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ENTERPRISING WOMEN AND
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN HANDICRAFTS GUILD
1905-1936

by

Ellen Mary Easton McLeod, B.A. (Honours)

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Canadian Art History

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

21 November 1994

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ENTERPRISING WOMEN AND
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1905-1936

Submitted by Ellen Mary Easton McLeod, B.A. Honours
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Natalie Luckyj, Supervisor

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Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

December, 1994

ABSTRACT

This thesis reclaims and repositions the Canadian Handicrafts Guild (CHG) and handicrafts within Canadian art history. It covers this national institution from its founding in 1905, when women in the Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada initiated a separate organization for handicrafts, until the establishment of a Quebec Branch in 1936. Although the CHG consistently exhibited handicrafts in a fine art setting, both the CHG and handicrafts were marginalized in art history because they involved women and minority groups. The CHG women fostered high professional standards of workmanship and design. They sold Canadian handicrafts as art through a non-profit enterprise to benefit craftworkers who included indigenous people and new immigrants. In an era when their public roles in art were limited, women such as Alice Peck and Mary Phillips seized an opportunity in the neglected 'minor arts' to preserve and develop handicrafts as the aesthetic foundation of their country.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Virginia J. Watt, C.M., Archivist of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in Montreal, whose interest and helpful support made writing this thesis not only possible, but very enjoyable. I am also very grateful to the many others who assisted me in my archival research at numerous other institutions.

The grandchildren of Alice Peck generously shared with me their family history and reminiscences, and I thank especially Barbara Peck Carter and Richard Peck for access to their grandmother's photographs, scrapbooks and memorabilia.

I wish to record my appreciation to the entire Art History Program, School for Studies in Art and Culture at Carleton University, for their support. I also want to thank Professor Natalie Luckyj for her personal commitment to me and this subject, over and above her thorough, professional and scholarly supervision.

I am grateful to the Teaching and Learning Resource Centre at Carleton University for allowing me to produce my illustrations through its computer technology. My thanks go especially to Nestor Querido for his patient assistance.

I am indebted to my husband John McLeod for his tremendous support and enduring enthusiasm for my research discoveries and written drafts. Thank you also to many friends, (particularly George Wright), fellow students and family who have taken a real interest in this thesis.

The responsibility for the contents is my own.

Ellen McLeod

"Our market is therefore limited to those whose taste and cultivation desire, and pockets permit them to gratify their desires for beautiful design, colour, quality, workmanship, originality and individuality. Though necessarily the cost of these must be greater than ordinary manufactured goods with which they cannot compete.... But to all I think, when they recognize it, the touch of the personal note, awakens a responding chord."

Mary M. Phillips, 1910.*

"...they felt that they should devote every energy to reviving and making profitable all such crafts as could be carried on in cottage or castle, in town or in the remotest part of the country. They were sure that if such effort were successful the country would become happier, healthier and wealthier, and that hundreds of homes would be lifted into a different sphere through the contacts that would result.... People are now asking how this was accomplished and an answer should be forthcoming. It meant work, work, work, and the love that is born of contact with human beings who want to express the best that is in them and sometimes need a helping hand to do it. One of the deepest instincts of humanity is the desire to leave behind something worth while - the urge that causes the poet to sing, the artist to paint, the potter to mould the clay."

M. Alice Peck, 1934.**

* Mary M. Phillips, "Address used on Afternoon Talks and on Western Trip", 1910.

** M. Alice Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (1934), 202.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Frontispiece

Table of Contents.....	i
Abbreviations.....	ii
List of Illustrations.....	iii
Preface.....	1
Chapter One.....	5
"In the Margins: Women and Craft"	
Chapter Two.....	39
"Montreal Women & the 'Dawn of the Handicraft Movement'"	
Chapter Three.....	90
"Entrepreneurship, Promotional Strategies and Legacies"	
Chapter Four.....	132
"Embracing the Other: Inclusive Nationalism"	
Epilogue.....	165
Appendices	
Appendix A: CHG Chronology.....	168
Appendix B: CHG Constitution and By-Laws.....	180
Appendix C: List of CHG Presidents.....	184
Appendix D: Articles for proposed CHG Book...	187
Bibliography.....	193
Illustrations	

ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Art Association of Montreal
AGO	Art Gallery of Ontario
ANS	Antiquarian and Numismatic Society
CHG	Canadian Handicrafts Guild
CHGA	Canadian Handicrafts Guild Archives
CNE	Canadian National Exhibition
CMC	Canadian Museum of Civilization
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
IODE	Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire
McC	McCord Museum of Canadian History
MMFA	Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
MLEA	Montreal Ladies Educational Association
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NLC	National Library of Canada
NCWC	National Council of Women of Canada
NGC	National Gallery of Canada
NYASL	New York Art Students' League
OSA	Ontario Society of Artists
OHS	Our Handicraft(s) Shop (early references are to Our Handicraft Shop)
RCA	Royal Academy of Canada
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum
WAAC	Women's Art Association of Canada (early name is Woman's Art Association)
WASMF	Women's Art Society of Montreal Files
WI	Women's Institutes

29. CHG Archives, and current Shop quarters of the Guilde canadienne des métiers d'art Québec, 2025 Peel St. Montreal. Ellen McLeod, 1994.
30. Map of Activities of CHG across Canada, 1910
M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (Oct. 1934), 206.
31. Ceinture fléchée demonstration by Mme. Venne, 1905.
CHGA.
32. Toy-making competition poster.
CHGA, C11 D1 070 1915.
33. Handwoven carpets, portieres, and lace at the CHG Exhibition at the AAM Art Gallery, 1905.
CHGA, C11 D1 024 1905.
34. CHG Annual Exhibition, AAM Art Gallery, 1924.
CHGA, C11 D2 085 1924.
35. CHG Annual Exhibition, AAM Art Gallery, 1927.
CHGA, C11 D2 100A 1927.
36. CHG Annual Exhibition, AAM Art Gallery, 1933.
CHGA, C11 D3 194 1933.
37. West Coast Indian cedar root trays and baskets from the CHG Permanent Collection, 1934.
M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (Oct. 1934), 215.
38. Stoney Indian moccasins.
M.A. Peck, "Indian Moccasins", 1904, Fig. 13. (unpub.) CHGA.
39. 1908 Tetracentenary, Grand Stand on Plains of Abraham, Quebec City, Illustrated Post Card Co., Montreal.
Barbara Carter Collection.
40. Program Cover, CHG Arena Exhibition and Fair, 1913.
CHGA, C11 D1 064 1913.
41. "Wigwam" ad, 1921.
Sights and Shrines, (Montreal, 1921), n.p.
42. "The Canadian Handicrafts Guild" ad, 1921.
Sights and Shrines, (Montreal, 1921), n.p.
43. Alice Lighthall, c. 1948.
D. MacLaughlin, "Women with Ideas, Miss Alice Lighthall", The Examiner (Westmount), August 13, 1948.

15. Frontispiece, WAAC Montreal Branch 1900 Exhibition Catalogue.
CHGA, C11 D1 016 1902.
16. WAAC Montreal Branch, "Scheme for the Promotion of Home Arts and Handicrafts".
CHGA, C11 D1 113 1900.
17. Line drawing illustration for WAAC Montreal Branch 1902 Exhibition Catalogue.
CHGA, C11 D1 017.
18. Invoice, "Our Handicrafts Shop", WAAC Montreal Branch, 1902.
CHGA, C11 D1 019 1902.
19. Lady Strathcona, c.1900.
H.J. Morgan, Types of Canadian Women, (Toronto, 1903), 2.
20. William Douw Lighthall.
J.E. Middleton and W.S. Downs (eds.), National Encyclopedia of Canadian Biography, (Toronto, 1935), 58-9.
21. Constitution and By-laws of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. CHGA.
22. Porcupine Quill Box, Queen Mary Gift, 1911.
M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (Oct. 1934), 205.
23. Hand painted and lettered Label for Queen Mary Gift, 1911.
CHGA, C11 D1 056 1911.
24. CHG Exhibition at the CNE Toronto, 1933.
M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (Oct. 1934), 215.
25. "Our Handicrafts Shop" ad, 586 St. Catherine St.W.
CHG Pamphlet, 1911.
26. "Our Handicrafts Shop" ad, 598a St. Catherine St.W.
CHGA, C11 D1 071 1916.
27. Interior of the CHG Montreal Shop, 1929.
M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (Oct. 1934), 202.
28. "The Canadian Handicrafts Guild, 1240 St. Catherine St W.
CHGA, C11 D2 138 1928.

29. CHG Archives, and current Shop quarters of the Guilde canadienne des métiers d'art Québec, 2025 Peel St. Montreal. Ellen McLeod, 1994.
30. Map of Activities of CHG across Canada, 1910
M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (Oct. 1934), 206.
31. Ceinture fléchée demonstration by Mme. Venne, 1905.
CHGA.
32. Toy-making competition poster.
CHGA, C11 D1 070 1915.
33. Handwoven carpets, portieres, and lace at the CHG Exhibition at the AAM Art Gallery, 1905.
CHGA, C11 D1 024 1905.
34. CHG Annual Exhibition, AAM Art Gallery, 1924.
CHGA, C11 D2 085 1924.
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CHGA, C11 D2 100A 1927.
36. CHG Annual Exhibition, AAM Art Gallery, 1933.
CHGA, C11 D3 194 1933.
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Sights and Shrines, (Montreal, 1921), n.p.
43. Alice Lighthall, c. 1948.
D. MacLaughlin, "Women with Ideas, Miss Alice Lighthall", The Examiner (Westmount), August 13, 1948.

44. Ojibway Loom for Beadwork.
Mary Phillips, drawing, 1910. CHGA, Red Box Diary, MMP.
45. CHG Italian Class, 1926.
M.A. Peck, Sketch of the Activities of the Canadian Handicraft Guild and of the Dawn of the Handicraft Movement in the Dominion, 1929, 12.
46. Immigrant children's handicrafts shown at a CHG Annual Exhibition.
M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (Oct. 1934), 208.
47. An Ethnic Class visiting the CHG Annual Exhibition watches a Blind man weaving. c. 1927 or 1928.
CHGA, C11 02 143 1928.
48. CHG Weaving School, 1933.
M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (Oct. 1934), 216.
49. Karen Bulow at the loom, CHG Exhibition, c.1933.
CHGA, C11 D3 194 1932.
50. Folk-Song and Handicraft Festival, Winnipeg, 1928.
Catalogue, "The New Folk-Song and Handicraft Festival", Winnipeg, June 19-23, 1928.

PREFACE

Art history has overlooked handicrafts in Canada because they were primarily promoted by women and created by women and other marginalized groups. This thesis examines the Canadian Handicrafts Guild (CHG) and how it was developed by women to become the premier patron of handicrafts in Canada. The thesis covers the period from the founding of the CHG in 1905 to the year 1936 when the CHG national organization devolved its assets and liabilities to the newly formed Quebec Branch. The specific contribution of CHG founders Alice Peck and Mary Phillips is established, and they and the CHG are reclaimed and repositioned within the history of art in Canada.

Their belief that handicrafts of all cultures in Canada were an essential foundation to our national art was underscored by a keen ambition to revive and encourage good handicraft production across the country. In addressing a void of official sponsorship, the CHG women supported handicrafts as non-profit entrepreneurs and as art patrons, by selling and exhibiting handicrafts as art.

The first chapter of the thesis presents the theoretical framework, referring to the work of scholars Griselda Pollock, Rozsika Parker, Janet Wolff and Kathleen McCarthy, and includes a literature review with particular emphasis on the way women and handicrafts have been

positioned in published art historical texts and articles.

Chapter Two provides a contextual overview of Montreal at the turn of the century and individual portraits of Alice Peck and Mary Phillips, including their rivalry over handicrafts with WAAC President Mary Ella Dignam in Toronto. It examines how, as maternal feminists, the Montreal women astutely used their social position to advance the cause of handicrafts and successfully found the CHG without threatening the male establishment.

The third chapter surveys the CHG's competitive and professional practice as the national patron of handicrafts through innovative strategies for support, education, exhibition, collection and benevolent entrepreneurship.

The CHG women's progressive stance towards handicrafts of marginalized groups, despite some conventional romanticization, is documented in the fourth chapter in order to demonstrate their prescient commitment to an inclusive nationalism and a multicultural Canadian art.

The epilogue delineates several aspects of the CHG legacy and points out avenues for further research.

A recognition of the outstanding achievement of the CHG women and their legacy to Canadian arts is the ultimate goal of this thesis.

Sources

This thesis is the beneficiary of the superb archival materials in the CHG Archives in Montreal, relating to the CHG and its antecedent, the Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC). Thanks to the women who mandated the keeping of records and cared for them over the years, and to the dedication of former Director and present Archivist, Virginia J. Watt, these valuable materials have been lovingly preserved.

Details of the personal histories of Alice Peck and Mary Phillips remain tantalizingly elusive. However, six grandchildren of Alice Peck have been contacted, and a collection of Peck's papers and photographs were generously made available by Barbara (Peck) Carter and Richard Peck. Although Mary Phillips has no direct familial line, a rich, though limited, source is found in the Deligny, Armstrong, Phillips, Bentham Collection at the McCord Museum Archives. It contains, among other things, four years of weekly letters to her mother from New York City while attending the New York Art Students League (NYASL). A visit to the Archives of the NYASL confirmed that Phillips attended in the 1880's. No comparable detail is extant on Peck's education. On all the protagonists, living memory has been consulted where possible.

Other primary sources consulted were the archives of the WAAC in Toronto, as well as the papers of WAAC Montreal

Branch, and its successor the Women's Art Society, housed in the McCord Museum Archives in Montreal. Papers and records of the Art Association of Montreal were examined at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. The Ladies Morning Musical Association, the Christ Church Cathedral Archives, and the Mount Royal Cemetery records in Montreal have also been consulted, as were the CNE Archives in Toronto. Additional art and social history have been researched at the National Archives and National Library of Canada, the University of Ottawa, Carleton University, the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the National Gallery of Canada.

CHAPTER ONE

IN THE MARGINS: WOMEN AND CRAFT

Handicrafts. Thoughts wrought into form by the skilled hand. And what a wonderful medium for the transmission of thoughts or feeling is the hand. So responsive, so at one with the brain that the character of the individual is stamped involuntarily upon all his [or her] handiwork.¹

The Canadian Handicrafts Guild (CHG), growing out of the vision and hard work of remarkable women, negotiated a place for handicrafts as art within Canadian culture. The CHG became a national patron for the handicraft arts of all Canadians including indigenous people² and new immigrants, as part of the CHG commitment to an inclusive Canadian nationalism. Alice Peck and Mary Phillips, who founded the CHG in 1905, considered these 'minor arts' the aesthetic foundation for their country.

Situated outside the mainstream Canadian art world, the women of the CHG established themselves as patrons and entrepreneurs. At the turn of the century, voluntarism, philanthropy and fostering minor arts were among the permitted public roles for women. To preserve and develop handicraft skills in Canada, the CHG women carried out extensive education, exhibition, and collecting programs.

This thesis will investigate the role of the CHG and the women who founded, developed and conducted its affairs. The early history of the CHG will be placed in the context of diverse contemporary cultural organizations in Canada,

with particular reference to the position of women. The aim of this thesis is to re-evaluate and reposition the CHG in the mainstream of Canadian art by demonstrating the breadth and magnitude of CHG achievement.

Founded and run primarily by women, and devoted to the minor arts and marginalized groups, the CHG's significance and history have been virtually ignored in Canadian art history. From its roots in the 1890's within the Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC), through to 1936 when the parent body of the CHG formed a Quebec branch organization, this history has not been properly acknowledged in the Canadian art world. Such a glaring absence is a reflection of a traditional definition of the artistic canon in Canadian art history.

As a discipline of the humanities, art history has sustained much critical attack for its narrow focus, and class and gender biases. Twenty years ago it was still possible to describe art history as the investigation of such things as style, attribution, dating, authenticity, rarity, iconography, and the rediscovery of forgotten artists.³ In the Times Literary Supplement on May 24, 1974, a young marxist art historian, T.J. Clark, advocated a more rigorous questioning of art and its origins in society.⁴

Since then, many art historians have creatively questioned the discipline's past assumptions about what constitutes art, and why some objects and not others were

deemed worthy of scholarship. Prompted by marxist and feminist theory, a new discourse in art history has examined the social aspects of art, formulating a critique of how patriarchy influenced art history and art practice. Diverse theoretical approaches revealed new understandings of areas previously neglected in art history.

In Vision and Difference (1988), feminist scholar Griselda Pollock castigated past art history as a male discourse that represented creativity as masculine and systematically denied the role of women as producers of art and meaning. Pollock saw the need for a knowledge revolution. It is to her suggestion of a "feminist intervention in the histories of art"⁵ that this thesis looks for a theoretical framework to analyze the history and positioning of the CHG.

During the last two decades feminist art historians have altered the traditional canon of art, introducing names of 'forgotten' women artists and identifying obstacles faced in practising similar art to men.⁶ They have also recognized that art forms other than the male-dominated categories of painting, sculpture and architecture were legitimate art. This has opened the way to a discourse on the role of women in the decorative arts, crafts and design.⁷ In addition, cultural historians have recently discussed the substantial part played by women as volunteers, educators, and patrons of the arts.⁸

While substantive scholarship now exists on women's roles in the minor arts in Britain and America, little has been written about this subject in Canada. With the current expansion in art history inquiry, it is appropriate now to place a study of the CHG and its enterprising Canadian women into the public record.

Chapter One will review the literature of crafts and women in Canadian art. The separation of crafts from high art in art history will be shown to be an artificial distinction because all art is a social product. The effects on women of crafts' higher status due to the British Arts and Crafts Movement will be briefly traced in Britain and North America, indicating how women seized opportunities within accepted social parameters to develop roles as artists, philanthropists, educators, entrepreneurs and patrons.

Literature Review

The texts of Canadian art concentrate almost exclusively on a high art tradition. In addition, most art historical writing in Canada has not treated the historical role of women in producing and promoting art.' Maria Tippet's By A Lady (1992) is the only major work devoted to Canadian women artists, yet her book does not do justice to women in the minor arts in Canada. Handicrafts, especially

those made and promoted by women, have been virtually written out of Canadian art history. A literature review of some of the general books on Canadian art will support this observation.

One of the earliest compilations of Canadian art, The Year Book of Canadian Art 1913 by the Arts and Letters Club of Toronto, discusses the visual arts in traditional terms of painting, sculpture and architecture. The art societies of Ontario and Quebec and their exhibitions are the main focus, although it also profiles the Winnipeg Art Gallery and the Legislative Buildings of the Province of Saskatchewan. Few women are mentioned, crafts are ignored, and the criterion for identifying a work of art is the European academic training.

The first of two books on art in Canada published in the 1920's has a similar bias. Newton MacTavish's The Fine Arts in Canada (1925) opens by saying there is no identifiable Canadian art. Dismissing Indian art, and omitting early French Canadian art, MacTavish begins his discussion of the fine arts with painter, Paul Kane. He gives an historical account of Canadian art societies and the founding of the National Gallery of Canada. He includes a separate illustrated chapter on women painters, but in doing so reinforces the separate sphere of women's work apart from the male mainstream of Canadian art.¹⁰ Handicrafts are not introduced.

The main thesis in F.B. Housser's A Canadian Art Movement: The Story of the Group of Seven (1926) [Fig. 1] centres on the identification of the Group of Seven as generators of a truly national Canadian art. Members of the Montreal Beaver Hall Group (1920-22), a contemporary and predominantly female artist group, are disparaged for lack of aggression. Praising the painters of the 'Group of Seven movement', Housser glorifies the ideal of the painter as male 'genius', centred in Toronto, Ontario.

Housser's dismissive comments on handicrafts provoked both reaction and initiative from the CHG. By citing Arthur Lismer's belief that women's handicrafts were made "for fun" as an escape from women's drudgery, Housser reinforced the stereotypes of women's handicraft production as ultimately without value, since the women who made hookmats, homespuns and catalognes simply stowed them away "in cupboards by the hundreds without using them."¹¹ It was Housser's support of Lismer's lament for the untapped artistic talents of immigrant workers which displayed his ignorance of the CHG's longstanding work with new immigrants:

Immigration from Europe brings annually to Canada thousands of persons. In very many instances these immigrants have some form of expression other than the business of agriculture. There must be among them leaders, workers in metal and wood, potters and stone-cutters...we do not seek to preserve these talents for the upbuilding of a permanent quality of our nation....¹²

Dismayed and angered at the lack of knowledge of their national work, the CHG women determined to publish their own

book¹³ on the history of handicrafts in Canada.

...it will raise the status of the Dominion
by proving that we have already a stable
foundation for the growing National art....¹⁴

Their intention was to emphasize the 'academic' aspects of handicrafts in order to establish "a permanent distinction...between a 'Guild' like ours and all handicraft activities which are purely commercial".¹⁵ By November 1928, the CHG had collected numerous articles [APPENDIX D], and chosen a publisher, Dent & Sons.¹⁶ Eventually, increasingly difficult demands, involving time-consuming rewrite, research and copyright issues, overwhelmed the organizers. In February 1933, the project was terminated by Dent & Sons.¹⁷

The failure of this publishing venture deprived us of a valuable source on Canadian handicrafts and the early opportunity to place Canadian handicrafts within the framework of a national history of art. Such a missed opportunity¹⁸ also denied the early recognition of the CHG.

Two decades later, William Colgate was conscious of establishing a basic reference tool in his book Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development (1943). As such, Colgate made a determined effort to be regionally inclusive and to include the additional areas of sculpture, printmaking and handicrafts, despite his primary focus on painting. A separate chapter on sculpture illustrates work by four women. Etchings and woodblock printing, bookplates,

illustration, building design and town planning are also featured, and a late chapter includes handicrafts, with portraiture and murals. Although Colgate credits the role played by the CHG, he does not discuss handicrafts made by women, or the CHG's pioneering leadership.

The next major text, Canadian Art, (1950 Edition), by Graham McInnes, is framed in broad general themes. Handicrafts are first mentioned in the context of the author's praise for the design and workmanship of West Coast totem poles, ceremonial masks, Chilkat blankets, and cedar bark baskets. McInnes comments on the potential extinction of native crafts and their inclusion in international exhibitions of Canadian art. Indian women artists, however, are not mentioned.

McInnes reveres traditional French Canadian woodcarving and metalwork and focuses primarily on the allied arts of architecture and industrial design. Women's handicrafts are disparaged by his implicit support for the Royal Canadian Academy's neglect of "designs of all sorts of useful things, from wearing apparel to embroidery". In McInnes' view, these are simply products of "the temporarily exiled English lady of gentle breeding".¹⁹ His later acknowledgement of the role played by the CHG in stimulating the field of handicrafts is effectively undercut by his faint praise of handicrafts as more than "escapist weakness".²⁰

Not surprisingly, it is women writers such as Mary Graham Bonner, Elizabeth Wyn Wood, and Sandra Gwyn, who have done the most to chronicle the work of Canadian handicraft artists, and in doing so, helped to break down the hierarchy between high and low art. Mary Graham Bonner emphasized handicrafts in her book, Made in Canada (1943). Written for young people, without bibliography, references or dates, it presents a broad range of handicrafts. Craftswomen are featured as tapestry makers for the Ursuline nuns in the sixteenth century, in the early eighteenth century as followers of Madame Legardeur de Repentigny who taught Quebec women to weave and spin from flax and wool, and later, in New Brunswick when Grace Helen Mowat began the Charlotte County Cottage Crafts at St. Andrews for women to sell their hooked rugs, woven goods and embroideries. Canadian women potters such as Alice M. Hagen who began a pottery school at Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia, and Erica Deichmann, who makes pottery with her husband Kjeld at Moss Glen, New Brunswick are given more attention than Paul Kane, Cornelius Krieghoff, Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven who merit only passing commentary. The final chapters deal with folksongs and legends.

Bonner not only credits the CHG with assisting in national handicraft activities, but she acknowledges the role of the CHG in encouraging immigrant craftspeople "to incorporate their native talents in the new world of art".²¹

Handicraft arts may have been included in Bonner's book, because it was directed at children,²² who would relate to these arts more easily than to the high art tradition. Bonner's book for children is most significant as documented evidence that a history of Canadian handicrafts existed and was known in 1943.

Two years later, the cover of the summer issue of Canadian Art (1945) depicted a Quebec boutonné bedspread from the collection of the CHG. [Fig. 2]. The lead article, entitled "Canadian Handicrafts", was a partial text of a speech given by Elizabeth Wyn Wood to the National Arts Club in New York City on March 21, 1945.²³ As a respected sculptor, Wood's words lent credibility to Canadian handicraft artists before an elite American audience. Embracing the handicrafts of all Canadians, she linked them to ethnic origin and raw materials of each region. Although women artists are not discussed exclusively, many were featured including silversmith Nancy Meek; New Brunswick potter Erica Deichmann; sculptors Eugenia Berlin, Florence Wyle, and Dora Weschler in Toronto; Quebec weaver Karen Bulow; Helen Mowat, organizer of the Charlotte County Cottage Crafts to make rugs and tweeds; Madame Blanchard of Araquet, known for her linens made from home-grown and home-spun flax; Wanda Nelles and Joan Hall from Ontario who wove soft blended wools, glass blower Elsa Heinkle; and Indian women who made moccasins. Wood praised the CHG for

stimulating and marketing crafts, reviving old designs and promoting the best of contemporary designers.²⁴

Significantly, this article marks the first real public acknowledgement of the CHG in mainstream Canadian art.

Through the 1940's, handicrafts continued to be highly regarded as an expression of Canadian national identity. In 1949-51, the Massey Commission on the Arts, Letters and Sciences stated its support for the CHG categorically:

...we believe the handicrafts in Canada can be most effectively and suitably aided through the strengthening of the appropriate national voluntary organization, the Canadian Handicrafts Guild.²⁵

Twelve years later, in 1963, Canadian Art published an insightful article by Sandra Gwyn entitled "Guild at the Crossroads". The CHG's rigorously juried spring exhibition had attracted commentary by Montreal art critics.²⁶ Unlike Wood, whose article dealt mainly with the artists, Gwyn specifically outlined the past, present, and future role of the CHG as an important national institution, and recognized both strengths and weaknesses. As a noteworthy example of its contribution, she cited "the work of the Indian and Eskimo Committee, chaired by the indefatigable Miss Alice Lighthall".²⁷ She also valued and saluted the committed volunteers, renowned branch shops, and the Permanent Collection of priceless Canadian crafts, as a vital support for contemporary craftsmen.

In more recent scholarship, handicrafts have returned to their marginalized position. This is most obvious in the

two major comprehensive texts on Canadian art: J. Russell Harper's Painting in Canada: A History (1966) and Dennis Reid's A Concise History of Canadian Painting (1973). Both authors limit their examination to Canadian painting, marking a return to the high art focus. I will begin with Harper's book, commissioned in 1967 at the time when the "Canadian Universal and International Exhibition" (Expo '67) re-defined Canadians to themselves.

Harper's text begins with a review of early painting in the French period of 1665-1759, followed by the English colonial period to 1867, and then a division into two broad sections before and after 1910. Social and economic issues contextualize the stylistic and biographic profiles of individual artists. Using primary archival sources and researching material from across Canada, this text did much to enlarge our knowledge of Canadian art history. In early chapters women artists are integrated into his narrative, often accompanied by condescending disparaging commentary."⁶ Although he is more generous with his praise for 20th century women artists, the only woman artist considered in any depth is Emily Carr. Male art organizations (OSA, RCA) are discussed in some detail, but the work of the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC) is not treated seriously."⁷ Indeed, the role of women in promoting art education and exhibitions, including the CHG, is clearly outside the narrowly defined scope of this text.

Significantly, less than a decade later, the next major book on Canadian art, Dennis Reid's A Concise History of Painting in Canada (1973), remains narrowly focused on painting. Reid builds on Harper's work, but organizes his text as a chronology of individual artists. Artists are positioned within the heroic tradition of the male genius. Women artists are not introduced until Reid's lengthy examination of Emily Carr beginning on page 153, after which he briefly discusses fewer than 10 other women artists. The WAAC is mentioned only in context of the site where Jack Bush and R. York Wilson exhibited in 1944.³⁰ In his preface, Reid defends his narrow focus asserting that "of all the arts in Canada, painting is the one that most directly presents the Canadian experience."³¹ Like Harper, Reid's exclusion of the other visual arts including crafts, and his marginalization of women in the arts, represents a further stage in the progressive reduction in the visibility of women and handicrafts in Canadian art history.

Responding to this neglect of women artists in the history of Canadian art, Maria Tippett wrote By a Lady (1992), the first book on Canadian art to deal exclusively with women artists. By introducing and illustrating numerous little-known works, Tippett has resurrected many women artists. However, her approach is not solidly grounded in feminist theory. She adopts the established canon of a high art tradition. Tippett writes without reference to the new

art historical methodologies which seek to reposition the work of women artists in relation to their social and historical context, and to the broader categories of art. By a Lady seems curiously traditional and unidimensional as a result. As art historian Janice Helland points out in her critique³², Tippettt fails to treat the importance of stitchery art, despite the influence of Rozsika Parker's The Subversive Stitch (1984). Little attention is paid to ecclesiastical embroidery in Canada, or to the lacework, weaving, rug hooking, tapestries, quilting, immigrant women's embroideries, or Indian arts such as beadwork. Despite the fact that she raises the subject of women's art education, and cites women art writers, patrons, dealers, and curators, Tippettt's concentration primarily on painting and sculpture, reinforces old hierarchies. Although the book covers the 20th century up to the 1980's, it does not mention contemporary crafts by women.

However, Tippettt does recognize the WAAC as an important institution for women artists. She acknowledges its interest in handicrafts, and discusses its 1896 china-painting project of the historical Canadian State Dinner Service involving 16 artists from Nova Scotia, Ontario and Quebec.³³ She only briefly mentions the founding of the CHG and its national promotion of handicrafts. Ignoring the long history of CHG handicraft patronage and its continued support for handicraft production, she presents the CHG as

if it atrophied after its founding, and women no longer made, exhibited or sold handicrafts.³⁴ In such a recent publication which purports to be inclusive, this text is disappointing and confirms the fact that the significance and history of the CHG's contribution to Canadian art remain largely unknown in the public record.

In summary, serious treatment of the role of women artists and handicrafts remains an outstanding issue. In the past two decades, some redress can be found in exhibition catalogues and graduate theses which have concentrated on work by women artists.³⁵ However, handicrafts are only now beginning to be examined.³⁶ The promotion of arts and crafts in Canada by the women of the CHG has not been addressed.

Women and the minor arts

The importance of women in the craft arts has been obscured by a patriarchal bias in art history. Feminist art historian Rozsika Parker comments on this hierarchy suggesting that the categorization was not dependent on the art objects themselves, but was determined rather by "**where** they are made and **who** makes them."³⁷ This bias in art history derived from the bias in contemporary society. Women traditionally made crafts in the home for use by the family circle; men worked in professional public spheres making art. Despite a change in the status of crafts, and greater professional training for women, the bias in art history has dictated that if objects are made by a woman, their function

and how they were made are more important than the maker."³²

This bias has another source. Art history's value system has always privileged an object's "exchange value over its use value".³³ This has created hierarchies in art that doubly diminish handicrafts. Handicrafts are intended for a useful purpose, and their origins are domestic and female. The conditions of their manufacture have determined where they fit in the hierarchy of arts,³⁴ and women's creativity as artists has usually been ignored.

In the late 19th century, the arts and crafts movements created an opening into fine art for the useful arts. In Britain, the United States and Canada, enterprising women exploited this opening. The women of the CHG made it the prime institution in Canada championing handicraft arts.

Low and High Art: The Place of Craft (Britain, U.S., Canada)

An examination of the position of crafts, beginning with the Renaissance designation of crafts as low arts, to the 19th century British context, will show how crafts gained stature in society. Using feminist theory we can understand how men dominated the arts and crafts movement, and how many women eventually found roles making or promoting crafts. Finally, it will be seen that in the history of art, crafts have been marginalized and women's roles have been overlooked until very recently.

Arts and crafts, minor arts, useful arts, home arts, home industries and handicrafts are terms used to discuss

the concept of craft. Craft can be defined as an original object created with care by both the mind and hand, using special skill and knowledge, fused with tradition and elements of iconography, style, or design. When everything made was fashioned by hand, all the arts were united.

The status of craft changed in the European Renaissance. Significantly, it was during this period that art history originated as a discipline and attitudes prevailing then became entrenched. In the late 15th century in Europe, an intellectual distinction between craft and fine art marginalized craft. The physical execution of the art object came to be regarded as inferior to its creative idea. Painting, sculpture and architecture were no longer considered co-operative manual arts, but instead as original works by a unique creator.

In The Social Production of Art (1981), cultural sociologist Janet Wolff argues that art has always been a social product,⁴¹ the work of many, not solely one genius artist. The 'genius' worship, that reinforced a bias against crafts done communally or at home, is being unmasked today. The idea of a genius artist was an historically specific construction distancing male artists from guilds and craftsmanship, and denying the fact that art is a by-product of multiple energies. Citing examples of the performing arts and film, Wolff elucidates how such works of art are the product of many minds and hands.⁴²

Using Wolff's argument, the distinction between high arts and minor arts becomes an artificial ideology favouring only the high arts. Training in specialized techniques, materials and design precedes the work of any skilled artist. If a work is then selected, distributed and marketed by an art patron or institution, these contexts also contribute to the art work. The CHG had its genesis in the revival of crafts in mid-19th century Britain and coincident associations fostering women's handicrafts.

The Industrial Revolution in Britain created a yearning for an earlier time when things were made by hand. Although the separation between hand and machine manufacture occurred more gradually than is generally assumed,⁴⁴ the British Arts and Crafts Movement emphasized this distinction.

In general, when art historical texts refer to the Arts and Crafts Movement, it is usually in terms of male rather than female artists.⁴⁴ The question of why women craftworkers did not benefit from the improved status of craft in the British Arts and Crafts Movement can be linked to the movement's goal of the "fusion of the designer and maker".⁴⁵ Most women were not encouraged to design, nor given credit as "makers". Women's expertise in embroidery, weaving, and china painting was deemed as their natural aptitude, which thus further diminished their status as artists.⁴⁶

Embroidery played an important role in maintaining and

creating the feminine ideal. By the 19th century, embroidery and femininity were fused identities whose connection was seen as entirely 'natural'.⁴⁷ Moreover, many gentlewomen requiring additional income felt uncomfortable working for money, unless it could be done anonymously. Selling, therefore, had to be done under the banner of female philanthropy. One example can be seen in the illustrious Royal School of Art Needlework, founded in 1872 by Lady Marion Alford and Helen Welby, who trained and employed impoverished gentlewomen in studios and workshops restricted to their own kind.⁴⁸ Designs were supplied by male artists, and thus the produced wares by women were presented not "as work, but simply the fulfilment of the vocation of femininity, by subscribing to the Arts and Crafts Movement's belief in the morally elevating effect of good design".⁴⁹

The emergence of a strong Suffrage Movement in Britain campaigning for wider spheres for women coincided with the higher position of crafts due to the Arts and Crafts Movement.⁵⁰ As a result, greater education for women in arts and crafts opened new professional opportunities where women could work publicly.⁵¹ As well, women identified a public role for themselves as philanthropists reviving crafts and helping the working classes.

One example can be seen in the Home Arts and Industries

Association, an independent craft organization operated by middle and upper class English women from 1884 onward. Volunteer and professional teachers were used to "encourage the practice of handicrafts and revive old ones" particularly in rural areas with no access to art societies or technical instruction.⁵² The Home Arts and Industries Association was referred to frequently in Arts and Crafts journals such as the Studio, although its standards were sometimes criticized.⁵³ As a grass roots organization, it was effective in reaching the ordinary worker. Similar outreach programs were organized by the CHG to support handicraft workers across a widely scattered Canadian population.

By the turn of the century, British women's involvement in crafts, whether as artists, promoters, teachers, or designers, was well known in Canada. Canadian women were also cognizant of similar contemporary situations in the United States. The American context is especially significant because of the direct cultural links to the Montreal women founders of the CHG.

Americans gradually became aware of their handicrafts in the early 1860's when the Civil War Sanitary Commission developed into a national organization of women who sold their home crafts in fundraising fairs.⁵⁴ Middle class consumer interest in the minor arts was further stimulated by the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. As a

showcase of both American and foreign exhibitors, the Exposition helped consolidate a "new cosmopolitanism" in America⁵⁵ and stimulated American interest in the British Arts and Crafts Movement.⁵⁶ The impact of the award-winning exhibit of embroideries from the Royal School of Art Needlework in South Kensington directly inspired Candace Wheeler, a wealthy New Yorker, to form an American organization for women's handicrafts to support women in need.⁵⁷ In this needlework exhibit, she astutely discerned a new art form which had the potential to allow working women to become self-supporting.

