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OTHER IMAGES OF WAR: CANADIAN WOMEN
WAR ARTISTS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS

by

Terresa McIntosh, Institute of
Canadian Studies

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

Carleton University
OTTAWA, ONTARIO
December 4, 1990
Terresa McIntosh

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"Other Images of War: Canadian Women War
Artists of the First and Second World Wars"

submitted by Terresa McIntosh, Hons. B.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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January 1991

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with establishing a more complete and balanced picture of Canada's war art legacy by determining the extent of Canada's female artists' involvement and presentation of their vision of the wars. Throughout the First and Second World Wars Canadian artists of both gender contributed significantly towards creating a permanent Canadian war art collection; however, many of the female artists who participated and much of their interpretation of the wars have gone unrecognized to this day. This study is an attempt to correct this situation. In doing so, it is felt that a better understanding will be gained about Canadian art in general and more specifically about the art produced by female artists.

In treating the subject identified above, specific experiences of female artists during both World Wars will be addressed. Particular attention will be devoted to examining both their official and unofficial war records. Conceived more as an introduction rather than a definitive study about female artists and the war, it is hoped this study will generate additional work on a subject that richly deserves further consideration.

Acknowledgements

The thesis presented here would not have been possible had it not been for the assistance and co-operation that I received from several individuals. I am indebted to Molly Lamb Bobak, Alma Duncan and Elizabeth Harrison for taking the time to discuss and view their war art with me. As well, I am grateful to Hugh Halliday and Rikki Cameron of the Canadian War Museum and Elaine Phillips, formerly of the National Gallery of Canada, for the valuable assistance they gave to me during the course of my study. However, I would especially like to thank Jim Burant of the National Archives of Canada and my thesis supervisor, Natalie Luckyj, for all of the invaluable advice and encouragement that they offered me.

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Introduction

Over the past decade, Canadians have seen a re-kindling of interest in the national experience of the First and Second World Wars, and more specifically in the artistic legacy of these two conflicts. This interest has manifested itself in a variety of forms, including books, exhibitions, films and documentaries. To cite but a few examples, in 1984 Maria Tippet published Art at the Service of War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), a study of the Canadian War Memorials Fund, the war art program during the First World War. Prior to this, Joan Murray's 1981 exhibition and catalogue Canadian Artists of the Second World War (Oshawa: The Robert McLaughlin Gallery, 1981) examined the country's war art of the Second World War. A number of documentary films such as The Sweetest Spring have made use of the works of such war artists as Alex Colville to help understand the experience of Canada at war. While each of these studies have contributed enormously to our knowledge and understanding of Canadian war art, only part of the story has actually been related. There is no study which has specifically dealt with the contributions female artists made

to the creation of our country's legacy of war-inspired art. The one exception to this has been the exhibition and accompanying catalogue entitled No Man's Land (Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1989), organized by Angela Davis and Sarah McKinnon in 1989, which focused upon the war paintings of Mary Riter Hamilton.

In an effort to address this incomplete and somewhat misleading picture about Canadian war art, this thesis will attempt to determine whether there were many female artists involved in Canada's war art programs and who they were. If there were specific women who produced war records, how were they selected, and under what conditions did they work? This study will also seek to demonstrate how such artists portrayed the two conflicts through their art and the variety of the work they produced.

During both World Wars, Canada operated official war art programs with an aim at documenting participation on the home front and abroad. Under the two programs, the Canadian War Memorials Fund (WWI) and the Canadian War Records program (WWII), artists were officially employed in various ways to create war art. As part of this study the effects that those programs had upon female artists and their work during the war will need to be ascertained. An attempt will also be

made to determine if any other avenues were open or were taken by women to document these conflicts. Finally, the obstacles and restrictions which such women faced while striving to interpret the war will be considered as well.

For the purpose of this thesis the experience of both World Wars will be considered in more or less equal parts, and both official and unofficial war art records created by women will be dealt with. It must also be stated at the outset of this thesis that the complexity and size of the topic and the amount of information which has been uncovered has resulted in the opening of many avenues of further research which still await analysis. This study cannot hope to answer all of the questions which can be asked about the war art experience of Canadian female artists. Therefore, no attempt will be made, beyond a cursory one, to compare war art created by women artists in the First World War with that created during the Second World War, nor will an attempt be made to analyze the art work on the basis of its art historical merits beyond comparing it in some cases with what was produced by male colleagues at the same time. These are areas better left to future studies and analysis. The primary purpose of this thesis is to explore and to present a more balanced picture of Canada's legacy of art created during the two World Wars than what currently exists, by demonstrating

both that female artists also contributed a substantial legacy towards that collective record, and that their contribution must be acknowledged.

Chapter I: Female Artists and the Canadian War Memorials

Fund: Framework, Process and Restrictions

During the First World War several Canadian female artists demonstrated their desire to participate in the depiction of events relating to the war effort. Not surprisingly, some were more successful than others in achieving that goal; however, all contributed something towards the interesting and, until now, largely untold story of war art created by Canadian women. In the telling of their story certain key issues surface and these will be addressed in this chapter. The first is the role the Canadian War Memorials Fund (CWMF) played in determining which female artists were officially commissioned. The second issue concerns the influence of officials in the CWMF in what and how war artists went about documenting the war. A third issue centers around women's reactions to the parameters established by the War Memorials program. Questions arise, for example, about how women artists within the CWMF program were able to incorporate their own ideas and style and how an official distinction was made between home front and battlefield as suitable female subjects. However, no

discussion about the contributions female artists made to the creation of art commemorating Canada's war effort is advisable without first understanding something of the history of the CWMF program.

Canada's participation in the First World War began on August 4, 1914. From that day until the war's conclusion in 1918 Canada contributed large quantities of manpower and supplies towards the war effort. Thanks largely to the initiative and energy of one person, Sir Max Aitken or Lord Beaverbrook as he would become in 1917, the 'great deeds and sacrifices' Canadians were making during that time were pictorially recorded for posterity.(1) Aitken was a wealthy Canadian who had moved to England prior to the war, but throughout the war years he worked hard for the benefit of his native country. He was particularly instrumental in the creation of the Canadian War Records Office. This office, although not officially established by the Canadian government until March 1916, had since January of that year been actively collecting such materials as photographs, maps and diaries to document Canada's involvement in the war overseas. However, despite the broad range of materials being gathered, Aitken came to realize that something was missing. If a clear and accurate picture was ever to be had of the many ways Canada participated in the First World War, the

Canadian War Records Office would also have to obtain the visual rendering of the war effort by artists, an aspect which had not yet been considered.(2)

Aitken tried to correct this problem in August 1916 by seeking the authorization of Sir Sam Hughes, then Canada's Minister of Militia and Defence, to send artists to the battlefield to sketch.(3) Hughes was apparently receptive to Aitken's idea, but he did nothing concrete to help the project along. In fact, by early November Hughes was in no position to help anyone because he had been dismissed from his ministerial position. Other efforts by Aitken to interest official support in establishing a Canadian war art scheme also came to naught.(4) Aitken was not a man to admit defeat easily and, thanks largely to sound advice received from his friend Harold Harmsworth, Lord Rothermere, on how to organize and finance his proposal, Aitken was able to create the CWMF largely on his own. Officially established as a war charity fund on November 17, 1916, the CWMF was conceived in such a way that it did not fall under government control. Rather, its board of volunteer directors, of which Rothermere served as chairman, was given "...full control, personal credit for, and ownership of the collection."(5) Partial financial support for the program was received from the Canadian War Records Office for such expenses as travel, artists'

materials, studio rents and administration costs. Additional support was assumed by the Canadian government in its payment of the salaries of the Fund's official war artists, although the government had nothing to do with the selection of the program's artists. These artists were given honorary commissions in the Canadian Expeditionary Force and they were paid according to their rank. Several other artists were simply commissioned without rank to create specific works of art for the CWMF.

Beaverbrook was responsible for overseeing the war art program overseas. With the help of the CWMF's art advisor Paul Konody, the Hungarian-born art historian and critic, Beaverbrook employed dozens of artists of different nationalities, including such Canadian artists as A.Y. Jackson, Cyril Barraud, James Kerr-Lawson, Kenneth Forbes, H.J. Mowatt and David Milne. Canadian female artists, although not completely forgotten, were outnumbered; Florence Carlyle and Caroline Armington were the only women artists eventually chosen to participate in the overseas program.

Florence Carlyle (1864-1923) had originally lived and worked in Woodstock, Ontario. Two years before the First World War began, Miss Carlyle moved to England. Like many other Canadian women, Carlyle assisted the war effort in any

way she could, from hospital work to selling her finest paintings in aid of the Red Cross. She even served for some months in the Women's Land Army working on a farm. Carlyle also completed a portrait commission for the CWMF.(6)

The subject of Carlyle's commission was Lady Drummond (Fig. 1) who, during the war, served in London as head of the Canadian Red Cross Society and as president of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club. The painting was one of a large group of CWMF commissioned portraits of distinguished Canadians, including Sir Robert Borden, Sir George Perley and Sir Edward Kemp, as well as various recipients of the Victoria Cross and selected admirals and generals.(7) Carlyle's painting is also noteworthy in that it represents the only portrait of a female subject to have been done by a woman artist for the CWMF.

Today, the circumstances surrounding Carlyle's selection as a war artist remain unclear. Questions as to how and when the artist was approached about the project remain unanswered. It is however possible to speculate why Carlyle was chosen to paint Lady Drummond's portrait. One of the qualities for which Carlyle was recognized for was her sympathetic treatment of many phases of womanhood.(8) It may well have been this reputation as a sensitive painter of

women which led to her commission. Sensitivity towards her subject is clearly evident in Carlyle's war portrait. The quiet capability of Lady Drummond in heading such an active and important organization as the Canadian Red Cross during the First World War has been captured beautifully; from the depiction of the sitter's calmly set eyes and mouth to her strong, yet sensitive hands, there is a feeling that here was a woman of character and strength. Carlyle herself regarded the opportunity to contribute to the CWMF as being "one of the highest compliments in her career".(9) The war commission was also the last tribute to be paid to Carlyle's art during her lifetime.(10)

Caroline Armington (1875-1939), trained as an artist in Canada and France, and resided in Paris throughout the war years with her artist husband, Frank Armington.(11) Husband and wife were both well respected printmakers, yet the two initially offered their services to Lord Beaverbrook to participate in the CWMF as painters, not printmakers. While considering the Armingtons' offer, Beaverbrook cabled Sir Edmund Walker for his opinion of the couple's abilities.(12) As chairman of the Advisory Arts Council and the National Gallery of Canada's board of trustees, Walker was in a good position to give such advice and Beaverbrook actively sought Walker's opinion more than once about possible Canadian

candidates for the CWMF.(13) Regarding the Armingtons, Walker informed Beaverbrook that both artists were well known in Canada for their work as etchers specializing in European architecture. He described them as being competent but that he personally had not viewed their paintings and therefore could not offer an opinion about that aspect of their abilities.(14) Whether or not it was solely because Walker did not give the Armingtons' painting skills a glowing recommendation, the result was that the couple were not asked to paint for the war art program. Examples of their work, however, did make their way into the CWMF's collection later on. Frank Armington donated seven drawings documenting Parisian life during the war and Caroline was employed by the CWMF to make two etchings of war-time Paris. The decision to employ Caroline rather than her husband points to a higher assessment given to her documentary style for the CWMF's purposes.

In January 1919, when the Canadian War Memorials exhibition opened in London's Burlington House, both of Caroline Armington's etchings were displayed.(15) The British Army and Navy Leave Club (Fig. 2), depicts the exterior of the Club located on La Place de la Republique. It was one of the many clubs to which British and Colonial soldiers could go for accomodation while they were on leave in the city.

