguished by powerful and unique sensibilities newly independent of earlier influences by other Surrealist painters. The two, who were friends in France, now became co-travelers on a long and intense journey that led them to explore the deepest resources of their creative lives.

For some months after her separation from LeDuc, Carrington had lived with Varo and Peret; she has since identified her friendship with Varo as, "my most important friendship," remarking that, "Remedios's presence in Mexico changed my life."¹⁴ Although the history of Surrealism is marked by close personal friendships between women—Léonor Fini and Meret Oppenheim, Dora Maar and Jacqueline Lamba Breton, Carrington and Fini—Carrington and Varo were the first to sever their work from male creative models and collaborate in developing a new pictorial language that spoke directly to their needs as women.¹⁵

During their first years in Mexico neither produced many paintings. Carrington seems to have found writing a more exploratory medium for her new imagery, and her serious production of paintings did not begin again until 1945; Varo's works were first exhibited in 1954, and their dates of execution remain problematic.¹⁶ During the 1940s Varo worked at a variety of jobs, none of which paid particularly well, and all of which inhibited her own painting. There is no indication that either woman looked forward to a professional career or public acceptance of her art. "I painted for myself," Carrington later said. "I never believed anyone would exhibit or buy my work."¹⁷ But paint and write they did. Carrington wrote plays and short stories, executed dozens of watercolors, many of them covered with the mirror writing that had led to her earlier expulsion from school, and began experimenting with egg tempera on gesso panels; Varo filled notebooks with accounts of dreams, short stories, invented games, and magic formulas. Together they wrote at least one play.

Their friendship extended to the sharing of dreams, stories, and magic potions. What would later become some of Varo's most persistent images—fantastic and magical machines, particularly boats powered by the wind and sun, quasi-scientific and alchemical equipment, elaborate architectural constructions, landscapes based on the technique of decalcomania—can be found in Carrington's transitional works of the mid-1940s, in paintings like *Les Distractions of Dagobert* (1945) and *Tuesday* (1946).¹⁸ Varo's stories of the period often include aristocratic English characters; at least one dream jotted into her notebooks contains a reference to "Leonora," and her paintings of the 1950s sometimes appropriate motifs from Carrington.¹⁹ In *Mimesis* (1960; Private Collection), for example, Varo uses human figures to mimic the forms of furniture, and the work as a whole reworks the strange encounters and formal parodies of Carrington's 1938 *Self-Portrait*.

Although Carrington and Varo would continue to share a vision of painting as a recording of life's many voyages—physical, metaphysical, and spiritual—their interests after 1946, as reflected in their paintings, gradually diverged. In late 1947 Varo traveled to Venezuela to visit her brother. She remained for two years, during which time Peret, from whom she had grown estranged, returned to Paris. Her involvement with the followers of Gurdjieff influenced her to pursue themes of enlightenment and spiritual development in which spirit and matter were unified and expressed through mathematical and scientific metaphor. It was in 1946 that Carrington remarried in anticipation of the birth of her first child, and her work after that date seeks its own resolution of the spiritual and the domestic in a language rooted in that of woman's psychic awareness.

In the opening lines of "Down Below," Carrington had indicated her growing interest in probing the sources of the female creative spirit:

Later, with full lucidity, I would go "Down Below," as the third person of the Trinity. I felt that, through the agency of the Sun, I was an androgyne, the Moon, the Holy Ghost, a gypsy, an acrobat, Leonora Carrington and a woman. I was also destined to be, later, Elizabeth of England. I was she who revealed religions and bore on her shoulders the freedom and the sins of the earth changed into Knowledge, the equal between them.²⁰

Orenstein, following a feminist model that has revised traditional definitions of madness and sanity as they relate to women's experience, argued that Carrington's "breakdown" might more accurately be viewed as a "breakthrough" to new levels of psychic awareness.²¹ The paintings and writings produced during the mid 1940s, including "Down Below," reveal the search for a language adequate to the task of communicating this specifically female vision.

Among Carrington's early paintings from the Mexico period, including *The Old Maids* (1947; Private Collection), *Night Nursery Everything* (1947; Private Collection, Dallas), and *Neighborly Advice* (1947; Edward James Foundation, Sussex),²² are many which use the image of the house and the domestic activities that take place within its walls as metaphors for woman's consciousness and as a way of rooting psychic awareness in the real world. *Crookhey Hall* (1947; Pri-

vate Collection) represents the stifling world of Carrington's own childhood home from which a young girl flees, and in *Night Nursery Everything*, painted in honor of the birth of Carrington's second son that year, the magical experiences of childhood take place in a special domestic world. In life, as well as in art, Carrington continued to ground her pursuit of the arcane and the hermetic in images of woman's everyday life: cooking, knitting, and tending children. Edward James, who met the artist in Mexico in 1944 and soon became her most important collector, later recorded his impressions of her studio of the period:

Leonora Carrington's studio had everything most conducive to make it the true matrix of true art. Small in the extreme, it was an ill-furnished and not very well lighted room. It had nothing to endow it with the title of studio at all, save a few almost worn-out paint brushes and a number of gesso panels, set on a dog-and-cat populated floor, leaning face-averted against a white-washed and peeling wall. The place was combined kitchen, nursery, bedroom, kennel and junk store. The disorder was apocalyptic: the appurtenances of the poorest. My hopes and expectations began to swell.²³

In Mexico, Carrington began painting with egg tempera on gessoed wooden panels, reviving a medieval technique that yielded jewel-like tonalities and bright surfaces. Her friend, the painter Gunther Gerszo, recalls that as she became more conscious of the work of painters like Bosch and Brueghel, she became more interested in the technical aspects of painting.²⁴ The fact that mixing egg tempera seemed to mimic culinary procedure further enhanced its use in her eyes.

In 1946 she wrote a proto-feminist play titled *Penelope*, which revolves around the conflict between a young girl who inhabits the world of the nursery with her magic white rocking horse, Tartar, and the social world downstairs presided over by her patriarchal father, who has prohibited her imaginative play with Tartar. In the end, the young girl escapes from this feeble race of men who fear the night and have no magic powers of their own by becoming a white "colt" and flying off into an otherworldly realm in which the imagination neutralizes the male enemies of magic. In *The House Opposite* (1947; Fig. 3), Carrington continues the theme of the Celtic-inspired Other World, a woman's world of liberation and creation which secretly mirrors the more limited world of man. The domestic sphere of the house again becomes a metaphor for the world, combining interior and exterior spaces, higher and lower regions, nature and the firmament (embroidered onto the cape of one of the three women who stir a large cauldron filled with bubbling broth). Symbolic and almost transparent colors—blue, green, and gold—derived from Gurdjieffian mysticism and Tibetan Buddhism and combined with a dry matte surface contribute to the feeling of insubstantiality, flux, and transformation.

The House Opposite absorbs the worlds of childhood, night, and the dream. It includes a small child who brings an offering to a seated figure whose horse-like-cast shadow suggests her participation in more than one realm of being. There are figures who wait and others who are caught in a moment of metamorphosis



Fig. 4. Leonora Carrington, *Amor que move il sole e l'altra stella* (1946), egg tempera on panel, 12½" x 18¾". Edward James Foundation, Sussex.

from plant to animal and a space devoted to the cauldron, prominent in Celtic myth as the cauldron of fertility and inspiration upon which the legend of the Holy Grail was founded. The prominent place given to the cauldron in Celtic myth and Grail legend had long fascinated Carrington, as had alchemical descriptions of the gentle cooking of substances placed in egg-shaped vessels. She has related alchemical processes to those of both painting and cooking, carefully selecting a metaphor that unites the traditional woman's occupation as nourisher of the species with that of the magical transformation of form and color that takes place in the artist's creative process, nourishing the spirit.

During their period of close personal exchange of ideas, Carrington and Varo evolved a highly personalized vision of the woman creator as a being whose creative and magical powers are a higher development of traditional activities like cooking. Cooking and eating play decisive roles in both women's writings. Carrington's figures often ingest magical potions; in one of Varo's unpublished stories, the characters are instructed to follow recipes (formulas) carefully to avoid bad consequences. Varo's notebooks contain recipes designed to scare away "the inopportune dreams, insomnia and the deserts of sand moving under the bed," and those arranged to encourage other kinds of nocturnal experiences. In reality, both were known as inventive, if unconventional, cooks. In both artists' stories and paintings, women cook the magic brews, tend the alchemical fires, and oversee the cauldrons of fertility and inspiration.

The theme of woman's role in the creative cycle underlies much of Carrington's work of the 1940s. *Kitchen Garden on the Eyot* and *Amor que move il sole e l'altra stella* (Fig. 4), both painted in 1946, contain numerous references to a female creative spirit. *Amor que move il sole* features a procession of robed women and young girls who conduct a chariot of the firmament filled with sunlight and stars. The chariot is drawn by a horse whose wings, sprouting from its head in the form of curved horns, suggest the presence of the horned god, a traditional consort of the goddess in ancient religions. The presence of two fantastic

beasts who accompany the chariot indicates that the image has sources in the Tarot pack, the seventh card of which is the Chariot card, indicating the triumph of the higher principles of human nature and bearing a chariot accompanied by black and white sphinxes. Behind the chariot to the left in *Amor que move il sole* is a double being, both sun and moon, identified by the crescent shape on the top of one head and the solar rays that radiate from the other. In one hand the figure holds a fish from the sea in the same cradle-shaped net that appears in *Night Nursery Everything*.