By 1877, Wheeler had founded the New York Society for Decorative Art with a mandate to teach courses in needlework and crafts, elevate taste in household decoration through exhibitions and educational programs, and market quality handicrafts. Success spawned chapters throughout the United States in the 1870's and 1880's, attracting women members for a variety of reasons (social reform, aesthetic interest and philanthropy). Here, women were involved in setting standards, providing instruction and organizing outlets for other women to sell their work.⁵⁸ Candace Wheeler's American decorative arts movement was the first major artistic crusade created and managed by women.⁵⁹

By 1893, American women artists were sufficiently well organized and self-confident to negotiate, design and build an impressive separate Woman's Building at the Columbian

Exposition World's Fair in Chicago. For the first time women managed their own cultural program using their own criteria.⁶⁰ In Canada, in 1890, the WAAC had been formed in Toronto. Canadian women artists such as Mary Phillips and Mary Ella Dignam exhibited at the Chicago World Exposition. The International Council of Women, formally established in May 1893 at the Chicago Fair, had strong Canadian representation, and elected Lady Ishbel Aberdeen, the wife of the Canadian Governor General, as its first President.⁶¹ There was a developing sense that women should have a legitimate place in society as a whole.

Following the 1893 World's Fair and the formation of the Chicago Society of Arts and Crafts in 1897, the Chicago journal, Home Art [Fig. 3] began to publish booklets on aspects of design, stitchery and the dye process. Home Art issues from December 1897, March 1898, September 1898, December 1898 and February 1899 were disseminated as far as Montreal and used as reference by the women there.⁶² In addition, Chicago women Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr established craft classes at Chicago's foremost social settlement house for immigrants, Hull House.⁶³ Handicraft exhibits were organized as early as 1897, and by 1900, the Hull House Labor Museum had opened as a living museum to demonstrate ethnic crafts. Their progressive practice of hiring local immigrant women to teach handicrafts to both Hull House residents and society women⁶⁴ provided a strong

model for the CHG educational program in Montreal. Alice Peck personally corresponded with Jane Addams about this work with immigrants, and at Addams' invitation, attended a luncheon at Hull House in 1910.⁶⁵ At a time "when cultural pluralism was a radical idea",⁶⁶ these progressive programs here and at Dension House in Boston were models for the CHG's promotion of immigrant handicrafts in Canada.

Interconnections developed between the CHG and the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts (1897), which organized major exhibitions of handicrafts in America. In 1900 a Boston salesroom was opened to market the work for the benefit of the craftmakers.⁶⁷ Similarly, in Montreal, after their successful handicraft exhibition in 1902, the women of the WAAC Montreal Branch (forerunners of the CHG) established the first sales outlet in Canada, perhaps directly influenced by Boston's example. They were aware of the Boston Society's literature,⁶⁸ and by 1906 the new CHG had begun sending Canadian handicrafts to the exhibitions of the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts. (See APPENDIX A).

The Canadian Context

In mid-19th century Canada, fine arts and handicrafts were exhibited side by side in provincial Agricultural Fairs. In Ontario, at the Kingston Agricultural Show in September 1849, the List of Premiums awarded by the Provincial Agricultural Association included prizes for embroidery, crochet work, worsted work, quilts, woollen

carpets, woollen blankets, handmade flannel, shawls, flax and linen goods, furniture, bookbinding, writing paper, stained glass, wood engraving, watercolours, and oil painting.⁶⁹ By 1879, a permanent central headquarters for the new Ontario Industrial Exhibition Association was located in Toronto.⁷⁰

By 1895, art and handicraft exhibitions were held in one room. The Ladies' Committee solicited handicrafts such as embroidery, china painting, textiles, woodwork, brass chasing and *répousser* from both professionals and amateurs for the "Ladies' Department". Although men were eligible to submit work, few did so, which served to reinforce the separate gendered spheres of art and handicrafts.⁷¹ In 1908, the Exhibition erected a separate Woman's Building for the display of handicrafts and home industries.⁷² **[Fig. 4].**

The segregation of women's handicrafts was also a feature of the Canadian pavilion at the St. Louis Universal Exposition in 1904. Although the Fair's Art Department was expressly open to all the arts for the first time at an American international exposition, the applied arts were "placed on a plane with what is known as the 'Fine Arts'".⁷³ Glass, pottery, metal, leather, wood, textiles and bookbinding from the U.S., Japan, and Europe were now exhibited alongside painting and sculpture in the Art Department. However, in the Canadian galleries of the Art Department, the selected works were limited to painting.⁷⁴

Handicrafts selected by the WAAC were exhibited separately in the Canadian pavilion.⁷⁵ While this clearly demonstrates that Canada was more conservative than other nations in its continued segregation of women's handicrafts, hundreds of visitors came to see the WAAC exhibit, and recorded their names in 186 pages of signatures.⁷⁶ **[Fig. 5].**

A broadening appreciation and familiarity with the arts and crafts movements in both the U.S. and Britain provided a nurturing environment⁷⁷ for the founding of the Arts and Crafts Society of Canada in 1903. **[Fig. 6].** In a reversal of the norm, the president was Mabel Adamson (1871-1943), a woman who had spent time in England in 1902-3 at C.R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft in Chipping Camden⁷⁸ while the vice-president was the prominent painter George A. Reid.⁷⁹ The membership of the Arts and Crafts Society, more than half of whom were women, was drawn from several Canadian cities.⁸⁰ The society's aims were artistic and educational:

the encouragement of original design and its individual expression, to promote this object by holding Exhibitions of original Canadian work, the names of the designer and executant being always given; by occasional loan exhibits; by lectures; and by rendering the literature on the subject of handicraft accessible to those who are interested.⁸¹

In November 1905, a juried exhibition held in Toronto solicited original decorative designs, mural decorations, stencilling, illumination, stained glass, metalwork enamelling, photography, pottery, wood carving, furniture, leatherwork, bookbinding, needlework, weaving and rugs,

basket and bead work, and inlaid work. Artistic and technical standards were rigorous.⁶² Similarly rigorous criteria had been set by the women of the WAAC Montreal Branch by 1902 in their promotion of home industries in Canada. Women's active involvement in the revival of home industries and handicrafts is substantively linked to the accepted identification of women with the home.

'Maternal Feminists'⁶³

Although the prescribed place of women was emphatically in the home in late 19th century Canada, falling birthrates, longer lifespans, greater access to education, and employment meant more women were now visible in the public sphere. By 1901, 16% of Canadian women were working for wages, a relatively low number which was nonetheless viewed with alarm by threatened males.⁶⁴

Women had limited official rights in Canada, particularly in the province of Quebec with its Napoleonic Code. In Montreal, women could not vote municipally until 1892⁶⁵ or provincially until 1940. Married women in Quebec could not legally sign papers, rent property, or control their own earnings. In such a discriminatory milieu, it is not surprising that women created autonomous associations where women were the major decision-makers. By forming separatist organizations⁶⁶ they were able to assume public roles without threatening the status quo. 'Feminism' in the 1890's recognized "the right of women not only to an

increased public role, but also to define themselves autonomously".⁸⁷

Women instituted many national voluntary organizations, such as the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) and the WAAC. Founded in 1893 by Lady Aberdeen, the NCWC established local councils in various cities with representatives from other associations.⁸⁸ In 1900 the local Montreal Council represented some 27 women's societies by which time the NCWC boasted local councils in 21 cities.

The Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC), was founded in Toronto in 1890 by Mary Ella Dignam **[Fig. 7]**, to serve amateur and professional women artists. In 1893 the constitution was amended to allow local WAAC branches in various cities to join. In 1894, the Montreal Branch, the precursor of the CHG, was formed.⁸⁹

These national networks of women's groups fostered a sense of women's active involvement in the nation. Members were privileged women with sufficient 'spare time' to engage in voluntary pursuits. As Canadian historian Naomi Griffiths points out in her book on the NCWC, The Splendid Vision (1993), some contemporaries criticized such "club women" and their "problem of leisure", thereby devaluing their substantive contributions.⁹⁰ Many were daughters, sisters and wives of "progressively minded men",⁹¹ and can be described as 'maternal feminists' who believed "that the qualities which women exercised within the home must be

carried out into the world and used to make it a better place".⁹² Ultimately, these women were dependent on good will and their ability to use societal structures advantageously.

This chapter began with a statement on the lack of documentation or recognition of the CHG in Canadian art history. A review of art historical literature in Canada, established the marginalized position of handicrafts. The development of a recognized craft tradition during the 19th century British Arts and Crafts Movement was discussed with particular reference to the evolution and participation of women in handicraft organizations in Britain, America and Canada. Privileged Canadian women, chafing at their limited public role, were shown to have formed separate autonomous organizations, but as 'maternal feminists', they astutely operated within accepted societal bounds.

Chapter Two will focus specifically on the Montreal cultural context for women, introducing Alice Peck and Mary Phillips as individuals and as founders of the CHG, and it will discuss in detail the events leading up to the establishment of the CHG as an independent organization

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER ONE

1. M.M. Phillips, "Address used on Afternoon talks and on Western Trip", 1910, C11 D1 051, CHGA.
2. The terms "Indian" and "Eskimo" will be retained in keeping with their original use in the historical context.
3. A.L. Rees and F. Borzello, "Introduction", The New Art History, (Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1988), 2.
4. T.J. Clark, "The Conditions of Artistic Creation", Times Literary Supplement, May 24, 1974, 561-2.
5. G. Pollock, Vision and Difference, (London and New York, 1988), 17.
6. The first to reveal the gender bias of art history and art practice was L. Nochlin, "Why have there been no great women artists?" in T.B. Hess and E.C. Baker (eds.), Art and Sexual Politics, (New York, 1973), 1-44.
7. I am referring to writing about women in decorative arts, crafts and design such as: A. Callen, Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914 (London, 1979); R. Parker and G. Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology, (London, 1981); R. Parker, The Subversive Stitch (London, 1984); I. Anscombe, A Woman's Touch: Women in Design from 1860 to the Present Day, (London, 1984); J. Attfield and P. Kirkham (eds.), A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design (London, 1989); C. Buckley, Potters and Paintresses: Women Designers in the Pottery Industry 1870-1955 (London, 1990); J. Burkhauser (ed.) Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design 1880-1920 (Edinburgh, 1990); and J. Helland, "Frances Macdonald: The Self as Fin-de-Siècle Woman", Woman's Art Journal (Summer 1993), 15-22.
8. On American philanthropy and art, see K.D. McCarthy, Women's Culture, (Chicago and London, 1991). In Canada, see M. Tippet, Making Culture, (Toronto, 1990) on English Canadian art institutions before 1950.
9. One recent exception is the discussion of handicrafts in A. Thompson, A Worthy Place in the Art of our Country: The Women's Art Association of Canada 1887-1987, (Carleton M.A. thesis, 1989), Chapter Three.
10. N. MacTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada, (Toronto, 1925), 146. However, in the context of the 1920's this is the most liberal position.
11. F.B. Housser, A Canadian Art Movement: The Story of the Group of Seven, 173. This remark completely disregards the CHG record. When sent CHG literature, F.B. Housser admitted he had known nothing of its existence previously. [CHG Exhibition Com. Minutes, May 6, 1927, CHGA].
12. A. Lismer as quoted in Housser, Movement, 173-4.
13. Other motivating factors were the successful CHG lecture series on crafts, and the inferior Canadian handicrafts exhibit at the 1927 Imperial Institute Exhibit in England. [CHG Minutes, Dec. 15, 1927, CHGA, and M.A. Peck to E. Montizambant, Dec. 19, 1927. C11 D2 120 1927, CHGA].
14. M.A. Peck to Dent & Sons, Jan. 14, 1928. C6 D1 035 1926, CHGA.

15. The book was aimed at university level readers. [K.M. Bottomley to Mrs. Huggan, Aug. 4, 1929. C6 D1 037 1926, CHGA].
16. Alice Peck had originally approached Dent & Sons with the idea. [CHG Extension Committee Minutes, Jan. 19, 1928. C6 D1 002, CHGA].
17. Dent & Sons gave no reason, except that it was "too late". [W. Bovey to B.K. Sandwell, Feb. 6, 1933, C6 D1 008 1929, CHGA].
18. The CHG Book correspondence reveals the condescending attitude and shifting demands of the publisher over the years 1926 to 1933, [series C6 D1, CHGA]. Never intending to profit from the book, the CHG had agreed to have Dent & Sons print the book at its own expense and to take over the sales. Dent's interest soon evolved towards a more profitable textbook for school children of Grade VIII and IX.
19. G. McInnes, Canadian Art, (Toronto, 1950), 38.
20. McInnes, Art, 106.
21. M.G. Bonner, Made in Canada, (New York, 1943), 64.
22. Bonner, Canada, (New York, 1943). The book was part of a series (American?) called "Borzoi Books for Young People" that included other titles such as Made in China, Made in India, Made in France.
23. When the National Arts Club in New York City held a Canadian art exhibit, D. Buchanan, a Canadian Art editor, spoke on contemporary art, and E.W. Wood, spoke on "Handicrafts in Relation to Community Art Centres in Canada". Wood was part of a Reconstruction Committee delegation endorsing arts and crafts to the Canadian Government. See F.W. Wood, "Art Goes to Parliament", Canadian Art II, No. 1 (Oct-Nov 1944), 3-5, 41-42.
24. E.W. Wood, "Canadian Handicrafts", Canadian Art II, No. 5 (Summer 1945), 188. Several of the article's photographs were from the CHG.
25. Canada, Government of Canada, Report: Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences 1949-51, (Ottawa, 1951), 237.
26. S. Gwyn, "Guild at the Crossroads", Canadian Art 20, No. 86 (July-Aug. 1963), 278.
27. Gwyn, "Crossroads", 279.
28. J.R. Harper, Painting in Canada: A History, (Toronto, 1966), 109-11, 178, 230, 252-3, 315, 318.
29. Harper, Painting, 245. The WAAC is dismissed as an organization "dedicated to the improvement of public taste", and is referred to only regarding an exhibition of imported Dutch canvases. For a complete listing of the WAAC's impressive record exhibiting Canadian artists, see Thompson, Worthy, 1989. In J.R. Harper, Early Engravers and Printers in Canada, (Toronto, 1970), biographies of many women artists are included, but the WAAC records were not used to document their exhibition history.
30. Reid, Concise, 245. As a comment on the marginalization of this national organization, none could be more eloquent.
31. Reid, Concise, 8. Clearly he did not consider handicrafts, the "useful arts" that people live with every day.

32. J. Helland, "Reviews, By a Lady", The Journal of Canadian Art History Vol. XV, No. 1 (1992), 126.
33. M. Tippet, By a Lady, (Toronto 1992), 40-2. The Historical State Dinner Service is given an illustration and more space than the CHG.
34. There is a brief reference to borrowed CHG handicrafts used by Annora Brown for a 1930's Alberta adult education program. Tippet, Lady, 65.
35. The first such exhibition on Canadian women artists was D. Farr and N. Luckyj, From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in Canada, (Kingston, 1975).
36. See K.A. Lochnan, D. Schoenherr and C. Silver, (eds.). The Earthly Paradise: Arts and Crafts by William Morris and his Circle from Canadian Collections, (Toronto, 1993).
37. R. Parker, The Subversive Stitch, (London, 1984), 5.
38. Parker, Subversive, 69.
39. C. Buckley, Potters and Paintresses, 8.
40. Parker, Subversive, 70.
41. J. Wolff, The Social Production of Art, (London, 1981), 29.
42. Wolff, Social, 32-3.
43. E. Lucie-Smith, The Story of Craft, (Oxford, 1981). Lucie-Smith discusses the gradual introduction of machinery into the production of many crafts since the Middle Ages, largely debunking the myth of "an innocent pre-industrial age followed by a corrupt industrial one" (13).
44. See H.W. Janson in The History of Art 3rd ed. (New York, 1986), 633-4. Janson does not name the Arts and Crafts Movement but mentions William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, and illustrates a Morris wallpaper. Artist John Ruskin's writings on social reform [See "The Nature of Gothic" in J. Ruskin, The Stones of Venice Vol. II.] inspired the revival of arts and crafts in Britain, influencing a group of Oxford student designers, including W. Morris and E. Burne-Jones. Although they embraced a socialist philosophy, in the 1860's they also became entrepreneurs selling finely crafted domestic furniture, stained glass, tiles, wallpaper, textiles and embroideries under the firm William Morris and Company. Few women worked as professionals in the firm except for family members. Women primarily worked in gender ghettos of needlework and embroidery, which thus reinforced the traditional sexual division of labour. [Parker, Subversive, 180].
45. W. Chadwick, Women, Art, and Society, (London, 1990), 225.
46. Anscombe, Touch, 13-14. When women later became successful designers, their achievement was again devalued. Because women so fully integrated this art with life, domestic arts, design and decorative talent in the home were not regarded as professional skills if done by women. (15).
47. Parker, Subversive, 11. The 'patriarchy' is defined by Griselda Pollock, as not simply "the static, oppressive domination of one sex over another, but a web of psycho-social relationships which institute a socially significant difference...[based on gender] which is so deeply located in our very sense of lived sexual identity that it appears to us as natural and unalterable." Quoted in Buckley, Potters, 11.

48. A. Callen, Angel in the Studio, (London, 1979), 8.
49. Parker, Subversive, 185. In Canada, the issue of **work** was not so delicate a problem. Although 'self-help' was relevant, the CHG stressed professional standards of execution and original design by women.
50. Parker, Subversive, 181.
51. Women like Jessie Newbery, a Glasgow School embroidery teacher from 1894 to 1908, developed embroidery as an art form, and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, founded in 1888, provided professionally trained women access to exhibitions and sales.
52. Callen, Angel, 5.
53. Callen, Angel, 7. It is impossible to know whether its standards were criticized because an amateur designation was automatic when the work was done by women, or whether the work was not always of good quality.
54. K. McCarthy, Women's Culture, (Chicago and London, 1991), 40-1.
55. McCarthy, Culture, 41.
56. Pamphlets, magazines, journals were another source of influence, as were speaking tours such as by: Oscar Wilde in 1882, Walter Crane in 1891-92, C. R. Ashbee in 1896 and May Morris in 1909.
57. McCarthy, Culture, 43.
58. Anscombe, Touch, 36.
59. Wheeler herself later had a successful design career in textiles employing many women as designers. Anscombe, Touch, 36-7.
60. Chadwick, Society, 230.
61. N.E.S. Griffiths, The Splendid Vision, (Ottawa, 1993), 9-10. Lady Aberdeen remained President, except for two brief intervals, until 1936.
62. C11 D1 010, CHGA.
63. McCarthy, Culture, 67.
64. McCarthy, Culture, 69. McCarthy comments on how this reverses the aesthetic and economic hierarchies adopted by the decorative art societies which had a more paternalistic mission.
65. In reply to her request for information on the labor museum and the shops, Jane Addams sent Alice Peck a copy of the Hull House Year Book. J. Addams to Mrs. James H. Peck, April 1, 1909. [Barbara Carter].
66. E. Boris, Art and Labor, (Philadelphia, 1986), 133.
67. Boris, Labor, 36-7.
68. An issue (Sept. 1902) of "Handicraft" published by the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts was reference material in Montreal. [C11 D1 016 CHGA.]

69. The first four items were under the Class Q, "Ladies Department". Ont. Board of Agriculture, Canadian Agriculturalist, (Toronto, 1849), 281-2.
70. It was the direct antecedent of the CNE. Withrow, Romance, 51-65.
71. Thompson, Worthy, 33.
72. Soldiers in occupational therapy contributed work such as weaving and carving, but the women's handicrafts of knitting, rug-making, weaving, patchwork quilting, cookery and canning were the largest exhibits. Withrow, Romance, 125-6.
73. Committee, "Foreword", Official, n.p.
74. The Committee on Press and Publicity. "Foreword" Official Catalogue of Exhibitors, Universal Exposition St. Louis, U.S.A. (St. Louis, 1904).
75. S. Fisher, Exhibition Commissioner provided a Government grant to the WAAC for the exhibit, which was entirely looked after by the Montreal Branch. Of the \$1200 grant, Montreal received \$1000. See Chapter Two.
76. "WAA Guest Book for the St. Louis World Fair in the Canadian Building, Wed. June 13th to Nov. 29, 1904" [CHGA].
77. See R. Pepall, "Under the Spell of Morris: A Canadian Perspective", The Earthly Paradise, (Toronto 1993), 20-26.
78. Pepall, "Spell", 28. It is presumed Adamson assumed the Presidency because of her expertise in arts and crafts. She lived briefly in Ottawa in 1903-5. After moving to Toronto, she founded the Society for Applied Art and the Heliconian Club for women. [S. Gwyn, Tapestry of War, (Toronto 1992), 82.] The society for Applied Art, to which the CHG sent exhibits in Toronto, may have replaced the Arts and Crafts Society by 1907.
79. Pepall, "Spell", 28. G.A. Reid (1860-1947) had served as President of the OSA and the RCA, and Principal of the Ontario College of Art.
80. Although the President lived in Ottawa, it appears that exhibitions took place in Toronto. Membership drew also from Montreal as Alice Peck and Percy Nobbs are listed as members. Constitution and Bylaws of the Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada (1905), n.p., CHGA.
81. Society, Article II. n.p. [CHGA].
82. Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada, "Publicity Statement for 1905 Juried Exhibition", n.p. [CHGA].
83. J. L'Esperance, The Widening Sphere: Women in Canada, 1840-1940, (Ottawa, 1982), 29.
84. S. Burt, L. Code and L. Dorney, Changing Patterns: Women in Canada, (Toronto, 1988), 14.
85. L. Kealey, "Introduction", A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880's-1920's, (Toronto, 1979), 10.
86. McCarthy, Culture, Part One. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 discuss separatist strategies of early American feminists similar to those adopted by Canadian women somewhat later in the nineteenth century.

87. Kealey, Claim, 7.

88. In rural areas, the Women's Institutes were similar to the NCWC. L'Esperance, Widening, 29.

89. By 1900-1901, there were local WAAC branches in Montreal, Hamilton, Brockville, St.Thomas, Saint John, N.B., Kingston, Portage La Prairie, Ottawa, and Toronto. Catalogue, "Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts, Women's Art Association", 1900, 3. [C11 D1 015 CHGA].

90. And for years hence, history has also devalued their contributions because such women were assumed to be 'putting in time' at work they were neither paid nor elected to do. N.E.S. Griffiths, The Splendid Vision, (Ottawa, 1993), 4-5.

91. Strong-Boag, Council, 32.

92. L'Esperance, Widening, 29.

CHAPTER TWO

MONTREAL WOMEN AND "THE DAWN OF THE HANDICRAFT MOVEMENT"

When the arts and crafts of a country gain recognition, that country takes a new position in the respect of the world. No nation began with fine buildings, great sculptures, noble paintings. They all began with the lowly crafts..

Chapter Two will place the founding of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild (CHG) within the cultural environment of privileged women in Montreal. This chapter will show that because the earliest Montreal arts organizations excluded women from full participation, Montreal women developed their own separate associations. The central role of Alice Peck and Mary Phillips in founding the WAAC Montreal Branch, and later, in shifting its focus to crafts, will be contextualized against the struggle between Toronto and Montreal for control of handicrafts in Canada. This chapter will conclude with the creation and incorporation of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild.

The environment of Montreal women will be grounded in real life by examining in detail the backgrounds and public activities of Alice Peck and Mary Phillips. Griselda Pollock insists that a "feminist intervention in the history of art" should recognize specific experiences, choices and differences within a network of relationships among individuals, organizations, and society.² To illuminate how Peck and Phillips were motivated to champion handicrafts in Canada, I will first explore how Montreal women operated

within their particular cultural, social, and political milieu.

Cultural Associations in Montreal and Canada

During the 19th century, Canadian cultural institutions were few in number, and the members and beneficiaries were men. Canadian art institutions, still "in their formative stages, were closely based on European models which had excluded women in France and England."³ Art societies and art schools, which controlled professional validation, discriminated against women artists.⁴ In Canada, artistic women were not fully accommodated in either formal art associations or informal networking clubs.

In Toronto, the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA) founded in 1872, was open to all professional artists by election. However, the primarily male membership excluded women from voting and the business functions of the Society. The number and percentage of women painters dropped during the 1880's, a reflection of the fact that women, as non-voting members, could not actively elect women.⁵ Nor could women artists easily earn money from their art. With few commercial galleries,⁶ art exhibitions provided the best opportunity for sales; women artists, as minority exhibitors, did not have the same opportunities to show or sell. Membership in arts groups was similarly limited.

In 1880, the Royal Canadian Academy (RCA) was founded in Ottawa. The sole female full academician, English-born

Charlotte Schreiber, was the exception to an all male association.⁷ Women members were denied voting privileges at business meetings until 1913, when the sexist clause was finally removed. Such restrictions had little to do with artistic ability, but rested on the patriarchal presumption that a "Lady" should not know or concern herself with business decisions.

The Art Association of Montreal (AAM), inspired by the Crystal Palace erected in Montreal in 1860, matured into a national art institution. The exclusively male founding members mandated the association to hold an annual exhibit of art, to establish a library and a gallery for sculpture and painting, and to found a school of art and design.⁸ A bequest by Benaiah Gibb in 1877 gave the AAM a property on Phillips Square, where Canada's first permanent art gallery **[Fig. 8]** was opened by the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne in 1879.

Although full privileges were for male members only, the AAM allowed women artists in its classes and exhibitions.⁹ Every year, the AAM sponsored national art exhibitions open to Canadian artists from across the country. This national outlook was characteristic of Montreal as the premier city in Canada at the time. In 1912, after a second larger gallery was built on Sherbrooke Street West **[Fig. 9]**, the AAM was able to host more ambitious exhibitions in a grander space. Professional women artists,

although not totally excluded from the AAM, found that the overwhelmingly male environment did not offer or encourage an informal milieu for women to practise and discuss art.

Montreal offered men a variety of cultural opportunities. The Antiquarian and Numismatic Society (ANS), was founded in 1862 by a small group of prominent Montrealers. Promoting historical consciousness among Montreal's citizens through the journal, "The Canadian Antiquarian", and mounting historical plaques throughout the city, the Society's mandate was to preserve important historical artifacts and display them to the public.¹⁰ Its museum in the Chateau de Ramezay¹¹ displayed many Indian artifacts, military antiquities, old coins, painted portraits, early French and English Canadian objects, and maps and photographs of historic Montreal.

Male artists and writers had access to informal artistic groups such as the Pen and Pencil Club, founded in 1890 by six Montrealers including William Brymner and Robert Harris. It was formed for the purpose of the "social enjoyment and promotion of the Arts and Letters" as an exclusively male group of approximately 30 members.¹² They met on Saturday evenings in artists' studios, or at such masculine bastions as the Royal Montreal Golf Club, or Royal Montreal Racquet Club. Each member brought his contribution on a set subject in "brush or pen" for appraisal and criticism. The assumption remained that art and literature

were male preserves.¹³

Male dominance was equally obvious in the exhibiting record of the Canadian Art Club formed by artists including Edmund Morris, Horatio Walker, and Homer Watson to create a taste for Canadian rather than Dutch imported paintings.¹⁴ Laura Adeline Muntz Lyall (1860-1930) was the sole woman out of the 35 listed exhibitors during the Canadian Art Club's short-lived existence from 1907-1915.¹⁵

In Canada, as elsewhere, women were severely limited in any professional artistic role. Art historian, Linda Nochlin in her seminal article "Why have there been no Great Women Artists?" explains that women artists' systematic exclusion from nude life drawing limited their high art prospects. Moreover, women were hemmed in by a feminine ideology of accomplishment art.¹⁶ Men defined high art, controlled the positions of power in art institutions, and also demanded a specific femininity. Griselda Pollock reminds us of the social construction of sexual difference positioning women in a false opposition outside a culturally creative role: "men create art; women merely have babies".¹⁷ Pollock further notes that Nochlin's argument, while indicating how social factors affected the status of women artists, still reinforces patriarchal assumptions. Rather than placing an equal emphasis on female history, it assumes that man is the norm of humanity, and leaves out the concrete experience of real women's lives.¹⁸ Recently, feminist art historian

Deborah Cherry has pointed out that the binary interpretation of power which posits masculinity versus femininity is too rigid. Women's roles were negotiated within a network of social interactions through various challenges and resistances, as well as positive forays.¹⁹ By the late 19th century, upper and middle class women sought to redefine their femininity and to assume public roles in certain discreet areas.

The Beginning: Higher Education

Historically, the kind of education a society granted girls was indicative of the role it permitted women.²⁰ In Montreal, a re-negotiation of this role began in the 1870's when older, privileged women opened avenues to higher education for younger women. Since 1821, McGill University had offered advanced education to men only. To attain power in society, women needed to establish their right to education. In 1870, male educators in Montreal were debating this right, based on the definition of Woman, as "Lady" or as "Person". J. William Dawson, Principal of McGill, initially defined Woman as "Lady" (housewife and mother), whereas Professor of Philosophy, J. Clark Murray, saw Woman as "Person" (independent and potentially employed). Only the latter view held that women should be given access to high education as were men.²¹

That same year, 1870, the "Wilkes resolution" recommended that McGill begin college classes for women.

Principal Dawson, after visiting Britain with his wife Margaret, softened his stance. Based on an Edinburgh model, he proposed a curriculum of literary, scientific and historical subjects for women, and drafted a budget. He then secured a measure of cooperation from McGill²² that began the university's commitment to women's education.

As a result, in 1871, establishment women formed the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association (MLEA) with immediate plans to offer four college courses to women during the winter.²³ An experienced Montreal educator, Lucy Stanynought Simpson (b. 1827) **[Fig. 10]**, who believed strongly in higher education for women, served on the General Committee of the MLEA.²⁴ Lucy Simpson's conviction in "Woman" as "Person with potential" influenced a younger generation to adopt leadership roles.

Having attended Mrs. Simpson's private school as a young girl,²⁵ Mary Phillips, one of the founders of the CHG, encountered Simpson again in her late teens in 1872 and 1873, when she took classes at the MLEA in English History, English Literature and Logic.²⁶ Mary Phillips was inspired by the philosophy of Lucy Simpson, and her attitude was embodied in CHG women.²⁷ Moreover, these younger women who actively promoted handicrafts challenged taboos against power, politics and money by running a handicraft shop as a commercial, though benevolent, business. They lobbied corporations for support and the Government for grants, and

paid out hundreds of dollars to craftworkers. The seemingly separate spheres of women, commerce and politics were merged.

In Montreal, a critical mass of educated, privileged women, armed with greater self-confidence, began to create places for themselves in the cultural life of the city. Responding to male-dominated organizations like the AAM, the ANS, and the Pen and Pencil Club, Montreal women instigated similar associations for themselves. A discussion of these cultural groups in Montreal will illustrate the diverse public activities initiated by women interested in the arts.

Women's Cultural Associations

In 1879 the establishment of the Montreal Society of Decorative Art offered, after education, another early public role for women leaders. The Society, founded by Annie Shaw Wheeler, was provincially incorporated in 1881. It gave

opportunities for individuals who are forced by adverse circumstances to employ their skill, and who shunning publicity, seek a channel for the disposal of articles, whether of their own workmanship or not, at a fair price, to afford facilities for instruction in decorative art, and in the several branches of art where skill and ornamentation are employed, and to encourage tasteful manufactures in this Province.²⁴

The name implied an association for art, but the real emphasis of the Montreal Society of Decorative Art was philanthropy, not originality of design or quality workmanship. The Society encouraged women to use ideas, patterns and designs imported from Boston and New York; it provided, if necessary, specimens of partly done work for

finishing.²⁹ The Montreal Society of Decorative Art was not concerned with patriotism, Canadian identity, or reviving traditional rural handicrafts. Their activities highlighted a neglected area of decorative arts, but did little to strengthen national arts and crafts. Philanthropy was a higher priority than art because women's public cultural role still rested considerably on nurturing.

The Ladies' Morning Musical Club, still active today, was founded in 1892 by women music lovers who met weekly to perform music in one another's homes. Alice Peck, a pianist and a songwriter, was a charter member. Active members and local professionals participated in concerts and lectures about music sponsored by the Club.

By the 1890's women were associating with more assertive goals. Following visits in December 1892 by members of the Women's Club of Chicago, a group of 34 women, including Mary Phillips, formed the Montreal Women's Club which had both a cultural and a political agenda.³⁰ Phillips, who spoke on "Manual Training" in its 1893-94 programme,³¹ undoubtedly also participated in the Club's protests over discrimination against women. It protested women's exclusion from school and hospital boards, from medical schools, and from free tuition given to men at the City-funded School of Art and Design.³²

News of the founding of the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC) in Toronto by Mary Ella Dignam in 1890, struck

a responsive chord in Montreal, and in 1894, Mary Phillips and Alice Peck helped found the WAAC's Montreal Branch. In 1896, a WAAC sponsored lecture on the 1897 Cabot Celebration and the recently opened Chateau de Ramezay Museum induced Peck, Phillips and other historically-minded women in the WAAC Montreal Branch to form a Women's Branch of the ANS.³³ Attracted by the ANS's collection of traditional crafts and Indian objects, these women quickly made themselves useful as volunteers, cataloguing the contents of the Chateau de Ramezay, restoring the Louis XIV Room and the "Habitant" Room,³⁴ and raising funds for these projects at the 1897 Cabot Celebration Historical Ball. Thus the ANS Women's Branch established its own separate sphere, not as policy makers, but as intelligent clerks, decorators, and fundraisers. As Kathleen McCarthy pointedly notes in Women's Culture (1991), this 'separatist strategy' enabled women to play a significant part in male cultural organizations.³⁵

Articulate women journalists³⁶ such as Josephine Dandurand, a bilingual writer who founded and edited a women's paper named Le Coin de Feu, wrote about art.³⁷ As a member of the ANS Women's Branch and the NCWC, she was a colleague of Peck and Phillips. Dandurand sought to improve art education in Canada, by linking together the fine arts with industrial arts. In 1902, as a NCWC member, she lobbied for a federal Department of Art to be established in Ottawa.³⁸ The idea was opposed by Montreal architect Percy

Nobbs who claimed that art teaching was "no part of a Government's business".

Dandurand's position was surely favoured by Peck and Phillips, whose collegiality stimulated them to actively promote the arts which were not supported by government. Although the initial interest of the WAAC Montreal Branch was primarily on fine art, within a few years a specialized committee had been formed to focus on the home art industries. Soon called the Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee, the accomplishments of this committee would eventually lead to the creation of the CHG as a separate organization.

The evolution from WAAC committee to CHG incorporation developed from the ambition to provide a viable scheme to promote handicrafts and encourage craftworkers. Little by little, support was garnered in Montreal, craftworkers were attracted from across the country, exhibitions were produced under the rubric of Canadian art, and work was sold to benefit the craftworkers. Success came when the Committee wrested control of the handicrafts movement from the WAAC Toronto headquarters. By founding the CHG as an independent organization with a national mandate, these Montreal women engaged in a power struggle and won.

Montreal Women Leaders: Alice Peck and Mary Phillips

The CHG was a creation of women. Griselda Pollock warns us not to treat work by women as one category reflecting 'womanness', simply reproducing a tautology of previously known assumptions.⁴⁰ It is in the specificities of women's lives that we see revealed the constructive achievements formerly written out of art history. If the CHG was inextricably linked to Montreal's and Canada's cultural milieu, it was equally dependent on the women who conceived, developed, and directed it. The CHG emerged primarily from the vision of Alice Peck and Mary Phillips, neither of whom has been properly recognized in Canadian art history to date. Examination of the specific social, class, economic, and personal contexts of each woman will offer further evidence for the origins and particular history of the CHG.

Mary Alice Skelton Peck (1855-1943) [Fig. 11] came from a cultured, well-to-do background which valued not only the finer things in life but also service to society. She was the daughter of James W. Skelton (1818-1894) and Mary Anne Gault (1823-1911), and the niece of textile magnate, Andrew Frederick Gault (1833-1905). Her father worked for the Gault firm's Dominion Cotton Mills until he retired in the 1870's. The Skelton family appreciated history, art, music and literature. Fluently bilingual, Peck was educated in Montreal, in England (from age 14), and later in France (possibly at the Sorbonne). In 1871 she travelled within

Europe with her artist brother, Leslie Skelton (1848-1929)⁴¹. Following her debutante year at home in Canada, she spent the year 1875-6 in France.⁴² Unquestionably cognizant of contemporary art movements such as French Impressionism and the British Arts and Crafts during the 1870's, she knew how art could position itself 'against the grain' of mainstream society. Her growing interest in craft, makes it probable that she had visited the collections of the South Kensington Museum, forerunner of the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴³

In 1878, Alice Skelton married James Henry Peck (1851-1903), whose father Thomas Peck (1808-1873) had founded one of the earliest steel mills in Canada.⁴⁴ Thomas Peck's home, called "Undermount", was a very large residence on the southeast corner of Durocher Street at Pine Avenue, just east of Sir Hugh Allan's "Ravenscrag", behind McGill University. Owner of the Allan shipping lines, Sir Hugh was a close friend of Alice Peck's father-in-law.⁴⁵

The Peck's social circle included the Montreal elites. Although their names and their gracious homes⁴⁶ have not been described in books, such as Donald MacKay's The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal (1987), it is evident that Alice and James Peck by virtue of family background and wealth belonged to the well established upper class in Montreal.⁴⁷ Their inherited Montreal home, "Undermount" **[Fig. 12]** had 40 rooms including a large ballroom and

drawing rooms.⁴⁸ In the summers, by 1882, she and her husband were among the earliest Montreal families to build at Métis Beach, a small village on the lower St. Lawrence frequented year after year by anglophone elites.⁴⁹ A private, modest person by nature, Alice Peck would have refrained from making herself conspicuous in society pages or in books on prominent citizens, always preferring to put her good causes forward rather than herself.⁵⁰

Between 1879 and 1892, Alice Peck bore seven children (six sons and one daughter), who were sent abroad for a British education. She and her husband travelled to Europe and Bermuda, and she often made drawings and diaries of her trips.⁵¹ In June 1903, James Peck died suddenly at the age of 52, leaving Alice Peck at 47, a widow of considerable means, with seven children aged 10 to 23. Peck, a devoted mother and grandmother who took her familial responsibilities seriously, headed the large family on her own for 40 more years.