Interestingly enough, despite the Club's importance to many Canadian soldiers, Armington's approach differed little from what she had done before the Great War: it was yet another example of a Parisian architectural subject for which she was famous. The final impression one receives from that print is that, for Armington at least, life during the war went on as normal; there is no "war" content here, only the architectural documentation of a military club. This contrasts sharply with the distinct "war" imagery utilized in many of the prints done for the CWMF by Armington's male colleagues. The print by Cyril Barraud Evening on the Ypres-Poperinghe Road (Fig. 3), for example, with its depiction of Red Cross vehicles and soldiers on horseback traversing a road through the war zone on the France-Belgium border, demonstrates this point. Whatever the differences in subject matter however, the commissioning of limited edition prints such as these by the CWMF helped to generate revenue for the program through sales to the public. For example, all were available for purchase at the various showings of the CWMF's collection. In London, Caroline Armington's prints could be bought for 3.3.0 pounds each.(16) This suggests that one of the principal reasons for commissioning Armington's architectural series was because her prints were popular and sold well. One might conclude that the selection of her work by the CWMF was probably based more on its revenue-generating

potential than as a strong memento of war.

Beyond the two examples of Carlyle and Armington, very little else has come to light regarding the official commissioning of Canadian women artists to the CWMF's overseas art program. Other Canadian female artists were involved with the war overseas but in a different capacity; Estelle Kerr (1897-1971) drove an ambulance in France, and Toronto painter Clara Hagarty (1871-1958) worked for the Red Cross in London where "she experienced some of the horrors of air-raids and the discomforts of semi-starvation..."(17) Why Kerr and Hagarty did not choose or were not selected to aid the war effort by employing their artistic talents remains a mystery.

What is certain is that had either Kerr or Hagarty or any other female artist had succeeded in participating in the CWMF program their choice of subject matter would have been restricted to that which CWMF officials deemed to be appropriate for women to witness and record. This "protective" attitude or gender discrimination that women encountered was based on societal conventions of the time and it accounts for why the CWMF's war art collection of material documenting the battlefield includes no representation by female artists. It was a subject officials considered to be

inappropriate; therefore, no woman was ever commissioned through the CWMF to commemorate that aspect of the war.

In spite of the prevailing attitude of the time about what was or was not a suitable war subject for female artists, there was one woman, Mary Riter Hamilton (1873-1954) who fought for and gained the right to record the taboo subject of battlefront evidence. She was born in Teeswater, Ontario and she began her artistic career, like so many other Canadian artists of the period, by receiving much of her training abroad. Widowed in 1893, Hamilton soon after went to Europe where she spent the balance of the next fifteen years studying and practising her chosen profession. Hamilton acquired a reputation as an accomplished artist through exposure of her work in the different salons of Paris.(18) In 1913, two years after returning to Canada, Hamilton set up a studio in Victoria where she was to remain and work for much of the First World War. Had it been in her power, however, she would have chosen to return to Europe to paint the war. With this in mind attempts were made on her behalf, beginning in January 1917, to obtain her a war commission. Prime Minister Borden was petitioned by an old friend and admirer of Hamilton's work, Colonel H. Appelton.(19) Borden was approached because it was hoped his personal acquaintance with Hamilton's earlier work would make him more sympathetic

towards the idea of hiring the artist to document the war. The Prime Minister and his wife had been patrons of an exhibition of Hamilton's art in 1912 in Montreal.

Despite Appelton's direct petition to Borden to make Hamilton a war artist, the suggestion was referred elsewhere for consideration, first to Sir Edmund Walker and later to Eric Brown, director of the National Gallery of Canada. This was normal procedure, as both men at Borden's invitation, were working in early 1917 to draw up a plan to have Canada's participation in the war recorded by artists. Their plan was devised under the auspices of the Advisory Arts Council, which had since 1907

...advised the government on all matters concerning the selection and purchases for the National Gallery of Canada and the adoption of plans and commissions for public buildings and monuments.(20)

Walker and Brown eventually presented their proposal for a war picture program to the Canadian Government in July 1917. But their idea never developed beyond the planning stage: by the summer of 1917 the CWMF had already become established as the official program to create the visual documentation of the country's war effort.

By April 1917 with no decision yet taken about

commissioning her as a war artist, Hamilton was impatient to be given an opportunity to paint the war overseas and sent her own appeal to Ottawa.(21) This was to no avail, for on May 31st Hamilton was informed that the Advisory Arts Council had denied her request.(22) What the Council's reasons were for making its decision remain unconfirmed, in retrospect and based on what Hamilton subsequently created, the decision seems unfair. Very likely it was because of Hamilton's desire to document battlefield subjects that the Council responded negatively. Another factor which may have affected the Council's decision was that at the time of the decision, both Walker and Brown were unaware the CWMF had been established and that Beaverbrook was seeking male artists to paint the very subjects Hamilton was interested in documenting.(23) Therefore, they may not have thought to refer Hamilton's application to Beaverbrook for further consideration. Also, without yet having any war art scheme of its own underway in April 1917, the Advisory Arts Council may have felt ill equipped to support the commissioning of any artist to paint the war overseas. Whatever the reason or reasons, in April 1917 Hamilton was rejected as a war artist.

Hamilton never did re-apply to officials of the National Gallery of Canada to become a war artist, even after the CWMF increased its activities to include the depiction of the

Canadian home front. It may be that Hamilton was unaware of the CWMF's activities in Canada, but while Hamilton may not have known about the CWMF, Walker and Brown were aware of her desire to paint the war effort, and were also familiar with her work. Walker in the past had praised it as being "masterful in coloring, adroit in draughtsmanship, deft in handling of tones and values, and poetic in treatment of atmosphere and sentiment." (24) Why these qualities and her previously-stated desires were ignored, when other artists including Mabel May, Dorothy Stevens, Frances Loring and Florence Wyle were being selected to picture the home front, is only a matter of speculation. However, Hamilton's chance to paint her desired subject, the European battle front, did not come until 1919, after the war had officially ended, and it was only obtained by going through unofficial channels. What Hamilton eventually was able to accomplish, on her own, will be the focus of Chapter II.

In 1918, the CWMF expanded its coverage of the First World War to include the Canadian home front. Unlike the overseas segment of the war art program, the home front program was overseen by Sir Edmund Walker with the able assistance of Eric Brown, director of the National Gallery of Canada. (25) Together, they employed more than twenty artists to document the war effort at home. Of that number, only

four were women: Mabel May, Frances Loring, Florence Wyle and Dorothy Stevens. The art created by these women forms the nucleus of official war art done by Canadian women artists during the First World War. It is of interest to examine why these particular women received official commissions while others were passed over.

Artists, both male and female, normally became involved in the home front's war art program in one of two ways: active recruitment by the CWMF (Brown and Walker) or individual applications to Brown and Walker.(26) Three of the women artists, May, Loring and Wyle, were brought into the program under the first method. Dorothy Stevens, however, took it upon herself to approach Brown with the idea of becoming a war artist. Whatever procedure was followed, the commission was granted only when the artist met Walker's and Brown's particular selection criteria. Both men exercised a strong preference for hiring artists from the anglophone art societies of Central Canada, who were both well placed in the Canadian art scene, and were recognized for creating high quality art work.(27) Needless to say, all four female artists officially commissioned in Canada during the Great War met the above mentioned criteria.

Mabel May (1884-1971), was a Montreal painter whose work

had been known to Brown for some years prior to her involvement with the CWMF. By 1918 she had established herself as a young Canadian artist of note, with regular showings in the exhibitions of the Royal Canadian Academy from 1910 onwards, and was already well-represented in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada.(28)

The remaining three women were Toronto-based artists. The first two, Frances Loring (1887-1968) and Florence Wyle (1881-1968), were both American sculptors who had moved to Toronto from New York in 1910, and who had by 1918 succeeded in placing themselves at the forefront of Canada's sculpting community. Their names figured prominently in the 1915 reviews of the first exhibition dedicated to sculpture at the Grange in Toronto.(29) Two years later, Loring did a large patriotic sculpture entitled The Spirit of Canada (Fig. 4) for Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition grounds, which in the view of the Canadian National Exhibition Association "symbolized splendidly the Spartan like Canadian woman with her whole-hearted spirit of service and sacrifice."(30) Loring's ability to give such tangible form to national symbols, as observed in The Spirit of Canada, undoubtedly influenced her selection by Walker and Brown.

The last of the quartet of female artists officially

commissioned to depict the home front was Dorothy Stevens (1888-1966). Born in Toronto, she trained in London's Slade School of Art and Paris' Académie Colorossi and Grande Chaumière and began her artistic career as a printmaker. By the outset of the war, she had been exhibiting for some years. In Canada she had regularly shown in the Royal Canadian Academy exhibitions since 1911, and from all indications her career as an artist was on the rise throughout the second decade of the twentieth century.

By selecting artists such as May, Loring, Wyle and Stevens for the CWMF, Walker and Brown were clearly interested in employing only those whom they considered the best artists to document the country's home front. As Brown explained to Florence Wyle:

We (Brown and Walker) want to make the artistic war Records of work done in Canada not only as fine as possible from a records standpoint but expressive of the best art that is in us, so that an exhibition of it would be an exhibition of Canadian art at its best.(31)

Given such intentions, it is no surprise to find that some artists of unacceptable standards were denied commissions by officials of the CWMF. Mrs. E. Dorothy McAvity (1876-1958), a Maritime portrait painter, is the one female painter known to have suffered this fate.(32)

While it is obvious CWMF officials played a very active role in determining which artists were commissioned to participate in the program and which ones were not, their intervention did not end with the process of hiring artists. They also exerted considerable influence over what was depicted and how an artist went about visualizing the war. When the CWMF was created in 1916, its primary goal was to obtain for posterity as complete a group of visual records about Canada's involvement in the war as was possible.(33) Artists were thus commissioned to document a wide range of subjects, from scenes of the war's battlefields and its destruction, to portraits of military and non-military figures, to scenes of the home front's war effort.

In considering how broad the subject base was for the CWMF, it is important to note that women were only officially allowed to record certain aspects of the war. As already mentioned, no female artist did a single work for the CWMF based on the fighting and destruction that occurred on the battlefield. This can be attributed to the influence officials exercised over all war artists in the selection of subject matter for war works; for female artists certain war subjects were off limits. Mary Riter Hamilton's experience in 1917, when the painter was appealing to Canadian officials

for an opportunity to travel to France to paint war records for the Canadian government, shows this to be so. At that time she had given a clear indication to Walker and Brown, as officials of the Advisory Arts Council, of the type of material she envisioned recording by writing:

There are many subjects that suggest themselves at once for pictures of historical interest, the details for which can only be collected on the spot at the present time. Some of these can be done in rear of the line such as the return after action of troops and prisoners, groups of prominent officers & men. Scenes on won battlefields, and among ruined towns such as Ypres, Arras etc; while occasion may offer also to record the actual scene of battles, might (?) bombardments etc so that I need never be idle.(34)

All of the subjects that Hamilton indicated an interest in recording were important, and all were eventually documented by official male war artists like A.Y. Jackson, Maurice Cullen and Fred Varley. But no female artist, including Hamilton, was ever officially commissioned by Beaverbrook, Walker or Brown to capture these subjects on canvas or paper because of the prevailing paternalistic attitude of the time.(35) Female artists were also denied access to certain war subjects on the home front because there was a tendency amongst CWMF officials to direct them towards subjects which focused specifically on how Canadian women aided the war effort. The portrait of Lady Drummond by Florence Carlyle supports this notion; and the home front

imagery of May, Loring and Wyle contains even more explicit examples of the paternalistic intervention of Walker and Brown. Writing to Mabel May on September 4, 1918, Eric Brown inquired, "I have wondered whether you have seen anything of women's work in munition factories or aeroplane works that has struck you as a good subject for a picture?"(36) The sculptors Loring and Wyle also received similar suggestions about subject ideas from the CWMF. For example, at Sir Edmund Walker's request, Brown wrote to Loring in September 1918 claiming,