The triumphal procession in *Amor que move il sole* rolls along as if part of a medieval pageant celebrating the birth of the cosmos, an impression enhanced by the use of delicate blues and golds in the palette. In the Celtic legends to which Carrington so often turned, the horned god is also an image of fecundity, an allusion difficult to ignore in this context as the painting is signed and dated July 12, 1946, two days before the birth of Carrington's first son. It was an event which she had anticipated with great excitement and one announced here in this triumphant female procession bearing new life and attended by the sun and the moon.

The years between 1946 and the mid 1960s were years spent juggling the often conflicting demands of motherhood and art. Carrington's continuing search for enlightenment, spiritual development, and for a uniquely female visionary language propelled her into a variety of occult and esoteric studies; at the same time she devoted energy and care to her sons, her friends, and even the impoverished local Indians whose handicrafts she sold.²⁵ These multiple demands led, finally, to a conscious articulation of her concerns through the women's movement of the early 1970s. Although she firmly believes that true psychic evolution is unique to woman's vision, she has rejected the idea that psychic liberation can be achieved without political emancipation. "I am 70 years old," she recently remarked, "and I am trying to figure out how to live the remainder of my life. The things that interest me most now are issues surrounding aging, illness, and death."²⁶ To these concerns she has also added a strong belief in the need for greater cooperation and sharing of knowledge between politically active women in Mexico and North America. It was a desire to begin to forge these connections that brought her to New York in February 1986 to accept an Honor Award at the Women's Caucus for Art convention, where those who met her were touched by her warmth and charm, as well as her independence and political commitment. ●

1. Gloria Orenstein, "Leonora Carrington's Visionary Art for the New Age," *Chrysalis*, III (1978), 65-77.

2. The "ectoplasm" was in reality, according to Carrington, a rubbed out area of the painting, but she agrees that it could be ectoplasm; conversation with Carrington, February 1986.
3. Compare *Portrait of Max Ernst* (cover illustration); unfortunately this detail is generally not visible in reproductions of the two works.
4. See Jean Markdale, *Women of the Celts*, A. Mygind, trans. (London: Hauch and Henry, 1975), for a more complete discussion of this image.
5. "The House of Fear" (Paris: Parisot, 1938), with preface and illustrations by Max Ernst.
6. The term derives originally from an Ernst painting of that title (1926; Private Collection, Basle) which contains the image of a leaping anthropomorphic female horse.
7. Ernst, preface to "The House of Fear."
8. Reprinted by Editions de la Revue Fontaine, Paris, 1945.
9. Peggy Guggenheim, *Confessions of an Art Addict* (London: Deutsch, 1960), 87.
10. *View* (November 1941), 24.
11. Jimmy Ernst, *A Not-So-Still Life* (New York: Random House, 1984), 168.
12. *View* (April 1942), 13.
13. André Breton, "Frida Kahlo de Rivera" (1938), reprinted in *Surrealism and Painting*, S.W. Taylor, trans. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 141-44.
14. Interview with Carrington, New York, April 1984.
15. See Whitney Chadwick, *Women Artists and the Surrealist Movement* (Boston: New York Graphic, 1985), 80 and *passim*. The women themselves have characterized these relationships as passionate friendships rather than sexual liaisons. For a further discussion of this aspect of female friendship see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 11-78.
16. This chronology is clarified by Janet Kaplan in *Remedios Varo: Her Life and Work* (forthcoming); see also Janet Kaplan, "Remedios Varo: Voyages and Visions," *WAJ* (F '80/W '81), 13-18. I am grateful to Peter Engel for allowing me to consult unpublished material on Remedios Varo which will appear in the catalogue for the exhibition of her work at the New York Academy of Sciences (April 22-June 20, 1986).
17. Interview with Carrington, New York, April 1984.
18. Locations unknown; *Tuesday* was exhibited at the Pierre Matisse Gallery in 1948 at Carrington's first one-person exhibition and is illustrated in Chadwick, *Women Artists*, plate 190.
19. I am grateful to Janet Kaplan and Walter Gruen who made it possible for me to consult the unpublished notebooks of Remedios Varo.
20. "Down Below," *VVV* (February 1944), 81.
21. Orenstein, "Carrington's Visionary Art," 68.
22. *Night Nursery Everything* is reproduced in Chadwick, *Women Artists*, plate 179. It is not known whether all the paintings identified as being in the Edward James Foundation are still there, as many have appeared at London auction houses since James's recent death.
23. Introduction to "Leonora Carrington" (Pierre Matisse Gallery, New York, 1948).
24. Interview with Gerszo, New York, June 1984.
25. Telephone interview with Dr. Solomon Grimberg, November 1985.
26. Conversation with Carrington, New York, February 1986.

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