As a widow, Alice Peck continued to live in "Undermount" until 1926 with a female companion named Patsy Andrews. She maintained the home as a base for her large family, and to host social and philanthropic functions. Peck was a prolific writer of all genres, and an excellent teacher; she was musical, artistic, and adept at working with her hands, especially in weaving, book binding, and working her own handpress. She also had a strong social

conscience.⁵² At the end of World War I, she initiated in her home a veterans' self-help project called "Undermount Industries". Approximately 25 disabled veterans who returned unable to work in their previous occupations were taught handicraft skills such as weaving and bookbinding by herself and teachers in her home.⁵³ This veterans' project which integrated private and public spheres, was innovative, generous and typical of Alice Peck's resourcefulness and leadership during her life.

The second important founder of the CHG was **Mary Martha (May) Phillips** (1856-1937). **[Fig. 13]**. Born in Montreal to William A. Phillips (1827-1893), a notary, and Mary Anne Johnstone (1822-1906), the daughter of Dr. George Johnstone from Sorel. W. A. Phillips, who practised law in Montreal and Lennoxville, was in debt in 1882, and by 1886, was not working at all, perhaps due to illness. Mary Phillips and her younger brother, Edward, helped to support their mother during the last 20 years of her life.⁵⁴ Edward W.H. Phillips, also a notary, was Mary Phillips' life-long ally, and indeed played a role in advising the CHG. Mary Phillips' upper-middle class standing, below Alice Peck's, was derived from professional qualifications, not from wealth. However, she freely associated with the upper classes in areas of common interest such as church, culture, and good works.

In Montreal, Mary Phillips attended private schools, the MLEA, and the AAM School, where she trained to the

advanced level. Like many professional women artists, her art education was acquired in a fragmentary manner, over a much longer period than a male contemporary.⁵⁵ From 1884 to 1889 she attended the Art Students' League (NYASL) in New York City.⁵⁶ The NYASL was a decade old when Phillips arrived there at age 28. Based on the model of European studio schools, aspiring artists were admitted to classes, at which professional (male) artists gave weekly critiques.⁵⁷

Her letters home make it clear that finances were an ongoing concern. Initially she resided with an aunt, to whom she paid board of \$32.00 a month. Her League fees were \$8.00 a month in 1884. She supported herself by teaching clay modelling, painting, and drawing at private schools such as Miss Annie Brown's School on Fifth Avenue,⁵⁸ at the Independent Brooklyn Association (St. John's School in Brooklyn), and for patrons such as the Dodge family on Park Avenue. Further monies were earned by the sale of decorative art and illustration work on commission to booksellers.⁵⁹

While in New York, Phillips was exposed to a rich cultural life. Besides attending classes and teaching, she went to theatre, music, opera, and art and travel lectures. She also visited the Metropolitan Museum⁶⁰, the Vanderbilt Collection, the monthly art exhibitions at the Union League Club, the cosmopolitan showrooms of Tiffany's which featured decorative arts, and various galleries and studios of

artists such as William Merritt Chase (1849-1916).⁶¹

Unlike Alice Peck, Mary Phillips faced difficulties with too little time for her own work because of the necessity to support herself. However, Phillips recognized that teaching would furnish a means to economic independence: "I feel that I am a more successful teacher than I ever thought I could be and as that seems to be the way I am to make my livelihood I suppose it is a good thing."⁶² The New York experience provided Phillips with credentials to teach art and to practise as a professional artist.

Deborah Cherry, in Painting Women (1993), discusses the issue of professionalism as a new 19th century identity based upon schools with specialist training, formal organizations, and regulated professional practice, consonant with many male, not female occupations. Watercolour and drawing, as part of middle class women's education, were identified with feminine accomplishment, so that women artists were positioned as "amateur", not professional, especially if they were married and considered financially dependent.⁶³ By working as an artist/teacher, and remaining single, Phillips challenged the male exclusivity of professionalism.

After returning to Montreal in 1889, with some of her works accepted in juried exhibitions, Phillips was confirmed as a professional artist. From 1890 to 1904, she exhibited

watercolours in the RCA shows, and in 1893 the RCA sent one of her works to the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago.⁶⁴ From 1891 to 1909, her landscapes were also shown regularly at the OSA exhibitions and in the AAM spring exhibitions. In addition, she frequently exhibited in WAAC shows held in various cities.⁶⁵ In 1901, she had a solo Montreal exhibition of 84 watercolours.⁶⁶

Mary Phillips established herself as an art educator in 1892, when she and a colleague, Harriette J. MacDonnell, became new co-principals of a revamped Victoria School of Art. Featured in the new Montreal journal, Arcadia, the School gave classes in oil-painting, watercolour, charcoal drawing, modelling, design, and china-painting for which it had a large gas kiln.⁶⁷ Later, additional classes in head and costume, still life, cast drawing, pen drawing for illustration, and children's classes were offered.⁶⁸ By 1895-96, the School had expanded and added two male instructors to their roster of four women teachers.⁶⁹

By 1897-98, Phillips was sole principal of The School of Art and Applied Design, a new school which had 75 pupils and five assistant teachers.⁷⁰ It operated five and a half days a week, teaching adults days and evenings, and children in the afternoons and Saturday mornings. The school's broader scope encompassed the applied arts of wood carving, ceramic art, pyrography (burning designs on white wood) as well as the principles of design taught by Miss Jordan, a

graduate of the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn.⁷¹ The school carried out designs for architects and manufacturers, and had as a mandate the "studying of art with a view to its application in the art industries and crafts".⁷² This wide mandate is evidence of Phillips' increasing interest in the applied arts and her links with other professional areas not exclusively female.

Mary Phillips doubtless was emulating The Associated Artists' School of Art and Design (AAS) in Toronto. Founded by painter Esther K. Westmacott in 1884, one of its teachers was Mary Ella Dignam. The Toronto school taught design in carpets, stained glass, wall paper, and textiles for manufacture, as well as handicrafts including ceramics, metal beating, carving, modelling, and embroidery.⁷⁴ However, the AAS school did not continue past the 1890's.⁷⁵

Concurrently with running her school, Mary Phillips did illustrations such as for Little Canadians, a book of children's verses published in 1899 by the Minister of Agriculture.⁷⁶ This venture shows how Phillips furthered her own work with support from Government offices. Her connections with Sydney Fisher, Minister of Agriculture were later used to promote the work of the CHG.

Like Alice Peck, Mary Phillips was a multidimensional leader. Her skills at teaching, organizing, and networking within the country, evident in her other volunteer work, especially the Red Cross,⁷⁷ were useful assets to the CHG.

In 1903-04, Mary Phillips travelled around the world by rail and ship for eight months, keeping a detailed diary. With a companion, she went to British Columbia, Japan, Australia, India, the Middle East, and spent five weeks in Europe before sailing home in May 1904.²⁸ This trip provided valuable experience for her future travels in Canada for the CHG, particularly the important trip west she made in 1910. Moreover, her spirit of adventure, success at negotiating her way in foreign languages and currencies, as well as new knowledge of the many cultures of the world, would have increased her social position in Montreal.

Like Alice Peck's trips, Mary Phillips' travels were part of the 'fin-de-siècle tourism' identified now by scholars as an aspect of modernity that defined 'difference' by encouraging the collection of 'exotic' objects. Another example was the summer exodus to nature and rural life where the Montreal women of the WAAC Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee, sought out traditional, 'authentic' crafts.²⁹ In her school, Phillips demonstrated a commitment to applied design and the useful arts. It is consistent with her interest in artistic design and originality that she would help instigate an effort to preserve local handicrafts.

The background of Alice Peck and Mary Phillips have been described at some length because it is relevant to their ability to negotiate a place for handicrafts in Canada. By the turn of the century, upper class and/or

professional women were able to participate in Canadian society alongside the highest placed men. Alice Peck, a widow, lived among the upper crust of Montreal, and Mary Phillips, unmarried, was a professional artist and educator. Both women believed in voluntarism for the good of society. Not only were they colleagues in various cultural associations, but both were faithful parishioners of Christ Church Cathedral, another site which allowed women to meet and mix with many of the male leaders of Montreal.

Indeed financial and political support for handicrafts by prominent men was possible because of Peck's and Phillips' standing in Montreal society. Both women understood the need for male support and the ways to achieve it. Both were accustomed to some measure of independence and were secure in their own worth. Their acceptance of male dominance for the preservation of the very fabric of society⁸⁰ was tempered by their belief in the societal advantages of women's role in partnership with men. In this, Peck and Phillips typified women of their class as articulated by Lady Aberdeen's remarks on this relationship.

...the Canadian Women's Council has had the great advantage of working from the outset with the sympathy of many of the men of most weight in the country, who have treated the representations made to them by the Council with that consideration which has given an added sense of responsibility to our members. When people feel they possess a real influence in affairs, they have little temptation to be aggressive, and the policy and fixed principle of our Council has been to trust the men, and to endeavour ever to work in co-operation with them towards the aims we have in view; we have found this policy to be the truest, and we have found our confidence rewarded.⁸¹

The Dawn of the Handicraft Movement

Alice Peck and Mary Phillips were charter members of the Montreal Branch of the WAAC. On April 16, 1894, 21 women met in Mary Phillips' studio to found the Montreal Branch. Less than two months later, on June 6, 1894, Alice Peck was elected President at an inaugural meeting in the YMCA Hall on Dominion Square.⁶² Initially, their stated goals were deliberately modest, based on a political sense of their true position. They hoped to encourage higher standards, greater public interest in art, and to give women artists a forum for informal discussions on art.

It will do for ~~women~~ artists what the "Pen and Pencil Club" is already doing for men artists in Montreal; and it will do for women ~~artists~~ what the two well-known musical clubs in this city are doing for musicians....[There is] no thought of superseding or entering into rivalry with existing unions for the encouragement of art.⁶³

They saw the need to nurture women artists and women interested in the arts.

The WAAC Montreal Branch ran a wide-ranging program. Its first year included an art reading class,⁶⁴ a course of 10 lectures, an occasional ceramics criticism, an exhibition open to members from other cities, and sketching classes where each Friday one member posed as a model for the others to sketch.⁶⁵ The following year, 1895, WAAC members were invited to visit the studios of Montreal (male) artists on Saturday afternoons from November to April. Among the artists who participated were Robert Harris, William

Brymner, Edmond Dyonnet, and Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté.

When members of the WAAC Montreal Branch realized their exhibitions of women's paintings duplicated opportunities available at the AAM, they re-focused their energies towards the preservation and development of crafts. A growing awareness that "Canadians were letting their minor arts perish, for lack of protection and encouragement"⁶⁶ offered possibilities to enter an uncontested arena. This focus soon dominated the Montreal Branch, generating a powerful new committee with Peck and Phillips as leaders. The desire to preserve home industries derived in part from knowledge of work by women in rural areas. Summering on the lower St. Lawrence, these WAAC women came in regular contact with Indian people and farming families in the Quebec villages. These women admired their handicrafts and realized the potential market. Some farm women, due to the availability of new readymade goods from Eaton's mail order catalogues,⁶⁷ hid or destroyed old-fashioned looms and spinning wheels. The WAAC women recognised that good payment for handwork would preserve the skills of the workers and recover the handicrafts tradition.

Fortuitously, this change in focus coincided with the exhibition program of the WAAC. In 1897-8, the Montreal Branch held a very successful ceramic exhibition at the AAM, outdoing similar sales of ceramics in Toronto.⁶⁸ Annual art and loan exhibitions, originating in Toronto, travelled

among five WAAC branches including Montreal.⁸⁹ For their exhibition in October 1900, the Montreal Branch procured loans from prominent Montrealers, **[Fig. 14]** solicited local crafts for sale, and through social connections, reserved the Colonial House Art Gallery of Henry Morgan & Co. Morgan, a Montreal department store owner, donated the premises free of charge and made the WAAC exhibition the opening event for his new store gallery.⁹⁰

The exhibition featured carving, metal work, pottery, ceramics, weaving, laces and embroideries, basket work, fans, miniatures, bookbinding and leather work, and designs for industry. **[Fig. 15]**. Its purpose was not only to sell work but to encourage "those many scattered families...especially the women [to] cultivate these crafts..." with the hope of relieving monotony and bringing them in touch with a w'ider world.⁹¹

The inclusion of Indian crafts was a major Montreal innovation. Alice Peck wrote George Dawson, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, to request Indian specimens for the WAAC exhibition.⁹² As an educational strategy, Indian women from Caughnawaga were invited to see basket work on loan. The Caughnawaga women "evinced great pleasure in examining specimens of basket work made by their ancestors, acknowledging at the same time the inferiority of their work at the present time".⁹³ Targeting Indian work as well as rural crafts, the WAAC Montreal Branch claimed its 1900

exhibition had inaugurated the good work of "improving the arts and handicrafts of our Indians and the residents of country districts" which it "behoves (sic) our branches to carry forward".⁹⁴

The financially successful exhibition attracted 8000 visitors.⁹⁵ Newspaper reportage mentioned the ceinture fléchée, quilts by Tadoussac women, and the "national work of Doukhobors", although most press coverage of the event was social, focusing mainly on the prominent lenders and the valuable loaned items.⁹⁶ The educational motive behind the exhibition was not clearly understood.

In 1901, so as to be taken more seriously, Alice Peck wrote a unique document for the time, a small leaflet entitled "Scheme for the Promotion of Home Arts and Handicrafts". **[Fig. 16]**. A seminal statement for the future goals of the CHG, this pamphlet praised the revival of interest in handicrafts bringing higher "standards of taste" and increased employment. Peck's promotion scheme recommended training workers to use "good design, good material and good workmanship" in home arts such as "Spinning, Weaving, Dyeing, Carving on Metal, Bone and Wood; ...fine Needle-work, Pillow Lace, Hand-wrought Furniture, Pottery [and] the various Indian Industries".⁹⁷ After collecting craftwork done in homes, the plan was to hold another Montreal exhibition the next year.

Simultaneously, during the summer of 1901, individual

members sought out craftsmen and women in their holiday areas, thus personally aiding the goals of the newly formed Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee [hereafter Handicrafts Committee]. Operations were set up in five districts to collect and sell local crafts such as porcupine work in Muskoka, Ontario and woven textiles from the lower St. Lawrence and Gaspé in Quebec.⁹⁸ Alice Peck and a committee of volunteers held a pioneering exhibition at Métis Beach in 1901, the first of many.

Like the 19th century dealer-critic system in France that operated outside the Academy to promote Impressionist paintings,⁹⁹ the women of the Handicrafts Committee acted as mediators between Canadian handicraft workers and the growing marketplace. As privileged, educated women with exposure to fine art and British arts and crafts, they knew the aesthetic and commercial value of good craftsmanship, and saw possibilities for philanthropy and the promotion of inclusive nationalism. Work was selected with care for exhibition, often through advance solicitation. For example, six weeks prior to the exhibit, "parish priests, reeves, councillors, mayors and leading members of each locality" were solicited to attract home industries and handicrafts for the "benefit of citizens and the promotion of this patriotic enterprise".¹⁰⁰

The 1902 exhibition showed a range of Canadian contemporary work, including Indian, and introduced weaving

by Canadian women.¹⁰¹ Their goal was to promote the

beautiful, serviceable and inexpensive products of Canadian handicrafts [over] the shoddy, meretricious, machine-made articles...turned out of European factories by the millions, and imported here to vitiate the taste and vulgarize the homes of the masses of our people.¹⁰²

By 1902, the women on the Handicrafts Committee had persuaded the popular press of their commitment, and used newspapers to disseminate important exhibition information such as rules for admission of work. Their all-Canadian exhibition announced its "high standard requires that there be good design, skilled workmanship, neatness, utility and harmony of colour".¹⁰³ Rozsika Parker reminds us that the ideology of the Arts and Crafts Movement linked good design and beautiful things with dignity to the maker and a moral benefit to society.¹⁰⁴ In addition, handwork skills, neatness, and harmony were common attributes associated with the feminine stereotype. By presenting work embodying the qualities of "neatness" and "utility" as well as "good design" and "skilled workmanship", the organizers successfully positioned women's handicrafts in the public sphere without threatening established views of femininity.

In an important strategic move, the women of the WAAC Montreal Branch, through their social, professional and family connections, were able to successfully lobby AAM members and hold their 1902 exhibition in the AAM art gallery, despite the AAM's traditional concentration on painting and sculpture.¹⁰⁵ Two years later, with the

patronage of Her Excellency The Countess of Minto, another successful exhibition of handicrafts at the AAM further confirmed ties with this largely male institution. Thus, through strategic use of class and gender, these women secured a new position for handicrafts alongside high art in Montreal.

Their other aim was to promote the handicrafts among a wider public by lowering admission charges from 25 cents to 10 cents on Wednesday and Saturday evenings,

for the express purpose of giving those employed during the day an opportunity of visiting the exhibition....***It is hoped that young women and girls who are interested in work that can be done at home, and be made remunerative,*** will take the opportunity of seeing the excellent examples of needle-work, lace, homespun, carving....¹⁰⁶ (Emphasis mine)

Clearly, the Committee women wanted to encourage women to sell handicrafts made at home to professional standards. To attract new handicraft workers, they circulated educational exhibitions and offered prizes and fair prices for good quality work. The WAAC Montreal Branch hoped "to give women paying employment in their own homes--thus preventing emigration to the cities and large manufacturing centres in the States".¹⁰⁷ Again their appeal was strategically constructed to reach women without challenging the accepted societal view of a women's rightful place being in the home.

The publication of a handsome exhibition catalogue in 1902 reinforced their desire to upgrade the artistic status

of handicrafts. Illustrated with linocuts and artist sketches by Committee members [Fig. 17], it served as a handicraft manifesto. The reprinting of Alice Peck's "Scheme for the Promotion of Home Arts and Handicrafts", and the notes on Mary Phillips' lecture on "Home Arts and Handicrafts" before the NCWC in London, Ontario on May 21, 1901,¹⁰⁸ strategically underscored the importance of their wider project. Fervent references to the qualities of beauty, pleasure, usefulness, happiness, health, and simplicity were meant to distance the Handicrafts Committee's goals from the decorative craze and imitative handwork traditionally associated with amateur women's work. The emphasis was on repositioning these handicrafts as professional arts with moral benefit.

After the exhibition's success, the Committee set up a depot to sell Canadian handicrafts, boldly challenging normal societal expectations of a "Lady" by encroaching on the male preserves of commerce. Calling cards listing products for sale, from rural home industries to immigrant and Indian handicrafts, invited business during the day.¹⁰⁹

On June 1, 1902, **Our Handicraft Shop** [Fig. 18] opened with Miss Edith Watt in charge.¹¹⁰ Fifteen years younger than Peck and Phillips, unmarried and upper class, she had little experience in running a shop, even as a volunteer, but the success of the Shop indicated the potential of this new venture. The daughter of David Allan Poe Watt,¹¹¹ Edith

Watt's home was furnished with wallpapers, tapestries, stained glass and textiles made by William Morris and Company.¹¹² As the initial "shopkeeper", and later as a founding member of the CHG, the presence of Edith Watt sustained a continuity between the values of the CHG and those of the British Arts and Crafts Movement.

Our Handicraft Shop also served as a base of operations where the Committee brought its advance stock of crafts, and planned future sale exhibitions. In October 1903, Mary Ella Dignam, National President of the WAAC, visited Montreal to consult the Handicrafts Committee about a series of travelling national and international exhibitions.¹¹³ Dignam's decision to take charge of arrangements for these Montreal exhibitions under the WAAC name, proved to be a source of friction later as Toronto and Montreal fought over control of the handicrafts movement. Both centres adopted a proprietary interest and superior position to the newer Arts and Crafts Society of Canada, headed by Mabel Adamson.¹¹⁴ The early shared interest in handicrafts would finally develop into an open power struggle with Toronto when the Handicrafts Committee decided to separate from the Montreal Branch of the WAAC.

At first, the Montreal women asserted their pre-eminence indirectly. The 1903 Handicrafts Committee Report simply announced the preeminence of Montreal as "Headquarters of this [handicrafts] movement". The Toronto

WAAC headquarters appeared to recognize the claim in their loan to Montreal of \$200 to purchase stock and send exhibitions to the Toronto WAAC. Most importantly, the Montreal Branch asserted the "advantage of controlling the Province of Quebec where characteristic work may still be found to such an extent that [development] would not be difficult."¹¹⁵

Written in a business-like manner, this Report also went on to state the need for capital to "buy for ca.h, to buy at the right season, to place orders large enough to make it worthwhile for the workers to follow directions...."¹¹⁶ A sizable \$5000 capital fund for advance purchases of handicraft stock was initiated with the gift of \$500 by Lady Strathcona **[Fig. 19]** to be matched by her husband if \$4000 was raised from the public. Alice Peck's personal friendship¹¹⁷ was instrumental in acquiring the prestigious financial endorsement of the Strathconas. A further strategy to encourage donations to the "Lady Strathcona Capital Fund" was public reportage in Montreal newspapers. Upper class women vied with prominent male supporters to meet the Strathcona challenge by hosting many fundraising teas, receptions and other events. With almost half of the donors women,¹¹⁸ matronage played a significant role in this fundraising venture.

Typical of the sponsored events was the popular romanticized presentation of Indian tableaux with songs such

as the "Wooring of Hiawatha" performed in "picturesque pantomime" by Ojibway actors at Windsor Hall on January 15, 1904.¹¹⁹ At the intermission, McGill's Principal Peterson made a strong plea of support for the Handicrafts Committee. Thus we can see that Peck and her committee were intelligent negotiators who attracted volunteers, large crowds and respected male leaders such as Peterson to help raise money and the profile of the Handicrafts Committee.

By 1904, the handicrafts work of the Montreal Branch had become well known. Alice Peck published an article in The Argus on **Our Handicraft Shop**, noting the staff of women volunteers, the paid female shop manager, and the diversity of stock (Scotch and French handwoven goods, Indian straw, quill and bead work, Irish lace from New Brunswick, and Doukhobor, Galician, Welsh and Swedish arts from western Canada).¹²⁰ National and international exhibitions of handicrafts collected by the Committee were strategically important in establishing the preeminence of Peck's committee.¹²¹

At the 1904 NCWC meeting in Winnipeg, Alice Peck was invited to speak on "Canadian Home Industries". While she spoke as a WAAC representative, highlighting the economic benefits to the craftspeople and the nation, and requesting contributions to the Lady Strathcona Fund,¹²² significant differences over financial obligations and control between the WAAC headquarters and the Handicrafts Committee

continued to mourn.

The Montreal women continued to hold competitive exhibitions with prizes, and had by then sent out over 30 exhibitions. Their work was becoming more time consuming and expensive. In addition, high freight expenses and losses sustained from the occasional misplaced or ruined articles made it impossible to cover the overhead costs.¹²³

When a request for financial assistance from the Toronto WAAC was not answered, the Handicrafts Committee then sought advice from trusted men. On November 18, 1904, Alice Peck and Mary Phillips met with Chief Justice Sir Melbourne Tait,¹²⁴ lawyer William Douw Lighthall **[Fig. 20]**,¹²⁵ and Mary Phillips' brother, Edward W.H. Phillips, to discuss how to manage their dual financial responsibilities to the WAAC and the Montreal Branch "in order to carry on the Shop in a business-like way and to safe-guard our philanthropic efforts".¹²⁶ Since their program work was "entirely beyond the present [WAAC] charter", they were advised to form "a separate organization under the auspices of the [WAAC] Association".¹²⁷

Duly, on November 29, 1904, the WAAC Montreal Branch Executive and the Handicrafts Committee met with William Lighthall and Edward Phillips, to prepare for a meeting with Mrs. Dignam. Lighthall advised against WAAC auxiliary status, unless there were assurances that Montreal would retain the headquarters of the handicrafts movement.¹²⁸

Significantly, at the December 1, 1904 meeting it was Chief Justice Tait and William Lighthall who were selected by the Handicrafts Committee to explain to Mrs. Dignam the limitations of the current WAAC charter. The Handicrafts Committee's strong commercial focus was not accommodated under the present arrangement with the WAAC. Business relations with employees, hundreds of craftworkers, business firms, and Government Exhibition Committees left members of the Montreal Branch or indeed the whole WAAC open to potential litigation. Montreal placed these issues before the WAAC with the intention of securing a separate corporate existence to carry on with its work for handicrafts.¹⁰⁰

In the ensuing power struggle, Mary Ella Dignam made numerous "charges" which claimed the Toronto WAAC headquarters as the national handicrafts centre:

- the moving power in developing and encouraging the Home Art Industries throughout Canada,
- a) by exhibitions on which they always lost money;
- b) by Mrs. Dignam's great personal effort at home and abroad [in light of the] great difficulty in inducing people to buy;
- c) by [Mrs. Dignam's] writing and lecturing; [and]
- d) by making all arrangements for exhibitions.

The Montreal women responded systematically to these charges, asserting that the stock for all 10 exhibitions had been collected and paid for in advance by the Montreal Branch. Moreover, the Montreal Branch had supplied 37 additional exhibitions without the help of the WAAC in Toronto. And while they accepted Mrs. Dignam as an enthusiast for handicrafts, they strongly denied

difficulties in selling goods. Mention was also made of Presidents' (Peck and Phillips) international correspondence, presentation of papers nationally, and published articles.¹³¹

A week later, Mary Phillips wrote to the WAAC in Toronto explaining the need for either an expanded charter that recognized Montreal as headquarters of the handicrafts movement OR a separate corporation. Dignam ignored the request and reasserted her belief that "Toronto is specially central and not being in a locality where much can be done in Home Industries could therefore have a very impartial view of all!"¹³² Since Dignam failed to address the Committee's main concerns, on December 20, 1904, at a general meeting of the WAAC Montreal Branch, the following resolution was passed:

whereas...the Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada is unwilling to incur the responsibilities pointed out at the meeting as arising from the growth of the Handicraft movement and **Our Handicraft Shop**, and desire that henceforth our connection shall be purely sympathetic, Resolved that any money or property now in the hands of the Women's Art Association for the purpose of promoting crafts shall be given to any syndicate of responsible persons who are willing to carry on the work and become responsible for all debts and obligations pertaining to the Shop.'

The WAAC Montreal Branch was now free of any debts incurred by **Our Handicraft Shop**. Two weeks later, on January 4, 1905, a "syndicate of responsible persons" was formed by Phillips, Peck, Mary Dudley Muir¹³⁴, Edith Watt, and William Lighthall who was unanimously chosen as Chairman. Miss Muir and Miss Watt moved the following resolution:

That the present meeting do constitute themselves an organization under the name of the Canadian Handicraft [sic] Guild to promote the Handicraft Movement, and take over from the Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association the property fund and business of **Our Handicraft Shop** with all the pertaining rights and obligations....

The group also re-stated their philosophy as a 'benevolent movement', a strategy to present a socially acceptable public role for themselves as female philanthropists, not business women. The transfer was approved by the WAAC Montreal Branch on January 11, 1905.¹³⁶

The small CHG group met weekly to organize the handicrafts exhibition at the AAM gallery in February 1905. At the first public meeting of the CHG on March 16, 1905, Mary Phillips was confirmed as President, Mary Muir as Treasurer, and Mary Molson as Secretary, with Alice Peck, Lady Lily Tait, Lena Armstrong, Mary Chaffee, Jean Woods and Mildred Robertson as officers.¹³⁷ In a convoluted scheme, necessitated by the gender-discriminating laws of Quebec, Mr. Lighthall and Mr. Phillips acted as intermediaries to transfer the leased property and business in **Our Handicraft Shop** from the WAAC Montreal Branch to the CHG. Once again, these women ingeniously circumvented legal barriers by securing the cooperation of sympathetic, well-placed men.

Henceforth, the women met weekly on Thursday mornings, scheduling night meetings only when men were needed.¹³⁸ Without question, the women were in charge. For example, at a meeting on March 25, 1905, the CHG Treasurer Mary Muir was authorized to open a CHG account and transfer to it the Lady

Strathcona Capital Fund. Internal financial arrangements were routinely processed by women with males playing their role when the public or legal spheres were involved.

However, the power saga continued when Mary Ella Dignam met Mary Phillips and Alice Peck in June 1905 and denounced the CHG for being entirely a business concern,¹³⁹ and laid specific charges of incompetent bookkeeping against **Our Handicraft Shop**. The CHG responded quickly addressing these charges.¹⁴⁰ Tensions continued however.

By late November 1905, Alice Peck determined to disassociate herself from the national WAAC, and requested that her name be erased "from all your list of officers as circumstances have arisen which prevent my remaining on your committee".¹⁴¹ Although Dignam begged Peck not to sever her connection: "I can't bear to think of your going out when we have worked together so long for our cause"¹⁴², she refused. The CHG now put forward an application for a separate specialized Charter for handicrafts.

The CHG executive, in December 1905, borrowed \$250 from the Lady Strathcona Fund as a deposit to begin to seek their Charter. At the same time, President Mary Phillips sent papers to influential men such as Sir George Drummond requesting their support in Parliament.¹⁴³ This step was essential because, despite the suffrage movement and the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association,¹⁴⁴ women had neither the vote nor representation in Parliament. The CHG

women's continuing strategy was to secure the support of powerful men at each stage of the process by making them officers of the CHG. For example, Lord Strathcona was made Honourary President, and Sir Melbourne Tait was the Honourary Vice-President.

William Lighthall also went to Ottawa on their behalf to explain certain points. On May 10, 1906, the Charter was passed in the Committee of the Senate.¹⁴⁵ On May 16, 1906 the Montreal Gazette reported that Mr. H.B. Ames¹⁴⁶ introduced the Bill in the Senate. On May 17th it was read and then referred to the Private Bills Committee of the House of Commons. On May 23, 1906 it passed the House of Commons, after an amendment to ensure that CHG members would not personally profit from its affairs. The bill was finally passed in the Senate on May 24, 1906.¹⁴⁷ When it then received Royal Assent, the CHG Charter became one of the first women's organizations to be incorporated by the national government.¹⁴⁸

The CHG women now demonstrated their political acumen by electing all the Senators who had expressed an interest in their work and the entire executive of the WAAC Montreal Branch as honourary members for the year. Each was informed within the week, and the press was given a complete membership list.¹⁴⁹ Thus, at one stroke, they recognized their patrons and garnered publicity for their new organization.

The contest for power between the CHG and the WAAC in Toronto remained nonetheless. Peck and Phillips and other CHG women who continued as members of the WAAC Montreal Branch, retained friendships there.¹⁵⁰ Sensitive to the complications the CHG formation had created between Montreal and Toronto, the CHG voted to give \$100 to the WAAC Montreal Branch for legal advice on regularizing the situation with the WAAC headquarters in Toronto.¹⁵¹

Rumours abounded of a new federal constitution by Mrs. Dignam and a competing shop network.¹⁵² Indeed there were plans for a bill to federally incorporate the WAAC. This bill included a Section 14 which, if enacted, would give the WAAC Head Association assets and rights far beyond the existing charter.¹⁵³ When the WAAC Montreal Branch sought unsuccessfully to have section 14 amended,¹⁵⁴ and the unchanged bill went forward, they protested the use of their names as sponsors, and succeeded finally in halting the bill. The conflict escalated as press reports noted that the WAAC bill had to be withdrawn because the "promoters of the bill had included **without permission names of ladies in Montreal** and other cities as incorporators" (Emphasis mine).¹⁵⁵ Not surprisingly, within the year, the WAAC Montreal Branch had left the Toronto parent organization altogether,¹⁵⁶ and reincarnated itself as the Montreal Art Society.

Canadian handicrafts acquired a new professional patron

with powers recognized by the national government. On January 12, 1907, the CHG Annual Meeting officially passed, by a unanimous vote of approval, the constitution and by-laws of the 1906 CHG Charter. **[Fig. 21]**. [APPENDIX B]. This triumph indicates that, by proposing handicraft patronage in terms of mutual benefits rather than direct challenges to male society, these Montreal women had succeeded in bridging the formerly separate private and public spheres.

This chapter has outlined the context behind the founding of the CHG. In the 1890's in Montreal, Alice Peck and Mary Phillips emerged into the public sphere as leaders within female cultural circles. Realizing that the minor arts, to which they were personally committed, were being neglected, Peck and Phillips saw a chance to benefit other women and contribute to the nation's aesthetic identity.

The opportunity for a female leadership role presented itself, because crafts lay outside mainstream art institutions controlled by men. From inside the WAAC, and subsequently in the independent CHG, these women were pioneers in having handicrafts exhibited as art in the art gallery, and in challenging the norm of women's philanthropy by operating a successful commercial Shop. Their determination to provide income to the workers and expand their handicraft promotional program led them away from priorities set by the national WAAC. Resisting Mrs. Dignam's

WAAC control, Peck and Phillips provided the leadership to establish the CHG. Chapter Three will discuss how they and other women in the CHG worked as patrons to position the CHG as a national artistic institution.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER TWO

1. M.A. Peck, Sketch of the Activities of the Canadian Handicraft [sic] Guild and of the Dawn of the Handicraft Movement in the Dominion, (Montreal, 1929), 6.
2. Pollock, Vision, 30.
3. Thompson, Worthy, 39.
4. D. Cherry, Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists, (London and New York, 1993), 64.
5. Thompson, Worthy, 35.
6. R.J. Lamb, The Canadian Art Club, (Edmonton, 1988), 20.
7. Between 1880-1933, 19 women were accepted into the lower rank of Associate of the RCA, but not until 1933 was Marion Long elected as the second woman full academici.n. Thompson, Worthy, 38.
8. J. Trudel, "Aux Origines du Musée des Beaux Arts de Montréal", Journal of Canadian Art History, (1992), 43.
9. At the turn of the century, Mrs. M.E. David, Mrs. G.A. Drummond, Mrs. W.R. Miller, Mrs. Fayette Brown, Mrs. G.W. Stephens, and Mrs. Wheeler served on the industrial and decorative standing committee, but it was a shortlived privilege. In 1902, this committee no longer existed and in 1903, a reorganization of committees left women out completely. [AAM Annual Reports, 1898-1903].
10. Catalogue of the Chateau de Ramesay (sic) Museum and Portrait Gallery, (Montreal, 1937), 10.
11. Built in 1705, and purchased by the City of Montreal in 1894, the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society acquired it for a museum in 1895. Catalogue of the Chateau Ramezay Museum and Portrait Gallery, (1901), n.p.
12. L. Cox, Fifty Years of Brush and Pen, (1939) 3. This celebratory chronicle reveals sexist attitudes typical of the time.
13. The founders of the WAAC Montreal Branch referred specifically to this group when creating their own women's art club in 1894.
14. Other members included J. W. Morrice, W. Brynner, M. Cullen, and A. de Foy Suzor-Coté. Harper, Painting, 215.
15. Lamb, Club.
16. Nochlin, "Why", 24-27.
17. Pollock, Vision, 21.
18. Pollock, Vision, 34-5.
19. Cherry, Painting, 11.

20. The Clio Collective, Quebec Women: A History, (Toronto, 1987), 241.
21. M. Gillett, We Walked Very Warily, (Montreal, 1981), 2.
22. Gillett, Warily, 54.
23. Gillett, Warily, 55-6.
24. Simpson, a founder of the MLEA, was the first Honourary Secretary and later its Vice-President. She may also have influenced Sir Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona) to make the Donalda Endowment in 1886, helping establish Royal Victoria College for women at McGill. Gillett, Warily, 156-9.
25. Montreal Daily Star, April 19, 1937. Similar information on Alice Peck's early Montreal education has not been uncovered.
26. File #650, in Mrs. W.A. Phillips Papers, Deligny Armstrong Phillips Bentham Collection 1722-1937, McC.
27. Mary Phillips' speech for the CHG given on her 1910 trip to western Canada reflects these attitudes. See Chapter Three. The same influences may have reached Alice Peck as her sister-in-law and mother both served on the General Committee of the MLEA. Report of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association, 1882-83.
28. The Montreal Society of Decorative Art, Annual Report, 1881.
29. A disclaimer announced it would sell "any work of ordinary merit, excepting wax work and feather flowers", although such sale "may not be construed as a mark of the Society's entire approval". The Montreal Society of Decorative Art, Annual Report, 1899-1900, 27.
30. The Montreal Women's Club had three areas of interest: Home and Education, Social Science, and Art and Literature. Montreal Women's Club, Annual Report, 1893-94, 17. By 1921, the Club had numerous subcommittees active in improving social conditions and general culture. Sights and Shrines: An Illustrated Guide to Montreal (Montreal, 1921), 109.
31. Montreal Women's Club, Annual Report, 1893-94, 12.
32. In 1895-96, its petition to the School of Art and Design resulted in "the [Montreal] Council having resolved to establish classes for women" in either domestic science or applied design. [Montreal Women's Club, Annual Report, 1893-4, 5-6; 1895-96, 7.]
33. WAAC, Annual Report, 1896, 15. Women in the WAAC Montreal Branch made sketches and designs for early Canadian costumes for the Cabot Historical Ball. [WAAC, Annual Report, 1898, 22.]
34. Ramezay (1901), 123, 124. The "Habitant" room had historic furnishings and crafts representing an early Canadian farm house.
35. McCarthy, Culture, 70-79. This was particularly true in the area of decorative arts, not the visual arts.
36. The Clio Collective, Quebec Women: A History, 164-65. In 1900, as many as 49 women wrote for Quebec newspapers, though often under pseudonyms.
37. She wrote in the name "Météore". Le Coin du Feu published in 1893-96.