When I was at the Toronto exhibition I saw the various types of girl war workers in their working clothes, munition makers, aeroplane girls, land workers, fruit pickers etc, and it struck me that they were very fine subjects for a series of small bronzes.(37)

He went on to say, "I can imagine you have seen the girls I mean yourself, and have thought of them in terms of bronze and therefore the idea is not new to you."(38)

Brown's suggestion that women could be suitable subject matter for these women artists was not without merit. During the First World War much of Canada's supply of able-bodied men had been drained away to fight overseas. As a result, the country's female population had come forward or were recruited to fill the void, and had entered areas of the work force not previously open to them. It was in recognition of

the significant contributions these women were making to the war effort that commissions to document their activities were given to artists like Mabel May, Frances Loring, Florence Wyle and Manly MacDonald.(39)

It appears that no artist, male or female, hired by the CWMF was immune from its influence about what subjects should be documented. Even Dorothy Stevens, who came into the program with specific ideas about what she wanted to depict, received unsolicited instructions from Eric Brown about the subjects on which she should focus her attention. Stevens had first approached Brown with a proposal to create a series of prints for the CWMF, saying she was positive that there was some very good subject matter in munition plants, foundries and ship yards which would translate well into prints.(40) Brown agreed and suggested that she make two plates for the CWMF. But his suggestions did not stop there; he went on to indicate that the first print should be

of a ship-building subject expressing as far as possible the hurry and bustle of the forced pace of war work, and the other, girl's munition or aeroplane factory work, expressing as far as possible the activity, changed conditions, and clothes of the workers.(41)

After officials had given their initial suggestions of appropriate subjects to be recorded for the program, they continued to play an active role in the evolution of artists'

commissions. Under the conditions of employment with the CWMF, male and female artists were required to show their preliminary sketches to CWMF officials before any finished works could be attempted. It was for this purpose that Mabel May met with Eric Brown on December 3, 1918. She had been sketching at the shell making plant of Northern Electric in Montreal since September and had accumulated sufficient material for Brown to make a selection. The collection she previewed to Brown consisted of a variety of pencil sketches, twenty to thirty small colour studies and six or eight larger works.(42) Brown was extremely impressed by what he was shown, and from the preliminary studies he selected three compositions as being "...sufficiently striking in design and explanatory of various munition processes to be worthy of enlarging."(43) It was only after Brown had reviewed May's material that she was actually commissioned to work up two paintings from her sketches showing women working in a munitions factory.(44) However, for some as yet undiscovered reason only one canvas, Women Making Shells (Fig. 5), was ever completed.

May's experience in having her preliminary studies reviewed and passed by CWMF officials before proceeding to the next stage of her commission was shared by other artists employed by the CWMF. In November 1918, for instance, Brown

visited Loring and Wyle in their Toronto studio for the express purpose of examining the studies they had prepared for a series of war bronzes. Similar visits were also paid by Brown to Arthur Lismer and Manly MacDonald.

As well as closely overseeing what subjects were being covered by artists in their war art commissions, CWMF officials, to a large extent, determined what size those works were to be. Mabel May's painting Women Making Shells demonstrates this point. It was worked up from one of the three compositions Brown had deemed worth enlarging. And enlarge it she did, with the finished painting measuring six by seven feet. May and several other home front artists, including Arthur Crisp and Manly MacDonald, received specific instructions with their commissions to create large works. The precedent for such enormous war records had already been established with the overseas segment of the CWMF program, and the demand for similar works was continued in Canada. In the initial letter Brown sent to May about her attempt to document the war, he had indicated that he wanted her to create records of a monumental size.(45) At his suggestion, May's painting was done on a much larger scale than was usual for her.(46) The sheer size of the stretched canvas when it first arrived in her studio appears to have caused her some alarm, although this soon changed once the canvas was covered

in paint. May even declared to Brown that, "It is most interesting painting on such a large canvas and I am enjoying it immensely." (47) The artist's comment reflects how, in this instance, Brown's directive had a positive effect upon the artist's war art.

Like Mabel May, Dorothy Stevens' very early dealings with the CWMF included a discussion of what size her commissioned works should be. Stevens was informed by Brown that her plates were to be not less than twelve by ten inches or any equivalent area. Brown made certain that he explained to Stevens that all of the war work, including prints, had to be on a rather large scale. (48) However, he did state that he was concerned that the plates not be so large that Stevens lost the feeling for her subject or that it did not suit her medium. (49) The size of the editions for each print was also influenced by Brown. Under the terms of Steven's commission she was required to provide twenty-five signed prints. The printing plate was then destroyed in order to preserve the limited edition. (50)

As demonstrated in this chapter, the CWMF played a very decisive role in determining which Canadian female artists were commissioned during the war. CWMF officials also exercised considerable control over the selection of which

subjects commissioned artists pictured in their art and how they went about treating those subjects. For instance, women were typically limited to documenting the contributions Canadian women had made to the war effort, particularly with regards to industry. At no time during the war was any female artist, officially appointed or otherwise, permitted to record the battlefield. It was only after the hostilities had ended that a single female artist gained access to that taboo subject at all. It may also be said that there were times when artists working withing the CWMF found the program's parameters to be too restrictive. At those times the commissioned artists generally took it upon themselves to expand their projects to accomodate their own ideas and styles. In the next chapter the reactions and strategies of May, Loring, Wyle, Stevens and Hamilton to such strictures will be explored in order to determine how they incorporated a personal style into the selected subjects.

Chapter II Female War Artists: Testing the Boundaries

From the preceding chapter it has been determined that CWMF officials such as Brown and Walker played an extremely important and active role in determining which Canadian female artists were commissioned for the program. As well, it has been shown that suggestions and directives were freely forthcoming from the CWMF about how and what its chosen artists were to document in terms of war art. Having seen this, the next step in ascertaining what contributions female artists made to the country's war art legacy is to explore in greater depth the whole issue of how female war artists reacted towards the CWMF's parameters. This particular issue not only includes examining the strategy used by commissioned female artists whereby they employed their own personal styles and ideas to test the boundaries of the CWMF; it also focuses upon how some female artists were driven to take independent routes outside the CWMF's framework in order to circumvent the program's many restrictions.

In 1918, when offers of commissions were made to May,

Loring, Wyle and Stevens, all four women jumped at the opportunity. Loring and Wyle had known for some time about the CWMF, and how their painter colleagues had been participating in the program. They had even discussed between themselves their desire to do similar work in sculpture.(1) Thus when Brown wrote of his ideas for them, both were warmly receptive, as was Mabel May. Brown's proposal to her was quickly accepted, first by telephone and later in person.(2) Since Dorothy Stevens was the one who had brought herself to Brown's attention as a candidate for the program, she was undoubtedly pleased to be given a commission. Each artist therefore entered the CWMF program with a positive attitude and a willingness to work with CWMF officials to create a significant group of visual war records.

Eager to begin their respective commissions, the four women entered war plants and ship yards as soon as they could. Once inside, all began making studies of the various activities they witnessed. Mabel May was busy sketching women's work in Montreal's Northern Electric Company just one week after Brown forwarded her a letter from Sir Edmund Walker and a photostat permit from the Imperial Munitions Board to enter munitions plants. The whole experience was one the painter found to be "desperately interesting".(3)

May was later to translate what she had witnessed happening in the plant onto canvas in Women Making Shells (Fig. 5). This painting shows workers, mostly female as indicated by their costume, industriously employed on the different tasks of making munitions shells. In addition to successfully documenting the valuable role women played on the home front, the painting also illustrates the difficult working conditions under which these women laboured. As Rosemary Donegan notes in her catalogue for the exhibition Industrial Images, May psychologically visualized the heat, noise and dust of the plant through her choice of colours of purples, greys, oranges and yellows.(4) The artist's selection of colours, principally her flickering yellows, and her impressionistic technique of applying them also help to reinforce the painting's expression of intense activity. May had few problems in carrying out successful works depicting Canadian women's war effort on the industrial home front. She certainly had fewer compunctions about following CWMF instructions than either Loring and Wyle did.

Both of the sculptors began their commissions believing that the suggestions Brown had offered them about a female war workers series would work well as bronzes. It was only after Loring and Wyle had visited some of the munitions plants around Toronto that they realized Brown's ideas were

too narrow and restrictive. During their visits to the factories neither artist had encountered any problems in getting the female workers to pose for them. However, while in the plants, the sculptors discovered that some of the male workers were so 'wonderfully sculptural' that they felt they must model them too, even if Brown could not use them.(5) As Wyle explained, men played as important a role in that area of the home front's war effort as the women did. Therefore, they deserved to be recognized too.(6) It is with this in mind that such figures as Wyle's Furnace Man and Loring's Oiler came into being.

Loring and Wyle also realized that there was a need to do some subjects as reliefs, whereas Brown had originally visualized the commissions as being of only figures in the round. The sculptors felt that for certain subjects such a manner of presentation was not practical. As Wyle wrote, it was "practically impossible to do the girls at the machines in any other way."(7) In October 1918 each artist had one relief each underway.(8) In spite of this, Wyle appears never to have completed hers, and Loring's relief showing a man half length and in profile, entitled The Grinder (Fig. 6), never got beyond the plaster stage.(9)

In the end, only Loring's relief Noon Hour in a

Munitions Plant (Fig. 7) was ever completed and acquired by the CWMF. This large work, measuring 88.9 x 186.7 cm., was begun in March 1919. It depicts a group of workers, primarily women, leaving their jobs for lunch. It is evident that the figures are very tired. They are bent forward, and some are rubbing their necks to help relieve the tension, while others even seem to lack the energy to do that. Yet one senses that, for the sake of their country and for the war effort, when the workers' lunch break is finished they will once again go back to their war jobs despite their personal fatigue. Although Wyle's work is generally considered the more classical of the two sculptors' war work, there is a definite feeling of classicism about Loring's Noon Hour in a Munitions Plant. Several points of similarity, in fact, can be found between Loring's work and the frieze decorating the Greek Parthenon (Fig. 8). For instance, in both reliefs the overlapping of forms was employed to suggest a greater sense of depth. At the same time, a sense of timelessness, evident in some of Loring's earlier work, also infuses Noon Hour in a Munitions Plant. Loring succeeded in achieving this through her use of classical motifs, and the sense of ritual created by the generalized scene of workers moving in procession across the work. The message of Noon Hour in a Munition Plant is of the dignity of labour and through the employment of classical elements Loring's message was made more universal.