38. Tippet, Making, 35-7.

39. Written by P. Nobbs in his 1907 report to S. Fisher on "State Aid to Art Education in Canada". Tippet, Making, 37. He assumes art teaching for men would continue, regardless of Government support, but prejudices the female sphere where female art teachers and art schools were precarious.

40. Pollock, Vision, 30.

41. Leslie James Skelton studied art in Paris under M.J. Ilwill. He exhibited at the AAM, 1893-1923; Paris Salon in 1901; Royal Academy in 1904; and the RCA from 1890-7. His works are in the collection of the MMFA and the NCC. [Harper, Early, 289].

42. M.A. Peck, "Things That I Remember", c. 1929 (typed manuscript, incomplete), Richard Peck Collection.

43. In England she was impressed by the great pleasure a young disabled girl received from weaving the replica of a famous painting on a loom.

44. Thomas Peck & Co., later Peck Benny & Co, and Peck Rolling Mills, manufactured steel cut nails, railroad spikes, horse shoes, bar iron.

45. Family members confirm the friendship. The two men purchased burial plots side by side in the Mount Royal cemetery. Hugh Allan had made for the graves two stone monuments which he transported on one of his ships from Scotland to Montreal.

46. The Montreal Peck home "Undermount", at 167 Durocher and "Heron's Boulders", the Métis home, are known from pictures and family memories. Later, Alice Peck lived in Montreal at The Acadia on Sherbrooke, at The Trafalgar on Côte des Neiges, and in summers near Lachute at Dunany.

47. In her parentage and marriage Alice Peck had both attributes of the upper class. The criteria of privileged social class at the time were family background and wealth. S.D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community (Toronto, 1962), 256.

48. It was sold in 1926 to a developer and torn down. "Peck Homestead Changes Hands [for] \$150,000", [unknown newspaper article, B. Carter]. A photograph was also published in the Montreal Star, October 6, 1926.

49. Summer residents at Métis Beach included families of McGill professors: Clarke-Murray, Bovey, Daley, Dawson, Harrington, Trenholme, Armstrong. A grandson, Richard Peck, still summers at Métis on the original property.

50. An archival source confirms this. Although a speaker in the 1927 CHG series of public lectures, Alice Peck insisted that her name not be announced on the invitation card. [C11 D2 CHGA].

51. Several of these are found in the B. Carter family collection.

52. "Noted Social Worker Dies" Montreal Gazette, November 8, 1944, and communications from her grandchildren.

53. The Lachute Watchman, Nov. 11, 1943. A woven magazine cover by the "Undermount Industries for Veterans", presented to the Prince of Wales on October 31, 1919 in Canada, is known by a photograph. [B. Carter]. Patsy Andrews taught weaving there. In 1922 Alice Peck gave the McCord Museum a loom used by "Undermount Industries" with samples of its weaving.

54. Files #627, #635, Phillips, McC.

55. An analysis of how women artists "were located in asymmetrical and unequal relations to art education, art administration and professional status" in the 19th century is given in Cherry, Painting, 53-64.

56. Mary Phillips' weekly letters from New York to her mother, and the occasional letter about her are found in Files #625-630, Phillips, McC.

57. Admission to NYASL classes required the following: for life-classes, a "full-length figure drawing of a nude figure from cast or life"; for painting class, drawing of a head, and for classes in modelling, composition and others, examples of original work. Instructors, (all male) were not paid salaries, but each was "supposed to contribute his time and work for the general good". In the fall of 1888 they were J. Carroll Beckwith, H. Siddons Mowbray, E.H. Blashfield and W.H. Chase. [Carrington, "Our New York Letter", Saturday Night Vol. I, No. 43 (Sept 22, 1888), 7]. Other NYASL art instructors mentioned by Mary Phillips included Messrs. Parsons, Brush, Champney and Jacobs. Outside the NYASL, she took watercolour from a woman, Mrs. Nicholes in March, 1888. [#625, #628, #629, Phillips, McC].

58. Miss Brown became a close friend and mentor. Brown's school for 20 girls was run in two elegantly furnished houses at 711 Fifth Ave. [File #625 MMP to Mrs. W.A. Phillips, Nov. 3, 1884, Phillips, McC]. Miss A.V.V. Brown, presumably Annie, was one of three on the School Committee in the NYASL List of Officers for the season 1885-86. [F. Waller, "First Report of the Art Students' League of New York", (N.Y., 1886). NYASL Archives].

59. MMP to Mrs. W.A. Phillips, Nov. 23, 1884, #626; Oct. 10, 1886, #627; Jan. 2 and 3, 1887, May 15, 1887, #628, Phillips, McC.

60. Clearly proud of women artists, Phillips praised Rosa Bonheur's painting The Horse Fair at the Metropolitan Museum as "great (in every sense)". [#628, MMP to Mrs. W.A. Phillips, Apr. 16, 1887, Phillips, McC].

61. Files #625-#630, Phillips, McC.

62. #628, MMP to Mrs. W.A. Phillips, Jan. 30, 1887, Phillips, McC.

63. Cherry, Painting, 9.

64. E. de R. McMann, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, (Toronto, 1981), 326.

65. A drawing by Phillips, "Street of a Canadian Village" (p. 182) was published in 1894 in an American publication along with art work by: Emily Louise Elliott, M.E. Dignam, Edith C.S. Memming, Helen Stennett, Ida Mitchell, M. Ansley Sullivan, Daisy E. Clarke, Clara D. Osler (2), M.J. Hemsted, Millicent Grayson-Smith, Clemence van den Broeck, Mary McConnell, Nina Waldeck, and Anna Gormley, in order of appearance. [A. Black, "Women Artists in Canada", The Quarterly Illustrator (New York, April-June 1894), 178-182]. Five streetscapes by M.M. Phillips are in the McCord Museum: "The Mill at St. Andrews, P.Q." (#1950), "Jacques Cartier Square, Bonsecours Market" (#16098), and 3 untitled: #278, #11509, #3353. [McC].

66. H.J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto, 1912), 902. At the time Phillips was President of the WAAC Montreal Branch and Principal of her own art and design school. This show at L.E.N. Pratte & Co., a music store, may have been her only solo exhibition. In 1903, she was represented by Johnston & Copping, Montreal. [McMann, RCA, 326].

67. Arcadia Vol. 1, No. 13 (November 1, 1892), 260. A journal for music, art and literature, it published between May 1892 and March 1893.
68. Arcadia, Vol. 1, No. 15 (Dec. 1, 1892), vii.
69. Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1895-96, Vol. 1, 336. The teachers were Misses Phillips, Henderson, Simpson, and L. McLaren, and Messrs. H. Helyar, and G.A. Simpson.
70. Lovell's, 1896-97, 890; and Women of Canada, 218-9.
71. "List of Classes", School of Art and Applied Design, undated brochure. [#662, Phillips, McC]. The brochure's likeliest date (when the break in term on Jan. 20th would be a Sunday) is 1900-01, because it is still listed in Lovell's, 1900-01, and an employee, Eva Orman, wrote Phillips concerning a firing at the kiln. Aug. 20, 1900. [#646, Phillips, McC].
72. Women of Canada, 218-219.
73. In 1886-7, after her art training at the NYASL, and in Paris, Dignam taught antique sketch, modelling and head classes. ["Art and Artists", Saturday Night Vol. I, No. 6 (Jan 7, 1888), 3]. When Miss Westmacott became ill in 1887, Mrs. Dignam ran the school, becoming its President in 1889. Thompson, Worthy, 54-6.
74. Women of Canada, 218. Since 1885, the AAS teachers included Miss Westmacott, Miss Wait, W.H. Eurtell, A.H. Howard, RCA, and M. Matthews, RCA. ["Art and Artists", Saturday Night Vol. I, No. 6 (Jan. 7, 1888), 3].
75. It is referred to in the past. [Women of Canada, (1900), 218]. Even in the late 1880's the school was surviving "only by the self-sacrifice of those connected with the school of time, means and strength, without remuneration" because its instruction was "not popular with the Chromo-loving people, painting public". ["Art and Artists", Saturday Night Vol. I, No. 6 (Jan. 7, 1888), 3.] The AAS School was superseded by the Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design, which emphasized mechanical and industrial art, painting and drawing, but not handicrafts.
76. E.R. Burns, Little Canadians, (Ottawa, 1899). [NLC] Phillips' line drawings and watercolour engravings overshadow the nine pages of verse.
77. When the Red Cross came into Canada in 1909 Phillips was an organizer. During World War I she supervised all its branches in Canada outside Montreal. She founded the Junior Red Cross, which spread internationally to 52 countries. Montreal Gazette, and Montreal Daily Star April 19, 1937.
78. M.M. Phillips, "Diary of Trip Around the World October 15, 1903 - May 3, 1904", File #700, Phillips [McC]. Phillips was clearly not running her School, and there is no listing for it in Lovell's from 1903-4 to 1906-7.
79. The desire for 'authenticity' will be explored in Chapter Four. This analysis of tourism, which will be incorporated in a book (soon to be published) was outlined in a special lecture. P.B. Phillips, "Hybrid/Purebred: Native Tourist Art and the Making of Difference", The Marston LaFrance Research Fellowship Lecture, Carleton University, Ottawa, February 7, 1994.
80. A. Callen, "Sexual Division of Labour in the Arts and Crafts Movement", A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design, (London, 1999), 153.

credit for the promotion of traditional French Canadian handicrafts. In 1929 the CHG had been promised co-operation with the future handicrafts department,²⁷ but instead, the provincial government became a competitor in education and sales within Quebec. Soon after the Quebec government set up its handicrafts department, articles by Alice MacKay and Oscar A. Bériau in the Canadian Geographical Journal (1933) reviewed the Quebec government's activities, but virtually ignored the CHG record.²⁸ Neither article discussed immigrant or Indian crafts, nor work from other parts of Canada, indicating the narrower mandate of the Quebec department. Peck's article documented the role of the CHG.

The CHG determination to define itself as a distinct entity was evident internationally too. Although Mrs. Dignam represented the WAAC at the Prague Congrès des Arts Populaires in 1928, the CHG pointedly identified Georges Bouchard, the M.P. from Kamouraska, as its representative.²⁹ The CHG took every opportunity to position itself as a nationally recognized leader for handicrafts both inside and outside Canada.

The CHG Shop

The commercial focus of the CHG, which set it apart from the WAAC, was reflected in the CHG constitution. Although incorporated as a benevolent association, the CHG was nevertheless empowered to acquire property, borrow money, appoint agents, and run shops.³⁰ Being non-profit and

81. I. Aberdeen, "The National Council of Women: What it Means and What it Does", Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, 1900, 184.
82. H. Hall, "Facts and Fancies", Montreal Gazette, Nov. 5, 1893.
83. Mrs. Carus-Wilson, Address reported in "The Montreal Branch of Women's Art Association Inaugural Meeting, June 6, 1894." [C11 D1 007 1894 CHGA.]
84. A 1902 reading class on Distinguished Modern Decorators discussed G.D. Rossetti, E. Burne-Jones, W. Morris, W. Crane, P. de Chavannes, J.P. Laurens, J. LaFarge, and Japanese Decorative Art, confirming an interest in arts and crafts in association with fine arts. [C11 D1 019 CHGA].
85. Montreal Daily Herald Illustrated Supplement, April 12, 1895.
86. M.A. Peck, "Address to the Women's Art Society, Montreal", Apr. 10, 1928, 2. [CHGA].
87. N. Morgan, F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (Concordia, 1985), 124-5. The mail order catalogue changed rural consuming patterns. See T.J. Schlereth, "Country Stores, County Fairs, and Mail-Order Catalogues, Consumption in Rural America", Consuming Visions, (Winterthur, 1989), 339-376.
88. WAAC, Annual Report, 1898, 21. The Financial Statement shows Toronto's ceramic sales were \$20 55, while Montreal's were \$139.65. Montreal also contributed ceramics to WAAC exhibitions in other cities. (p. 22)
89. Thompson, Worthy, 72-76.
90. See S.J. Bronner, "Object Lesson: The Work of Ethnological Museums and Collections", Consuming Visions, (Winterthur, 1989), 233, for the intersection of Department Stores and museum collections in the late 19th century, especially concerning John Wannamaker of Philadelphia.
91. "Arts and Crafts Exhibition Notice ", 1900. [C11 D1 013 1900, CHGA].
92. G. Dawson to A. Peck, Sept. 28, 1900. [C11 D1 014, 1900, CHGA] Dawson regrets that museum rules prevent the loan of Indian specimens. But he was sending from his own collection "one very good specimen of Thompson River basketwork" and a glass transparency taken by him in 1878 of the carved totem poles on Queen Charlotte Islands (now famous photograph of a Haida village at Skidegate Inlet). [See P. Robertson and A. Rodger, "Documentary Art and Photography Division", The Archivist 19, No. 3, 1992, 13].
93. WAAC, Annual Report, 1901, 37.
94. WAAC, Annual Report, 1901, 37-38.
95. The WAAC paid the artists \$900, all its expenses (\$588) and closed the exhibition with \$777 as credit. [Peck, "Address", Apr. 10, 1928, CHGA].
96. Unknown newspaper clipping, October 23, 1900; and "Interesting Show", Montreal Gazette, Oct. 23, 1900. [C11 D1 014, CHGA].
97. Mrs. James Peck, "Scheme for the Promotion of Home Arts and Handicrafts", WAAC, Montreal Branch, 1901. [CHGA] The pamphlet mentioned it was available also in French translation.
98. Peck, "Address", Apr. 10, 1928, 4. [CHGA]

99. J. Wolff, The Social Production of Art, (London 1981), 45-6.
100. Montreal Herald, Jan. 25, 1902.
101. M.M. Phillips, "Paper given at Mrs. Hebden's by MMP, March 13, 1917", 2. [Women's Art Society of Montreal Files (WASMF), McC].
102. The Daily Witness, March 5, 1902.
103. The rules provided for a judging committee before acceptance, a 10 cents commission on all sales, entries to be submitted with a minimum price, and prepaid freight charges. If items were unsold, the Montreal Branch would pay the return freight. Montreal Gazette, Jan. 27, 1902.
104. This ideology had an inherent class-based contradiction: when an upper class woman embroidered (or another craft), it was her "taste" which brought moral benefit, whereas if the work was done in a lower class home, it was the craft which ennobled that home. [Parker, Subversive, 179].
105. There were exceptions: an 1881 loan exhibit of decorative arts; the WAAC Montreal Branch 1887 ceramics exhibit; an exhibit of architectural drawings and modern industrial art in 1896. [Morgan, Decorative, 6, 10]. Never before were Indian arts or women's handicraft work featured as in the 1902 March exhibit.
106. Montreal Star, March 1902, n.d. CHGA.
107. Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada, "Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee", 1902. (pamphlet) [C11 D1 016, 1902, CHGA].
108. WAAC Montreal Branch, Exhibition of Home Arts (March 1902), 25, 27, and 31-37. [C11 D1 017 1902, CHGA].
109. Items for sale included sketches, wood carving, china painting, Canadian homespuns, Doukhobor embroidery, Indian bead work "meriting special notice" and "dainty grass Baskets made by the Abenakis and Montagnais Indians". [Calling Card, "Our Handicraft Shop". C11 D1 017, 1902, CHGA]. The name later became pluralized to "Our Handicrafts Shop".
110. M.M. Phillips, "Report of the Handicrafts Committee", Annual Report of the Women's Art Association of Canada and its Branches 1902-03, 31.
111. D.A.P. Watt was a wealthy grain-merchant, and long-time member of the AAM. E. Watt's relationship to D.A.P. Watt, was confirmed by her great-niece, Mrs. Amy Parker. [A. Parker to E. McLeod, Dec. 20, 1993.] Mrs. Parker loaned objects originating in Watt's Montreal home to the recent exhibition, The Earthly Paradise, AGO, 1993.
112. K. Lochnan et al, The Earthly Paradise, (Toronto, 1993), #D:2, #D:3, #E:11, #E:15, #F:1, #F:4, #F:5, #F:22, and #F:24.
113. Toronto Star, October 19, 1903. These included their first international exhibition at the London Institute in England.
114. "I was much amused to find Miss Tully [presumably Sidney Strickland Tully] claims all the work done by the WAA and its Branches as the result of the suggestions of the new Arts and Crafts Movement. Well it is a recognition at least." [M.E. Dignam to M.M. Phillips, Dec. 10, 1904. WASMF, D2F2, McC]. See Chapter One.
115. "Report of the WAAC Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee" 1903 [CHGA].

116. "Report", 1903. [CHGA]. A coupon with a perforated edge was attached: "I enclose _____ dollars for the fund for the Promotion of Canadian Handicrafts, Our Handicrafts Shop, 4 Phillips Square, Montreal".
117. Confirmation of this friendship is found in correspondence such as Lord Strathcona to Alice Peck, June 9, 1900. [B. Carter].
118. Sixteen of thirty-seven names in this list were women. Montreal Herald, December 3, 1904.
119. This Indian tableau was a scaled down version of regular larger outdoor (land and water) programs by Ojibway actors which were run as a business by L.O. Armstrong, a retired CPR man, at Desbarats, Ont. [See S. Brydon, Hiawatha Meets the Gitche Gumee Indians (Carleton M.A. Thesis, 1993)]. Handicraft exhibits were sent to Desbarats in 1903, 1904 and 1905.
120. M.A. Peck, "The Canadian Handicraft", The Argus, October 22, 1904, 15-16. The shop had moved to new quarters at 2456 St. Catherine.
121. At the St. Louis Fair, a serious misunderstanding occurred over the purchase of exhibited items. The Handicrafts Committee believed purchases were allowed, having previously discussed paying duty on sales. Alice Peck and the Hon. Sydney Fisher, the Exhibition Commissioner, exchanged several letters over this point. Peck also wrote to Mary Ella Dignam complaining,
 It appears that not only are sales of goods on the spot not allowed, but that your representatives must not take orders for the goods to deliver them at the close of the exhibition, or supply goods from Canada the same as the goods shown, as suggested.
 [M.A. Peck to Mary Dignam, Berlin, [June?] 25, 1904. C11 D1 023 1904, CHGA]. Peck was forced to take the responsible decision alone, and give instructions that no sales be allowed. [M.A. Peck to S. Fisher, June 28, 1904]. But she did so "under protest", hoping to get the restrictions removed later, because otherwise the Shop "instead of benefitting, will be at a considerable loss". [Memo by M.A. Peck, June 29, 1904. C11 D1 023, 1904, CHGA]. As far as is known the Shop could not sell their goods, and thus suffered a loss.
122. Winnipeg Daily Tribune, n.d., 1904 [C11 D1 022, 1904, CHGA].
123. Peck, "Address", April 10, 1928, 6. [CHGA]
124. Sir Melbourne McTaggart Tait, a Chief Justice of Quebec since 1894, had been knighted in 1897 for the Queen's Jubilee. His wife, Lily M. Tait became Second Vice-President of the CHG's first executive committee.
125. W.D. Lighthall (b.1857) was a lawyer, active civic leader, Mayor of Westmount in 1900-2, poet, historian and supporter of the arts. [Morgan, Canadian, 657.] His wife Cybel (daughter of Henry Wilkes of the McGill "Wilkes" resolution) also actively supported the handicrafts movement.
126. M.A. Peck, "Copy from Minutes, Handicrafts Committee". [Women's Art Society of Montreal Files (WASMF) D2 F2, McC].
127. Peck, "Copy" 1. [WASMF, D2 F2, McC].
128. "This was thought imperative". Peck, "Copy", 3. [WASMF, D2 F2, McC].
129. Peck, "Copy", and M.M. Phillips to the Secretary, WAAC, Toronto, Dec. 6, 1904. [WASMF, D2 F2, McC]. At this time Peck was the 2nd Vice President of the WAAC national headquarters, and Phillips, as the President of the Montreal Branch, was Ex-Officio Vice-President, national WAAC.

130. M.A. Peck, "Charges and Answers", [WASMF, D2F2, McC]. This summary attached to the "Copy from Minutes" and written in Alice Peck's hand, appears to be an after-the-fact recording of the events that led to the break with the WAAC. Its tone captures the political struggle.
131. In local papers, and in international publications such as Studio and New York Evening Post. Peck, "Charges and Answers", [WASMF, D2F2, McC].
132. M.M. Phillips to the Secretary of the WAAC, Toronto, Dec. 6, 1904; M.E. Dignam to M.M. Phillips, Dec. 10, 1904. [WASMF, D2F2, McC].
133. "Secretary's Report of the First Annual Meeting" CHG Minutes, January 12, 1906, 1. [CHGA].
134. M.D. Muir (d. 1936) was secretary to D.R. McCord (b.1844), and J.B. Abbott, curator at the McCord Museum. She was also a member of the Women's Branch of the ANS. [Telephone Interview with Pamela Miller, Archivist, McCord Museum, July 6, 1993; Montreal Gazette, Nov. 2, 1936, 7.] M.D. Muir was probably the sister of Montreal artist, Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards (b. 1849). While H.M. Edwards was away studying, her sister, (M.D. Muir ?) managed her work with the Working Girls Association, (founded by Edwards in 1875). Together they edited Woman's Work in Canada, "the earliest publication of its kind in Canada". [Harper, Early, 103; Henry J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, (Toronto, 1912), 366. N.E.S. Griffiths, The Splendid Vision, (Ottawa, 1993), 18.]
135. "Secretary's Report of the First Annual Meeting", Jan. 12, 1906, CHG Minutes, 2. [CHGA]
136. "First", Jan. 12, 1906, CGH Minutes, 3. [CHGA].
137. These same women were the members of the Convenor's Committee for the 1905 "Exhibition of Canadian Handicrafts", Feb. 14 to 28th, 1905. [NGC].
138. March 15, 1905, CHG Minutes, 3 [CHGA].
139. Mrs. Dignam did not want any report of the CHG's work read to the NCWC meetings, being afraid that the CHG women "would try and interest the branches of the WAA, holding Exhibitions under their aid". [CHG 1905 Minutes Book, Notes between Minutes of June 15 to June 22, 1905. CHGA].
140. The incompetency charges were addressed by consultation with the paid Shop manager, Mrs. Holmes-Orr, who explained reasons for the discrepancies to the Executive and to the Winnipeg office which had originated the complaints. The Executive also moved to have an audited monthly statement, instead of an unaudited weekly statement. CHG Minutes. June & July 1905.
141. Handwritten draft letter, (two-sided) M.A. Peck to Mrs. Dignam, and M.A. Peck to Miss Warnock, Secty. WAAC, Nov. 30, 1905. [WASMF, D2F2, McC].
142. Mrs. Dignam appealed sincerely to Alice Peck: "It is impossible for me to tell you with what affection and pleasure I dwell upon what you have been to the cause during the last ten years". But her letter ended with a few slighting remarks: "...while it has always seemed to me that Miss Phillips wavered from one point to another that you were working for work's sake alone. Careless of the pros and cons perhaps but full of love for the work". M.E. Dignam to M.A. Peck, Dec. 8, 1905. [WASMF, D2F2, McC].
143. CHG Minutes in Handicraft Committee of Women's Art Association Jan 4, 1905-Nov. 1906, December 21, 1905. [CHGA]

144. Canadian Women, A History. (Toronto and Orlando, 1988), 178-9. A Montreal Suffrage Association was founded only in 1913. (p. 203).
145. W.D. Lighthall had no difficulty giving satisfactory answers and reported that "considerable interest had been taken in it". May 10, 1906. CHG, Minutes Book I (handwritten), 213. [CHGA].
146. H.B. Ames, M.P. (b. 1863), was a bilingual, progressively-minded civic leader in Montreal, who had published a sociological study on the industrial area of Montreal entitled The City Below the Hill (1897).
147. Montreal Gazette, May 24, 1906. The official incorporators are listed in the CHG Constitution and By-Laws in APPENDIX B.
148. The NCWC was not federally incorporated by Parliament until 1914. [Griffiths, Splendid, 10]. The WAAC did not receive its Dominion Charter until 1911. [WAAC, Annual Report, 1911, 32].
149. CHG, Minutes Book I, May 25, 1906, 222. [CHGA].
150. In 1906, when Mary Phillips retired after ten years as President of the Montreal Branch, she was warmly honoured as a friend and a leader who had paved the way for developing "our native arts and crafts". [WAAC Montreal Branch, "Illuminated Address", 1906. McC].
151. Dec. 13, 1906, CHG, Minutes Book I, [CHGA]. The WAAC Montreal Branch incurred heavy legal expenses "in order to defend its rights and protect its members.... The Montreal Branch...will next season begin on a new and independent basis." [WAAC Montreal Branch, handwritten Annual Report, 1906-07. WASMF, McC].
152. Dignam too was seeking a new Act of Incorporation in the Dominion Parliament "to cover the very points complained of". [CHG, Minutes Book I, Jan. 18, 1906, 151. CHGA] The WAAC originally had been incorporated in 1892 under Chapter 172 of the Revised Statutes of Ontario, which permitted branches solely in that province. Thus, legally the Montreal Branch was only a voluntary affiliation.
153. P.B Mignault, "Opinion at the request of the Montreal Branch of the Woman's (sic) Art Association", April 6, 1906. [WASMF, McC].
154. Evelyn E. Donald to [WAAC, Toronto], May 4, 1906. [WASMF, McC].
155. Montreal Gazette, May 17, 1906. The WAAC was incorporated five years later in 1911, listing mainly Ontario incorporators, but including Lady MacMillan, Winnipeg, Mrs. G.H. Dick of Moncton, and no Montreal names. There are no male incorporators. Sections 11 to 15 addressed problems flagged by the Montreal Branch in 1905, concerning transactions, assets and debts. WAAC, Annual Report, 1911, 32-36.
156. On April 18, 1907. [Mrs. MacNutt to WAAC, Toronto, May 3, 1907. WAAC]. The CHG reaction is not extant in the Minutes as a paper has been pasted over an original long paragraph, probably in a later effort to obscure the incident. [April 23, 1907, CHG, Minutes Book I, CHGA].

CHAPTER THREE

ENTREPRENEURSHIP, PROMOTIONAL STRATEGIES, AND LEGACIES

...to pick and choose, encourage, and sometimes suppress, teach and develop the workers, and at the same time educate the buyer and create a market.

Chapter Three will analyze how Montreal women, from 1905 to 1936, professionally developed Canadian handicrafts through the Canadian Handicrafts Guild (CHG).² As an early female enterprise in Canada, CHG women successfully conducted a benevolent business. Using their stature in the community and a competitive sense, they incorporated strategies such as national outreach trips, annual prize exhibitions, educational programs, as well as a prestigious crafts collection, to make the CHG the first national patron of handicrafts in Canada.

Stature in the community

From the beginning the CHG women attracted good will for Canadian handicrafts. Private individuals, both men and women, donated prize money to winners at the CHG's annual exhibition of handicrafts. For example, prize givers for the first annual exhibition in 1905 included Dr. John Todd of Macdonald College (weaving), Sir William Van Horne (pottery), Sir Thomas Shaughnessy (embroidery), Sir Daniel MacMillan, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba (leather work), Lady Allan (lacemaking) and Lady Hingston (sewing and knitting).³

Social connections also enabled the CHG women to recruit many Montreal businesses for goods and services. Navigation companies and hotels often ran tourist advertisements for the CHG. The Richelieu Navigation Company distributed over 2000 CHG leaflets, and along with the Ottawa Navigation Company each placed free CHG notices in their pamphlets. The Windsor Hotel in Montreal and the St. Louis Hotel in Quebec each gave the CHG a special price for their ads.⁴ After one annual exhibition, the CHG thanked a variety of people for extending all manner of assistance:

Mitchell, for fixtures, wiring and work; Light Heat & Power Co. for store; Meldrum for cartage; Harris & Hopton, McKenna, Hall & Robinson, Miss Cairns, Miss Murray, for flowers; Webster & Parkes, loan of mantels; Morgans, for show cases; Miss Smith of Robinson & Co. for attention, etc; Carpenter, the detective; Crescent St. Church, for tables and tressels; J.C. Wilson & Co. for paper & string; The Can. Paper Co. for paper & string and the several dressmakers and tailors who had kindly given their work.⁵

The CHG attracted both royal and v'ce-regal patronage. Governor General and Countess Grey, patrons of the WAAC Montreal Branch, became honourary founding members of the CHG. Royalty frequently attended CHG exhibitions in Britain. At the Dublin Exhibition of 1907, the CHG presented King Edward and Queen Alexandra with a tufted rug," and publicized such presentations to enhance the CHG profile. In 1911, on the initiative of Alice Peck and Mary Phillips, the CHG gave the new Queen Mary a coronation gift of 20 Canadian craft articles accompanied by a handmade book, all of which were exhibited before being sent.' **[Figs. 22 & 23]**. Many

years later, the CHG gave a Canadian hooked rug to Edward Prince of Wales at the 1927 Ottawa exhibition. The Montreal Gazette reported on the Prince's plans to take the rug to his Royal Ranch in Alberta.⁸ The CHG women were not reluctant to employ such strategies to secure newspaper publicity because they were confident of Royal favour.⁹

Competitiveness

Like traditional patrons in the history of art,¹⁰ the CHG was motivated in part by ambition to outdo all rivals. As seen in Chapter Two, the CHG's objective to be the national headquarters for the Canadian handicrafts movement placed it in confrontation with the WAAC. This competitiveness is crucial to understanding how the CHG positioned itself both as the premier national handicrafts patron and a benevolent, but commercial, institution. The rivalry continued after the CHG's incorporation in 1906.

In 1907, an article in Industrial Canada claimed that the WAAC was the national handicraft leader from the Atlantic to the Pacific.¹¹ Although unnamed, the author was almost certainly Mary Ella Dignam, President of the WAAC. Competition with the CHG's founders presumably prevented her crediting them for work done under her organization, or from announcing the 1906 establishment of the CHG. Such omissions could only have been deliberate.

This article constituted a direct challenge to the CHG. The Montreal women themselves could rightfully claim many

handicraft initiatives heralded here as by the WAAC.¹² In asserting the WAAC's primacy in developing Canadian handicrafts, the article signalled a continuing competition with the CHG women, who willingly took up that challenge.

Although the CHG never exclusively controlled handicraft promotion in Canada, it did retain the premier position in marketing fine crafts through its central commercial Shop, and in promoting handicrafts as art by exhibiting them annually in the art gallery in Montreal. In contrast, the WAAC focused primarily on serving its members.¹³

Nevertheless, the CHG's ambition to be the Canadian handicrafts leader continued to be confronted by its formidable rival, Mrs. Dignam. The Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) now provided another site of contention. Mrs. Dignam as an Honourary Committee Member of the CNE Association Board,¹⁴ made use of this powerful position from which she and the WAAC could effectively control exhibition space and select exhibitions, including handicrafts, from across the country in the CNE Women's Building.¹⁵ By 1922, the large "Three Arts Room" in the Women's Building was the preferred space for exhibiting painting, music and handicrafts by Canadian women, and the WAAC had often contributed handicrafts such as jewelry, weaving and batik.¹⁶

For the first time in 1927, the CHG requested

permission to send a small exhibit of representative Canadian handicrafts. The Superintendent of the Women's Building, Violet S. Dickens, invited the CHG to send a Quebec exhibit.¹⁷ However, following an exchange of letters, the CHG's strongly stated preference for a national exhibit of craft work was approved. As a business strategy to maximize its national profile, the CHG labelled all its handicraft work as the property of "Canadian Handicrafts Guild".¹⁸ In an aggressive move, the WAAC took a 15% commission on CHG sales,¹⁹ thus ensuring the continuation of tensions.

The next year, the NCWC invited the CHG to participate in a national women's display at the CNE. The CHG did "not consider itself a woman's organization",²⁰ and was apprehensive because Mary Ella Dignam remained in charge of NCWC art exhibits at the CNE. Not wanting to miss this opportunity, the CHG accepted the NCWC invitation, but directed the Secretary-Treasurer to write the following assertive letter:

the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, Headquarters, does not wish to lose its identity in this Exhibition. I am asked to ask you, Mrs. Dignam, to assure us that, if we exhibit, it will be understood that our exhibit will be attractively displayed in a space of its own, and distinctively as an exhibition sent from Dominion Headquarters of this Guild.-- All our articles would be labelled with our own labels, and we could have a sign printed to point out our exhibit.²¹

Later, with the arrangements finalized, and their exhibit sent, the CHG women were distressed to learn that once again only Quebec handicrafts were expected. Sensitive

to being positioned by Dignam and the WAAC as a regional centre, the CHG reacted strongly: "Working under its Dominion Charter, if the exhibit we have sent up is not displayed as it is complete... the Guild wishes you to send back every article immediately".²³ Fortunately, Jane Bertram, WAAC Secretary, responded with a diplomatic apology assuring the CHG that its entire exhibit would be shown and placed in "a good case and wall space".²³

Although the CHG won this battle, the CNE Annual Report for 1928 credited the CHG incorrectly as the "Handicraft Guild of Canada".²⁴ In both 1932 and 1933, the CHG exhibits at the CNE were still improperly identified in the CNE Annual Reports. The CHG remained concerned since validation of CHG national leadership required public identification with the organization. It told its own membership:

The [CNE] display was visited by approximately 75,000 people, and was a great education to many thousands who saw for the first time what had been and was being accomplished by the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, and I am sure that it will have very far-reaching effects on the development of handicrafts.²⁵

To further set the record straight, Alice Peck included a picture of a 1933 CHG exhibit at the CNE **[Fig. 24]** in her 1934 Canadian Geographical Journal article, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast".²⁶ Her defiant chronicle of the CHG's achievement since the WAAC challenge in Industrial Canada so many years earlier, explicitly also notified the Quebec government of the CHG position.

The Quebec government in the early 1930's began to take

credit for the promotion of traditional French Canadian handicrafts. In 1929 the CHG had been promised co-operation with the future handicrafts department,²⁷ but instead, the provincial government became a competitor in education and sales within Quebec. Soon after the Quebec government set up its handicrafts department, articles by Alice MacKay and Oscar A. Bériau in the Canadian Geographical Journal (1933) reviewed the Quebec government's activities, but virtually ignored the CHG record.²⁸ Neither article discussed immigrant or Indian crafts, nor work from other parts of Canada, indicating the narrower mandate of the Quebec department. Peck's article documented the role of the CHG.

The CHG determination to define itself as a distinct entity was evident internationally too. Although Mrs. Dignam represented the WAAC at the Prague Congrès des Arts Populaires in 1928, the CHG pointedly identified Georges Bouchard, the M.P. from Kamouraska, as its representative.²⁹ The CHG took every opportunity to position itself as a nationally recognized leader for handicrafts both inside and outside Canada.

The CHG Shop

The commercial focus of the CHG, which set it apart from the WAAC, was reflected in the CHG constitution. Although incorporated as a benevolent association, the CHG was nevertheless empowered to acquire property, borrow money, appoint agents, and run shops.³⁰ Being non-profit and

connected to the art world gave the Shop prestige, enhancing the CHG's success as patrons. But to conduct its affairs, the women demonstrated a necessary willingness to undertake risks. The precarious economics are reflected in the peregrinations of ***Our Handicrafts Shop***.

In 1900, following its fall exhibition of handicrafts, the WAAC Montreal Branch briefly had opened a small depot, but unsuitable premises forced its temporary suspension.³¹ After the March 1902 Montreal Exhibition in the AAM, they reinstated ***Our Handicrafts Shop*** (hereafter called the Shop) in the WAAC studio at the Renaissance Club at 4 Phillips Square, and in 1903 relocated it nearby at 2456 St. Catherine St. West. By then, the principles of high standards and commissions for the Shop were established. Workers were "requested to send priced samples of their work, which if accepted by the judging committee, will be placed on sale; the committee adding their working percentage".³²

After the CHG commenced in 1905, the Shop moved to premises upstairs at 586 St. Catherine St. West. **[Fig. 25]**. Six years later in 1912, fearing rising inflation, the CHG members bought a property at 372 Mountain St. which proved to be a costly mistake. They never moved into it and finally sold it in February 1917.³³

Instead, in 1916 they rented larger premises on the ground level moving to 598 St. Catherine St. West,³⁴ **[Fig.**

26] a solid location where business prospered. In 1920, when the CHG needed more room, a mezzanine floor was built. Improved electric lights were added in 1926, **[Fig. 27]** and to better reflect a professional identity, a large new sign for the Shop front changed the name from "Our Handicrafts Shop" to "The Canadian Handicrafts Guild". **[Fig. 28]**.

In 1933, the CHG Shop established permanent quarters on Peel Street. Formerly a row house in an old residential district, the building had room for the CHG office, a board room, a library, and the weaving school.³⁵ The CHG first only rented 2019 Peel Street. Later in 1936, the CHG expanded into 2021 Peel next door, **[Fig. 29]** and in 1949, purchased three buildings of the row for \$85,000, although for years, it occupied two of the row, and leased out the third.³⁶ The CHG prudently ensured that revenues could support larger quarters before it expanded.

The CHG scrupulously kept records and statistics of numbers of exhibits sent out and income for the workers. Good business practice impressed supporters, and CHG leaders, fond of quoting these statistics as a yardstick, also published them in CHG annual reports. The last line of the official financial statement usually read: "Payments to Workers during the year".³⁷ Taken cumulatively, the CHG records showed that from 1902 to 1929, over 300 exhibitions were sent from the Shop, and over \$700,000 was paid out to

workers, "many of whom were not in a position to sell for themselves".³⁸ The CHG was justifiably proud of improving the economic status of homes where women's domestic responsibilities, remote location, or lack of power in society made it difficult to earn money otherwise.

From their Montreal Shop, the CHG women handled and marketed handicrafts stock, held craft demonstrations, classes, meetings, and put together exhibits. As the central depot for receiving, distributing, showcasing and selling, the Shop sent out exhibits of nationally representative handicrafts in the CHG's name to fashionable Canadian summer resorts, country fairs, provincial, national, and international exhibitions. (See APPENDIX A).

Prestige within Canada has historically often rested partly on international validation.³⁹ International exhibitions offered opportunities for women artists and craftworkers to present an alternate Canadian aesthetic. Along with many Canadian companies and organizations in the Pavilion at Wembley, the CHG showcased its wares to a large Empire market.⁴⁰ The CHG's exhibit at the 1925 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley won a Certificate of Honour.⁴¹

A few female Shop staff and volunteers looked after all the physical and administrative procedures for such exhibits. This involved choosing and finishing the handicrafts,⁴² packing, ordering shipping and insurance, and if necessary, clearing customs, arranging for supervision at

the destination, repacking, possibly rerouting to another venue (to maximize the travel dollar), and lastly, accounting for sales. The Shop did its own buying and selling, and paid all its expenses including property rental, and salaries of a female Shop Manager, stenographer, bookkeeper, sales woman, and shippers.⁴³

A National Business Strategy

The Shop's operations demonstrate other areas where the CHG women willingly took risks in their commercial enterprise: buying stock in advance, sending off raw materials, or awarding incentive prize monies in far-flung communities across Canada. By 1906, a definite commercial policy was set. Goods would be held on consignment for one year, and if unsold the Shop would purchase them at a reduction, or return them, covering the freight charges. Inferior work would be returned immediately at the worker's expense.⁴⁴

When money was needed to purchase advance stock, or to make some worthy improvement, the CHG women were able to borrow money from their own capital endowment, the Lady Strathcona Capital Fund.⁴⁵ The CHG conducted its financial affairs professionally by guaranteeing that the money borrowed from the Strathcona Fund "should bear interest at the current bank rate".⁴⁶

The CHG's professional attitude also shows in its project to integrate commercialism with nationalism. The CHG

decision to expand beyond Quebec and Ontario, began in 1907 with an overture to the Labrador Mission in Newfoundland founded by Dr. Wilfred Grenfell.⁴⁷ Two years earlier, Dr. Grenfell, while on an American lecture tour, had met Miss Jessie Luther who was setting up a handicrafts program as patient therapy at a small sanatorium in Marblehead, Massachusetts.⁴⁸ Grenfell invited Jessie Luther to come to St. Anthony, Newfoundland, to help start up a weaving industry. She accepted, arriving in July 1906, and stayed almost a decade.

When Dr. Grenfell came to Montreal in 1906 the CHG women met with him several times to discuss participation in his Labrador project as a CHG business venture.

It was decided at a General committee meeting to send 200 lbs. of wool to the Labrador mission for weaving into cloth, (as you are aware they have no sheep at present) this with rags for weaving into carpets.... **For the wool we hope to eventually receive pottery, fine leather coats, and embroideries.** When they arrive the shop will buy them for stock, returning to the revenue account the money advanced for promotion work.⁴⁹ (Emphasis mine)

The strategy was to advance money from a CHG promotion account, and crafts sent back in exchange would be sold by the CHG to recoup the advance. Arrangements with Jessie Luther were consistently on a business footing: "Miss Luther must understand that the work sent up [to Montreal] in exchange must be priced low enough to enable the Guild to sell at an advance".⁵⁰ By 1909, Jessie Luther's request for a CHG prize list to encourage her workers with CHG endorsement and prize money⁵¹ demonstrates her respect for

the CHG's business strategy. Indeed by 1909, the CHG's national business project was so successful that articles were being received from Labrador, most provinces, Hay River in the District of Mackenzie, and the Yukon.⁵²

Such progress was dependent on women with the necessary knowledge, time and pioneering spirit to make contacts with interested parties and to travel on behalf of the CHG. Trips by unaccompanied women were still uncommon in the early 1900's. The donation of courtesy passes by the Canadian Pacific, Canadian Northern and the Intercolonial⁵³ made this extensive train travel possible, while also demonstrating the CHG's adept use of business patronage.

Only three years after beginning the Grenfell Labrador project, an important new strategy for national outreach was developed by Mary Phillips in her 1910 western trip. Phillips, as CHG Past President and an experienced traveller (see Chapter Two), served as the respected and knowledgeable ambassador for the CHG.⁵⁴

Her trip had two purposes: to seek out and encourage craft production in rural areas, and to stimulate and attract support for the CHG's work among the urban communities across the West. The strategy was for her to visit farming settlements and Indian villages, encourage local crafts and identify contacts to be revisited by other CHG women later.⁵⁵ In Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Kenora, and North Bay, Phillips gave the

same rousing speech appealing to the leaders in each centre for membership and support.

Phillips was careful that her audiences not be threatened by the female leadership. She praised male presence on the CHG executive for their "knowledge of Business, Law, Finance and Politics", and somewhat disingenuously, characterized women's role as "enthusiasm, patience with detail, technical knowledge and personality".⁵⁶ She did not disclose that the CHG was an organization founded and run by women.

Her talk outlined the aims, methods and resources of the CHG, and posed a series of rhetorical questions and answers about the CHG's philosophy and business practices.

Why do you not buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest?, says the business man. Give the worker a fair return for his labour and distribute the work, answers the Guild. Place large orders for the same design and minimize labour, says the shrewd shopkeeper. Encourage individuality and be more pains taking, says the Guild. Good enough will do, says the public. The best is none too good, says the Guild.... No machine made thing has power to bind us with such a tie to a fellow-being.⁵⁷

Like her mentor, Montreal feminist educator Lucy Simpson, she advanced the idea of communal self-help and well-being by advocating "the aim is not commercial gain for the Guild", but "increased payments to workers, increased usefulness of the individual, increasing independence, comfort and content, and so increasing prosperity in the Country".⁵⁸ In pointing out that their work was not for profit, but to benefit deserving craftspeople and the

nation, any threat to male dominance in the marketplace was astutely sidestepped. As Kathleen McCarthy in Women's Culture recognized, women's ability to perfect their "roles as artisans, consumers and volunteers" for the "production and sale of women's professional services and goods" depended on the canny strategy of emphasizing their charitable aims rather than their commercial side.⁵⁹ Phillips explicitly used and understood such strategies.

In closing, she stressed the CHG's emphasis on quality. Professional women artists in the CHG, such as herself, were used in outreach, research, instruction, and judging. Their rigorous standards discouraged "the meritricious [sic] or imitative", and sought to build up a "strong, original national art feeling".⁶⁰ The CHG sensitively promoted good indigenous work of each area or group without interfering in local tradition, but all was regarded as a national asset. Her talk ended with a plea, "This is a National work, the preservation and encouragement of National skill. We need members, workers, and money. Will you help?"⁶¹

Within two weeks of her return, Mary Phillips tabled her official trip report.⁶² She had visited 14 places, given seven speeches, attracted 25 new subscribers, and formed four new local committees. Only \$271.65 of her \$500 advance was spent for travelling expenses. Applying the CHG's bold strategy of spending money to encourage the workers, Phillips used the remaining \$228.35 for prizes and

development work. She also bought advance stock outright for the Shop with \$144.80 borrowed from the Lady Strathcona Capital Fund. The meticulous accounts kept by Phillips for the substantial grant-money and the discretionary Strathcona Fund money confirm her professional business practice and the inappropriateness of the Quebec law restricting women's financial transactions without male consent.⁶³

The early CHG success at national promotional work and the effectiveness of Phillips' trip were charted on a map of Canada showing all the CHG outposts and affiliates in 1910.⁶⁴ **[Fig. 30]**. Trips by other CHG women followed as a means of consolidating a network across the country. For example, in July 1911, Mrs. Madeleine Bottomley took a CHG exhibition to the Winnipeg Industrial Fair. More than 65,000 people attended the Fair, where the French Canadian handicrafts in particular were admired and purchased.⁶⁵ In August 1912, Miss Christine Steen, CHG Shop Manager, took another well-received exhibit to the Vancouver (Third) Annual Fair.⁶⁶ Social connections of CHG members eased her way. In Vancouver, Steen obtained visiting memberships to the Georgian and Athenian Clubs, and in Victoria, she was introduced to B.C. Island Arts Club members interested in the CHG. Like Mary Phillips, Steen spoke to local groups about the CHG. After her speech to an audience of about 200 at the Women's Canadian Club in Vancouver, 55 members joined and elected an executive to the new CHG Vancouver Branch.⁶⁷

At about the same time in 1911, the CHG expanded east, sending Miss Katherine Campbell to several Maritime centres. She met women in P.E.I. already training rug hookers to improve their design and colours,⁶⁸ and on March 15, 1911, Campbell helped found the Summerside, P.E.I. Branch of the CHG. After also visiting Pictou, Halifax, Moncton, and Saint John, where organizations such as the Women's Institutes and the Natural History Society were very encouraging, Campbell realized how much pioneering work the CHG could initiate in this area: "the ground I found everywhere was entirely unbroken". She recommended visiting Cape Breton, Sackville and Fredericton, in the near future.⁶⁹ But, it was many years before the CHG was able to follow up this trip.

Only in September 1927 did the CHG finally reach Cape Breton, when the indefatigable Alice Peck, then over 70, combined a social visit with CHG outreach. Travelling to Baddeck, N.S., she stayed at "Beinn Breagh", the family home of Alexander Graham Bell. For three years, Bell's daughter, Mrs. Barbara Fairchild, had financed the Cape Breton Home Industries, holding summer sales of handicrafts at the Baddeck Library. Fairchild, and her sister and Miss Lillian Burke, who together formed the Cape Breton Home Industries, arranged through Peck to become a Branch of the CHG. Mrs. Fairchild took Peck to visit farms and villages including Cheticamp, where she inspected handicrafts, met workers, purchased and advance ordered hooked rugs, weaving,

blacksmithing, and furniture."⁶

The success of such ad hoc trips, the numerous exhibitions and the founding of many new branches provided the CHG with a national network of supporters and craft workers from remote and urban areas. The continued drive of these independent, entrepreneurial women to move effectively in the public sphere established the CHG as a significant vehicle for female leadership in its time.

Great War and After

The first World War interrupted many of the CHG's national programs. Branches dissolved, government grants ceased, and CHG leaders were heavily involved in war work. Alice Peck spent time in London England working in a private hospital, and in 1917 ran the "Undermount Industries" for veterans in her Montreal home (See Chapter Two). Mary Phillips was a major Canadian Red Cross organizer for all areas outside Montreal. Many male supporters of the CHG were overseas as officers in Canadian armed forces.

However, after the war, a whole new CHG program including eastern and western travel began to rebuild the national network. Contacts were also renewed internationally with a total of 37 agencies affiliated in 1920,⁷¹ including Milwaukee, Kansas City, Palm Beach, Vancouver, and Philadelphia, and the possibility of Buffalo and Havana, Cuba.⁷² By 1928, several Provincial CHG Branches were also re-established in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Edmonton, Summerside

and Baddeck. A Quebec Provincial CHG Branch in Montreal was formed in 1936 and an Ontario Branch in Toronto followed soon after.⁷³

After 30 years, the national network had developed with so many diverse relationships that the CHG revised its Constitution and By-laws in 1936 to set out more consistent rules governing official branches.⁷⁴

Preservation, Technical Expertise and Quality Control

The preservation of handicraft knowledge came under the national mandate. One important instance of preservation was the recovery of the lost ceinture fléchée stitch, a technique revived through samples made at early CHG exhibitions. In the 1905 and 1907 exhibits, the CHG women recruited Madame Venne, who had been discovered in 1902, to demonstrate the stitch. Photographs showing the position of her fingers in the braid weaving were produced in order to teach the skill to others. **[Fig. 31]**. Much later, the Quebec government would erroneously lay claim to this recovery.⁷⁵

By producing didactic material and by judging handicrafts to a high standard, the CHG sought to improve the aesthetics of Canadian crafts. To aid in this, the CHG collected information on techniques, designs, and recipes (such as preserving skins and preparing vegetable dyes from the leaves, berries, roots or barks of plants and trees). Letters of advice or support were sent out regularly upon request. The educational aspect of such a service was yet

another strategy developed by the CHG to ensure quality.

Another prime didactic tool devised by CHG women was a quality craft kit sent in travelling cases to rural areas across the country. Fine specimens of weaving, matmaking, rugmaking, crocheting, embroidery, and tatting were sent to sympathetic women's groups (e.g. Women's Institutes). The aim was to give direction without too much control, to show "not only what good work is, but also what sells best."⁷⁶

Materials and workmanship were important criteria in choosing stock and awarding prizes. CHG judges gave fewer marks for aniline dyes, in favour of recipes and samples of vegetable dyes whose permanency and softness of colour were judged to be superior.⁷⁷ Determined to be regarded as a national quality control "judging association", the CHG proposed that County Fairs across the country send their prize pieces to the CHG exhibits where they might be awarded extra prizes.⁷⁸

Reinforcing their mandate to send out judges "without bias, with a trained mind"⁷⁹, CHG women frequently served in this capacity. Alice Peck early on had sought Mary Phillips' advice for the workers in the village of Métis Beach.⁸⁰ Phillips sometimes deplored the fact that the young workers did not have their elders' standards: "A young woman who had been following me round the room very closely--on seeing me turning an embroidered blouse inside out to examine the sewing she exclaimed: 'For the land's sake, she's looking at

the inside!"⁸¹

At the regional fairs in Quebec where experienced CHG women acted as judges, the CHG also sent sale exhibits. By the mid-1920's, the significant competition was of concern to them. In 1926, Naomi Hughes Charles criticized the Quebec Provincial exhibit in Sherbrooke. Its booth was so attractive, with yellow and white bunting and coloured electric lights, that better exhibits were eclipsed, and visitors were lured into seeing mostly inferior work resembling "the stamped fancy-work section of the department store".⁸² In 1927, Harriette Stephenson reported that the "Cercles de Fermières" at Sherbrooke had one quarter of the entire space, beautifully fitted and paid for by the province. Although not a very representative exhibit, it may have resulted in fewer sales by the CHG.⁸³

"Cercles de Fermières", an organization founded in 1915 for rural women by two male agronomists with the Quebec Ministry of Agriculture, developed as a result of Church and government concern about the exodus from the land. Its goals were not dissimilar to the CHG's in encouraging rural women to practise traditional domestic arts, but the model was a male one financially supported by Church and State. Although they mounted exhibitions of "female" agricultural work, including domestic crafts,⁸⁴ the CHG considered the quality uneven and often inferior.

Notwithstanding the competitive relationship, in 1925,

in an effort to assist the Quebec Government, the CHG sent technical materials (i.e. 100 copies of the French version of the CHG book "Receipts (sic) for Dyeing") to Monsieur Desilets, Chief of Home Economics, Department of Agriculture.⁸⁵ Representative samples of national craft work were sent to Quebec Provincial exhibitions.⁸⁶

The CHG's influence in promoting quality Canadian handicrafts, evident in its reputation for judging and its commercial successes, owed a great deal to CHG technical expertise. By researching traditional skills, disseminating that knowledge, encouraging excellent craftwork, supplying expert judges to outside exhibitions, and awarding prizes for quality, the CHG not only fostered fine handicrafts, but also assured itself, a professional standing.

A Professional Profile

Deborah Cherry has addressed professionalism as an identity issue for women who resisted being positioned as amateur on the basis of gender.⁸⁷ The CHG women were determined to be recognized as a national professional institution, and to be accepted as such, conducted CHG affairs along male business models. A General Committee, which met quarterly to determine policy, was elected at the Annual Meeting. An Executive Committee met more regularly to direct the CHG's business through its standing committees. Committee summaries and audited accounts were presented every January at annual meetings and published in annual

reports. CHG affairs were a matter of public record.

The CHG women flatly rejected the amateur model of women craftworkers receiving little compensation for their work. They instituted a professional status for all craftworkers, by paying them well for goods marketed to a buying public. For some Canadians, this professionalism was associated with "callous money grubbing".⁸⁸ As we have seen, the commercial mandate of the CHG at its founding had been vigorously contested by Mary Ella Dignam on these very grounds. The willingness to risk such disapproval in order to place handicrafts on a professional footing in Canada, testifies to the strongly held ideals of the CHG women.

After 1911, the CHG Presidents were men.⁸⁹ Male Presidents were more practical for executing official transactions in Quebec and could advance CHG interests in male circles. From 1917 to 1924, President F. Cleveland Morgan, a formidable connoisseur of international craftwork and decorative arts, enhanced the CHG profile through his activities in the art world.⁹⁰ His successors were McGill University men, Professor Henry F. Armstrong, whose wife Lena Armstrong was an early CHG Exhibit organizer, and Lt. Col. Wilfrid Bovey, the Head of McGill's Adult Education.⁹¹

However, because the male presidents held down other employment, the work of the CHG was carried out as before by women. Little of real significance changed. When Cleveland Morgan resigned as President in January 1924, he was not

replaced. Cybel Lighthall as Vice-President effectively carried on with the aid of the CHG's new Secretary-Treasurer, Isabella Abbott.⁹² An excellent record-keeper and correspondent, Abbott conscientiously followed through on all CHG interests with efficiency and enthusiasm. During the very productive years under Professor Armstrong's Presidency, Abbott's office management firmly established professional standards of conduct.

Financial Recognition

CHG activities required resources over and above Shop returns. Additional monies were welcomed and represented validation of primarily volunteer effort. The Lady Strathcona Capital Fund supplied vital private financial backing, but the CHG also sought Government funding, not as handouts, but as proof of merit and a means to advance the CHG nationally. A grant from Parliament offered both financial help and a professional, national profile.

The campaign for such Government support began in December 1906 after the CHG was founded. The first Executive started the process by giving the appropriate information to Sir Melbourne Tait.⁹³ Unsuccessful at first, the CHG women did not give up lobbying.⁹⁴ On April 21, 1910, the Hon. Sydney Fisher wrote Alice Peck announcing a \$1000 grant:

I was able to secure this only on the representation that your work was not provincial but spread over the Dominion, and I was warned that it must not be held that this is the first of an annual vote. I am afraid that other similar Associations will ask for a vote, and, if they do, this will probably mean that we would have to drop the vote to the Guild.... I trust you will be able to

make good use of it, and to send in such a report of your work that will justify a renewal of the grant on future occasions.⁹⁵

Like Fisher, the CHG women were politically sensitive to their competition, and resolved to use the money to improve the national scope.⁹⁶ The CHG continued to receive an annual grant of \$1000 for several years. In December 1912, the CHG unsuccessfully attempted to have it increased to \$2000.⁹⁷ The \$1000 grant ceased during the First World War, was reinstated after the war, increased to \$2000, then discontinued. Following several years of strong achievement, for its 21st anniversary in 1927, the CHG campaigned for a \$10,000 grant to extend educational and outreach programs.⁹⁸ Although unsuccessful,⁹⁹ as true professionals, the CHG advanced as before with hard work and imagination on projects already conceptualized.

CHG Exhibitions: "Every Article By Hand"

The CHG's national strategy was to stimulate interest by exhibiting handicrafts broadly and initiating innovative prize competitions and educational exhibits. A 1915 CHG competition for Canadian-made toys to offset the preponderance of imported German-made toys¹⁰⁰ solicited handmade Noah's Arks, toy horses and carts, sleighs, kitchens, tops, boats and doll houses. The response was enthusiastic including by Lorette Indians who made dolls, and dolls' furniture such as miniature garden swings, copied from "civilized life".¹⁰¹ Widely advertised and supported by

donated prize money, the CHG offered prizes for the best handmade mechanical toys, and the best original toy made by a returned soldier.¹⁰² **[Fig. 32]**.

CHG women became experts in the unrecognized skill of organizing large public events with volunteers. Mounting a national exhibition annually involved extraordinary co-ordination drawing up prize lists, arranging for donors, soliciting goods, and negotiating space. Each year, specific arrangements would be made for the space in the AAM Gallery, depending on the availability of rooms and prominent people to officiate at the openings. Weeks before, prize lists were "advertised in numberless newspapers in every province"¹⁰³, and entry forms were sent to the potential exhibitors.¹⁰⁴

As craftwork came in, CHG volunteers worked in shifts to register the articles, recording on labels the name, province, article and CHG price.¹⁰⁵ The exhibition hall required tables for each class of craft, demonstration areas, borrowed showcases to lock up precious entries, and trestles with jute for hanging articles on walls. **[Fig. 33 to Fig. 36]**. CHG women supervised and judged the exhibit, and then dismantled and packed it up, returning unsold items by insured mail. Accounts were settled and finally, the books were prepared for audit.

The number of sale transactions, accounts and cheques made it imperative that all bookkeeping was conducted professionally. Money went directly to the exhibitors, with

a commission to the CHG to carry on its work. Such exhibitions both contributed to the economy and encouraged handicrafts. The size of these exhibitions is indicated by the CHG policy to prepare 2000 'for sale' labels, 500 loan exhibit labels, and 1000 Honourable Mention ribbons.¹⁰⁶

At the CHG's annual prize competition, each piece was individually identified by maker to develop the reputations of individual exhibitors. However, exhibitions of previously purchased stock sent out nationally or internationally served a different function. These exhibits often included museum quality crafts from the CHG Permanent Collection, an educational collection built up from their very best stock. Not for sale, these handicrafts would be labelled with information about the art form and its origins.

The Legacy: Establishing a Permanent Collection

The CHG preserved Canadian home art industries and handicrafts by assembling a significant Permanent Collection. The separate identity of the early Permanent Collection was not maintained because of its donations to other institutions. It is thus difficult to completely document this collection. However, CHG minutes and annual reports of both the CHG and AAM provide evidence of what was collected and how the idea of the collection evolved.

The earliest mention is in 1908. At Alice Peck's suggestion, the CHG created a fund for a Permanent Collection of certain irreplaceable and fine craft work in

stock at the time.¹⁰⁷ Intending to expand the handicraft repertoire, by 1909 the CHG had formed a nucleus of a museum as well as a reference library.¹⁰⁸

In the next five years purchases were made for the Permanent Collection from surplus funds. Throughout 1914, the CHG Technical Committee under Mrs. Helen L. Savage catalogued the articles in the Permanent Collection. By January 1915, the collection had 70 articles, including Arctic pieces from the "Christian Leder purchases".¹⁰⁹ A few months before, in November 1914, an exhibition of the CHG Permanent Collection was held at the AAM concurrently with the CHG Annual Prize Competition. At this time the collection still had a separate identity.

The original intent of the CHG's Permanent Collection was to provide excellent handicraft examples for the workers. With minimal storage space in CHG quarters, and with the encouragement of F. Cleveland Morgan, some of the CHG's collection came to be housed at the AAM in what was termed its industrial gallery and arts and crafts 'Museum'. For several years, the educational intentions of the AAM and CHG collections seemed to merge.

The AAM 'Museum' began when its Council decided in December 1916 to collect "good examples of iron work, objects of artistic merit, embroidery, textiles, glass, and in fact all objects tending to the education of the designer and the worker".¹¹⁰ This 1916 decision may have been

influenced by the CHG's annual exhibitions at the AAM, including the 1914 exhibition. However, a decade earlier architect Percy Nobbs had called for a permanent exhibit in the AAM gallery linking art and industry.¹¹¹

F. Cleveland Morgan became the first Chairman of the AAM 'Museum', a position he assumed at almost the same time as he served as the President of the CHG. It is surely no coincidence that at this time the CHG added to the AAM's art collection by officially making donations to the Museum.¹¹² In 1919 a tufted quilt over 100 years old, a Chieftain's ceremonial blanket and a blanket storage chest made by Indians of Southern Alberta were "presented" by the CHG to the AAM "to be placed in the museum being formed at the Art Gallery."¹¹³ These Canadian donations furthered the Art Gallery's sanction on handicrafts and Indian objects as art. When in 1922, the CHG donated non-Canadian decorative arts such as 15th century English stained glass, Gothic wood and iron work, and 18th century east Indian textiles,¹¹⁴ it was from the conviction that fine handwork was universal and relevant as a contemporary educational resource, a position reflected in their earliest loan exhibits.¹¹⁵

Although Morgan oversaw this collection process with the AAM Museum in mind, the CHG generously endorsed his choices. The following letter from Morgan to a New York dealer indicates the extent of the CHG's indulgence:

At a meeting of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild held yesterday afternoon, the Guild decided to purchase the

six (6) pieces of Textile which I picked out and which you still hold in New York as per your letter of April 22nd, nett (sic) price \$200. They also will take the piece which I took away with me #1396--nett (sic) \$60.¹¹⁶

Cleveland Morgan believed the AAM should have the same fine Canadian crafts that were so valued by the CHG. During his Presidency, the CHG gave the AAM Museum certain characteristic Canadian pieces such as ceintures fléchées from L'Assomption, a coverlet, and a hooked rug.¹¹⁷ As well, Morgan acquired from Mabel Molson¹¹⁸ an Indian basket collection, which was valued for being "native traditional design untouched by European influence",¹¹⁹ but was also viewed as art. The collecting of fine works of the past, including a disappearing Indian past, was not very different from other museum acquisition policies. More unusual was the inclusion of crafts as art in an art gallery.¹²⁰ **[Fig. 37].**

Just as academic art history has been reluctant to deal with contemporary art and what it regarded as ethnology, art galleries found contemporary crafts doubly difficult to fit into their concept of "art". In 1925 the CHG Permanent Collection purchases were contemporary: one quilt with double-faced weaving, two hooked rugs from P.E.I. and several Roumanian embroideries. Advised by Marius Barbeau in 1926, the CHG acquired a carved Chieftain's Staff, a painted Chest, and Haida slate trays,¹²¹ which were donated to the AAM, the last year the CHG made such donations.

In all cases, donations to the AAM carried the CHG's provisos that they were to be exhibited, made available to

students, and loaned to the CHG when required. Although the CHG purchases were gratefully acknowledged by the AAM as gifts,¹²² they were perhaps not intended to be such outright gifts. Some members, including Alice Peck, retained the notion of the integrity of the Permanent Collection, assuming its relocation was temporary. Peck wrote that the CHG's Permanent Collection was housed at the AAM and McCord "as we cannot yet afford a suitable place for it".¹²³

The AAM Museum area soon became inadequate to display its growing collection. When informed that the CHG's Permanent Collection was to be dispersed and housed in two different buildings, Mrs. Peck proposed a motion at a CHG executive meeting in June 1928:

That a list of all the said articles, stating values, be prepared, and that the buildings to which these articles have been removed be indicated, so that members of the Guild, or students may have complete information concerning them, and may easily refer to them when they so desire.¹²⁴

As it turned out, many articles purchased by the CHG during Cleveland Morgan's presidency remained with the AAM: today, 47 items which the CHG 'donated' between 1919 and 1926 appear as CHG gifts in the MMFA's acquisition files.¹²⁵ However, some 54 CHG donations, primarily Indian and Eskimo objects, were subsequently transferred from the AAM to the Ethnological Department at McGill.¹²⁶

Apparently then, in the late 1920's, a narrower view of what constituted art at the Art Gallery dictated what should stay in the AAM collection. The CHG loans were divided into

two categories: art and craft. The pieces that were contemporary, Indian, or made by new immigrants were deaccessioned from the AAM. They were repositioned as cultural history, rather than art, and deposited in the McCord Museum's historical collection.

Fortunately the CHG had continued to collect fine Canadian works of all cultures, both historical and contemporary, for educational purposes. Special pieces, such as a Quebec Catalogne Picture Mat with double-face weave, were bought in 1926. Despite the fact that articles from the CHG Permanent Collection were dispersed in 1928, the CHG continued its original intent of preserving fine specimens of craft as an educational resource.

In 1930, the CHG purchased over a dozen Canadian-made articles to form the nucleus of a renewed Permanent Collection.¹²⁷ This characteristic grouping of arts and crafts from the French Canadian, Indian and immigrant cultures of Canada reflected the CHG's inclusive nationalism.

The Permanent Collection was housed in the Peel Street building for many years.¹²⁸ By the late 1960's however, the responsibility became a tremendous worry because valuable objects stored in boxes were in a building which lacked the correct atmospheric conditions.¹²⁹ Consequently, after 1970, arrangements were made to devolve most of the CHG's Permanent Collection to institutions such as the McCord

Museum, the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), the University of Montreal, The National Museum of Man (now the CMC), and the Ontario Crafts Council.¹³⁰

Despite being unheralded for its collection of Canadian "art", the CHG's legacy of preservation has been partly recognized. Harold B. Burnham, Curator of the ROM Textile Department praised one facet, the textile crafts:

The pieces...should be preserved and treasured as part of the **cultural history** of the country, particularly of Quebec, where so little has actually survived. No agency in Quebec, government or otherwise except for the Guild, has made any effort to preserve a record of this aspect of the past, and I doubt if any will now. (Emphasis mine)¹³¹

Burnham clearly admires the CHG's astute collecting, but his remarks undervalue what the CHG women believed was an art form fundamental to the national aesthetic.

Although several Canadian museums have been enriched by accessions from the CHG,¹³² many pieces of the Permanent Collection have been repositioned as artifacts of cultural history, not as art. The exception is the Inuit art in stone and ivory which still remains at the Peel St. building in Montreal, as part of the Permanent Collection.¹³³

Through their strategies for support, entrepreneurship, professional practice, and collection legacy, these women positioned the CHG as the only national patron of Canadian handicrafts. In the following chapter, the CHG's inclusive nationalism will be examined in light of contemporary biases and official nationalisms in the early 20th century. It will

demonstrate how the CHG sensitively encouraged the art of the Other, leaving a unique heritage to the nation.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER THREE

1. CHG, Annual Report, 1911, 9.
2. D. Cherry has identified how women contested the male exclusivity of professionalism by their activities in such public organizations. [Cherry, Painting, 53]. Male membership and patronage were important to the CHG, but as CHG membership lists do not appear to be extant, it is difficult to know how many men were members.
3. Peck, Sketch, 8.
4. CHG Minutes, April 11, 1907, and March 20, 1908. [CHGA]. Mr. Forget and Mr. Chaffee are specifically thanked in connection with these favours.
5. CHG Minutes, March 21, 1907, [CHGA].
6. The Queen also ordered a dress length of "that lovely white homespun". CHG Minutes, July 22, 1907. [CHGA].
7. CHG, Annual Report, 1911, 7. The crafts included work by P. Beau, W.B. Bruce, T. Girard, R.N. Hudspeth, F.L. Hagar, C. LeBlanc, A. Squibbs, G. Taylor, W. Woodcock and W. Paterson. Alice Peck designed and wove the silk cover of the book; Mary Phillips painted the provincial wildflowers.
8. Gazette, Aug. 18, 1927. It focused on HRH's patronage of the CHG.
9. "The Prince is always most gracious in his acceptance of a gift" M.A. Peck to I.M. Abbott, Aug. 21, 1927. [C11 D2 100 1927, CHGA].
10. F. Haskell, Patrons and Painters (New York, 1963), 6. Haskell points out that patrons such as the Italian popes were highly competitive.
11. It declared that after "twenty years of constant effort", its record of selling and producing doubled in 1906, and would likely persist, because "the interest has increased proportionately". "Canadian Industries in the Home", Industrial Canada (March 1907), 645, 547.
12. I am thinking of the thousands of dollars paid to Quebec women, the encouragement of vegetable over aniline dyes, championing of embroideries by Doukhobor women, recovery of the ceinture fléchée stitch, fostering of Indian basketry, and the St. Louis Fair exhibit.
13. The WAAC offered its members participation in WAAC Handicraft Clubs employing instructresses for woodcarving, bookbinding, art jewelry and metal, and ceramics. The Head Association sent out exhibits to a network of WAAC branches. [WAAC Annual Report, 1910-11]. Even after resigning as WAAC President in 1913, M.E. Dignam remained as Convenor of all the WAAC Handicraft Clubs. [Thompson, Worthy, 128].
14. Canadian National Exhibition Association, Directors' Report, Proceedings of the Annual Report and Financial Statement, 1922, 1925.
15. Much earlier the WAAC had shown art in 1903 and from 1905 to 1911 at the CNE, though these exhibits may not have included many handicrafts. However, the WAAC did exhibit Crafts and Home Industries in the Applied Arts Building of the CNE in 1915. [Thompson, Worthy, 185-187]. Montreal sent exhibits in 1903, 1904 (WAAC) and 1910 (CHG). [Peck, Sketch, 17, 19].
16. V.S. Dickens to I.M. Abbott, May 30, 1927. [C11 D2 114 1927, CHGA].

17. V.S. Dickens to I.M. Abbott, May 30, 1927. [C11 D2 114 1927, CHGA].
18. I.M. Abbott to V.S. Dickens, June 2, 1927. [C11 D2 114 1927, CHGA].
19. V.S. Dickens to I.M. Abbott, Sept 12, 1927. [C11 D2 114 1927, CHGA].
20. It was a society working for "the encouragement, development and preservation of Handicrafts made by men and women throughout the Dominion". I.M. Abbott to L.M. Parsons, March 27, 1928. [C11 D2 124 CHGA]
21. I.M. Abbott to M.E. Dignam, May 17, 1928. [C11 D2 124 1928, CHGA].
22. I.M. Abbott to J. Bertram, August 17, 1928. [C11 D2 124 1928, CHGA].
23. J. Bertram to I. M. Abbott, August 20, 1928. [C11 D2 124 1928, CHGA].
24. Canadian National Exhibition Association, Annual Report, Golden Jubilee Year 1928, (Toronto, 1928), 38.
25. CHG, Annual Report, 1932, CHGA.
26. M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast", Canadian Geographical Journal Vol. IX, No. 4 (October 1934), 201-216. The picture is on p. 215.
27. The promise was made by the Hon. J.L. Perron, Quebec Minister of Agriculture, in opening the CHG's annual exhibition. [CHG, Annual Report 1929.] Mr. Perron's patronizing tone is evident: "A man will be placed in charge of this department, and he will go about the province and note its handicrafts products. He will form a plan whereby they will be increased in both quality and production." [Montreal Gazette, Oct. 21, 1929].
28. A. MacKay, "French Canadian Handicrafts", Canadian Geographical Journal Vol. VI, No. 1 (Jan. 1933), 27-34; and O. A. Bériau, "The Handicraft Renaissance in Quebec", Canadian Geographical Journal Vol. VII, No. 3 (Sept. 1933), 143-148. As Director-General of Quebec Handicrafts, Bériau made a passing reference to the CHG: "Fortunately, on the south shore of the lower St. Lawrence and in the county of Charlevoix, around Murray Bay and due to the efforts of Canada Steamship Lines, **the Canadian Handicrafts Guild**, the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Cercles des Fermières, the Ecoles Ménagères, the old traditions **lived on** and have **persisted** to this day." (Emphasis mine). Years after the CHG, the Quebec School of Handicrafts held its first exhibition in 1930.
29. I.M. Abbott to J. Bertram, August 21, 1928. [C11 D2 124, 1928, CHGA]. G. Bouchard contributed an article on Spinning to the CHG proposed book.
30. CHG, "General Powers", Act of Incorporation, 2-3.
31. This was probably the WAAC studio at 2461 St. Catherine St., between Drummond and Mountain, over Pratte's Music Store, [C11 D1 018, CHGA]. Its unsuitability and suspension are mentioned without elaboration in the Home Arts and Handicraft Committee Report, 1903. [C11 D1 020, CHGA].
32. "Our Handicraft Shop Bulletin for 'Workers'", ephemeral advertisement, printed for OHS by M.A. Peck, 1903. [C11 D1 020 1903, CHGA].
33. The property cost \$18,500, alterations were \$1500 and a mortgage of \$13,500 was made at 5 per cent. [C.F. Hibbert to Mrs. W.D. Lighthall, n.d. 1912, C11 D1 061, CHGA]. The house was inappropriate for the Shop, and needed repairs to the furnace. Although the CHG attempted to rent it out, by

May 1916 it stood empty. In Feb. 1917, it was finally sold for the \$13,500 mortgage price. [Interview with V.J. Watt, CHGA, July 20, 1993].

34. They remained from 1916 to 1933 in this same location which was renumbered by a 1928 municipal street number change to 1240 St. Catherine St. West.