As noted earlier, Brown's initial plan for Loring and Wyle's commissioned series of war works did not include conceptions of large-scale relief works like Noon Hour in a Munitions Plant. However, the sculptors' successful arguments for such works allowed them to revise Brown's suggestions somewhat. The end result was that Noon Hour in a Munitions Plant, together with the five other bronzes by Loring and the nine by Wyle, comprise a collection of war records considered to be amongst the finest documentations of the home front:

To many...the statuettes of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle--especially the latter--are the most interesting things in the exhibition. The dress and attitude of women workers in field and factory, from being the subject of "farmerette" jokes, has been turned to account as the source of beauty that is finely nervous and supple. It is hard to select but Miss Wyle's "Woman with Adapter" is a joy to behold.(10)

The sculptors received favourable comments about their work from their own colleagues as well. A.Y. Jackson was so impressed by their war series in 1919 that he wished all of the existing statues in Toronto could have been knocked down and replaced with anything Loring and Wyle desired to put up in their stead.(11)

Even Eric Brown was very pleased with these war records:

It is very seldom that the opportunity has come to...sculptors to express the strength and grace of women in hard manual work and both Miss Wyle and Miss Loring are to be greatly congratulated on their success in achieving such excellent results. The thin and scanty clothes necessary for such work and the strength acquired by steady and heavy work gave them material for new conceptions of active womanhood which rose to such heights and abilities to take the place of their brothers who were fighting the battles of civilization across the sea.(12)

Brown, no doubt, had such works as Loring's Shell Finisher (Fig. 10) and Wyle's Woman with Adapter (Fig. 11) in mind when he was making the above observations, for these images of women are a far cry from the passive images of women, that were traditionally portrayed in art as demonstrated by Mary Riter Hamilton's painting Maternity (Fig. 27). In Shell Finisher Loring concentrated upon documenting her subject at a moment when she was thoroughly engrossed in carrying out her vital munitions job. The job was a physically demanding one but the worker was young and obviously very capable of handling the task.(13) In Shell Finisher the physical strength of the figure is very well defined; this was only made possible because of the sculptor's sound understanding of human anatomy. Loring's subject is dressed in contemporary working garb, yet it has a classical feeling of being almost transparent, allowing one to see beneath it the well developed body of the worker.

The qualities of Wyle's bronzes differ in several ways from those of Loring's. One critic, Arthur McFarlane, in comparing the work of Loring and Wyle, noted in 1925 that:

In general, the work of Loring has more emotion, a tenser drama in line and movement; and that of Wyle is quieter, more finished and reserved, more "Greek". But both are to the last degree original. Both have an extraordinary variety. And, always scorning the sentimental, both have truth and beauty, strength and inspiration.(14)

McFarlane has made some excellent points in his analysis of the sculptors' work. In comparing Woman with Adapter (Fig. 11) to Shell Finisher (Fig. 10) it is seen that Wyle's work is the quieter, the more finished and the more reserved in expression of the two. It is also, as McFarlane mentioned, the more classical in feeling, caused partly by the contrapposto pose in which Wyle placed her subject, a pose which she also employed successfully in her war bronze Farm Girl (Fig. 9). From Shell Finisher and Woman with Adapter it may be observed that both artists, besides presenting an active image of women in their art, concentrated upon highlighting the dignity of labour itself rather than adding to the glorification of war industry, as many other home front war artists tended to do. This was in keeping with Brown's concept that the statuettes should be imbued with the spirit that prompted the female workers to take the places of the men during the war.(15) Such

representations also support the notion that the heroes of the First World War's were the ordinary war labourer and the ordinary soldier.

Some of the subjects that Loring and Wyle examined in their series of bronzes about the Canadian labourer's contribution to the war were also examined in Dorothy Stevens' prints of the same subject. This is not surprising, as Stevens had been the one who approached the CWMF with the idea that such industrial home front war subjects would translate well into prints. Nor was Stevens disappointed with her chosen material upon entering the factories and shipyards in the Toronto vicinity for there she found "some wonderful subjects".(16) She decided to do several images so that Brown would then be able to make a selection of her best work from the group.(17)

Eventually Stevens was to have six prints acquired by the CWMF. Almost every one of those images complied closely with instructions she had received from Brown as to suitable subjects. In the etching Building the Freighter (Fig. 12) for instance, the elements of "hurry and bustle of the forced pace of war work" which Brown had stressed he wanted included in a print of a shipyard subject is clearly evident.(18) Displayed between a complex pattern of scaffolding, the

immense ship physically dwarfs the figures working on its construction. Although the freighter dominates the record, the artist has focused upon the actual jobs involved in building the ship. Activity is everywhere and the viewer's eye is constantly moving, from the scaffolding and the ant-like workers perched on it to the cranes stretching across the top and to the side of the ship, and finally to those figures milling about the ground employed in countless tasks, all of which were important to the freighter's construction. In other prints like Munitions Fuse Factory (Fig. 13) and Munitions Heavy Shells (Fig. 14) Stevens succeeded in satisfying Brown's additional desire for visual records of women's munition work or aeroplane factory work which expressed as "far as possible the activity, changed conditions, and clothes of the workers."(19)

Steven's printed images were part of a larger group of works created by several Canadian artists during the First World War which documented the contributions made in industry to the home front's war effort. For example, such male artists as W.J. Beatty, Robert Gagen, George Reid and Albert Robinson all went into the industrial plants and shipbuilding yards of Central Canada to record that aspect of the war effort for posterity. But there were other reasons for creating such artistic records. They were also used for

propaganda purposes and reflected the period's general fascination with industrialization. Industrialization was looked upon favourably by society and at times it was even glorified in the pre-war and war years. Images celebrating the power of machines or man's relationship with them were therefore popular subjects with artists. Stevens' print British Forgings, Toronto (Fig. 15), is one example of how artists utilized industry's imagery. In her etching the relationship between man and machine is explored in terms of the war effort by showing how both worked in tandem for the cause.

Through a mixture of line and tone in British Forgings, Toronto, Stevens also presented a very strong impression of factory conditions during the war. A mixture of heat, smoke, noise and grime, poor lighting and ventilation, and few safety standards made such factories less than perfect working environments by today's standards. However, in 1918 they were a reality, and as seen in Stevens' image, workers seem to have thrived in them. This type of depiction was all part of the artistic penchant for romanticizing industry. For example, the sight of billowing steam and smoke in a work, as demonstrated in British Forgings, Toronto, was often intended to represent the healthiness of an industry; it symbolized activity, even progress.

With the increasing mechanization of warfare in the First World War a further incentive was added for artists to create works paying homage to industry and its products. For instance, in Stevens' etching Ready for Shipment, Aeroplane Factory (Fig. 16) she documented in rich detail a modern instrument of war, the F-5 flying boat. Constructed in Toronto by the Canadian Aeroplanes Limited, Stevens' subject was part of a contract the company had won in April 1918 to build a fleet of thirty flying boats for the United States navy. Although normally involved in the fabrication of aeroplanes for the Royal Flying Corps, Canadian Aeroplanes Ltd. undertook the flying boat contract when it was between orders with its regular customer.(20) Stevens' recording of the company's war work was not limited to one plate; she also etched The Sea Boat Aeroplane Factory No. 1 (fig. 17) which shows an earlier stage in the construction of a flying boat. Stevens was not totally satisfied with this print, however. When writing to Eric Brown in 1919 the printmaker conceded that "Perhaps the aeroplane factory no. 1 -might have been a little richer--it seems a bit thin -but the others I think very good indeed".(21)

The artist's high opinion of her war series was shared by others. One gentleman, for instance, after seeing proofs of

Stevens, prints, informed Eric Brown that they were better than anything of the kind he had seen either in England or New York.(22) This same person also wrote, "I hope she (Stevens) will do some more of such subjects. They are a valuable record."(23) Stevens expressed a similar desire to add images to her industrial war series to the National Gallery's director in the spring of 1919. Brown did not dissuade her from continuing the project; in fact the printmaker was even promised help should she need it to gain entrance into her chosen sites.(24) Brown's offer however did not include an official commission from the CWMF for any more of Stevens' work.

Seemingly undaunted about creating other war images without first being guaranteed a definite market for them, Stevens refused to be restricted by the CWMF and proceeded to look for visual inspiration in Canada's war plants, but this time in Montreal in the Canadian Vickers Company and the Canadian Angus Shops. The result of Stevens' Montreal period was two plates, one about each of the plants she visited.(25) Unfortunately the CWMF rejected further acquisitions of Stevens' work because it could not afford to purchase them. By late 1919 the CWMF was having problems honouring its commitments for works it had actually commissioned from artists like Frances Loring and Florence Wyle. It was

therefore in no position to acquire works done on speculation by artists, regardless of the quality of the work. About the quality of this later print series by Stevens, Brown expressed mixed opinions. The artist had sent proofs of her two images to Brown for his inspection in August 1919, and after examining them Brown observed to Sir Edmund Walker that he thought the one depicting the building of a railway engine in the Angus Shops was quite good. He was not as enthusiastic about Stevens' shipbuilding plate, claiming that it needed some additional work if it was to be completely comprehensible.(26) Stevens' own reaction to her Montreal prints is unknown; however, the creation of the two extra prints, ones that were done at her own initiative and expense, does indicate Stevens' individual commitment towards further documenting the contributions to the war effort by industry and the Canadian worker while it was still possible. Her two prints also support the point that in order to overcome the limitations of the CWMF program, female artists were sometime forced to work outside of its framework. No where is this idea more firmly demonstrated than in the war art of Mary Riter Hamilton.

As we have already noted in Chapter I, Mary Riter Hamilton's campaign to record the First World War's battlefields formally got underway in 1917 when attempts were

made to have her given an official commission by the Advisory Arts Council. Unfortunately, as has also been noted, the artist failed to obtain any satisfaction by going through the Council. Unwilling to accept defeat, Hamilton continued to seek a way to fulfill her dream of painting war records. Eventually Hamilton was successful, but it was done outside the strictures of Canada's official war art program and it did not happen until after the war had actually ended. In early 1919 she received a commission from a veterans' magazine The Gold Stripe to create pictures of war-torn Europe which would later be reproduced in the magazine.(27)

Hamilton had a number of reasons for wanting to paint war records. For example, in an article published shortly before she left on her assignment she stated:

I go to Europe in order to paint the scenes where so many of our gallant Canadians have fought and died because this can only be done successfully before the reconstruction of France and Belgium has really started.(28)

Another important incentive was a monetary one. According to Colonel Appelton in 1917, Hamilton financially wanted, and in fact needed, the employment the creation of war records could give her.(29) Yet another reason why the artist wanted to leave Canada was her perception that the country lacked an

appreciation for artists. On this point Hamilton claimed in 1919 that:

Artists, like other people must live, and as yet it is almost impossible to live in Canada by art alone. Not only is this a matter of money, but of appreciation. Life for anyone is a very bleak thing without appreciation and I am sorry to say that after life in Europe, where there is so much real appreciation for the work of good craftsmen in any line that it is difficult to live here even if money flowed freely, and as you know, it does nothing of the kind.(30)

It was for all of these reasons that Hamilton left Vancouver with high hopes in March 1919.

Upon reaching her destination Hamilton set to work. The Gold Stripe reported in May 1919 that the artist was working in France, which was confirmed a month later when Hamilton wrote to a friend in Victoria from Arras. In that letter Hamilton wrote she would be sending off her first group of battle works to The Gold Stripe at the end of July. By then Hamilton expected she would need a break from the work because the work was not only extremely "tense" but also physically demanding. She often had to go great distances by foot to get to the site she wanted to record.(31) Other letters that Hamilton wrote during the three years she spent documenting the war zones testify to the extreme hardships and difficulties she endured. For example, in one she wrote:

It has been intensely interesting but on the other hand I have had hardships such as no one could imagine while away from all help and living among the peasants, walking many miles, doing without food because unable to eat the food they offered me, which was cooked in some vile fat.(32)

Reports about Hamilton which appeared in The Gold Stripe and other contemporary publications also describe the many problems the artist faced between 1919 and 1922. One 1922 article went into some depth to describe the various difficulties Hamilton had met with. Titled "Dauntless Canadian Woman Tells of Grim Experiences while Painting the Nightmare Land of the Somme", the article told how:

(Hamilton) went out alone into the heart of the devastated regions and lived in a canvas hut amid the scenes she wanted to depict...often her only neighbors were Chinese working parties employed in the dismal task of exhuming the dead...Miles away from shops, the lonely artist was obliged to depend on friends in the outer world for her food...she would sometimes go without food because someone forgot to send her some. Sometimes even raw materials of a painter's trade were lacking... Often she ground her own colors, and there is at least one of her pictures which was painted on rough army canvas in place of the smooth prepared material. There were incidents, too, not calculated to soothe a woman's nerves, such as finding one had been working for hours in a shellhole with a body in it. Even worse, perhaps, were occasional encounters with some of the roving denizens of this nightmare country. Long after the war the country around Arras was infested by bands of prowling hooligans, who have an appalling record of unpunished crime to their credit. Sometimes there were shots in the dark at any chance human mark, and always there was the risk of the painter's lonely hut being rushed in the night by

one of these freebooting gangs bent on deviltry.(33)

In spite of all of these troubles, at the end of her mission Hamilton had completed over three hundred paintings, drawings and prints of France and Belgium.

Information suggests that Hamilton did not send her first series of war pictures back to The Gold Stripe until the fall of 1919, not the summer as she had originally planned.(34) The shipment consisted of material of the Vimy Ridge and Arras areas of France and from that group six works were selected and reproduced in the third issue of The Gold Stripe. One of the reproduced images was Villiers au Bois (Fig. 18). This painting depicts the town where men of the 4th Canadian Division were sent to for a rest following the taking of Vimy Ridge in 1918.

Accompanying Hamilton's illustrations in The Gold Stripe was an article which pointed out that her paintings were not studio products worked up from preliminary sketches, but ones that had been painted directly from the scenes transcribed. It was also emphasised that the pictures' "peculiar value" was the result of their being painted directly from nature.(35) When Hamilton had gone to Europe in 1919 it was to record the war's effects upon the land, but she also went

knowing that reconstruction would soon erase much of what she was interested in recording. This partially accounts for why so much of her war art is in an unfinished state. It also explains why her work has such a direct, realistic quality to it. Simply put, Hamilton did not have the luxury of time to produce finished records. Out in the field and working against time and the weather, she was intent upon merely putting her many impressions onto paper or canvas, using realistic colours more to define her subjects than line. This spontaneous working method is one that Hamilton's war sketches share with Mabel May's preliminary studies of Montreal's Northern Electric plant (Fig. 19 and 20).

What does differ between the two artists' work is that May was able to develop her material beyond the preliminary sketch stage. Finished records were what the CWMF demanded from its commissioned artists; yet sometimes, for one reason or another, those completed works were less satisfactory than an artist's on-the-spot sketches. Although not a common complaint, May's war art was criticised by Barker Fairley as suffering from this problem. While reviewing the 1919 showing of the home front portion of the Canadian War Memorials' exhibition in Toronto, the art critic declared that while May's large oil, Women Making Shells (Fig. 5) was compositionally quite active, it suffered from a "deadness in

the paint".(36) He did not find this to be so with the painting's preliminary studies (Fig. 19 and 20) which appeared in the same exhibit.(37) In fact, for one of the studies Fairley observed that although its composition contained less physical movement than the larger oil, it had "a far more luminous texture." He went on to say that "If the artist could combine the bustle of the one and the glow of the other in another large canvas the result ought to be quite splendid..."(38) Had Mary Riter Hamilton had an occasion to rework her quick sketches into larger, more finished canvases perhaps she too would have received similar criticism about her war work. Instead, it was praised for its directness, its feeling of actuality and for its faithfulness towards the subjects it documented.

As well as praising Hamilton's work for these reasons, critics used her work as a model to demonstrate the changes that war art had undergone during the First World War. For instance, when the sixty or more paintings and sketches Hamilton had sent back to Canada in 1919 were displayed in Vancouver's Navy League Institute in April 1920, they sparked an unidentified critic to discuss the differences between art of the First World War and that of earlier conflicts. Beginning with the statement that "The war seems to have developed a style of painting different in many respects from

anything with which the world was previously acquainted", (39)
the reviewer went on to list the apparent differences:

The pictures that represented scenes in the Crimean and the South African wars were manifestly painted in the studios of the artists. They were imaginative, and some of them sensational, but they were to a great extent unreal. On the contrary in the pictured presentation of this last war, painters have gone directly to battle-scarred nature, to actual ruins, to distorted surroundings. They have not aimed at anything like photographic accuracy in the scenes they have painted, but rather have endeavored to convey to us the impressions that those scenes made upon them. The effort was to show what modern war was like with unexampled earnestness and truth. They did not try to make their pictures "pretty"; what they wanted to do was to give us ideas. The influence of this style of painting is observable in Hamilton's works. (40)

Certainly images like Cemetery of the 7th Battalion, British Columbia on the Lens Arras Road and Filling the Shell Holes in No Man's Land (Fig. 21 and 22) reflect how closely attuned Hamilton was to the period and to the type of war art it produced. Without the employment of sensationalism or any attempt to "pretty" them up, both paintings by Hamilton make a strong impact of the massive devastation caused by the fighting in Europe to the landscape and to man. The land is shown as extensively scarred, its surface pock-marked by shelling and its vegetation stripped of all life. In Cemetery of the 7th Battalion... by contrast, the loss of human life is poignantly represented by rows of white crosses strung out across an equally dead landscape.

In several ways Hamilton's reconstruction war series compares closely with the art many of the CWMF's commissioned artists created of the European battlefield during the war. In fact, what Hamilton's work suggests is that when given the opportunity of viewing the war zones a female interpretation of them was not radically different from a male's. To take an example, the painting For What? (Fig. 23), by one of the CWMF's artists Fred Varley (1881-1969), can be compared with Hamilton's Kemmel Road, Flanders (Fig. 24), and illustrates that neither artist was tempted to glorify the war in his or her art. Rather, both painters strove to present an accurate and honest record of a period when Canadians had given so much for their country. Varley and Hamilton also share a sense of despondency about the war in their art. In For What? Varley focused upon the human devastation caused by the fighting and questioned whether the heavy sacrifices paid by so many Canadian soldiers had not been made in vain; would their deaths actually make a difference to the new world? One is tempted to ask the same question "For What?" when viewing Hamilton's Kemmel Road, Flanders because there is such a sense of disillusionment with the war in her painting. The painting is empty of all signs of life. All that is seen in the aftermath of the hostilities are dead blasted trees, twisted barbed wire and a couple of lonely graves. Even the

sky is devoid of life and the empty road seems only to lead one into an uncertain future.

In another painting, The Tragedy of War in Dear Old Battered France (Fig. 25), Hamilton dealt again with the horrors of war. Describing it in graphic detail, she focused upon the atrocities man had committed against humanity. Although the artist had roamed a very inhospitable area following the war, it is unlikely that Hamilton actually witnessed the crucifixion scene she depicted; rather it was probably a visualization of feelings she was having about the conflict and its aftermath. One scholar of Hamilton's war work, Dr. Angela Davis, thinks differently and doubts that The Tragedy of War in Dear Old Battered France was merely a product of Hamilton's imagination, reasoning that because of the artists's fidelity to her subjects during this time it is likely that her painting is an accurate record of an actual event.(41)

Hamilton's painting was not the only art record of the First World War to picture the subject of a crucifixion; Derwent Wood's bronze sculpture Canada's Golgotha (Fig. 26) featured it too. At the time Wood's piece was exhibited in London in the CWMF's exhibition in 1919, it caused quite a sensation. It was even at the center of an international

incident with the Germans making demands that they be either supplied with proof that the event portrayed in Wood's work had really occurred, as was implied in the press of the day, or that the Canadian government issue a statement to the effect that the relief was no more than the result of the artist's imagination. Neither demand was ever satisfactorily answered by Canada's government, but attempts were made to determine if the atrocity had taken place. More recent research on the subject has disclosed information suggesting Wood's bronze may indeed represent an actual murder, being that of Sergeant Harry Band.(42)

In comparing the images of atrocities by Hamilton and Wood, Hamilton's painting makes both the stronger impact upon the viewer and ultimately a stronger statement. Wood's relief does clearly picture a group of brutal German soldiers jeering at a young, seemingly dead, Canadian soldier who has been crucified onto an old barn door. Certainly it is a scene that would have reinforced many people's hatred against the Germans in 1919. Still, the bronze does not exude the same emotional power Hamilton's more impressionistic work does. Set against a backdrop of mysterious, ghostly, forms representing dead trees and a yellow hued sky, Hamilton painted what remained of a solitary wooden cross. Upon that broken cross she then showed the remains of a human body that

had been so cruelly affixed to it. At first the image is hard to decipher because the figure's body parts are rather abstract. Yet when one realizes the painting's contents one is struck with a far more overpowering sense of repulsiveness for man's inhumanity towards his fellow man during times of war than Wood's rather caricature-like work could ever invoke.

Images like The Tragedy of War in Dear Old Battered France (Fig. 25) and Cemetery of the 7th Canadian Battalion... (Fig. 21) demonstrate how much the war affected Hamilton as an artist. This was shown not only through her choice of subject matter but her manner of painting those subjects as well. Prior to journeying to the European war zones, Hamilton was famous for her depictions of the human figure, either as portraits or in a genre format. She was especially renowned for her work picturing traditional "female subjects" like mother and child images, with her painting Maternity (Fig. 27) being a prime example of this type of work. However, after her arrival in France in 1919 the human figure virtually disappeared as a subject in Hamilton's art. Instead, the artist concentrated on documenting the war ravaged towns and countryside over which Canadian soldiers had fought and died. Within those works Hamilton employed the same war related iconography that

official war artists had utilized during the First World War. For instance, images of ruined architecture and shell-blasted trees are no less apparent in Hamilton's Mt. St. Eloi (Fig. 28) than they are in J.W. Beatty's (1869-1941) Albain Saint-Nazaire (Fig. 29). The portrayal of a graveyard was another image commonly employed by First World War battlefield artists as may be seen in Menin Road, British Cemetery (Fig. 30) by Hamilton and Courcelette from the Cemetery (Fig. 31) by the CWMF artist David Milne (1882-1953).

In comparing Hamilton's work with that of the battlefield images of her male colleagues within the CWMF, it is apparent that as female artist she was no less capable or unwilling to deal with the strong and sometimes distasteful imagery of war than a male artist was. Unfortunately, what Hamilton's experiences and work demonstrate very poignantly is that women were never entirely able to circumvent the restrictions that were imposed upon them during the First World War which would have allowed them to demonstrate fully their prowess for dealing with traditional war subjects, specifically combat scenes. This is true as well for other female artists working within the CWMF program; however for them it was normally easier to modify the effects of those restrictions upon their art. Loring and Wyle for example,

both had difficulties working within the parameters established by Brown for their commissions. Mabel May on the other hand was inspired by the direction she was given. In the following chapter further discussion will be given about how artists dealt with the various directives that were imposed upon them by war art officials; however, it will be done with regards to the Second World War rather than the First.

Chapter III Female Artists and the Canadian War Records Program

When the First World War ended it was labeled as the war to end all wars. Unfortunately, the state of the world showed this to be optimistic thinking, as a new global conflict broke out in 1939. Canada was once again called upon to devote all of her resources and energies towards defeating the enemy, a task which occupied the whole country for the next six years. Canada's artistic community also strove to contribute its many creative talents to this war effort. An examination of the resulting war art not only reveals that a significant portion was created by female artists, but also that a number of pertinent issues focus on the subject of women, art and the Second World War. Because of the scope of this study, it will be necessary to consider these aspects in two parts. The first centered around the country's official war art program will be examined in this chapter. The second, centered on independent, non-commissioned projects by female artists will be examined in the following chapter.

The role played by Canadian female artists within the

official Canadian War Records (CWR) program during the Second World War has yet to be fully considered. Questions as to which female artists were active in the program, what was the nature of their participation, and what were the reasons why so many were rejected beg to be answered. As in the chapter on women artists in the First World War further questions remain concerning the influence Canadian War Records officials exerted upon commissioned artists in the choice of subject and medium used.