35. "Guild Activities in Montreal Move to Peel St. House", Handicraft News Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1933. (1 page newsletter), [C6 D1 042 1933, CHGA]. The weaving school will be discussed in Chapter Four.

36. The price of \$85,000 was managed with a \$50,000 down payment, and a 20-year \$35,000 mortgage, [C16 D3 014 1949, CHGA] which was retired in 1969. The municipal street numbers changed so the numbers became 2025, 2027 and 2029 Peel St. Only in 1974 could they afford to occupy the entire 3 buildings. [Interview with V.J. Watt, CHGA, July 20, 1993]. Today the retail shop, Inuit gallery, Archives and offices occupy the joint building at 2025 Peel St. under the new name Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec.

37. For example, the figure given for 1911 was \$4161.84. [CHG, Annual Report, 1911, 34]. During World War I, when national CHG activities were curtailed, the Montreal Shop still did a strong business. The earnings paid to the workers went from below \$7000 in 1915, to more than double in 1916; doubling again by 1918, and more than triple by 1920 totalling over \$110,000. In times of plenty, such as 1920, the CHG put aside a reserve fund to be used, when necessary, in the future.

38. Alice Peck probably included in this figure all the exhibits and payments made since 1902, although initially done under the auspices of the WAAC Montreal Branch. Peck, Sketch, 11.

39. When the Group of Seven were highly lauded at the Wembley Exhibition in 1924, initial hostility at home dissipated and their reputation was enhanced. R. Sisler, Passionate Spirits, (Toronto, 1980), 108-110.

40. G. Eamon, "World Expositions and trade fairs", The Archivist Vol 20, No. 2 (1994), 9-11.

41. CHG, Annual Report, 1926, 9.

42. This entailed washing, blocking, cleaning or repairing the goods with some resultant loss from shrinkage and deterioration that had to be costed. Profit percentages sometimes had to be adjusted in order to keep the Shop in the black financially. CHG Minutes, March 21, 1907, CHGA.

43. I.M. Abbott to C.B. Waagen, Sept 3, 1927. [C11 D2 117 1927, CHGA].

44. CHG Minute Book I, Nov. 12, 1906.

45. In 1903 Lady Strathcona had initiated a capital fund for buying advance stock of handicrafts for the Shop. See Chapter Two.

46. The minutes record the amount of \$82.90 interest for the Strathcona Fund Loan. CHG Minutes, March 4, 1909, CHGA.

47. Sir Wilfred Grenfell (1865-1940), a medical missionary in Labrador and Newfoundland during the 1890's and early 1900's, established a headquarters at St. Anthony. His good works included a hospital, orphanage, nursing stations, and the first co-operatives in Newfoundland. In 1912, with the incorporation of the International Grenfell Association, Dr. Grenfell no longer was based in Newfoundland, but he devoted much of his time to

fundraising. T. McCartney-Filgate, "Grenfell, Sir Willied Thomason", The Canadian Encyclopedia, (Edmonton, 1985), 774.

48. It included pottery, weaving and woodworking. P. Lavery, "The Hooked Mats of the Grenfell Mission", Grenfell Mats, (New York, 1994), 5.

49. M.M. Phillips, "Address used on Afternoon Talks and on Western Trip", 1910, 4.

50. CHG Minutes, July 22, 1907. CHGA.

51. CHG Minutes, May 13, 1909, CHGA. By 1911, the CHG was a distributing centre for Grenfell Mission work. The Canadian Handicrafts Guild, 1911.

52. Peck, "Address", 1909, 6.

53. These three railways are credited. CHG, The Canadian Handicrafts Guild, 1911. [WAAC]. See D. Reid, "Our Own Country Canada", (Ottawa, 1979), for how this conformed to the corporate mandate of railways to foster nationalism, immigration and tourism.

54. Phillips secured influential letters of introduction such as from the Min. of Agriculture, the Hon. S. Fisher who wrote many letters including to Thomas A. Sharp, Supt. of the Experimental Farm in Agassiz, B.C., the Hon. Walter Scott, Premier of Saskatchewan, and the Lt. Gov. of Saskatchewan, Amédée E. Forget. To Forget, Fisher wrote on Aug. 29, 1910:

The Guild is composed of public-spirited, philanthropic people, who receive no reward for their public duties, and who have devoted time and considerable money.... Miss Phillips is well acquainted with it all and will personally explain it to you. [C11 D1 050 1910 CHGA]

55. Visits by other CHG women to the aboriginal and new immigrant communities will be discussed in Chapter Four.

56. Phillips, "Address", 1910, 2. In mentioning "patience with detail", Phillips is consciously conforming to a female stereotype.

57. Phillips, "Address", 1910, 6.

58. Phillips, "Address", 1910, 9.

59. McCarthy, Culture, 78.

60. Phillips, "Address", 1910, 10. A similar attitude was evident in E. W. Wood's 1945 New York speech at the National Arts Club. E.W. Wood, "Canadian Handicrafts", Canadian Art II, No. 5 (1945), 185-194, 207, 225.

61. Phillips, "Address", 1910, 10.

62. M.M. Phillips, "Report of Expenditure of Grant", December 1910. [C11 D1 051 1910, CHGA].

63. Because Phillips herself was unmarried, the strictures did not apply to her personally. However, the social attitude of the patriarchy enforced similar biases against all women. For the limitations on married women's rights, see Clio, Quebec, 252-255.

64. Peck, "Coast", 206.

65. CHG, Annual Report, 1911, 25-29.
66. CHG, Annual Report, 1912, 21.
67. CHG, Annual Report, 1912, 24.
68. CHG, Annual Report, 1911, 20-24.
69. CHG, Annual Report, 1911, 24.
70. M.A. Peck, "Trip to Cape Breton Island: Sept 1 to 13, 1927", (3-page typed manuscript) [Biography File, Mrs. James Peck, CHGA].
71. Agencies sold CHG approved handmade Canadian work under the CHG label.
72. CHG Annual Report, 1920.
73. In 1932, Eaton's new College St. store in Toronto provided a space for selling handicrafts. Run by Mrs. A. Mariott under a sign saying "Canadian Handicrafts Guild", it was not formally a CHG outlet until 1938 when the CHG's Ontario Branch was officially established. G. Crawford, "Guild Shop Marks Jubilee", Craft News Vol 17, No. 2 (April-May 1992), 1.
74. Financially independent, they were required to send the CHG their members list, publications, activities and financial statements. The CHG provided commissions, discounts, technical assistance, and annual reports.
75. MacKay, "Handicrafts", 33. and M.A. Peck, "Summary of Guild Activities", (1933) CHGA.
76. CHG, "Of Great Interest to Women's Institutes", C11 D2 076 1920, CHGA.
77. W. Morris was known for his criticism of aniline dyes and his desire to return to natural vegetable dyes. Parker, Subversive, 181.
78. CHG Minutes, March 18, 1909, and March 26, 1909. CHGA.
79. CHG, Annual Report, 1911, 8.
80. CHG Minutes, July 14, 1907.
81. M.M. Phillips, "Paper given at Mrs. Hebden's, March 13, 1917", 4.
82. Report by N. Hughes Charles, Sherbrooke, 1926. [C11 D2 96 1927, CHGA].
83. H.J.M. Stephenson, "Report on Sherbrooke Exhibition", 1927. CHG Honourable Mentions were "much prized and always lead to the winners sending work to the Annual Exhibition and Prize Competition". [Stephenson, "Report of the Ayers-Cliffe Stanstead County Fair" 1931. C11 D2 096 CHGA].
84. Clio, Quebec, 236-7.
85. CHG, Annual Report, 1925.
86. A few years later in 1930, the Quebec Ministry of Agriculture began a Provincial School of Handicrafts in Quebec City. Despite the expertise already developed in Canada, its initial staff was composed of primarily European and American teachers. Lefau, "Renaissance", 146-7.

87. Cherry, Painting, 9-10.

88. Noted in his review of M. Tippet's Making Culture, J.M. Bumstead, "Review", The Canadian Historical Review, Vol 72, No. 2 (June 1991), 264.

89. It was not until 1949-51, that the CHG had another woman President, L.H. Currie, under whom the CHG Brief was submitted to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Science in August 1949. See APPENDIX C for a list of National CHG Presidents.

90. F.C. Morgan (1881-1962) personally contributed many decorative art objects to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA) as its Curator. N. Morgan, F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, (Concordia M.A. Thesis, 1985).

91. Col. Wilfrid Bovey's official title was Director of Extra Mural Relations, McGill University. He published an article in 1939 which discussed the work of individual branches of the CHG. [W. Bovey, "Canadian Handicrafts", The Canadian Banker 46, No. 2 (Jan. 1939), 168-182].

92. From an old Senneville family, I. Abbott had exhibited paintings at the RCA in 1922 and 1923. [McMann, Royal Canadian Academy, 1981]. In 1929, Abbott left the CHG to marry Mr. Plummer from Toronto. In the 1950's, she worked again at the CHG until her death in 1955.

93. Dec. 8, 1906, CHG Minutes Book I. [CHGA].

94. The CHG delegation met with the Hon. S. Fisher, Minister of Agriculture in Ottawa on Dec. 27, 1907. Fisher promised support, and offered to place a CHG exhibit in the more prestigious Canadian section of the Franco-British Exhibition, allowing the CHG to withdraw from its space in the Women's Section (Jan. 13, 1908). [CHG Minutes, 1907-1908, CHGA].

95. In three letters of Jan. 6, Jan. 24, and Mar. 9, 1910, Fisher responded to Alice Peck's letters and information on CHG work. The letter announcing the grant was dated April 21, 1910. [C11 D1 049 1910, CHGA].

96. \$500 of the initial grant money was spent on new districts, specifically on outreach expenses of M.M. Phillips in the first CHG trip to western Canada in 1910. [CHG Com. Mtg, May 12, 1910. C11 D1 049, CHGA].

97. C.W. Lighthall to H.B. Ames, Dec. 5, 1912. [C11 D1 060 1912, CHGA].

98. The proposed budget for the \$10,000 grant broke down as follows:

Educational Committee-----	\$3000
Technical Committee-----	\$1500
Exhibition-----	\$1000
Press-----	\$500
Extension Committee-----	\$3000
Office Salary & running expenses-----	\$1000
Total-----	\$10,000

So as to not appear to be undercutting "legitimate" businesses by receiving subsidies, the CHG guaranteed that marketing and upkeep of the Shop would have no claim on the Government grant. I.M. Abbott to Mrs. C.B. Waagen, Sept. 3, 1927, 3. [C11 D2 117, 1927, CHGA].

99. CHG, Annual Report, 1928.

100. "No More Foreign Toys", Montreal Daily Telegraph, Jan. 11, 1915.

101. "Made in Canada Toys are Shown", Montreal Star, Nov 23, 1915.

102. CHG flyer, "Toy-Making", 1915. C11 D1 070 1915, CHGA.
103. Peck, "Sketch", 6.
104. This meant keeping an up-to-date mailing list. In 1923, it had 1500 names. "Report of Hon. Rec. Secty., C.L. Denne", [C11 D2 083 1923, CHGA].
105. In 1930, the CHG added 20% to the maker's price, as a commission used to help defray exhibition expenses and further educational projects.
106. "General Suggestions for the Running of an Exhibition", (5 typed pages). [C11 D2 170 1930, CHGA].
107. CHG Minutes, May 21, and July 8, 1908. By December, \$18 had been collected towards the Permanent Collection. CHG Minutes, Dec 7, 1908.
108. The Canadian Handicrafts Guild: What It Has Done, (pamphlet), 1917. [C11 D1 073 1917, CHGA].
109. CHG, Annual Report, 1914. In 1912, Mr. Leder, an Arctic explorer spoke at the AAM on "The People of the North Pole". [Montreal Star, Feb. 2, 1912, #159, Clipping File, MMFA Archives]. The Leder purchases illustrate the CHG's early interest in Eskimo work.
110. AAM, Annual Report, 1916, 6. [MMFA Archives]. From 1917 on, AAM Annual Reports include a Museum Report with lists of new donations, donors, and subscription lists. However the decorative arts and crafts that were in the 'Museum' were not listed in the AAM published catalogues of its Permanent Collection. [AAM, Catalogue of the Art Association of Montreal Permanent Collection, 1922, 1934. MMFA].
111. N. Morgan, Decorative, 10-11. The speech by Nobbs on November 23, 1905 to the AAM was widely reported on in the Montreal newspapers.
112. "Following my suggestion of last year, the Guild has made some valuable gifts to the Art Association Museum". "President's Address", CHG, Annual Report, 1919.
113. CHG, Annual Report, 1919.
114. CHG, Annual Report, 1922, 8.
115. In the 1900 exhibition, the loan collection included rare lace and embroideries, 15th century Flemish tapestry, antique ceramics, wood and metal work from Bombay, Judea, Switzerland and Norway. [C11 D1 014 CHGA].
116. F C. Morgan to H.K. Monif, May 1, 1923, in Morgan, Decorative, 88.
117. Morgan, Decorative, 13.
118. C.F. Morgan was able to indulge his taste for collecting largely because Miss M. Molson, (1879-1973) a generous philanthropist, faithfully supported him in building the AAM collection. Morgan, Decorative, 84.
119. Quoted from the 1919 Annual Report of the AAM, (p. 24) in Morgan, Decorative, 107. D.R. McCord coveted this collection for his ethnological museum, and wrote Morgan on Dec. 6, 1919, asking "is not this a departure somewhat foreign to the scope of an Art Association?" However, in 1928, the baskets were transferred to the McCord Museum. P. Miller et al, The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision, (Montreal, 1992), 111.

120. By the 1930's the Museum's broader mandate shifted it to become a decorative arts museum. Morgan, Decorative, 108.

121. "Permanent Collection Committee", CHG, Annual Report, 1926. [CHGA].

122. In AAM reports, Morgan referred to these as "gifts from the CHG" (1919). Other comments include: "the CHG still continues to co-operate with the Museum Committee" (1920); "The continued interest and support shown by the CHG is one of the bright spots in our existence" (1921); and "Thanks to the generosity of the CHG we were able to purchase..." (1923). [AAM, Annual Report, 1919-1927, MMFA Archives].

123. M.A. Peck to E. Montizambert, Dec. 19, 1927. [C11 D2 120 1927, CHGA].

124. This motion proposed by Alice Peck was annotated by Isabella Abbott, dating it as June 1928. [Permanent Collection File, 1928, CHGA].

125. These 47 articles remaining at the AAM (not transferred), were mostly international and historical. A separate listing shows 26 other articles originally purchased from the CHG (or its Quebec successor) but given by individuals. [MMFA provenance computer listing, Communication from E. Vanasse to E. McLeod, 15 March 1994].

126. This list of transfers to McGill (later to the McCord Museum) was published by the CHG as gifts from the CHG to McGill, thus confirming the CHG's belief in its own ownership. CHG, Annual Report, 1928, CHGA.

127. For \$250 the committee bought the following items: a slate totem pole from B.C., 3 carved wooden figures from Quebec, a cedar root basket from B.C., a birch bark basket, an Iroquois cradle board, a double-faced weaving coverlet, a Norwegian-Canadian woven wall-hanging, an appliqué quilt, Russian book ends from Alberta, rugs from P.E.I., and a Tsimshian cedar bark basket. "Report of the Permanent Collection Committee for 1930". (F.C. Morgan was still Convenor). CHG, Annual Report, 1930, 21.

128. It was not usually exhibited, although in May 1969, an exhibition from the Permanent Collection entitled "Industry in the Homes of the People" was mounted at La Maison Del Vecchio, Montreal, with a bilingual catalogue. See also Montreal Star, May 22, 1969. [C14 D3 419 1969, CHGA].

129. Interview with V.J. Watt, CHG Archivist, January 20, 1993.

130. Interview with V.J. Watt, CHG Archivist, January 20, 1993.

131. This letter made an offer to purchase 8 items for the ROM: 2 hooked rugs, 3 overshot coverlets from English Quebec, 1 checked woollen shawl ("one of three I know") 1 boutoné coverlet, late 19th century, and 1 jacquard coverlet, professionally woven. [H.B. Burnham to the CHG, March 9, 1971, CHGA]. H. Burnham was President of the National CHG from 1963-66.

132. These objects may have been donated outright, or purchased from its Shops, or purchased and donated from other benefactors, or devolved from the Collection after the deaccessioning in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's.

133. In 1980, an exhibition was mounted using this art. The catalogue's "Foreword" quotes W.E. Taylor Jr., Director of the National Museum of Man: "The range of pieces, the time span, the variety of media and topics increase the merit of this collection in which distinctive pieces abound". [Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec, The Permanent Collection: Inuit Arts and Crafts c. 1900-1900, (Montreal, 1980), 9].

CHAPTER FOUR

EMBRACING THE OTHER: INCLUSIVE NATIONALISM

Historical and racial, as well as individual characteristics, are preserved, while at the same time the endeavour is made to adapt skill to present demand, so ensuring better sale for the work produced.¹

This Chapter will discuss how the CHG women positioned themselves to develop the work of those they viewed as an exotic Other. It will also demonstrate that to preserve handicraft skills of Indians and immigrants, these progressive women moved beyond entrenched conventional biases. Their inclusive nationalism espoused collective pride in individual aesthetic traditions.

The CHG's respect for a pluralist multicultural² aesthetic will be contextualized against the narrower official nationalism. Canada's premier art institution, the National Gallery of Canada, advocated a form of modernism based primarily on the nationalistic wilderness landscape paintings of the Group of Seven. In contrast, the CHG's advocacy for the preservation of handicrafts was positioned outside mainstream modernist art, and exclusively as the preserve of women and other marginalized groups. The CHG policy of marketing multicultural handicrafts as commodities, often in tourist settings, further distanced them from the mainstream art world.³ Nevertheless, the CHG women were able, despite this marginalized positioning, to

negotiate a valued place for the handicrafts of the Other within Canadian culture.

Primitivism

Before examining how the CHG championed the arts of less powerful peoples, it will be helpful to define relevant concepts of 'primitive', the 'exotic' and the 'Other'. Late 19th century western culture was imbued with romantic ideas of 'primitivism'.⁴ The concept of the 'primitive' had its roots in western society's study of ethnology. The word 'primitive' was used to distinguish western, urban cultures from those that were considered less 'civilized'.

Nonetheless, the idea of the 'primitive' had a positive connotation for the founders of the CHG. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's idea of the 'noble savage', pastoral art and literature, and a utopian belief in peasant, folk and tribal life as pure, simple and good, led to the romantic assumption that direct artistic expression naturally flowed from 'primitive' cultures.⁵

Primitive cultures were regarded as interesting because they were different and 'exotic', a European concept coincident with its imperial colonization.⁶ The power relationship between western society and a primitive, exotic culture has recently been explored using the term, the 'Other'. Derived from postmodern theory, the Other describes the Eurocentric society's identification of a non-western society as different.⁷ Stereotypical ideas of the Other as

primitive and exotic are embedded in western culture. In Canada, the 'habitant', 'noble savage' and 'peasant' are such examples relevant to our discussion of the early history of the CHG.

The Montreal women⁸, whose privileged class and summer homes brought them in close proximity with the French Canadians and Indians of the lower St. Lawrence, viewed their home industries and handwork romantically, as authentic art forms of the 'habitant' and 'noble savage'. Coming from the city, they perceived the rural societies as an exotic Other. They admired the simple lifestyles that produced traditional 'primitive' arts. Using their social position and the power of the dominant culture, the women organized themselves to promote these handicrafts and to give both groups the incentive to continue this work.

The Montreal women felt they were in a position of ***noblesse oblige***: their social and economic advantages imposed a duty to be 'at service' to assist these groups to retain their own cultural skills. They believed that the strongest design and workmanship was being practised by rural people and Indians who were least affected by urban industry.⁹ Hoping to enlist the powerful national art potential in the Other, they realized, "it is to Indians and French Canadians where we must look for primitive and characteristic national work".¹⁰

Similarly, the Montreal women also encouraged the pre-

industrialization hand skills of non English-speaking immigrants from less developed parts of Europe. They valued the traditional 'peasant' handicrafts, believing that their exotic art forms would also be aesthetic assets to the country. The CHG's inclusive nationalism encompassed the arts of the Other, with the conviction that a stronger national identity would result.¹¹ As early as 1903, they united the three groups together:

Now is the time to prevent our home arts,--those brought to us by our immigrants, those appertaining to Lower Canada, and those distinctively aboriginal, --all already on the decline, from disappearing altogether.¹²

In 1906, the CHG Charter specifically referred to the handwork of new immigrants. Other organizations would later become interested in multicultural promotion, but the CHG's early encouragement of "any such crafts and industries possessed by new settlers" is evidence of their progressive position.¹³ The full extent of their promotion of immigrant handicrafts will be examined later in this chapter.

French Canadian rural arts

As an English-speaking institution in Quebec, the CHG was part of a ruling minority in a French Canadian society. But it was these Montreal women, holidaying on the lower St. Lawrence and seeing the gradual loss of hand skills among the village women, who first identified the need to revive and preserve these handicrafts. With a loom, Alice Peck and Mary Phillips travelled in a buggy along the shores of the

St. Lawrence teaching and persuading the French Canadian women to fix their looms and take up weaving again.¹⁴ The Quebec 'habitant' families, seen as humble workers whom the Montrealers could help and lead, became their first Other.

The Montreal women's concept of the 'habitant' as Other was based on class rather than language or culture. From inception, the participation of the French Canadian elite as influential powerbrokers and as committee members was an essential part of CHG strategy.¹⁵ (See Chapter Two).

Small local exhibits of 'habitant' crafts were arranged by these Montreal women in Métis Beach and Carcuna, two summer sites for wealthy anglophones. The commodification of the work in the lower St. Lawrence where picturesque villages abounded gave these arts an authenticity. This same entrepreneurial strategy was used for Indian arts, but the context was fraught with a greater romanticism of the Other.

Indian arts and Authenticity

Knowledge of Indian craftsmanship derived in part from the Montreal women's familiarity with the permanent collection at Chateau Ramezay in Montreal. (See Chapter Two). Here displays of Indian human remains, unearthed for viewing in cases as objects of historical curiosity, without the normal dignity accorded death, confirmed the perception of Indian as Other.

However, the sense of a disappearing historical past was interpreted differently by these Montreal women. As

early as 1902, members of the Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee designed a policy to recover the vanishing handicraft skills, by encouraging Indian women to learn from their elders. The CHG women used the designs and quality workmanship of Indian objects in museums and private collections as examples for contemporary workers to emulate. That they valued Indian objects as more interesting without European influence,¹⁶ clearly indicates belief in the concept of 'authenticity'.¹⁷

It is significant that in their aesthetic appreciation and aim to preserve the 'authentic' Indian arts, women such as Alice Peck predated Canadian ethnologist Marius Barbeau (1883-1969).¹⁸ As early as 1904, Alice Peck wrote an unpublished article on North American Indian moccasins from 11 main tribes east of the Rockies. **[Fig. 38]**. In 1905, she was corresponding with Indian women in Caughnawaga to collect and transcribe Indian songs,¹⁹ and Committee members were reading reports of the Archaeological Society of Toronto for information on Indians and their work.²⁰

Although Peck and others belonged to the dominant society, their conscious self-education began by reading journals, studying objects in museums, visiting Indian settlements, and maintaining contact with academic and government authorities. Their goal was also to educate Montrealers about Indian arts and crafts. Thus, in the 1902 exhibition, Alice Peck, Convenor of Indian work, provided

catalogue information on Indian arts, enumerated the "Tribes of Indian Peoples in Canada", and described mats, wampum belts, and procedures for dyes, clearly preferring 'authentic' materials.²¹

A more romanticized Indian past was brought to life by popular entertainer L.O. Armstrong's "Hiawatha" productions in which Indian actors wore full costume to portray the "Hiawatha" story.²² In January 1904, the Montreal women engaged Armstrong to do a smaller Montreal version for a benefit performance. Alongside their educational writings, it was a clever strategy designed to reach new people, raise money, and build a sympathetic audience, despite capitalizing on an ersatz 'authenticity'.

This was not the only instance of the Montreal women presenting Indian arts as 'authentic'. In 1903, 1904 and 1905, exhibits of Indian handwork were sent to Desbarats, Ontario to sell to tourists viewing Armstrong's "Hiawatha" tableau. In addition, during the Tetracentenary Celebrations in 1908²³ where a romanticized view of European's first encounters with Indians was re-enacted before a grandstand, **[Fig. 39]**, the CHG women took advantage of the staged 'authentic' atmosphere by selling contemporary arts and crafts at a souvenir booth on the Plains of Abraham.²⁴

In another fundraising entertainment venture, the CHG women organized their own Indian pageant in May 1913 at Arena Hall in Montreal. **[Fig. 40]**. Here they merged a

national fair with an exhibition where 'authentic' Indian handicrafts could be purchased. Despite the touristic formula, an attempt was made to maintain high standards. In solicitations for Indian participation, Cybel Lighthall specified no interest if the work "is not artistic nor real Indian".²⁵ Lighthall corresponded with Indian groups, travelled to the Caughnawaga Reserve and selected beadwork, basketry, cane chairs, snowshoes and lacrosse sticks for exhibition. The Entertainment program featured staged Indian ceremonies and a hunting scene. Although the catalogue credited the British American Film Manufacturing Co. for the Indian costumes and properties, thereby acknowledging the fiction of these tableaux,²⁶ the CHG realized the significance of simulation in lending 'authenticity' to the traditional craftwork.

By catering to tourist demand for 'authentic' Indian handicrafts, the CHG women, however unwittingly, helped to contribute to the commodification of the romanticized image of Indian life and the transformation of objects symbolizing the "pride of generations of utility and significance", into exotic, decorative commodities.²⁷ Such a transformation process was both an integral and double-edged component of the souvenir market. Tourist trade in Indian work produced willing buyers for the CHG quality arts and crafts, and stimulated an insidious demand for cheaper imitation souvenirs. For example, in 1921 a Montreal store "The

Wigwam" sold Indian-made goods and imitation items with Indian motifs in an inexpensive souvenir environment.²⁸

[Fig. 41]. In direct contrast, without appropriation or romanticism, the CHG continued to market Indian handicrafts as it did other Canadian handicrafts. A 1921 CHG advertisement **[Fig. 42]** featuring a photograph of a woman spinning, listed Indian basketry, bead work, leather work and embroidery in the same context as Canadian pottery, furniture, metal work, carvings, lace and embroidery.²⁹ Placed on an equal footing with other arts and handicrafts, the Indian work sold by the CHG not only provided a much needed income for Indian craftworkers, but also encouraged quality production of original objects.

Most importantly, the CHG women did not view Indian culture as dead, but aimed instead to revive the living traditions and make them profitable. This difference marks these women as early innovators and practical thinkers in the preservation of traditional Indian craft. By reviving Indian arts and crafts very early, they were one of the first groups to oppose the assimilation policies of the Department of Indian Affairs.³⁰ Their belief that the CHG could act to preserve Indian culture from a position outside it, would be considered naive and presumptuous today. Nonetheless, the CHG support of these arts enabled many Indian craft traditions to continue despite harsh Government-legislated prohibitions.³¹

Moreover, the CHG women were the first in Canada to place Indian work in a fine art setting, not on an extinct 'primitivism' pedestal, but as part of a contemporary, multicultural, Canadian art. The CHG pioneering role in placing Indian arts within the broad context of art in Canada was remarkable. Whereas the NGC and the Art Gallery of Toronto collected art with Indian imagery by Paul Kane and Cornelius Krieghoff, and ethnologists collected historical Indian objects, the CHG exhibited contemporary Indian arts as art in the AAM Art Gallery every year from 1905 to 1935. Only in the 1927 exhibition "Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern" did the NGC officially present Indian arts as powerful aesthetic objects. The Indian objects were borrowed from an ethnology museum, not from living artists, and thus were doubly alienated. Displayed as art, they were framed as salvaged from a dead culture, and appropriated as "Canadian" to bolster an undeveloped national art.³²

In contrast, CHG exhibits at the AAM positioned Canadian contemporary crafts, including Indian, as art. Shaping a national artistic identity with the living traditions of many cultures, they presented an inclusive national aesthetic, unifying high and low arts. Implicit in this strategic positioning was the conviction that women's and indigenous peoples' labour was art.

As noted in Chapter Three, CHG women travelled across

the country, using academic, clerical or governmental contacts in their outreach efforts to locate makers of Indian and ethnic handicrafts. In 1910 Mary Phillips obtained letters of introduction from the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa before going to see Indian Agents, Inspectors, Principals and Teachers of Indian Schools.³³ In 1912, CHG Shop manager Christine Steen, visited museum ethnologist Dr. Newcombe in Victoria, B.C., who suggested where to find the best recent Indian work. The CHG encouraged the making of traditional crafts, even by children.³⁴

In 1912, Amelia M. Paget of the CHG Ottawa Branch travelled to the Indian reserves in Saskatchewan, where she spoke to several Chiefs about the CHG's work, encouraged the women to make their traditional crafts, and visited Indian children in Roman Catholic Boarding Schools.³⁵ After Paget's report on the Qu'Appelle Industrial School at Lebret, the CHG persuaded the Department of Indian Affairs to employ a handicrafts teacher there.³⁶ This demonstrates another early instance of where the CHG women sought to retain traditional Indian skills by programs of contemporary education, rather than by the 'salvage paradigm' of ethnology collections.

Alice Lighthall's Commitment to Indian Arts

The examination of the CHG's activities regarding Indian work would be incomplete without introducing Alice Lighthall (1891-1991), its strongest proponent. **(Fig. 43).**

The daughter of CHG founding members William and Cybel Lighthall, she grew up in a progressive home where history, art, interest in Indian life, and voluntary service were taken for granted. Educated at private schools and McGill, as a young woman in Montreal she did Settlement work with new immigrants, and researched early French Montreal for the Westmount Historical Society. In the late 1920's, when Mary Phillips and Alice Peck, then in their 70's, were no longer as active, Alice Lighthall took up their mantle in a role which continued for 60 years. She had a passion for Indian arts, and pride in her family's longstanding relationship with many Indian tribes.³⁷ It was under her CHG leadership that more direct political action began. In 1933 she established the CHG Indian committee to work not only for the preservation of Indian arts and crafts, but for amendments to the Indian Act.³⁸

The 1924 and 1928 CHG Annual Exhibitions featured large loan collections of Indian objects.³⁹ Alice Lighthall convened the 1931 annual CHG Exhibition which included Western Indian and Eskimo articles from Government lenders as well.⁴⁰ These exhibitions served to educate the public to discriminate against 'fakes', which had become increasingly prevalent. In 1932, the CHG researched the "fast disappearing Indian crafts and the wholesale importation of copies".⁴¹ Reacting against the heavy competition from Japanese imports, the CHG lobbied the Government for tariff

protection, but with little success.⁴² Thus, in the spring of 1933, Alice Lighthall set up a new Committee of Indian Work, and decided that the 1933 CHG Exhibition would feature a special loan collection of representative Indian art from across Canada.⁴³

Under Alice Lighthall's bold leadership, the CHG must be given credit for acting virtually alone against the apathy of most Canadians, and assimilationist policies. Fearing younger generations would never be taught traditional Indian arts, and believing the situation demanded action, Lighthall's Committee requested the Minister of the Interior to provide traditional Indian craft instruction on the reserves. The Government responded cautiously telling the CHG to await Government improvements to the Indian Act before contacting Church authorities responsible for Indian education. When approached by the CHG, few Church authorities at the Mission schools realized "the wisdom of letting what is good in the indigenous traditions survive."⁴⁴ The political position of the CHG and Lighthall's Committee went beyond conventional thinking on Indian issues, showing them to be ahead of both Church and Government officials.

Despite setbacks, Lighthall and her committee acted positively and constructively in making a pictorial record of Indian material in Montreal museums to be used as a teaching tool. Similarly, Mary Phillips had earlier sketched

Indian objects in private collections and the Provincial Museum in Victoria, B.C. in 1910. [Fig. 44].⁴⁵ Thus Lighthall's Committee adapted the 'salvage' practices of ethnologists, using those collections as a means to study and pass their knowledge back to Indian communities.

Lighthall also played a key role in leading the CHG directly into the political arena. The realization that the majority in the 1935 Parliamentary debate on revisions to the Indian Act preferred early Indian assimilation, propelled Lighthall and the CHG into action,

when it was made very clear that the official attitude toward these people...was a desire to turn them into imitation Whites as soon as possible. The fact that they might have anything to contribute to our national life from their own culture, seemed to be overlooked by all but two of the speakers.⁴⁶

The CHG acted immediately to document the extent of Indian arts and craft production. In the summer of 1935, the CHG persuaded the Indian Affairs Department to require all Indian Agents to complete a questionnaire asking whether any traditional tribal craft work was being carried on. The questions covered production of snowshoes, moccasins, leather-work, quill-work, moose-hair embroidery, bead-work, basketry, fur-work, weaving, carving in wood, stone, bone, ivory, shell, wampum, metal-work and pottery. They also asked about instruction, quality and origin of design, natural dyes, the tanning of leather, and sources of supply. Finally, the potential role the CHG was addressed: "If there is little such traditional work being done at present, would

the finding of an outlet for it stimulate its revival?"⁴⁷

Responses were received in the autumn of 1935. Initial analysis of six types of work showed that although quantities were small, the traditional skills were still practised in Canada.⁴⁸ Indian Agents in districts such as Sydney, N.S.; The Pas, Manitoba; Onion Lake, Saskatchewan; Driftpile, Lesser Slave Lake, Alberta; and Port Alberni, B.C. confirmed the significance of a CHG marketing role in helping to retain and revive these skills.

If purchasing places for all such work were set up in certain zones...it would revive these handicrafts in a way very beneficial to the Indian, and keep alive their old-time occupations.⁴⁹

With the influx of imported Japanese fakes, and control of many Indian crafts by commercial traders⁵⁰, who may have rewarded quantity above quality, it was imperative for the CHG to continue educational programs for Indian communities and the public at large. In recognition of the need to stimulate demand to support fair prices, the CHG recommended the NCWC support local and new museums across Canada to highlight good Indian work.⁵¹

The key step of establishing a professional marketing network for Indian arts and craft, was unfortunately postponed due to insufficient monies during the Depression. Nonetheless, Alice Lighthall and her committee continued to save the small \$50 yearly grant to the CHG's Indian Committee from Indian Affairs Department as prize money for future competitions on Indian work.⁵² Thus, by late 1936,

the CHG was poised to use its organizational expertise and knowledge of Indian arts and crafts to develop a substantial national commercial network.

Political acumen, realism and farsightedness characterize the CHG's policies for Indian arts. Their astute use of popular entertainment to build interest, their steadfast exhibition of contemporary Indian work as art, their professional contacts in academic, government and business circles, all enlisted the support of male powers. The dedication of Alice Lighthall's Committee for practical education, commercial incentives and Indian welfare against assimilation negotiated a place for Indian arts within Canadian culture.

Forecasting Eskimo (Inuit)⁵³ Sponsorship

During the early 1940's, the building of the Alaska highway drew attention to the conditions in the North, where the CHG had for years had a nascent interest.⁵⁴ As seen in Chapter Three, the CHG purchased Arctic crafts following a talk at the AAM Art Gallery in 1912 by Arctic explorer, Christian Leder. In 1915, newspaper reports of the CHG toy exhibition mentioned that "Eskimo carvings of great beauty have come to the Guild and it is felt the art of these northern tribes ought not to be lost".⁵⁵ For many years, inaccessibility of workers prevented development of this early CHG interest. However, in 1930 at the McCord Museum, the CHG organized the first exhibition devoted solely to

Eskimo arts and crafts. It featured tiny ivory carvings and drew excited favourable comment from both the public and the media, including even the New York Times.⁵⁶ In retrospect, this exhibition can be viewed as a prelude to the CHG's active encouragement of Eskimo art after World War II.⁵⁷

Consumer education and commodification of all Canadian handicrafts had always been CHG priorities, complementing its mandate to provide instruction and quality control. The CHG women regarded the arts of all indigenous people very highly, although, in keeping with the times and their economic and class advantage, they related to them as the Other. The CHG record demonstrates a unique commitment to the indigenous people of Canada and their arts.⁵⁸

Supporting Ethnic Handicrafts

In an age of British imperialism, when three million immigrants came to settle in Canada between 1896-1914,⁵⁹ the CHG women's inclusive approach to nationalism through ethnic handicrafts was rare. Many well-placed Canadian men, as Imperialists, were decidedly hostile to continental European immigrants, fearing the future racial taint:

Out of all these we are to make a kind of mixed race in which is to be the political wisdom of the British, the chivalry of the French, the gall of the Galicians, the hungriness of the Hungarian and the dirtiness of the Doukobor.(sic)⁶⁰

"Nativist" sentiment was endorsed among women's groups as well.⁶¹ In Quebec, where leaders of both English and French communities wanted the provincial government to maintain the

dual ethnic and religious structure rather than accommodate a pluralistic society,⁶² the CHG acted as a responsible non-governmental agency welcoming diversity. Unlike political or corporate initiatives towards immigrants, the CHG had no ulterior motives of power or profit. The CHG sought recognition for the ethnic arts and artisans themselves, and welcomed these immigrant groups as cultural assets to Canada.⁶³

In their outreach trips to immigrant settlements, CHG women made strategic use of the Church, civil servants, and men within each community. Bruce Walker, Immigration Commissioner in Winnipeg, helped arrange Madeleine Bottomley's 1911 four-day visit to Doukhobor Settlements at Verigin, Manitoba, where she placed orders for furniture, spoons and vessels to sell in the CHG Montreal Shop.⁶⁴

The issue of 'authenticity', was as important in ethnic handicrafts as for Indian arts. Impressed with the Doukhobor work, Bottomley nevertheless risked her welcome by urging the women to replace cotton in their needlework foundations with home-made linen, and to stop using artificial dyes.