After the outbreak of hostilities and Canada's declaration of war on Germany on September 10, 1939, artists were quick to offer their services to aid the cause. As early as October 23, 1939, H.O. McCurry, Eric Brown's successor as director of the National Gallery of Canada, was informing the Deputy Minister of the Department of National Defence that he was receiving such offers from artists.(1) The Canadian government, however, was slow to act upon the offers; and it was not until 1943 that an official war art program got underway. In the meantime, artists themselves had tried to find ways of becoming ~~more~~ more involved with the war effort. In June 1941, the Conference of Canadian Artists was held at Kingston, Ontario. At this historic conference, which brought artists from across Canada together for the first time, extensive discussions took place about a variety of

problems that Canadian artists had to contend with, including their desire to aid in the war effort.(2) Possible solutions, including the formation of an official war art program, and the use of artists to design war posters, were among the subjects discussed.

A tangible development which came out of the Kingston Conference was the birth of the Federation of Canadian Artists. This national organization evolved from the idea that if artists were better organized they might combat their problems in a variety of areas more effectively. It was with this goal in mind that the Federation of Canadian Artists worked during the war. For instance, it petitioned the federal government in 1943 to involve Canadian artists more closely in the war effort. A long list of practical suggestions about how this could be accomplished was included with the petition.(3) For example, it was suggested that artists be utilized for camouflage work, war murals and poster work.

Nonetheless, artists were not alone in becoming frustrated by the government's tardiness in developing programs involving artists with the war effort. Martin Baldwin, director of the Art Gallery of Toronto, informed delegates at the 1941 Kingston artists' conference that his

gallery had become so discouraged with the government's poster campaign for the war loan that it had decided to hold a war poster competition of its own.(4) The resulting competition which attracted hundreds of entries from across the country was a vivid demonstration of the great desire of artists to participate in any and all projects concerning the war.

The dreams of some Canadian artists were satisfied when the government finally got its official war art program underway. Vincent Massey, Canada's High Commissioner to London, and H.O. McCurry, Director of the National Gallery of Canada, had worked for four years to get such a program established. The main reason for the lengthy process was that the federal government, unwilling to waste precious time and resources, and fearful that a war art scheme would consist of a lot of large, unwanted canvases by "modern" artists, actually resisted their efforts until the fall of 1942.(5) Yet, it was not until the following year that the Canadian War Records (CWR) program was formally implemented. The program, with input from the Defence Council of the Department of National Defence, was overseen by two committees. One was an Ottawa-based group, the Canadian War Artists Committee, chaired by H.O. McCurry who together with historical officers from each of the three divisions of the

armed forces, Dr. G.N. Tucker from the Navy, Colonel A.F. Duguid from the Army and Wing Commander K.B. Conn from the Air Force, were responsible in theory for selecting the participating artists and directing their work while in Canada.(6) This Committee also received important advice about selecting the artists and directing the work from a very select group of Canadian artists which included amongst others, A.Y. Jackson, Charles Comfort and Edwin Holgate. In London, England, a second and separate committee, the War Artists Overseas Control Committee, was created to run the program's overseas operations. Vincent Massey headed the London branch.

From conception to conclusion, the CWR's focus was to document pictorially the activities of Canada's armed services at home and abroad. McCurry and the Canadian War Artists Committee, with the assistance and lobbying of the artist Fred Taylor, tried to have the CWR expanded to include documentation of additional aspects of the country's war effort, such as its industrial contributions; but they were never able to secure the monetary support to see this second phase of the CWR fulfilled. Despite the CWR's rather limited scope, artists were selected to participate in a variety of ways. But the primary method was by appointment from the Canadian War Artists Committee as official war artists.(7) By

the end of the war, thirty-three Canadian artists including Charles Comfort, Campbell Tinning, William Ogilvie and Alex Colville had been given this distinction. However, only one woman, Molly Lamb, was so commissioned in 1945, making her Canada's first and only official female war artist. Lamb's experiences and work as a war artist demonstrates not only how CWR officials made their selections and directed the artistic output, but also the many situations and difficulties female artists encountered working within the armed forces and within the CWR program.

Molly Lamb was born in 1922 in Vancouver and enlisted with the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) in Vancouver on November 18, 1942. Fresh out of the Vancouver School of Art and only twenty years old, Lamb joined the army for a chance at adventure and with the firm intention of becoming a war artist.(8) Her dreams of becoming a war artist are reflected throughout the pages of an illustrated diary that she kept from the moment she entered the CWACs (Fig. 32 & 33).(9) The diary served as well to promote Lamb's potential as a war artist. For example, while she was enrolled in the spring of 1943 in a hated drafting course in Toronto, Lamb looked up an old friend of her father's, the painter A.Y. Jackson. At this time, she conveyed her desire to officially create war records for the CWACs to Jackson and showed Jackson her

illustrated journal.(10) Jackson was so taken with the work, and with the potential it exhibited, that he immediately began a personal lobby to have the young CWAC made a war artist. To H.O. McCurry Jackson wrote:

(Lamb) has a sketch book and diary combined. Tough job carrying it round. Drawings rubbish a bit but they are very real stuff. The army from the inside as only a girl could see it. I know of no woman artist in Canada who could do such stuff under such conditions. If she had a half a chance she could go places.(11)

Equally enthusiastic words about Lamb and her unique diary were expressed through the pages of the Canadian Army's news magazine Khaki in April 1945 where it was reported that:

L/Cpl Molly Lamb has probably the most fascinating scrapbook in the world...In the journal she keeps not only a furiously funny, and starkly true record of her army life- but illustrates it with her own unflattering drawings of herself and her friends. It is a riot- and a masterpiece.(12)

Favourable remarks such as these helped to focus attention upon Lamb as a possible war artist. However, recognition of Lamb's potential by CWR officials and Lamb's military superiors was not based solely upon her war diary, but also upon other wartime art records she was presenting elsewhere. For example, in July 1943, Lamb had succeeded in having three of her CWAC drawings purchased by the Art

Gallery of Toronto. Two months later New World Illustrated, an important Canadian periodical of the time, published a series of her drawings in its September issue. One of the drawings illustrated, Pay Parade (Fig. 34), depicted a typical scene inside the CWACs' St. Clair Barracks in Toronto. In publishing Lamb's work the magazine observed that:

The war, with its shifts in population, its new jobs and trades, has concentrated the attention of Canadian artists on their fellow man. They see Canada as a land peopled with human beings, and they find a rich store of human material for the artist who is willing to come out from behind the Canadian Shield. Out of this new interest come an art vigorous and full of life. Like Molly Lamb's drawings it may lack technical gloss, but it is honest, sympathetic, and has a wonderful eye for detail.(13)

For Lamb the human presence in her pictures was then and has consistantly remained an important element. Unlike other artists, however, it was not something that was generated by the war. Rather, she had been interested in people as a subject since her childhood, particularly in the presentation of people gathered together in large groups.(14) The war effort with its various drills and parades offered a perfect opportunity for her to develop this interest further.

Further recognition of Lamb's abilities was achieved

when she placed second in the 1944 Canadian Army Art competition with her painting Meal Parade, Hamilton Trades School (Fig. 35). The 1944 Canadian Army Art competition was sponsored by the Department of National Defence and organized by the Directorate of Auxiliary Services (Army). It was open to all personnel serving in the Canadian army and stationed either in Canada or adjacent territory. A condition of the competition was that the entries' subjects had to pertain to some aspect of the Canadian Army and its activities during the Second World War. Lamb reportedly contributed four of the sixty-four works entered from Military District No. 2 and Camp Borden.(15) That area's entries were then reviewed by a local committee of judges consisting of painters A.Y. Jackson, Alfred Casson and the art collector and gallery owner Douglas Duncan. The selection made by this preliminary jury was then sent on to the National Gallery of Canada where the pictures were joined by entries from other Canadian military districts for final judging and exhibiting. On March 21st the competition's results were disclosed. Bruno Bobak was declared the winner; second and third place was shared by Lamb and Robert Bruce. Lamb also won an honourable mention with her pencil sketch Dinner Parade. Yet, while Lamb's abilities as an artist were being readily and widely acknowledged, obtaining a commission as an official war artist proved to be a long and difficult task. The principal cause

was the ingrained attitudes held by the Armed Services about women serving as war artists.

In light of such attitudes, it is interesting to note that when the CWR program was initially formulated in 1942, inclusion of women as official war artists was not ruled out. In fact, the special committee appointed by the Defence Council to make recommendations for the employment of artists in the armed forces noted specifically that women could be employed under the same conditions as male war artists if the selection committee so advised.(16) This particular recommendation, however, proved to be difficult to implement, since the Armed Forces required that Official War Artists not only be good artists but also part of the active services with military training. Colonel C.P. Stacey, who served as head of the military's historical section overseas during the hostilities, in justifying this attitude makes clear the gender bias:

We always felt that a man would be a better artist if he was a soldier and had not just been dragged in by the ears and put into uniform. We thought that the best way to do it was to, if possible, find an artist in the Army, a competent artist, and make him a War Artist. He was likely to produce better results...(17)

The Armed Services' preference in appointing military trained artists to the CWR program probably explains why H.O.

McCurry was unable to obtain approval to have the female civilian painter, Paraskeva Clark, officially document the Royal Canadian Air Force's (RCAF) activities.(18) For while many of Canada's older professional artists were excluded from these official appointments because of age, physical disabilities and/or civilian duties which prevented them from entering active military service, it is more probable that in Paraskeva Clark's case, gender precluded her from being offered an official appointment. The Army's paternalistic attitude as expressed by Colonel Stacey and Colonel A.F. Duguid was representative of the other branches of the Services: the appointment of women as war artists was deemed undesirable because Official War Artists were sent to the areas of combat.(19)

Such attitudes not only handicapped female artists in the CWR program but also hampered the program's ability to build up a first rate collection of war art by effectively limiting the supply of acceptable artists. In turn, this situation helped to raise doubts amongst CWR officials that the CWR would be able to expand overseas because of the insufficient pool of well qualified artists to sustain it.(20) In an effort to alleviate the problem, Vincent Massey questioned why artists like Lilius Torrance Newton, A.Y. Jackson and David Milne who could not be considered for

overseas appointments, yet were both "qualified and free to work with the services" couldn't be used in some way(21) McCurry's response to Massey's inquiry about Newton was that it was unlikely Newton would be considered eligible for such work given the prejudice the Armed Services had for women.(22) Despite considerable pressure from Massey and others for the Military to modernize its ideas about female involvement in documenting the war pictorially, it was not until after the end of the Second World War that one branch, the Army, finally permitted the appointment of Molly Lamb as an Official War Artist.

In selecting Lamb as a war artist, several factors were considered. First as a CWAC, Lamb satisfied the Army's preference for looking within its own ranks for appropriate candidates. This is not to suggest that the CWACs had no other candidates from which to choose. For instance, Private Joy Bain (b. 1908), a student of the Winnipeg School of Art and the Ontario College of Art before the war, had expressed an interest in obtaining a post as a war artist. She had campaigned unsuccessfully with National Defence in 1942 and with the CWR program via H. O. McCurry in 1944 for just such an opportunity.(23) As well, Beulah Jaenicke (b. 1918), who had studied at the Canadian Institute of Associated Arts in Vancouver, had demonstrated her talents in a number of ways.

The Second Lieutenant's sketches had been published in Khaki and in C.W.A.C. News Letter, and her painting 0900 Hours, N.D.H.Q. (Fig. 36) was exhibited nationally in the 1944 Canadian Army Art competition. Jaenicke's potential as a war artist in fact was so well recognized that if Lamb had not been appointed as the CWAC's Official War Artist, the job may have been offered to Jaenicke.(24) Several other CWACs, including Lance Corporal Cathryne Blackley, Private H.E. Herbert, Private Patricia Howden and Private Mary Wilson, could all have been considered as possible war artists.(25) Although CWR and Army officials had several female artists who met their criteria to choose from, it was Molly Lamb they finally selected.

A major factor which undoubtedly helped to bring about Lamb's appointment in May 1945 was the artist's own persistence in striving to become a war artist and the unmeasurable support she received from others, like A.Y. Jackson and H.O. McCurry, to do so. Such support is well reflected in a letter McCurry wrote to Lamb's supervisor, Captain Ed Harris, in October 1944:

I have just seen some more examples of the work of Cpl. Molly Lamb and I am convinced that it would be a distinct loss to the Army art records if she is not given every possible opportunity to record the work of the Canadian Women's Army Corps before it is too late.(26)

The CWACs, too, were anxious to see Lamb made a war artist.(27) Realizing the significant role its division had played to Canada's war effort at home and abroad, CWAC officials stressed the need for the CWR program to include records of its activities so as to guarantee that a complete record of the Army's wartime role was achieved.(28) The CWACs also requested that their activities be "depicted from the viewpoint of one who (was) ...a member of the Corps."(29) The Canadian War Artists Committee was in full agreement with these ideas believing that the women's services of each division, "should be recognized by the appointment of one woman artist in each service."(30) Acting on this belief the Committee had repeatedly recommended Lamb's name to Defence Council as a suitable artist since May 1944. Not for a full year, however, was its recommendation acted upon. One might well ask why the delay? No doubt it was largely because of the military's already stated prejudice against female war artists. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that Lamb was not actually sent abroad as an Official War Artist until June 1945, after the fighting in Europe had ended.

As a result of the difficulties McCurry encountered in having female artists officially appointed as war artists, he

attempted another strategy to acquire art records of each of the three Canadian women's divisions. In ways outside the requirements of the CWR, McCurry set about employing a select group of female artists through the National Gallery of Canada to document the enlisted women's contributions.(31) For instance, as early as the fall of 1944, McCurry was able to employ Lamb as a war artist for the CWACs. More specifically, McCurry was able to make use of a scheme the Canadian War Artists Committee had approved in March 1943 which allowed the CWR program to use the "spare time" services of qualified professional artists already enlisted in the armed forces. Under the plan, artists approved by the Committee were given artistic materials and permitted to paint. However, their artistic endeavours could not interfere with their regular active duty. A further stipulation of the scheme called for any work so created to be submitted to the Committee for consideration with the provision that should any of that material be accepted for acquisition a nominal fee would then be paid to the artist.(32)

At the time McCurry approached her about working in her spare time for the CWR, Lamb was working as a set and costume designer with the Army Show in Toronto. She was very receptive to the idea, as were her Army superiors. For example, Captain Ed Harris, her Army Show officer, not only

agreed to give her time to paint but also provided her with a large room at the Army Show's facilities to serve as her studio. Eager to begin work on her newly assigned project, Lamb responded quickly to McCurry's request for a rough outline of what she proposed recording.(33) She suggested the Army Show would offer appropriate subject matter.(34) McCurry, however, disagreed and responded with the following advice:

It is natural for you to do some things of the Army Show first bur (sic) we want a much broader outlook than that, eventually. Can you make arrangement to do more general subjects? For example, no one has yet done a decent picture of the CWACs on parade...(35)

In the end, Lamb's output was a combination of Army Show records and more general CWAC subjects. In early October 1944, Lamb travelled to Ottawa with six completed works, three paintings and three drawings. The drawings all depicted the CWAC Number 2 District Depot, Trinity Barracks in Toronto; while the paintings were of an Army Show dressing room at Christie Street Hospital in Toronto, the CWAC barracks at Quebec City and a CWAC parade in a city street.(Fig. 37) Her canvas of marching CWACs on parade was done in answer to McCurry's request that she document the typical CWAC subject.(36) All were well received by McCurry and the artist was encouraged to continue creating war art records in her spare time. To this end, she was sent to

Kitchener to document the CWAC's basic training centre. However, after this short trip, it proved more difficult for Lamb to use her 'spare time' for war work as heavy demands were made by the Army Show.(37) And when she did have a free moment, the atmosphere was not always conducive to painting. Writing to McCurry on October 20, 1944, Lamb in relating how the Army Show was moving to another building, also revealed the distracting environment:

In the meantime we are trying to concentrate while a great deal of hammering is going on. This place is being taken over by the Rehabilitation people and I am sharing a room with an accordian (sic) player. He is playing like mad and the hammering never stops. So I have no chance to paint-it is even hard to draw the sets and costumes for the three new shows.(38)

Other artists experienced similar problems while trying to create war art in their "spare time". Private Joy Bain, for instance, felt her entries in the 1944 Canadian Army Art Competition had suffered because she had had neither adequate time or facilities in which to prepare them.(39) Even some officially appointed war artists had difficulties securing adequate studio space. One such artist was Lieutenant Rowley Murphy. An Official War Artist with the Canadian Navy, his studio accommodation while stationed at Esquimalt, B.C., was no more than "a passageway in a shed between two rows of bricks" which was very dusty and dirty because of workmen removing the bricks.(40) (Fig. 38) Despite such less than

perfect working conditions, Rowley and many other artists in the Armed Forces persevered and succeeded in creating a variety of important paintings and drawings. The strength of the work produced under these conditions can be judged by the fact that the Trustees of the National Gallery of Canada selected and purchased nine of Molly Lamb's CWAC works done during her stint as a "spare time" war artist for the country's war art collection.

In addition to Lamb's work, funds furnished by the National Gallery enabled McCurry to commission Pegi Nicol MacLeod (1904-1949) and Paraskeva Clark to supplement the war art collection with records of the women's services. MacLeod was the first female artist whom McCurry was able to employ for this task. Beginning in August 1944, she worked for two months in Ottawa sketching and painting all three women's divisions. The following fall, MacLeod returned to Ottawa for a few weeks where she continued her war record work for the National Gallery.

At the time of MacLeod's selection as a National Gallery of Canada war artist she was already a well known Canadian artist having regularly shown her work since 1926 in different exhibitions such as the Royal Canadian Academy and the Canadian Group of Painters. Even after moving with her

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husband to New York City in 1937, MacLeod's close association with the Canadian art scene was maintained. She attended the 1941 Canadian Artists Conference in Kingston, Ontario and was a member of the Federation of Canadian Artists. Beginning in 1940, she was also to spend each summer in Fredericton, New Brunswick teaching art at the Fiddlehead Observatory Art Centre at the University of New Brunswick. Certainly, the Canadian War Artists Committee felt secure enough about MacLeod's artistic abilities to include her name on a list it compiled in December 1942 of potential female war artists.(41)

As with other artists during the Second World War, MacLeod expressed a desire to contribute to the war effort. One of her early ideas was a war poster she suggested to McCurry in October 1940.(42) Later, MacLeod was to try her hand at documenting different wartime subjects in New York City and Fredericton. Still unsatisfied with what she was able to achieve on her own, MacLeod let it be known that she would welcome a chance at becoming an Official Canadian War Artist.(43) McCurry too was interested in having the artist paint war records on a more formal basis. Therefore, he suggested in July 1944 that she come to Ottawa for an experimental month to see what "vital stuff" she could record about each of the women's services.(44) In making his offer,

McCurry did not propose that MacLeod work within the CWR program as a civilian artist commissioned to record a set topic, but rather, that she work on special assignment for the National Gallery because "the Services (were) still prejudiced against appointing women artists into the Services".(45) In return for her work, and subject to the approval of the Trustees of the National Gallery, MacLeod was told that she would have her travelling costs, artist's materials and an honorarium of three hundred dollars paid by the National Gallery.(46)

In assigning the project to MacLeod, McCurry seems to have left it much up to the artist's discretion about how and what she documented. His primary concern was that she get the project underway as soon as possible for he believed the war would end soon.(47) Before anything could be started, however, MacLeod had to consider her family responsibilities and find someone to look after her small daughter while she was in Ottawa. Happily the situation was resolved when MacLeod's parents, who also lived in Ottawa, agreed to look after their grandchild.(48)

Once able to devote herself to documenting Canada's women in uniform, MacLeod went at it with great gusto and managed to complete ninety-six sketches and paintings within

a short two months. Watercolours like Untitled (WRCNs in Dining Room) and Beauty Parlour (Fig. 41 and 40) testify to MacLeod having been inspired by her subjects. Working with her customary vibrant colours and expressionistic line, these two watercolours are also typical of MacLeod's war records in their spontaneity and energy, and which focus upon the "daily" events of the service women. In several of her war records, such as Untitled (At the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service Dance) (Fig. 39), MacLeod's fascination with crowds is clearly evident. The play of colour, movement and pattern in such scenes had always interested MacLeod and while in Ottawa she had ample opportunity to explore the subject in her art.

For Macleod her special commission "represented a sort of painting holiday--orgy, sans housework." (49) More than that, however, she recognized the vital importance her war work served to document women's contributions to the Armed Services for posterity. McCurry in commenting upon MacLeod's war material to Molly Lamb in September 1944, proclaimed that MacLeod was "producing some excellent stuff." (50) However, not everyone's reaction to Macleod's art was so favourable, a fact obvious in a letter McCurry wrote to the painter in July 1945 in which he asks if she had done anything more about war records; anything that is that would not horrify the Service

members of the Canadian War Artists Committee.(51) It would also seem that MacLeod's second commission to paint war records in 1945 was the result of dissatisfaction of the women's division of the Navy who wanted MacLeod to "do them over again and do them better."(52) Undoubtedly, the conservative-minded Military Service wanted MacLeod to employ a more accurate, documentary style, a style considerably less impressionistic and more attentive to detail. This concern over accuracy is further highlighted by one occasion when a Commanding Officer in Ottawa was reportedly furious after viewing some of MacLeod's pictures because her depictions of medals were not literally true.(53)

MacLeod herself believed that her subjects called for a realistic treatment; but obviously her definition of realism as a modernist did not correspond with that of the Military.(54) She had never been one to fill her paintings with lots of detail, preferring instead to work quickly and to capture the spirit of the subject rather than simply to present a dry, photographic-like image. However, against her natural inclinations, MacLeod did try to make her style conform to one more acceptable to the Armed Services. Writing in September 1945 to her friend Marian Scott, she explained:

I am deep-tied to surface realities. I don't know that you would like my W.R.C.N.'s very much but I feel they are for a certain public and it's rather

reportage than literature but even so it's not in my best taste.(55)

Under normal circumstances it is unlikely that MacLeod would have been so willing to compromise her standards. Yet, the war was an unusual time and the artist was eager to contribute her fair share to the war effort.

The second artist to be commissioned through the National Gallery to document Canada's women's services was Paraskeva Clark (née Plistik). This Russian-born and trained artist had moved from Paris to Toronto in 1931 upon marrying Philip Clark. By the Second World War her artistic reputation in Canada had evolved to the point that she was considered by H.O. McCurry to be one of the country's outstanding artists.(56) She was also the artist whom the Canadian War Artists Committee unanimously recommended to Defence Council to create war records of the RCAF in April 1944.(57) At first, Clark was very willing to accept the challenge which war records work offered. A challenge she viewed as being a great adventure and something that would be good for her painting.(58) By the spring of 1944, however, her enthusiasm for the project had become tempered by her concern over her family situation.(59) In November 1943, her eldest son Ben had become ill and as a result much of Clark's time and energy was devoted to looking after him rather than

to her art.

Despite her problems at home, Clark at one point seems to have been prepared to consider an official appointment in the CWR program had McCurry been able to secure one.(60) McCurry's proposal had called for Clark to be appointed to document the women's division of the R.C.A.F. for a six month period(61). Unfortunately the military's prejudice against women prevented this from happening. This attitude did not stop McCurry from hiring Clark to paint war records, it just delayed it by some months and caused her to be hired by the National Gallery rather than the CWR program.