In 1912, Christine Steen's visit to the Ruthenian settlement at Mundare, Alberta lent CHG support to Father Crezanoffsky and the Sisters for the Church to encourage children's embroideries. Steen bought advance stock of linen and embroideries, and left orders for more.⁶⁵

Such visits reinforced the CHG strategy of incentives

to stimulate continued quality production. CHG communication with ethnic communities continued despite curtailments during World War I, and by 1921, the CHG was advertising a full complement of ethnic goods.⁶⁶

With increased immigration to Canada, the CHG women astutely developed a second overall strategy to engage and prepare for the arrival of new ethnic communities.⁶⁷ They educated themselves and the public about traditional crafts of immigrants. Beginning in 1926 the CHG initiated a public program with speakers from Foreign Consulates in Montreal lecturing on their national crafts. Illustrated with lantern slides and exhibits, the CHG's lecture series, co-sponsored with McGill University, also served as a promotional exercise to solicit new sponsors and broaden the handicraft market. In 1927 the CHG offered space in their annual AAM exhibition to any country "from which Canada draws immigrants". Arrangements were made for Consulates to contribute works to an "hors concours" (not for sale) loan exhibit⁶⁸ and to submit separately for the Prize Competition articles made in Canada. Just as they had done for Indian arts, CHG women consistently placed ethnic handicrafts in a high art setting.

Although the CHG women solicited ethnic handicrafts for the Shop from across the country, their most immediate influence was in Montreal. With the same sense of *noblesse oblige*, the CHG women organized classes to give immigrant

children in Montreal the chance to learn the needlework of their own backgrounds. In 1921, Mary Phillips headed the CHG Education Committee which developed the program, hired the teaching staff⁶⁹ and secured free premises for classes in local community centres such as the University Settlement, Syrian Mission School and Italian Presbyterian Mission School.⁷⁰ **[Fig. 45]**. Authentic designs were researched by CHG members, samples were borrowed, and information was sought on how similar work was conducted in American and European cities. Canadian homespun linen was supplied by the Shop as needed, but specialized materials difficult to procure in Montreal were imported by the CHG.

Pupils were taught a number of stitches, colour and design, but they were expected to develop an artistic sense and individual expression. Exceptional work from the classes was placed on exhibit at the CHG's annual prize exhibition. **[Fig. 46]**. The CHG women brought the pupils to the AAM Art Gallery to see the entire exhibition **[Fig. 47]** to reinforce how their traditional crafts belonged to a high art context. Extending this outreach, the committee also aimed to expand further by holding "small exhibitions of handicrafts in parts of the City more accessible to the working classes and foreigners, than the Art Gallery".⁷¹

The education program went on to attract such upper class sponsors as the women in the Samuel de Champlain Chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire

(IODE), and the Women's Art Society. The CHG also held an annual spring tea and sale in members' homes to sell pupils' work, a strategy to convert them into future handicraft workers. By 1927, the Educational Committee was spending \$2000 on needlework classes for Montreal children of Greek, Syrian, Roumanian, Italian, Russian, and Armenian communities, and an additional class in old English Embroidery as well. By 1929⁷², afternoon weekly classes were held at the Iverley Settlement, the Rectory of the Russian Orthodox Church, Ville Emard and Amherst School. When a Hungarian class was added in 1930, the number of children being taught reached 231,⁷³ confirming the CHG's success at taking advantage of the interest in ethnic handicrafts.

Integrated into the CHG's annual exhibitions, but decentralized to locally accessible sites, this program is evidence of how the CHG's educational agenda successfully worked both ways in the community. However, when the Depression adversely affected the CHG's finances, even additional fundraising teas could not cover the shortfall. In June 1936, this innovative program ended.⁷⁴

The CHG Weaving School

A further educational endeavour involved teaching adult women saleable handicrafts. Hand weaving, which incorporated both traditional French Canadian and continental European skills, was chosen as the first craft for a CHG school.⁷⁵ In 1932, the CHG contracted weaving expert, Mrs. C.S. Bang, a

Norwegian Canadian living in Montreal, and paid for her trip to Norway to research instruction techniques and to purchase looms, samples, patterns and other materials necessary to establish a weaving school.⁷⁶

With seven looms purchased in Norway and probably from Nilus Leclerc of L'Islet Station, P.Q., the CHG weaving school [Fig. 48] began in the fall of 1932.⁷⁸ Mrs. Bang taught a range of work including scarves and bags, baby blankets, luncheon sets, tweeds, curtains linings, embroidery weaving, tapestry and picture weaving.⁷⁹ The commercial marketing of CHG weaving had created a taste for such handwoven materials. By 1935, the Shop's weaving department operated at a profit, and to fill orders, Mrs. Bang was assisted by Karen Bulow [Fig. 49], a young woman later recognized as an expert Canadian weaver.⁸⁰

The CHG's idea of reviving traditional hand weaving and beginning a weaving school inspired similar ventures in Ontario, the Maritimes,⁸¹ and Quebec. In Quebec City, the new Director of Handicrafts, Oscar Bériau, began a Weaving School with provincial government funding. In Montreal, the CHG was disappointed that working class women were not their main clientele:

It is a fact that the School now for the larger part is frequented by socially well to do people, who take up weaving as a pastime and out of interest for the craft. However commendable this might be in itself **it is hardly in line with the spirit in which the School was started: to encourage the handicraft and thereby creating new sources of income;** hardly one out of five pupils will ever do any work for sale. The fees, although lower than is good for the economy of the School, keep the poorer class of people from

attending the courses.⁸² (Emphasis mine)

In the Depression, the tuition fee and the start-up costs of materials and a loom for a beginner weaver,⁸³ were too high for those whom the CHG hoped to teach in the city. Instead, the CHG's greater impact teaching traditional weaving came from its outreach in Eastern Canada. Taking a leadership role, the CHG coordinated local efforts and facilitated the establishment of new weaving schools at Canso, N.S. and Charlottetown, P.E.I.⁸⁴

Multicultural Folk Festivals

In the late 1920's, late Folk Festivals were instituted to promote and recognize the many ethnic communities in Canada. The first "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival" in Quebec City in May, 1927, was devoted to Quebec concert music, folksingers and visual arts. It did not, however, feature contemporary Quebec crafts or living craftworkers.⁸⁵ Alice Lighthall and Isabella Abbott visited the festival on the CHG's behalf.

When the CPR organizer John Murray Gibbon,⁸⁶ subsequently initiated a series of Folk Festivals, he delegated to the CHG responsibility for orchestrating a full handicrafts program at the Winnipeg festival in 1928.⁸⁷

The New Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival [Fig. 50] expanded beyond the earlier festival's focus on Quebec to include arts and crafts of all recent settlers in Canada. The new CHG Manitoba Branch led by Lady Nanton and a

committee of Winnipeg women⁸⁸ engaged the cooperation of the Manitoba Provincial Government, the Women's Institutes and the United Farm Women, to solicit work made in Canada by new Canadians. Prizes worth \$400 were awarded according to the CHG standards.⁸⁹

Such Festivals were public statements of inclusive nationalism.

The object in undertaking these festivals was not to provide pastimes for casual tourists, but to promote Canadian culture, education and citizenship, to preserve the invaluable treasures of racial music, folklore and handicraft, and to bring together in agreeable surroundings, for mutual benefits, both Canadians and outside visitors, who enjoy giving to holiday travel some artistic values and serious interests.⁹⁰

The CHG cited nationalism as a motivation for its handicraft promotion at the Festival.⁹¹ Intended to reinforce the value of immigration, to salute the new settlers, and to show younger immigrants their artistic heritage, these festivals also enabled the non-profit CHG to promote itself as national patron of New Canadians' handicrafts.

The End of an Era

In 1935, after more than 30 years mounting national Annual Exhibitions, the CHG found it impossible to hold an exhibition at the AAM.⁹² The Depression had drained energy from the national work of the CHG. Finances were extremely reduced. The low sales in the Montreal Shop convinced President Bovey it was wrong for the national headquarters to be so involved in commerce. Under Wilfrid Bovey's direction, the CHG parent body devolved to form a Quebec

Branch," which was to carry on CHG activities in the province of Quebec.

By abdicating the national role to exhibit Canadian handicrafts in a fine art setting, provide an annual prize competition, and support craftworkers economically, the CHG in 1936 altered priorities it had held since inception. For the national CHG, it was the end of an era.

Conclusion

Although Canadian artists worked in many other media, including crafts of all kinds, the primary national art supported by the National Gallery of Canada was rugged landscape painting by the Group of Seven.⁹⁴ Handicrafts were rarely presented as art.⁹⁵ Prior to 1936, only the CHG with its annual national exhibitions at the AAM Gallery in Montreal had consistently exhibited handicrafts in a prestigious high art setting.

CHG women actively sought women beyond their own peer group to revive and develop handicrafts. Although they capitalized on the exoticism of the Other, they also worked positively, through their educational, commercial and political activities, to prevent assimilation and the loss of handicraft skills. By negotiating a place for handicrafts as art, CHG women distinguished themselves from the conflation of nationalism, modernism, and fine art hierarchies in mainstream institutions, and forged a

Canadian artistic identity to which all cultures in Canada belong. Today, it is appropriate for these handicrafts to be brought into mainstream Canadian art along the model established by the Canadian Handicrafts Guild.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR

1. CHG, The Canadian Handicrafts Guild (pamphlet), 1911, 12. [WAAC].
2. The term "multicultural" refers to a pluralist mixture of several different ethnic or national groups, each with an identifiable culture.
3. See R.B. Phillips, "Fielding Culture: Dialogues Between Art History and Anthropology", Museum Anthropology Vol. 18, No. 1 (1994), 39-46.
4. Analyzed by art historian R. Goldwater in his seminal book, Primitivism in Modern Art (1938). In the revised edition (1966), he acknowledged, "that the art of the so-called primitive peoples is not itself 'primitive', i.e., neither technically crude nor aesthetically unsubtle." R. Goldwater, Primitivism in Modern Art (New York, 1966), xvii.
5. G. Perry, "Primitivism and the 'Modern'", Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century, (New Haven and London, 1993), 6.
6. Historian E. W. Said argues that the idea of the 'exotic' Orient in art and literature was a construction used to define the home culture of Europe. [E.W. Said, Orientalism, (New York, 1978)]. A similar construction pertained to Eurocentric attitudes to aboriginal cultures. 'Exoticism' was popularized by international World Fairs which displayed aboriginal peoples in fictional village settings. [See C.M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition Chicago 1893", Exhibiting Cultures (Wash., 1991), 344-365.]
7. There is a tendency to misrepresent the Other through imagery, myths, and fantasies. [Perry, "Primitivism", 5]. The perception of the Other as different also implies a notion of hierarchy. [V.R. Dominguez, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage Paradigm'", Discussions in Contemporary Culture, (Seattle, 1987), 131].
8. Until 1906, "Montreal women" means the women of the WAAC Montreal Branch. After the CHG is formed, I refer to them as "the CHG women".
9. This was an accepted premise of the time. See S.J. Bronner, "Object Lessons: The Work of Ethnological Museums and Collections", Consuming Visions, (Winterthur, 1989), 229.
10. Notice of the "Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts", Oct. 20 to Nov. 3, 1900, C11 D1 013 1900, CHGA.
11. However, in the case particularly of the Indian, this raises the issue of appropriation of another's culture for one's own, a sensitive question which illustrates the complex power differential wielded by the dominant culture in relation to the Other. See D. Doxtator, Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness (Brantford, 1988).
12. Peck and Phillips wrote it for the WAAC Montreal Branch. "Report of the WAA Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee", 1903. C11 D1 020 1903, CHGA.
13. CHG, Act of Incorporation and Constitution and By-laws of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild (incorporated 1906), 2. [CHGA]. CHG women courted new immigrant workers, often learning about the handicraft abilities of new settlers from Government officials. ["Suggestions re Forming Branches", C11 D1 048 1910, CHGA].
14. The Lachute Watchman, Nov. 11, 1943, 7. [Barbara Carter collection].

15. CHG Minutes, March 1, 1906, CHGA. Also, CHG prize lists were bilingual, as was information such as the book on vegetable dyes.
16. Alice Peck prefers it when "the designs are pure Indian" and claims objects showing "the influence of the white man" are "less interesting". Peck, "Coast", 203.
17. 'Authenticity' refers to the tendency of Western society, which assumed the disappearance of aboriginals, to document extinct people by collecting objects from the remote golden past, (which have no evidence of European influence). [See J. Clifford, The Predicament of Culture, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1988)]. The term 'salvage paradigm' has been used to describe ethnology collecting of authentic representatives of disappearing cultures. J. Clifford, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage Paradigm'", Discussions in Contemporary Culture, (Seattle, 1987), 121.
18. M. Barbeau's career in collecting Canadian ethnology began in 1911 under Edward Sapir (1884-1939), head of the Geological Survey of Canada, and continued with the National Museums of Canada. Barbeau also saw Indian work as art, but believed it was inevitably dying.
19. She collected musical scores, original words and translations. [CHGA].
20. Cybel Lighthall brought this Report to the attention of the Committee. [Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee Minutes, Nov. 2, 1905, CHGA].
21. She preferred sinew over thread, shells over traders' beads, and vegetable dyes over aniline dyes. ["Exhibition of Home Arts, Woman's Art Association, 1902", C11 D1 016 1902, CHGA]. This preference echoed the collection practice by ethnologists. Clifford, Predicament, 231.
22. I am indebted to Sherry Brydon for inviting me to see the 1903 silent filmed version of L.O. Armstrong production of Longfellow's poem "Hiawatha" shot near Desbarats, Ontario. [NAC 1982-0003] See also S. Brydon, Hiawatha Meets the Gitche Gumee Indians, Carleton M.A. Thesis, 1993.
23. The CHG unsuccessfully approached Frank Lascelles who was in charge of the "Historical Pageant", to sell in CHG goods for costumes. CHG Minutes, Feb. 27, and July 8, 1908.
24. CHG Minutes, Apr. 8, 1908, CHGA.
25. Mrs. W.D. Lighthall to Mrs. A. Montour, May 6, 1913. L.O. Armstrong translated some of her Indian correspondence. [C11 D1 063 1913, CHGA].
26. CHG, "Exhibition and Fair, Arena May 27th-31st 1913, Montreal", CHGA. Advertising was sold to support the event and pay for the catalogue.
27. G.R. McMaster, "Tenuous Lines of Descent: Indian Arts and Crafts of the Reservation Period", The Canadian Journal of Native Studies Vol. IX, No. 2, 1989, 207.
28. Both its logo of an Indian man with a headdress and its name illustrate cultural appropriation. "The Wigwam", (ad) A.T. Chapman, Sights and Shrines and Official Guide to Montreal, (Montreal, 1921), n.p.
29. In the same tourist book as "The Wigwam". Chapman, Sights, 1921), n.p.

30. McMaster, "Descent", 211. By 1949, other groups and individuals, besides the CHG and aboriginal representatives, expressed concern over the loss of Indian arts. The Massey Commission received 16 briefs and presentations on Indian arts and crafts. (p. 215).

31. The Canadian Government's deliberate program of assimilation began with an amendment to the Indian Act of 1884. After the banning of the potlatch ceremony and other rituals, one of the few permitted outlets for many Indian traditions became the souvenir market known as 'tourist art'. The commodification of Indian arts and crafts early in the 20th century preserved many skills. McMaster, "Descent", 208, 229. Also see R.B. Phillips, Trading Identities: Native American Souvenir Art from the North East 1700-1900, (Seattle, to be published).

32. D. Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond", Land Spirit Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada, (Ottawa, 1992), 24-25.

33. CHG Annual Files, C11 D1 050 CHGA.

34. At the remote Indian Mission at Lytton, eight hours from Vancouver, Steen congratulated Archdeacon and Mrs. Pugh for teaching children traditional basketweaving. Prize money was offered for the best crafts to be sent to the CHG in Montreal for judging. CHG, Annual Report 1912, 21-6.

35. Her father, W.J. MacLaren, an Indian Agent in James Bay who had distributed CHG literature in the north, may have taught her Cree. She spoke to Indian children in their own language. CHG, Annual Report, 1912.

36. McMaster, "Descent", 211.

37. "As my family, the Schuylers of Albany, have known these people ever since the White Man came to this continent, and as my father made a special study of their history, and did much writing on it..." [A.M.S. Lighthall to Hon. E. Fairclough, May 28, 1959, CGHA].

38. V.J. Watt, "In Retrospect, Alice M.S. Lighthall 1891-1991", Inuit Art Quarterly 6, No. 4, (Fall 1991), 46.

39. Among the lenders thanked were the Lighthalls, Mr. E. Stranger, Mrs. David Denne, the McCord Museum, and the Grenfell Mission. [Winnifred H. Keenan, "Report of the Exhibition Committee", CHG, Annual Report, 1924.]

40. They were sent by the Indian Affairs Department and the North West Territories Branch of the Interior Department.

41. A.T. Galt Durnford, "Work of the Educational and Technical Committee in 1933", CHG, Annual Report, 1933, CHGA.

42. McMaster, "Descent", 213.

43. The exhibit included a Micmac quill box, Lorette moose-hair embroidery, Iroquois masks and snowshoes, Ojibway baskets, beadwork from the Prairies, Haida baskets, masks, slate carvings and silver, and walrus ivory Esquimo (sic) animal carvings. On sale were Ojibway crafts from the Georgian Bay district, Swampy-Cree embroidery from Northern Manitoba and beadwork from the Rocky Mountains. [CHG, Annual Report 1933, CHGA].

44. A. Lighthall, "Notes on the CHG Indian and Eskimo Committee's Work for the Indians" (handwritten) n.d. (1955?), CHGA; and A. Lighthall, "Indian Work" CHG, Annual Report, 1935, CHGA.

45. Lighthall, "The Indian Committee", 1933; and MMP Red Box 1910, CHGA.

46. Lighthall, "Indian Work", CHG, Annual Report, 1935, CHGA.

47. Earlier enquiries had commonly been met with the response, "Where would we find markets?" The questionnaire is described in this annual report. Lighthall, "Indian Work", CHG Annual Report 1935, CHGA.

48. Moccasins reporting from 80 districts, and basketry from 77 districts were the two most commonly practised arts, followed by snowshoes reporting from 67 and beadwork from 68 districts. Taken with leatherwork from 48 and quillwork from 39 districts, it still implied a substantial reservoir of knowledge.

49. Lighthall, "Indian Work", CHG, Annual Report, 1935, CHGA.

50. Indian work was sold at Banff in stores such as Mackay and Dipple (1900-1935), and at "The Sign of the Goat" (1905-60). [McMaster, "Descent", 217]. Another early firm to trade in Indian handicrafts was C.N. Saba & Co. of Toronto. [T. Nicks, "Indian handicrafts: The Marketing of an Image", Rotunda Vol. 23, No. 1 (Summer 1990), 18].

51. Lighthall, "Indian", 1935, CHGA.

52. After World War II, in 1946-47 the CHG held a nation-wide Indian competition and exhibition at the AAM, soliciting work through the Indian Affairs Department, the Hudson's Bay Company, scholars, museums and teachers. Lighthall, "Notes", 1955, CHGA.

53. "Inuit" has replaced the earlier term "Eskimo", which will be retained in its contemporary context here.

54. In 1908, CHG members would have been aware of the popular ethnological exhibition at the American Museum of Natural History, "Arctic Life", on the northern explorations of Robert Peary. It featured Eskimo industries and handicrafts. [Bronner, "Object", 226-7].

55. The Telegraph, March 22, 1916. C11 D1 072 1916, CHGA. Pieces on loan to the exhibition undoubtedly included carvings brought back from the Arctic in 1913 by Alice Peck's son, Hugh. Several hundred items in Hugh Peck's collection from his 1913 Arctic trip were on loan to the McCord Museum for years. [Letter from R. Peck to E. McLeod, Oct. 28, 1993].

56. V.J. Watt, "The Beginning", 11. In March 1939, the Indian Committee changed its name to the Indian and Eskimo Committee.

57. The history of how the CHG, in 1948, sponsored James A. Houston to encourage Arctic craft production, and the eventual development of Inuit art, is outside the scope of this thesis. Some of this history has been documented: See Watt, "The Beginning", 11-15; V.J. Watt, "In Retrospect", in Inuit Art Quarterly 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990; see also D.C. Wight, "The Handicrafts Experiment, 1949-53", The First Passionate Collector: The Ian Lindsay Collection of Inuit Art, (Winnipeg, 1990), 45-92.

58. Only the CHG, the federal government and the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society played an essential role in the Indian art and craft movement. [McMaster, "Descent", 209]. The federal government stressed acculturation, and the B.C. society began later and was not national.

59. M.D. Behiels, Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985, (CHA, 1991), 4.

60. Stephen Leacock, "The Political Achievement of Robert Baldwin", in Addresses Delivered Before the Canadian Club of Ottawa, 1903-1909 (Ottawa, 1910) in C. Berger, The Sense of Power, (Toronto, 1970), 151.

61. Ethnic differences sometimes worked against female unity in the reform movements, and an Anglo-Saxon, Christian viewpoint sometimes identified immigrants as a "problem". Canadian Women, A History, (Toronto and Orlando, 1988), 192-3, 197.

62. Behiels, Pluralism, 5.

63. WAAC, Annual Report, 1900, 29. A Doukhobor Fund was initiated by the Montreal Branch to pre-purchase the work of Doukhobor women for the Shop.

64. She met with Peter Veregin, Jr. and Mr. Cazakoff, Manager of the Doukhobor Trading Society; various leading men in the community helped translate her message to the women. CHG, Annual Report, 1911, 27-9.

65. CHG, Annual Report 1912, 21-26. The visit to Mundare followed one by Mary Phillips in 1910.

66. Advertisement, Sights and Shrines, (Montreal, 1921) n.p. See [Fig. 42].

67. Approximately 1.2 million more people emigrated to Canada during the 1920's. [Behiels, Pluralism, 4.] To alert potential workers, in 1926, Alice Peck arranged for CHG pictures and information to be shown to new settlers on CPR ships coming to Canada. [CHG, Annual Report, 1926].

68. The Hungarian "hors concours" exhibit loan items came from the Sisters of Social Service in Buffalo. Isabella Abbott had to arrange with Customs to excuse the duty both in and out of Canada. [C11 D2 113 1927, CHGA].

69. Mrs. McIndoe, Mrs. Rose, Miss Marion Ferguson, Mrs. Eramian, Mrs. Pietrovsky and Mrs. Feber, Naomi Hughes-Charles and Mrs. C.A. O'Gorman were CHG teachers in this period. Mrs. Hughes Charles was supervisor until she became the Shop Manager in 1926, when Mrs. O'Gorman took over. [CHGA].

70. The program commenced with four different weekly classes: Jewish-Russian Greek, Syrian, and Italian. CHG Annual Report, 1922, 10.

71. M.M. Phillips, "Report of the Educational Committee for the Year Ending December 31, 1923", C11 D2 003 1923, CHGA.

72. After Mary Phillips retired in 1928, Beatrice Heriot headed the work of the Education Committee with classes that ran until 1936.

73. CHG, Annual Report, 1930. Two Italian classes taught 55 children; three Russian classes taught 90; one Greek class taught 12; one Hungarian class taught 36; and one English Canadian class taught 38 children. The total amount paid to the pupils during 1930 was \$158.95.

74. Mrs. B. Heriot to Mrs. C.A. O'Gorman, April 2, 1936, CHGA.

75. For years, Peck and Phillips had wanted to run a CHG school when it was financially possible. The CHG weaving school was hastened by the possibility of a competing school opening in Montreal. [N. Hughes-Charles, "Proposed School of Weaving", (3 pages), April 11, 1932, CHGA].

76. Except for wool, materials for weaving were not readily available in Canada. [Hughes-Charles, "Proposed", 2, CHGA].

77. Both sources were given out to a prospective weaving school in New Brunswick which needed to buy looms. [Mrs. L.C. Malcolm to Principal G.T. Trueman, Mount Allison University, Aug. 4, 1932. CHGA].

78. Held first in Mrs. Bang's home at 415 Victoria Ave., Westmount, on four mornings a week, in 1933, the school and looms were moved to the CHG's third floor at 2019 Peel St. Mrs. Bang's CHG contract included her teaching at the MacKay Institute for the Deaf three times a week also.

79. "The Weaving School Report by Mrs. C.S. Bang", 1933, (1 page), CHGA.

80. Mrs. L.C. Malcolm to B. Claxton, Nov. 16, 1932. At the 1933 CHG Annual Exhibition, Karen Bulow was photographed performing a weaving demonstration to advertise "The Canadian Handicrafts Guild School of Weaving". [CHGA]. Bulow is also cited in Wood, "Handicrafts", 192.

81. CHG correspondence with Principal G.T. Trueman of Mount Allison University, (Aug. 4, 1932), with Prof. T.R. Loudon of the University of Toronto, (April 6, 1934) and F. Maclure Solanders, Commissioner of the Saint John Board of Trade (Jan. 9, 1934), about the Weaving School, its equipment, and finances, confirm the interest in this project. CHGA.

82. "The Weaving School, Report by Mrs. C.S. Bang", 1933, CHGA.

83. The CHG classes were \$15 per month, and a loom cost approximately \$45. Mrs. L.C. Malcolm to Principal C.T. Trueman, Aug. 4, 1932.

84. To train new teachers in rural areas, the CHG arranged for several Sisters of St. Martha from Charlottetown and Canso to study country weaving methods from Madame Rioux with the Sisters of Jesus and Mary at Trois Pistoles, P.Q. [CHG memo, "Canadian Handicrafts Guild Adult Education Work", 1934, 3, CHGA].

85. The NGC exhibited paintings and sculptures depicting Quebec. Traditional religious wood carvings, including by Louis Jobin, were exhibited as well as Indian crafts and objects. National Museum of Canada, Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival Annotated General Program, May 20-22, 1927, n.p. Marius Barbeau Collection, CMC.

86. J.M. Gibbon (1875-1952) publicity agent for CPR in Canada from 1913-45, beginning in 1928 organized a series of folksong, dance and handicraft festivals in Quebec, Winnipeg, Regina, and Calgary. [J.M. Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, (Toronto, 1938), x.] From 1942-44, Gibbon served as CHG President.

87. The CPR funded the CHG participation to the amount of \$1,520.94. [CHG, Annual Report, 1928, 32-36].

88. CHG Manitoba Branch, The New Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival, Winnipeg June 19-23, 1928, 3.

89. CHG Manitoba Branch, Winnipeg, 32. Montreal CHG women may have been judges. (Alice Peck attended this Festival). At the 1930 Calgary Festival, where handicrafts were organized primarily by the Alberta CHG Branch, Mrs. Hughes-Charles and Mrs. Savage from Montreal looked after the judging for 10 different prizes. [N. Hughes-Charles, "Report Calgary Festival", 1930, C11 D2 174 1930, CHGA].

90. "Ambitious Plans for Extension of Folk Festivals", Montreal Gazette, Sept. 15, 1928.

91. CHG 'Foreword', The New Canadian Folk Song & Handicraft Festival, Winnipeg, June 19-23, 1928, 2, [NAC].

92. W. Bovey to H.B. Walker, Feb 19, 1935. This cancellation was not the result of the art museum's request. H.B. Walker replied that the AAM was "greatly interested in the welfare and progress of the Guild" whose exhibitions "have been of increasing interest to our members each year". H.B. Walker to W. Bovey, Feb 25, 1935, CHGA.

93. On March 30, 1936, the Quebec Branch acquired the cash, securities, office furniture, fixtures, looms, the stock and the business of the Shop, all at 2019 Peel St., and agreed to assume any CHG liabilities, provide office space, secretarial assistance, and access to its premises. [Indenture drawn up by Stairs, Dixon & Claxton, Montreal, "Agreement Between the CHG AND the Quebec Provincial Branch, CHG", March 30, 1936. C14 D1 006 1936, CHGA].

94. T. Fenton and K. Wilkin, Modern Painting in Canada (Edmonton, 1978), 34.

95. An exception was Emily Carr, whose pottery and rugs were included in the 1927 West Coast Art exhibit at the NGC. Her pottery and weaving were shown at the CNE's WAAC exhibit in 1933. Thompson, Worthy, 152, 154.

EPILOGUE

This thesis has attempted to reposition the CHG within the mainstream of Canadian art where the CHG women fought hard to negotiate a place for handicrafts. The CHG became the premier patron of Canadian handicrafts as art by annually holding a national exhibition in the Art Gallery of the Art Association of Montreal, by mounting numerous handicrafts exhibitions in Canada and abroad, and by employing professional standards of selection and education on a national basis.

The CHG was a patriotic enterprise which promoted handicrafts for their aesthetic, historical, cultural and patriotic potential to the country. The CHG women, realizing economic viability was essential to the survival of the handicrafts, created a national non-profit marketing system to earn income for the craftworkers. Their encouragement of the characteristic crafts from French Canadian, aboriginal, and immigrant cultures in Canada stands as a model of inclusive nationalism. That this female model was marginalized by mainstream national art institutions and Canadian art history texts remains a testament to earlier gender and race biases of art hierarchies.

The CHG legacy exists in the retention of many handicraft skills and traditions. The original Permanent Collection of excellent crafts exists in the collections of

other institutions as part of the Canadian heritage. The CHG conviction in the universal artistic value of fine craftwork from all ages and cultures is an additional legacy.

The Shop on Peel Street in Montreal continues to sell Canadian craftwork, under the name of "Guilde canadienne des métiers d'art Québec" (Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec). The exhibition gallery has a regular exhibition program, and the Permanent Collection in Inuit art is on permanent display.

The CHG archives is a rich resource of important material on many fronts. Much additional research could be undertaken in areas of Canadian art, social history, Native studies, and women's studies. More remains to be explored in the lives of Alice Peck and Mary Phillips, and the contributions of many other women in the CHG should be brought to light. Alice Lighthall, in particular, merits considerable further attention.

Of necessity, to limit the subject's parameters, this thesis has focused on Montreal. The histories of all the CHG branches across the country deserve documentation. The CHG influence in developing specific immigrant handicrafts, and in reviving certain Indian arts and crafts deserves further research. Profiles on individual craft artists are another rich avenue to be explored.

This study has dealt only with the early history of the CHG. The detailed examination of the CHG role in sponsoring Eskimo art in the Arctic is an obvious continuation of this

thesis research. While James Houston's story is known, the CHG's role in that exciting project awaits a definitive history.

The compilation of a list of the craft pieces that once were a part of the CHG Permanent Collection, or better still, an exhibition of the actual items, would further document the CHG women's foresight in preserving and retaining handicrafts as the aesthetic foundation of Canadian art.

In conclusion, this "feminist intervention" in Canadian art history has heralded women such as Alice Peck and Mary Phillips for their promotion of the 'minor arts' in Canada. They placed a fair economic value on women's labour, paved the way for an inclusive multicultural Canadian identity, and made handicrafts known as a Canadian art form. The true CHG legacy may well be the hundreds of craft artists and the richness of craft still practised in Canada, due in no small measure to the efforts of the women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild.

APPENDIX A

Chronology of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild

1887 Mary Ella Dignam founded the Women's Art Club in Toronto, and became its first President.

1890

The Women's Art Club changed its name to become the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC).

1892

The Montreal Women's Club was founded, which **Mary Phillips** joined. **Mary Phillips** became co-principal of Victoria School of Art with Harriette MacDonnell, at 2274 St. Catherine St., Montreal.

1893

National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) was founded by Lady Aberdeen with seven nationally affiliated societies including the WAAC. WAAC Branches were encouraged to form across Canada.

Mary Phillips opened the Montreal School of Art and Applied Design. By 1900 there were 75 pupils and 5 teachers.

1894

April. Twenty-one women met in **Mary Phillips'** studio to form nucleus of the WAAC Montreal Branch. Founding public meeting held at the YMCA on June 6, 1894 voted **Alice Peck** as the first President.

1896

WAAC Montreal Branch's Handicrafts and Home Arts Committee claimed crafts as a distinctive part of Canadian culture that should be preserved, encouraged and developed as a national asset.

1899

The art work of **Mary Phillips** illustrated a published children's book, Little Canadians, by Elizabeth Rollitt Burns.

1900

Mary Phillips worked with Mary Ella Dignam on the NCWC book on the Women of Canada for the Paris International Exhibition.

Oct. 20 to Nov. 3. Montreal "Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts", including a loan exhibition and the WAAC exhibit, was held in Colonial Galleries of Henry Morgan & Co.

1901

Alice Peck's "Scheme for the Promotion of Handicrafts" for the Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee, was printed by WAAC Montreal Branch. On May 21, **Mary Phillips** spoke on handicrafts at the NCWC meeting in London, Ont.

During the summer, WAAC Montreal Branch members encouraged craftwork in rural areas and arranged exhibitions and sales at end of season.

Mary Phillips had a solo art show in Montreal.

1902

Alice Peck represented WAAC at NCWC meeting in Toronto.

"All Canadian Handicraft" Exhibit by WAAC Montreal Branch held at the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) Art Gallery. Demonstration of making of the 'ceinture fléchée'. System of prize giving inaugurated. Impressive catalogue produced (ed. **Alice Peck**) describing Indian Tribes of Canada and objects such as wampum belt. This exhibit at the AAM Art Gallery began an annual practice carried on by the CHG until the 1930's.

WAAC Montreal Branch opened "Our Handicrafts Shop" (OHS) on Phillips Square with Miss Edith Watt in charge.

Other exhibits were sent to Cacouna; Métis; Sherbrooke Eastern Townships Exhibition; Tadoussac; PQ; the Toronto National Council; and London, Ont.

1903

Exhibits sent from OHS to Women's Institute, London, Eng; New Bond Street Society of Artists, London, Eng; Métis Beach; Gananoque; Toronto Fair; Toronto WAAC; Ottawa WAAC; Winnipeg WAAC; and Desbarats, Ont.

The shortlived Society of Arts and Crafts of Canada was founded. **Alice Peck** became a member.

June. James H. Peck died leaving **Alice Peck** a widow with seven children aged 10 to 23.

October. **Mary Phillips** departed for eight-month trip around world including visits to Western Canada, Japan, China, Australia, India, Middle East and Europe.

1904

Lady Strathcona Capital Fund established to finance advance stock purchasing for "Our Handicrafts Shop" (OHS).

Exhibits sent from OHS to Berlin, Germany; St. Louis World's Fair, USA; Halifax Fair; Sherbrooke Eastern Townships Exhibition; Brockville (Made in Canada Charity Fair); Desbarats; New Glasgow Fair; Peterborough Fair; Toronto Fair; Toronto WAAC; Arts and Crafts Society, Toronto; Winnipeg WAAC.

St. Louis World's Fair exhibit sponsored with a Federal Government grant of \$1200, of which Montreal received \$1000.

The Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee held Hiawatha Entertainment at the Windsor Hotel for fundraising.

Alice Peck represented WAAC Montreal Branch at the NCWC meeting in Winnipeg where she made a report and took an exhibit of handicrafts.

Alice Peck published article in The Argus Oct 22, 1904. **Alice Peck** wrote an article (unpublished) on Indian moccasins with photographs of 20 different varieties.

The Home Arts and Handicrafts Committee began management of the handicrafts of the newly arrived Doukhobor immigrants.

On December 20, the WAAC Montreal Branch voted to turn over the promotion of handicrafts to a "syndicate of responsible persons".

1905

The "syndicate" formed the **Canadian Handicrafts Guild (CHG)**. On January 11, the WAAC Montreal Branch accepted the offer and transferred the assets and liabilities as agreed to on December 20, 1904.

February 14-28. Exhibition of Canadian handicrafts at the AAM Art Gallery. Catalogue featuring Indian arts was edited by **Alice Peck**.

March 16. First public meeting of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild (CHG). **Mary Phillips** was elected President. **Alice Peck** was elected First Vice-President.

Other exhibits sent out from OHS were to Atlantic City, USA; Home Arts and Industrials, London, Eng; Royal Albert Hall, arranged by Lady Bruce, London, Eng; Halifax, NS; Cacouna, arranged by Lady Allan and Lady Drummond; North Hatley; and Sherbrooke Fair, PQ; Desbarats; Morrisburg; Ottawa, and Winchester Fair, Ont.

Educational exhibits were sent in Ontario to Bowmanville; Collingwood; Goderich; London; Prescott; Renfrew; also to Halifax, NS; and Paris, France.

OHS was relocated at 586 St. Catherine St. West. Shop Manager was Miss Ethel Holmes-Orr.

Alice Peck collected Indian folksongs. In 1927, she sent transcriptions of them to Murray Gibbon of CPR.

Official recognition of the CHG by the Royal Society and the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC).

1906

New Shop Manager was Miss Christine Steen.

May 17. Bill for Charter to incorporate the CHG was passed by Parliament. Powerful male sponsors included Lord Strathcona, Sir Melbourne M. Tait, Judge Sicotte, Sir George Drummond, Sir William Hingston.

CHG exhibits sent from OHS to London, Eng; Norwich, Conn. and Boston Arts and Crafts, USA; Halifax, NS; St. John, NB; Métis Beach; North Hatley; Richmond; Sherbrooke; St. Hyacinthe; St. Louis de Gonzague, PQ; Brantford; Chatham; Gananoque; Goderich; Huntingdon, Div. A & B; Niagara Falls; Prescott; Renfrew; St. Catharines; Winchester, Ont.

Five CHG Lectures were held under the auspices of the Natural History Society on "Furnishing and Decorating as applied to the House".

Death of Mary Anne (Johnstone) Phillips, the mother of **Mary Phillips**.

1907

January 12, CHG Constitution and By-laws (Charter) unanimously approved at first annual meeting.

March. Connection with Grenfell Mission in Labrador begins through Dr. Grenfell and Jessie Luther.

CHG exhibits sent to "Exhibition of Women's Work", Melbourne, Australia (valued at \$1122); "Irish International Exhibition" at Dublin, Ireland; Boston Arts and Crafts, USA; Harvey Institute Bazaar, Montreal; Lachute; Métis Beach; North Hatley; Sherbrooke Eastern Townships, PQ; Kingston, Ont; Society of Applied Arts, Toronto; Banff, Alta.

Edith Ryde reported to the CHG on Indian exploitation and low standard of craftwork in the North West Territories.

1908

CHG exhibits sent to the "Franco-British Exhibition" in London Eng; one arranged by the Marchioness of Donegall in London, Eng; Messrs. Waring and Gillow, London, Eng; Chester, NS; Tercentenary Exhibit in Quebec City; Lyric Hall, Montreal; North Hatley, PQ; Society of Applied Arts, Toronto, and Hamilton, Ont.

CHG completed commission to furnish four rooms at the home of Mr. and Mrs. G.W. Stephens.

Alice Peck proposed creating a fund for a CHG Permanent Collection.

Prominent patrons gave prize money for CHG competitions.

1909

Alice Peck became CHG President. **Alice Peck** delivered paper at International Council of Women for NCWC in June at the Art Association of Montreal which was published by NCWC.

Library and Museum Collection started by CHG.

Mary Phillips worked with Doukhobor women.

CHG exhibits sent to International Exhibition, White City, London, Eng; Boston Arts & Crafts, USA; Woodstock Inn, USA; Hamilton, Ont.

1910

Expert weaver from Canterbury demonstrated in the Shop.

First annual Government Grant of \$1000 given to CHG.

Mary Phillips made the first CHG trip to Western Canada, visiting fourteen centres from Victoria to North Bay.

CHG exhibits sent to Summerside, PEI; North Hatley, PQ;

1911

March. Katherine Campbell visited Maritime provinces for CHG with an exhibition, lecture and lantern slides at Pictou, Halifax, Moncton and St. John as well as at the PEI Seed Fair. As a result the Prince County Branch in PEI was organized.

CHG received a \$1500 Government Grant for sending exhibit to Festival of Empire Exhibition, Crystal Palace, London, Eng.

Other CHG exhibits sent to Halifax; Pictou, NS; St. John; Moncton, NB; Summerside, PEI; Quebec, PQ; North Bay; Ottawa; Toronto, Ont; Winnipeg, Man; Edmonton, Alta; and Vancouver.

Loom imported from England for Shop's artistic weaving.

Coronation Gift of Canadian handicrafts made for Queen Mary by members of the CHG.

CHG subscribed to Might Press Clipping Bureau to preserve records of CHG work. A set of lantern slides was made from photographs of CHG work and workers. CHG Pamphlet with photographs was printed to distribute.

July. Madeleine Bottomley visited the Manitoba Doukhobor Settlement at Veregin for the CHG.

Edmonton Branch was organized due to interest from **Mary Phillips'** 1910 trip; many selling agencies established.

With deaths of son Harry in June, and mother, Mary Anne (Gault) Skelton in November, **Alice Peck** resigned as President, though she remained on the Extension Committee.

1912

A.D. Durnford became first male CHG President.

CHG officially discontinued NCWC affiliation, though in practice CHG women sometimes assisted Local NCWC Council.

Branch in Vancouver organized during Christine Steen's visit to B.C. New Ottawa Branch opened an agency in the Chateau Laurier with CHG exhibition, sent exhibit to Lethbridge, Alta; Edmonton Branch sent exhibit to Calgary.

CHG exhibits sent to Rochester, NY; Chester; Digby; Halifax; Yarmouth NS; North Hatley, PQ; Coburg; Hamilton; Ottawa, Ont; Calgary, Alta; Glacier; Vancouver, BC.

Amelia Paget, whose father was Indian agent W.J. MacLean, travelled to Saskatchewan reservations for CHG.

CHG purchased property at 372 Mountain Street for headquarters. It proved to be a poor investment.

1913

CHG Exhibits sent to Digby; Halifax; Yarmouth, NS; Moncton, NB; Messrs. Holt Renfrew's, Montreal; North Hatley, PQ; Coburg; Toronto, Ont; Winnipeg, Man; Edmonton, Alta; and Vancouver, BC.

Montreal "Arena Exhibition and Fair" included entertainment by Indians of Caughnawaga.

Branch in Winnipeg organized.

Hugh Peck, son of **Alice Peck** visited Arctic and collected crafts, some of which are still in CHG's Permanent Collection.

A.R. Doble became CHG President, serving until 1917.

1914

CHG representative made fourth trip to Vancouver.

CHG exhibits sent to Summerside, PEI; St. Andrews, NB; Messrs. Holt Renfrew, Montreal; North Hatley, PQ; Winnipeg.

Weekly meetings of CHG's Technical Committee listed and catalogued CHG Permanent Collection.

CHG exhibited its Permanent Collection at the AAM in conjunction with its Annual Prize Exhibition.

1915

CHG Toy making competitions begun to combat huge influx of German-made toys sold in Canada.

CHG exhibits sent to Bermuda; Boston; Chicago; Summerside, PEI; Digby; Yarmouth, NS; Fredericton; St. Andrews, NB; Messrs. Holt Renfrew; "Made in Canada" Exhibition, Montreal; North Hatley, PQ; Buzzard's Bay, Hamilton, Ont; Winnipeg; Edmonton; Vancouver.

1916

CHG exhibit accompanied Federal Government "Wool Exhibit" on Canadian tour, visiting Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, Calgary, Edmonton, Brandon, Regina, Toronto, Chatham, Sherbrooke, Quebec, St. John, Charlottetown, and Halifax.

Eskimo carvings shown at the annual CHG Exhibition.

CHG Branch in Charlottetown formed.

Bilingual Circular issued explaining aims and objectives of CHG. Booklet on "Our Handicraft Shop" produced.

Brochure "Suggested Activities for Parish Committees Affiliated with CHG" distributed to Synod, without result.

Booklet on Home-Dyeing was compiled by Prince County, PEI Branch and translated into French by the CHG.

CHG rented larger premises on St. Catherine Street; the Mountain St. property was empty.

1917

F. Cleveland Morgan became CHG President.

CHG produced little pamphlet "The Canadian Handicrafts Guild: What it Has Done" (approx 4" x 6").

Alice Peck established "Undermount Industries" at her home for returned convalescent soldiers in basketry, weaving, carving and embroidery.

CHG sold property on Mountain St. at a large loss.

CHG exhibits sent to Lake Placid, NY; Digby; Yarmouth, NS; St. Andrews, NB; Charlottetown; Summerside, PEI; Cookshire; Cowansville; Dunham; Sawyerville; North Hatley, PQ; Alexandria; Glengarry; Maxville; Williamstown, Ont.

Agencies opened in Detroit, Philadelphia, and St. Augustine, Florida.

1918

Very little is known.

1919

Government Grant of \$2000, after having none during WWI. Specimen travelling case with craft exhibit including best kinds of work in weaving, matmaking, rugmaking, crocheting, embroidery, and tatting sent out to Women's Institutes throughout the country.

CHG Red ribbon "For Excellence" instituted for all excellent crafts even without prizes. Red ribbon crafts considered for CHG purchase.

CHG presented to AAM Museum three gifts: heritage tufted quilt (100 year old), Chieftain ceremonial blanket from Southern Alaska, and a storage chest for the blanket.

1920

Mrs. George Thompson became Shop Manager until 1925.

CHG produced a retail catalogue "Every Article Made By Hand", 4 pages, with photographs (8" x 11" approx.).

Three more travelling cases made up; in use until 1926.

1921

CHG Educational Classes begun by **Mary Phillips** to encourage traditional work of New Canadians. Children are taught by CHG in ethnic community centres in Montreal.

CHG began grant for AAM Art Gallery collection (until 1926).

1923

Fordney Tariff against Canadian woollens adversely affects CHG's agents in USA.

Educational Committee report by **Mary Phillips** expressed thanks for information and samples received from England, France, Italy, Boston, and Athens for ethnic handicraft classes for children. Enrolment 127.

CHG sent exhibits to the Toronto Fair and to the "British Empire Exhibition" in London, England.

1924

Isabella Abbott became Secretary-Treasurer and managed CHG office until Jan. 1929.

Special Exhibition of CHG gifts to AAM, as well as large loan collection of Indian crafts from 89 sources, held at same time as CHG Annual Exhibition and Prize Competition.

F.C. Morgan resigned as CHG President.

1925

No CHG President; however, Mrs. Cybel Lighthall as Vice-President effectively carried on with the able assistance of Secretary-Treasurer, Isabella Abbott.

CHG exhibits sent to the "British Empire Exhibition", Wembley, England, Herbert Symond's Parish House, Montreal, the "Great Eastern Exhibit", Sherbrooke and the Quebec Provincial Exhibit, Quebec City.

Toronto agency opened.

CHG speakers and exhibit were at the Canadian Handicrafts Day at the American Women's Club, Windsor Hotel, Montreal.

1926

Professor H. F. Armstrong became CHG President.

Mrs. Naomi Hughes Charles, formerly a CHG teacher, became Shop Manager.

First series of public lectures on handicrafts organized with Foreign Consulate speakers at McGill University featured crafts from Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Netherlands, Belgium and Italy. The speakers (in order) were Captain Seferovitch, Mme. Kveton, M. Mazurkiewicz, Mlle. Van de Vieger, M. Van Aken, and Signor Roncarelli.

Certificate of Honour and Medal from 1925 Wembley Exhibit awarded to CHG.

CHG budget for Educational Committee was over \$2600.

Madeleine Bottomley and Press Committee recommended a broader national policy for Guild publicity.

1927

CHG presented the gift of a hooked rug to the Prince of Wales, and actively lobbied Federal Government for \$10,000 grant (not received).

CHG held a second series of lectures with European Consulates on handicrafts. The speakers were Mme. A. Rauenhaimo (Finland), Rev. Frank Kovaks (Hungary) and Miss S. Solomon (Roumania), Mr. Bertil Renborg (Sweden), Alice Peck (CHG) and Prof. Emile Vaillancourt (French Canada).

Idea of having autonomous provincial branches explored.

Madeleine Bottomley travelled West for the CHG giving advice to the Branches and isolated workers. A new Vancouver Branch begun in December 1927, and Island Arts and Crafts Society, Victoria, B.C. became affiliated.

Alice Peck travelled to Cape Breton for CHG. Made report on Cape Breton Home Industries at Baddeck.

First Folk Song and Handicraft Festival held at Quebec City; CHG was not invited to contribute.

Women's Institute Exhibition in London England had poor representation of Canadian handicrafts. CHG requested the WI ask them directly to contribute next time.

CHG members contributed articles on handicrafts to a series in the Family Herald and Weekly Star, and to Macleans, and Canadian Home and Gardens.

CHG explored idea of publishing own book on Handicrafts (never published).

Survey made of therapeutic work done by various organizations in Montreal and some selected for exhibit by St. Anne's Military Hospital and Victorian Order of Nurses.

1928

CHG sponsored public lectures on handicrafts featured M. Georges Bouchard (Czecho-Slovakia) M. Henri de Clerval, (France), Dr. A.T. De Lury (Ireland) and Prof. Percy E. Nobbs (Great Britain).

February. Manitoba Branch formed at Winnipeg.

March. A CHG Book Committee was set up to coordinate articles and deal with the publisher, Dent & Sons.

April. Alberta Branch formed at Edmonton.

June. CHG in charge of organization of the handicrafts at the CPR "New Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival" at Winnipeg, for which Manitoba Branch undertook much of the organization. **Alice Peck** attended; OHS sent a CHG exhibit.

Alice Peck addressed the Women's Art Society in Montreal on the early history of the WAAC Montreal Branch and the CHG.

B.C. and Alberta Branches held handicraft exhibitions.

August. CHG contributed national craft exhibit to the NCWC exhibit at CNE, Toronto.

Alice Lighthall investigated original methods and design of hooked rugs for CHG rug industry.

The Annual CHG Exhibition at the AAM featured a loan exhibition of Indian quill embroidery, Haida baskets, and a Yukon canoe loaned by **Alice Peck**.

Mary Phillips resigned as Convenor of Education Committee due to ill health. Mrs. Heriot took over as Convenor.

Georges Bouchard represented the Canadian Handicrafts Guild at the Congrès des Arts Populaires in Prague.

Transfer of certain CHG donations to AAM Art Gallery collection to be given to the Ethnological Museum at McGill.

No money granted for the Permanent Collection this year.

In 1928 there were 10 agencies, 39 summer agencies.

1929

January. Mrs M.E. Duggan replaced Isabella Abbott as Secretary Treasurer, and later was replaced by Miss Doris K. Sharples.

March. CHG contributes to CPR Handicrafts Festival held in Regina.

July. Optimism over the CHG book, Crafts in Canada, fades as Dent & Sons request second school edition for juvenile audience, which requires substantive rewrites.

October. Saskatchewan Branch formed at Regina.

Alice Peck published booklet, "Sketch of the Activities of the Canadian Handicraft Guild and the Dawn of the Handicraft Movement in the Dominion".

Alice Peck paid for the CHG office rent.

CHG representative visiting Murray Bay reported on poor quality crafts in local shops, where the weaving was done with machine-carded and machine-spun wool.

Hon. J.L. Perron, Quebec Minister of Agriculture, opened CHG Annual Exhibition promising that a new provincial Handicraft department would cooperate with the CHG.

B.C. Branch of CHG exhibited with Arts and Crafts Exhibition from Victoria and Albert Museum. South Kensington Museum made purchases from CHG.

Thirteen CHG exhibitions arranged.

First CHG radio broadcast by Mr. Galt Durnford.

Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting requested submission from CHG.

1930

January. CHG President's speech at Annual Meeting was broadcast on radio for the first time.

March. Premier of Alberta paid tribute to the CHG at the Calgary CPR Festival.

November. Book Committee hired B.K. Sandwell as Editor.

When Miss Sharples left in the autumn, Mrs. L.C. Malcolm became the CHG Secretary-Treasurer.

Ten specimens of fine Canadian craftwork were added to CHG Permanent Collection.

Twelve CHG exhibitions arranged, including the first exhibition in Canada of "Eskimo Arts and Crafts" which was held at the McCord Museum, Montreal.

The Alberta Branch distributed 1000 pamphlets and sent out 150 letters to editors to disseminate correct information on the CHG.

1931

Wilfrid Bovey became CHG President.

Registration "Accession" Book begun for the Permanent Collection in which every specimen was described and numbered. Thirty-two specimens were added from CHG Exhibitions or Shop.

Provincial Government of Quebec opened a Department of Handicrafts.

July. CHG Book Editor B.K. Sandwell took virtual control of the Book, easing out the CHG.

Edmonton Branch devolved provincial responsibilities to newly formed "Alberta Committee".

Short talks on crafts were broadcast over the radio of the University of Alberta.

Lower sales in Shop due to Depression. CHG received greater mail needing sympathetic replies.

Six CHG exhibitions arranged, including the Annual Exhibition organized by Alice Lighthall who arranged to borrow Indian objects from Government Departments.

CHG presented 800 yards of homespun to various charitable institutions.

Total amount paid to craft workers was \$838,428.76.

Mary Phillips was awarded highest councillor by Red Cross for her work, and for founding the Junior Red Cross.

1932

Weaving School begun. Instructor Mrs. Bang was sent to Norway for brush-up teaching course, information and looms.

Sent exhibit from Permanent Collection to Handcrafts Association of Canada Incorporated for an opening exhibition in its Shop in Eaton's College Street, Toronto.

CHG exhibits sent to CNE Toronto, the Ogilvy's "Empire Exhibition", Montreal and a CPR window display in Ottawa during the Imperial Conference.

Manitoba Branch assisted Women's Institutes in reviving old crafts. This branch began collecting fine craftwork in anticipation of foundation of a Provincial Museum.

Six talks on crafts were broadcast over University of Alberta radio and from the Calgary Herald Station.

The B.C. Branch gave six lectures on handicrafts at the Vancouver Art Gallery.

Bargain Sale at CHG Montreal Shop to clear out old stock.
Permanent Collection acquired twenty specimens this year.

1933

The CHG moved to 2019 Peel Street.

Alice Lighthall began the Indian and Eskimo Committee.

A special loan exhibit of Indian arts was featured at the CHG Annual Exhibition at the AAM Art Gallery in Montreal.

PEI and Ottawa Valley Branches started.

February. Dent & Sons forced CHG to formally drop idea of publishing their book, Crafts in Canada.

CHG began newsletter, "Handicraft News".

1934

Alice Peck published "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast" in Canadian Geographical Journal IX, No. 4 (Oct 1934), which was made into booklet and sold by CHG for 25 cents.

CHG protested to Federal Government against the importation of Japanese imitation crafts.

CHG Branch in North Lanark, Ontario began.

1935

Alice Peck published "Caughnawaga" in the Canadian Geographical Journal X, No. 2 (Feb 1935).

Consultation with the Department of Indian Affairs and compilation of the CHG Questionnaire sent out to all Indian Agents. The results were published in the CHG Annual Report.

Reorganization of CHG planned.

Quebec Provincial Branch of the CHG formed.

"Athenia" Exhibition was held instead of CHG Annual Exhibition. First time there was no exhibit at the AAM.

Mary Phillips awarded the King's Jubilee Medal for her Red Cross work.

1936

Continued CHG publicity and groundwork carried out to encourage Indian arts.

Miss Helen I. Drummond became the CHG Secretary-Treasurer in Montreal.

Articles written by Alice Lighthall on Indian arts were published in Knitting and Homecrafts and Teacher's Magazine.

Quo Vadis? Questionnaire drawn up by Wilfrid Bovey sent to CHG members to do analysis of CHG future direction.

Photographs of Canadian handicrafts presented to Conway Library of the University of London, England.

CHG devolved its assets and liabilities to the Quebec Provincial Branch of CHG.

APPENDIX B

THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE CANADIAN HANDICRAFTS GUILD

6 ED. VII. cap. 75

(CANADA)

An Act to Incorporate the CANADIAN HANDICRAFTS GUILD

PREAMBLE

Whereas, the persons hereinafter mentioned have by their petition represented that they are desirous of being incorporated under the name of "THE CANADIAN HANDICRAFTS GUILD", as a benevolent association for the purposes of encouraging, retaining, reviving and developing Canadian handicrafts and home and art industries, providing markets for the same, facilitating and spreading habits of home industry and thrift, holding and taking part in exhibitions, providing any kind of instructions connected with the objects aforesaid, and carrying on all sorts of business operations necessary for the said operations, but without personal profit to the members of the Guild; and whereas, it is expedient to grant the prayer of the said petition; Therefore His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

INCORPORATION

1. The Right Honourable Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Their Lordships Chief Justice the Honourable Sir Melbourne Tait and the Honourable Louis Wilfred Sicotte, Judge of Sessions; the Honourable Sir George A. Drummond and Sir William Hingston, Senators; The Honourable Louis Olivier Taillon, King's Counsel, ex-Premier of Quebec; Honoré Beaugrand, gentleman, ex-Mayor of Montreal; William Douw Lighthall, advocate; Edward W.H. Phillips, notary; Charles Auguste Harwood, advocate; Mary M. Phillips, President of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild; Mary Muir and J. Mildred Robertson, Mary Cronyn Molson, Lady Tait, Mary E. Chaffee, Jean H. Woods, Cybel Wilkes Lighthall, Lena Armstrong, Mary [Alice] Peck, all of the City of Montreal, together with such other persons as may be hereafter associated with them as corporators, are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate under the name of "THE CANADIAN HANDICRAFTS GUILD", hereinafter called "The Guild".

OBJECTS

2. The objects of the Guild shall be:

- (1) To encourage, retain, revive and develop Canadian Handicrafts and Art Industries throughout the Dominion.
- (2) To prevent the loss, extinction and deterioration of the same.
- (3) To encourage and preserve any such crafts and industries possessed by new settlers.
- (4) To aid people skilled in any such crafts and industries, by providing markets for their products in Canada and abroad.
- (5) To encourage industry in the homes of the people by making it profitable and honourable.
- (6) To carry on and take part in exhibitions of home arts, industries and crafts.
- (7) To provide instruction in, and proper direction for, such arts, industries and crafts.
- (8) To educate the public to the value of such arts, industries and crafts, and of good hand work.
- (9) To keep records of the same, in order to prevent their extinction.

GENERAL POWERS

3. The Guild shall have power for the objects aforesaid:--

- (a) to buy and sell goods, wares and merchandise, and to engage in all kinds of commercial transactions incidental and necessary thereto, subject to the provisions of section 14 of this Act;
- (b) to take, hold, possess and acquire by purchase, exchange, donation, devise, bequest, endowment or otherwise, all such movable property or immovable property not exceeding twenty-five thousand dollars annual value, as may be required for the use of the Guild or for the purpose of procuring revenue, and the same to sell, mortgage, pledge, hypothecate or alienate in any manner whatever;
- (c) to borrow money;
- (d) to exhibit goods wherever desirable, to hold exhibitions and to open depots, stores and shops,
- (e) to appoint agents and instructors and to open schools and classes anywhere, for the instruction and concerning the objects aforesaid.

CORPORATORS

4. The corporators shall be composed of the persons mentioned in Section 1 of this Act and of the life members qualified as provided by this Act and of the patrons, life governors and members qualified as provided by the Constitution and By-laws of the Guild.

3 of/de 3

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

GENERAL COMMITTEE

5. The affairs of the Guild shall be managed by a general committee, which shall be elected annually by the corporators at the annual general meeting, in such a manner and with such power as may be decided from time to time by the Constitution and By-laws of the Guild.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

6. The general committee may appoint, out of its own membership, an executive committee to administer the business and affairs of the Guild until replaced by their successors.

OFFICERS

7. The general committee shall also have power to elect from among themselves a president, an honorary president, an honorary vice-president, and such vice-presidents, treasurers, secretaries, and other officers as they may think best.

POWERS OF GENERAL COMMITTEE

8. The general committee shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, have control and management of all the property, movable and immovable of the Guild, of every kind and description, and may, from time to time, make, repeal and amend by-laws, resolutions, rules and regulation for the following purposes, namely:

BY-LAWS

(1) The election of officers.

(2) The management, direction and good government and control of the Guild and of its property and operations of every kind and description, and of its departments, depots and branches, including all matters and things incidental thereto and necessary and expedient for the management, administration, use and improvement thereof; the establishment, direction and control of the buying, selling, shipping, banking, investing, storing, financial, travelling, lecturing, teaching, exhibiting, and educational matters and propaganda of every kind and description in connection therewith, including the appointment, dismissal and payment of all employees and instructors and all other agents of every kind; and finally to provide for, decide and regulate all matters and things falling within the power of the Guild, except such as are otherwise specially provided for in this Act.

(3) To fix and determine from time to time all matters and things concerning the constitution of and representation on the said general committee, and of the said executive committee:

Provided, that no addition to, repeal or amendment of the said by-laws, resolutions, rules and regulation dealing with the matters referred to in paragraph 3 of this section shall come into force until confirmed at a meeting of the Guild, especially called for the purpose, or at the next annual general meeting of the Guild, after due notice.

QUORUM OF GENERAL COMMITTEE

9. Seven members of the general committee shall form a quorum, which may be changed from time to time by the annual general meeting.

FIRST GENERAL COMMITTEE

10. The following persons shall be the first general committee and officers of the Guild, namely:

Honorary President, The Right Honourable Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal; Honorary Vice-President, The Honourable Sir Melbourne Tait; President Mary M. Phillips; Treasurer, Mary D. Muir; Secretaries, Mary Cronyn Molson and Cybel W. Lighthall, and Mary [Alice] Peck, Mary E.S. Chaffee, Jean H. Woods, William D. Lighthall, Edward W.H. Phillips, Lady Tait, Lena Armstrong and J. Mildred Robertson.

The said first general committee and officers shall have all the powers by this Act conferred on the general committee and officers, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed under the provisions of this Act.

LIFE MEMBERS

11. Any person who contributes to the general funds of the Guild the sum of fifty dollars, or a gift in kind equivalent thereto in the estimation of the general committee, or any person indicated in his stead by such contributor, may be elected by the general committee a life member of the corporation; but this amount of qualification may be increased by the general committee.

HEAD OFFICE, ANNUAL MEETING PROXIES

12. The head office of the Guild shall be at the City of Montreal, where the annual general meeting shall be held. Members not present may vote by proxy.

BRANCHES, ETC.

13. The Guild may establish branches wherever and whenever it may decide to do so, and may carry on its operations outside of the Dominion wherever it may seem advisable.

PERSONAL PROFITS BY MEMBERS FORBIDDEN

COMPENSATION FOR EXPENSE

14. The members of the Guild shall not make any personal profit out of its affairs; provided that the general committee may allow fair compensation and re-imbursement for any sums expended and expenses incurred on behalf of the Guild.

APPENDIX C

Presidents of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild National Guild

1906-1908	Miss Mary M. Phillips
1909-1911	Mrs. James H. Peck (Alice Peck)
1912-1913	A.D. Durnford
1913-1917	A.R. Doble
1917-1924	F. Cleveland Morgan
1924-1925	No President: Mrs. W.D. Lighthall as Vice-President
1926-1930	Prof. Henry F. Armstrong
1931-1935	Lt. Col. Wilfrid Bovey
1936-1939	E.A. Corbett
1940-1941	Georges Bouchard
1842-1944	J. Murray Gibbon
1945-1949	Dr. Donald Cameron
1949-1951	Mrs. George S. Currie
1952-1953	Dr. Bruce Chown
1954-1955	C.J.G. Molson - Acting Chairman
1955-1959	A.T. Galt Durnford
1960-1962	Ellis N. Roulston
1963-1966	Harold B. Burnham
1967-1968	Mrs. Otto Koerner
1958-1970	Herman Voaden
1970-1971	Wilson Mellen - Acting President
1971-1972	Patrick McG. Stoker
1972-1974	Gordon Barnes

APPENDIX D

24 ARTICLES FOR THE PROPOSED BOOK CRAFTS IN CANADA BY THE CANADIAN HANDICRAFTS GUILD

- Adney, Edwin Tappan. "Canoe Models". 1200 words. Photographs.
- Bang, C.S. "Norway". 1500 words.
- Barbeau, Marius. "West Coast Indian Art". 6000 words.
Photographs.
- Bottomley, Madeleine. "Canadian Handicrafts Guild". 5500 words.
- Bouchard, Georges. "The Spinner". 1800 words. Photograph.
- Clerval, Henri de. "Old French Crafts". 3600 words.
Photographs.
- De Lury, A.T. "Old Irish Crafts". 1800 words.
- Jenness, Diamond. "Eskimo Art". 2500 words. Photographs.
- Kevton, Mme. "Czechoslovakia". 1500 words.
- Kidman, John. "Preface". 800 words.
- Kovacs, Frank. "Hungary's Contribution". 2400 words.
- Leechman, Douglas. "Canadian Indian Art". 2500 words.
Photographs.
- Lindsay, Dorothy. "Art of Weaving". 3000 words. Photographs.
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**A CANADIAN
ART MOVEMENT**
The Story of the Group of Seven
BY F · B · HOUSSE

*Toronto : The Macmillan Company of Canada
Limited, at St. Martin's House · MCMXXVI*

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

WEDNESDAY NOV. 16, 1904.

WROUGHT IRON RANGE CO.
HOTEL ST. LOUIS MO.

Catherine MacIntyre	Almonte, Ontario.
Geo. Laimlock	Toronto Canada
Maggie Villardine & Laine	1704 S 11 St. St. Louis
J. H. & M. C. Roth - M.D.	Chicago Mich. formerly Madison Ind.
Clara A. Marsh	St. Charles Mo.
Rosemond Barrett	Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. David Murray	Washington D.C.
Mrs. Edith Miller	Syracuse N.Y.
Mr. Robert Miller	
Mrs. Editham Coulter	Spanish Lake, Mo.
Mrs. Edward Vincent	Kamellon Canada
Mrs. M. H. Kungickar	Wichita, Kan.
Mrs. E. Vincent	Wichita, Kan.
Miss G. M. Brown	Toronto Ontario
" Ella L. Thorne	Fredrickton, N. B.
Annie Lugenberg	St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. C. D. Phipps	Springfield Mo.
Blanche Carroll	Wichita, Kan.
Maurine Frantz	Okla. City Okla.
Mrs. John Rennie	Okla. City
Miss Florence Rennie	"

Fig. 5

THE SOCIETY OF ARTS AND CRAFTS OF CANADA

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

**Exhibition of Arts
and Handicrafts**

**Montreal Branch of the
Women's Art Association
of Canada**

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF
HER EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNMENT

**Art Galleries, Colonial
House, Phillips Square**

**From Oct. 22nd to
Nov. 3rd, 1900**

Woman's Art Association of Canada.

MONTREAL BRANCH.

Scheme for the Promotion of Home Arts and Handicrafts.

For some years the attention of the members of the **Woman's Art Association of Canada** has been directed toward reviving an interest in the **Arts and Handicrafts**. One result of Exhibitions held by them has been a realization of the great benefit that would accrue to the country in general, and to women in particular, through the cultivation of the **Home Arts**.

owing to many causes incident to modern life, the thoroughness and appropriateness of such work are deteriorating. This is, both artistically and commercially, a loss to the country. To prove this it needs only to point to the fact, that in other countries time and money are being devoted to the encouragement of skilled labour within the home, with the result that a new impetus has

Fig. 17

Address

WOMEN'S ART ASSOCIATION,

2458 ST. CATHERINE STREET,

MONTREAL

All Orders sent by Express C. O. D., unless otherwise indicated If ordered by mail, send Postage.

Quantity	Description of Goods	No. of Articles for Clearance	No. of Articles Paid Customs	Price	\$

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

**ACT OF INCORPORATION
and
CONSTITUTION and BY-LAWS**

of the

**CANADIAN
HANDICRAFTS
GUILD
(INCORPORATED)**

MONTREAL

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Our Handicrafts Shop

586 ST. CATHERINE STREET WEST

MANAGER, MISS C. A. STEEN

BASKETRY
BRAD WORK
LEATHER WORK
EMBROIDERIES
CATALOGUES
HOMESPUNS

PORTIÈRES
COUVREPIEDS
MOTOR RUGS
LINENS
TABLE COVERS
BLANKETS

TWEEDS
CEINTURES PLÉCHÉES
LACE
POTTERY
METAL WORK
FURNITURE, ETC.

The Handicrafts of

Indian French English Scotch Irish
Italian Doukhobor Scandinavian
and Syrian Canadians

THE CANADIAN HANDICRAFTS GUILD

"OUR HANDICRAFTS SHOP"

A CORNER OF ONE OF OUR WINDOWS

**598a ST. CATHERINE STREET WEST
MONTREAL**

Fig. 27

The Canadian Handicrafts Guild

**1240 St. Catherine Street West
Montreal**

The trail of our Pioneers is being slowly over-grown by modern life, but in preserving their handicrafts the Canadian Handicrafts Guild have endeavoured to combine the requirements of to-day with the charm and ingenuity of yesterday.

Make some craftsman's home the brighter by your purchase this Christmas.

Many suggestions are offered:—

Canadian Pottery	Scarves
Hand-wrought iron	Bags
Indian baskets	Pine cushions
Moose skin headed coats	Mittens
Carved slate totem poles	Blankets
Wood-carving	Spreads
Furniture	Tops

**Canadian Studio Series
Christmas Cards and Calendars**

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

The Activities of the
Canadian Handicrafts Guild
Cover the Length and
Breadth of the Dominion

The dotted locations on this map show the vast area being covered by the Guild as early as 1910, when workers were found in lower Quebec 600 miles from St. John's.

P.E.I., N.S. and N.B.	700	"	"
Mingan	500	"	"
St. Anthony	700	"	"
Muskoka	600	"	west of
Buchanan	2000	"	"
Ungava	1700	"	north of
Great Slave Lake			North West Territory

Fig. 30

Fig. 31

TOY-MAKING.

SECOND COMPETITION.

The PRIZE COMPETITION in TOY-MAKING held last December by the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, has clearly demonstrated that there are a large number of people who are fully capable of making toys. After carefully considering how best to develop a Canadian industry, the Guild has decided to call for more examples, and has laid down the following conditions.

A further Competition will be held, May 15th being the closing date.

The following Prizes will be offered.		
For best and most original toy made by a returned soldier.	\$10	
	First Prize	Second Prize
Best Mechanical toys	\$5	\$3
Most Original toys	\$5	\$3
Best made toy to sell at \$1.00 or under	\$5	\$3
Toys which have already been awarded a prize by the C. H. G. are ineligible for further prizes at this Competition.		

Besides awarding the above prizes, the following scheme will be carried through.

Every entry will be passed upon by a Committee of experts, and all toys which are considered suitable will be purchased for cash, and orders for more will be given to the contestants, for delivery in October.

All toys must be strictly hand-made, and the price must be made sufficiently attractive to make it a commercial proposition. Only in this way will it be possible to build up an industry, which is the aim the Guild has in view.

Every toy must bear a tag or label with the owner's name, and duplicate lists must accompany the entries, with prices duly marked.

Toys must be delivered to Room 33, Merchants Bank Bldg. corner St. Catherine West and University Streets, between May 8th and May 15th, addressed to the CANADIAN HANDICRAFTS GUILD.

All enquiries for further information must be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope, and all correspondence directed to the Secretary of the Guild, 366 St. Catherine St. West, Montreal.

Fig. 33

Fig. 34

Fig. 35

Fig. 36

Fig. 37

Fig. 38

Fig. 39

EXHIBITION AND FAIR
ARENA
MAY 27TH - 31ST 1913

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF
THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES
THE DUKE AND DUCHESS
OF CONNAUGHT :: :: ::

THE
CANADIAN
HANDICRAFTS
GUILD
MONTREAL

Fig. 40

THE STORE FOR VISITORS!

"The Wigwam"
LIMITED.

134 PEEL STREET
4th door North of the Windsor Hotel

Largest variety of Indian-made Moccasins Slippers in Montreal! Low Prices! Beautiful Indian Leather Goods! Indian Pillow-Cushions, Table Covers, Cloves and Handkerchief Cases, Tie Racks, Pipe Racks, Book Covers, Correspondence Pads, Leather Shopping Bags, Indian Dolls, Souvenir Spoons, Pins, Brooches, Views of Montreal, Post Cards, Souvenir Playing Cards, etc.

OPEN EVENINGS UNTIL 10 P.M. NO BRANCH STORE IN THE CITY
AVOID PAYING HIGH PRICES

IT WILL PAY YOU TO VISIT "THE WIGWAM"
Branch on Mount Royal Park

Fig. 41

ADVERTISEMENTS

The Canadian Handicrafts Guild

396a ST. CATHERINE STREET WEST

Between Drummond and Mountain Sts.; three minutes from Windsor Hotel

HEADQUARTERS FOR HOMESPUNS

*French Canadian Catalogues, Linens, Couvrepieds, Rugs, Table
Covers, Blankets, Portières, Chairs, Ceintures Flechées*

Indian
BASKETRY
HEAD WORK
LEATHER WORK
EMBROIDERY

**DORNBORON
AND RUTHENIAN
EMBROIDERY**

Canadian
POTTERY
FURNITURE
METAL WORK
CARVINGS

English, Irish and Italian Lace

Fig. 42

Fig. 43

Thurs. Dec. 10 1910

There with very fine long needles & beads are string
across, probably woven in. Piece in making
was on the loom. Must ask for photo.

Ojibway Loom for Beadwork.
from Mr. Pitkin's collection Kuma. Dec. 10. 1910

Fig. 44

Fig. 45

Fig. 46

Fig. 47

Fig. 48

Fig. 49

The New Canadian

Folk-Song and Handicraft Festival

WINNIPEG, JUNE 19th TO 23rd, 1928

Illustrating the wealth of Art and Music brought to Canada by recent settlers from Europe. Fifteen racial groups in picturesque costumes, songs and dances. A Pageant of Charm and Beauty. Exhibits of Made-in-Canada Handicrafts organized by the Canadian Handicrafts Guild with craftsmen and craftswomen at work, in the Royal Alexandra Hotel.

 

[illegible]

Fig. 50

END

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FIN