After initially suggesting that Clark focus her attentions upon documenting the activities of the RCAF's women's division, McCurry later broadened her project to encompass all three of Canada's women's services. He also instructed the artist on the types of records he wanted her to paint. For instance, he was not "anxious to have more studies of girls working in kitchens, offices and that sort of thing..."(62), something that Wing Officer W. Taylor of the RCAF actually proposed Clark do.(63) Instead, he wanted from Clark records "of an inspirational nature"(64), ones which "would effectively signalize this great development ... of Canada's women taking their place in the fighting

forces."(55) Similar instructions had been given by CWMF officials to female war artists like Frances Loring and Florence Wyle during the previous World War; however the emphasis then had been to record the contributions Canada's female population were making to the industrial war effort.

Clark, although excited over the prospect of beginning a war records project about a subject she had long considered to be ideal for a female artist,(66) got a very late start in beginning her assignment. Due to official bureaucracy and Clark's own family responsibilities, it was not until January 3, 1945 that the artist was able to go to the RCAF base at Trenton, Ontario for a week to observe and sketch the Women's Division of the RCAF. Clark found the experience to be both interesting and pleasant. She did find the working conditions difficult, as much of what she witnessed was to her pictorially uninteresting.(67) By January 1945 the air force's training program had ended, and there was not the same level of activity or variety of work being done by RCAF women as had occurred earlier in the war. It seems that the main task for women stationed at Trenton by early 1945 was clerical in nature and Clark was hard pressed to satisfy McCurry's request for records of an inspirational nature. To appease McCurry's desire for such records Clark proposed that the "drama" of the paintings could be purely pictorial.(68)

She suggested that she examine some of the very special jobs RCAF women had done during the war and then impress upon them all the possible pictorial drama of settings that were in her command.(69) This was accomplished in Parachute Riggers (Fig. 42) with its bird's eye viewpoint and its dramatic angles.

Although Clark eventually completed four paintings about the Women's Division of the RCAF, only three, Maintenance Jobs in the Hangar (Fig. 43), Parachute Riggers (Fig. 42) and Quaicker Girls (Fig. 44), became part of the War Records Collection. Clark's first canvas, Bed Time Story, a slightly humorous effort about RCAF women in house coats, was accepted and purchased by the National Gallery in the spring of 1945. Later that same year, Clark requested the return of the work because as she described it, it was a terrible failure "with its incompetent drawing, bad proportions etc".(70) What happened to this work after its return to Clark is unknown. Possibly she carried through with her idea to cut it down to a smaller size and to repaint parts of it.(71) It does seem that Clark was overly critical in her condemnation of the work; others did not judge it so harshly, since it was accepted for the 1946 Canadian Group of Painters annual exhibition.(72) McCurry while thinking that Bed Time Story was a little sophisticated for the war records purpose, also considered it to be a good painting.(73)

Bed Time Story was not the only war work with which Clark was dissatisfied. She was never happy with any of the work she attempted for the war records project.(74) For example, although she went home inspired after a two day visit to the HMCS "Conestoga" in Galt, Ontario in March 1945 where she sketched the Navy's women in action, upon trying to work up her sketches she found the task impossible. Explaining to McCurry that:

It isnt (sic) factual as all my R.C.A.F. subjects- but more in the field of "expressing the idea, the impression I got at the Conestoga" and I find it very hard to put it on canvas... And I begin to be panicy (sic).(75)

Clark had a difficult time with her entire war records assignment and eventually acknowledged to McCurry that it had been beyond her abilities.(76) Part of Clark's problems, lack of time and the inability to concentrate fully upon the project, was caused by her complicated family life. McCurry's desire for works of an inspirational and dramatic nature about the women's divisions of the Armed Forces also caused Clark consternation because she believed that there was no drama there:

(the) dramatic subject in Canadian Womens (sic) life (was) not among (the) C.W.A.C. but among (the) millions (of) women, who stayed in their homes, carrying (sic) on some jobs, some responsibilities

plus their usual home duties, -with their hearts full of constant pain longing and sorrow, for their men gone fighting.(77)

Clark was never able to document any of the subjects that she personally felt deserved attention because she doubted her own ability to capture the "drama and pathos" of those subjects to canvas. She was also convinced that the National Gallery did not want such war records. In this she was wrong. In August 1945 the National Gallery expressed interest in any war records Clark did, even if she were to:

...depart from the women's services and do something to commemorate the great job which millions of women have done by carrying on the added responsibilities which came to them all as a result of the war.(78)

Neither Clark or any other female artist working either for the CWR program or for the National Gallery in this period would document this aspect of Canada's female war effort. It was only through the efforts of a few women artists working independently of Canada's official war art program that the war experiences of the country's female civilian population were documented at all. For example, Elizabeth Cann (1901-1977), a maritime artist noted for her insightful portraiture of women, completed one painting which embodied a whole group of women during wartime. In The War

Bride (A Soldier's Wife), (Fig. 45) c. 1941, the life of many young newly-wed Canadian women during this period is beautifully captured. Left behind by their soldier husbands and expected to keep the home fires burning, the war brides' existence was typically one of isolation and never ending fatigue from doing countless routine domestic duties. Cann's psychological work of the young woman staring blankly into space, mechanically stirring the contents of a precariously tipped bowl, reflects the effects of that forced isolation and of the heavy work load thrust upon the war bride. Her painting also demonstrated that there were other casualties during the war besides the physical loss of life; there was also the loss of innocence and youth.

While war records like Cann's were not acquired as part of the War Records Collection, contributions by female artists to that collection were not strictly limited to material which only focused upon the women's divisions of the Armed Services. To a limited extent, female talent was also employed to paint the regular activities of Canada's navy and air force at home. In late June 1942 Bobs Coghill-Haworth (1904-1988) and her husband Peter, wanting to do something for the war effort, volunteered their services to McCurry. Their initial proposal was for the two of them to make sketches of certain war activities along Canada's coastal

regions. They indicated their willingness to give any material that resulted from their trip, and which turned out satisfactorily, to the National Gallery or to the Canadian government. All they asked for in return was a free rail pass to get them to and from their chosen subjects and a permit to sketch anywhere they wished.(79) It was an offer which merited serious consideration, as both the Haworths were artists of note in Toronto, and the offer of virtually free war records for the taking was of immense interest to McCurry. However, because permission first needed to be obtained from Defence authorities for the artists to work in prohibited areas, and as the Haworths themselves were only available in July and August to work on the project,(80) it was mutually decided that any war records work should be postponed until the following summer.(81)

The next year, with the assistance of McCurry, the Canadian Pacific Railroad(82) and the various branches of the Armed Forces, the Haworths spent a very successful summer on Canada's Pacific coast documenting the air force and navy. Bobs Haworth alone returned to Toronto in September with 27 completed gouache drawings which mainly depicted RCAF stations and aircraft from Vancouver north along the British Columbia coast. Works like Stranraer-Spraying Zinc Chromate and Patricia Bay, Repair-Lysander (Fig. 46 & 47) are typical

examples of her work from that time and reflect her confident and masterful handling of subject and technique. In these works as well, her preference for strong colours and forms are shown to have been well suited to documenting Canada's modern machines of war.

What Bobs Haworth's war art also demonstrated was that when given the opportunity, a female artist was as capable of creating strong and vital war records of a non-female oriented subject as any man. This point can be clearly seen by comparing Bolingbroke, Major Overhaul (Fig. 48) by Bobs Haworth with Repair Job, Canso, P.B.Y. (Fig. 49) by Peter Haworth. Both works deal with the subject of airplane repair during the war; however they do so in very different ways. For example, by using a different medium than her husband, gouache rather than watercolour, and by coupling it with a more painterly style, Bobs Haworth's work is crisper and cleaner in feeling than her husband's. It is also less studied in approach and considerably less dry in colour. Whatever differences exist between the two artists' war art, their collection was certainly praised for its excellence. Lawren Harris was very impressed with the calibre of their war work and he arranged for a selection of it to be exhibited at the Vancouver Art Gallery in January 1944.(83) The Canadian War Artists Committee also liked what it was

shown and selected half a dozen records by each of the Haworths for its collection.(64)

Perhaps one of the reasons the Haworths were so successful with their war records in 1943 was that unlike other artists who worked officially within the CWR program or who were commissioned by the National Gallery to paint selected war subjects, Bobs Haworth and her husband received few or no instructions from McCurry or other officials on what subjects they were to document or how they were to go about recording the subjects. The choice of project was essentially left up to the artists, McCurry merely requesting that they provide him with a brief outline of what they were interested in painting so that he could then go to the proper authorities to secure the necessary permits.(85) On arriving on the west coast in July 1943 the Haworths' freedom with the project was continued. They were afforded every consideration by the Western Air Command, including provision of excellent working facilities and access to some flying. Their project was also facilitated by the Navy. However, at no time does it appear as if their output was dictated by the Services. This is in sharp contrast to the detailed instructions some appointed war artists received. Carl Schaefer and Edward J. Hughes, for example, received a copy of a document which had been drawn up by Colonel A. Fortescue

Duguid, Director of the Army Historical Section with the input of the Navy and Air Force and approved by the Canadian War Artists Committee in March 1943, presenting them with a lengthy list of directives, in order of priority, of subjects that were to be documented and which ones they were not to document, such as portraiture. Entitled "Instructions for War Artists", this document even listed how many war records by medium and size a war artist was expected to turn out in a six month period.(86) Whether Canada's only official female war artist, Molly Lamb, was ever guided by the "Instructions for War Artists" when she was finally appointed to the CWR program in May 1945 is unknown. The artist was, however, thoroughly briefed about the program in Ottawa before being sent overseas in July 1945 to document the CWACs.(87)

Once overseas, Lamb depicted many of the day to day tasks in which the CWACs were involved. Drawings like Switchboard Operators and Folding Sheets (Fig. 50 and 51) give a good flavour of the type of duties Canadian army women were assigned overseas. Often, as is reflected in these works, the jobs given to women were tedious and boring; but all were necessary in ensuring Canada's total war effort. In attempting to create as complete a record of the CWACs' war experiences as was possible, Lamb's war art not only captured CWACs at work but also examined their off hours activities.

For example, Baseball Game in Hyde Park, London (Fig. 52) is one of several Lamb painted of the CWACs' recreational activities. The watercolour depicts a baseball game that was played by the 41 Coy. CWACs and the 50 Coy. CWACs, two teams which were part of the CWAC overseas baseball league, a league, which according to Lamb, was the "chief sporting interest of most service women".(88)

Lamb's overseas stint as an Official War Artist was comparatively shorter in duration than the other army war artists with whom she worked with like Bruno Bobak and Campbell Tinning.(89) However, it was an experience Lamb never forgot, particularly the six weeks she spent sketching in France, Holland and Germany. That period was seen by Lamb as being among the richest and most exciting weeks of her life.(90) Provided with a driver and a vehicle and given complete freedom to go wherever and to do whatever she liked, Lamb managed to complete about sixty sketches.(91) Back in London and later still in Canada, Lamb managed to work up some of those sketches into finished canvases.

In painting for the CWR program, Lamb basically treated all of the same subjects that her male colleagues did, save one - death. The absence of this dramatic war subject in Lamb's art may partially be explained in that by the time

Lamb was appointed to the Canadian War Records program the actual fighting in Europe had ended. She had no opportunity to witness killing and death first-hand. She did however take in the massive destruction caused by the war and the dark, often hostile atmosphere that hung over Europe after the war had ended. In works such as Wilhelmshaven, at Night and Ruins of Emmerich, Germany (Fig. 53 and 54) Lamb's reaction to the destruction and the prevalent feelings of the time can be viewed. For instance, the drawing Wilhelmshaven, at Night depicts not only a street in Wilhelmshaven that was almost totally destroyed during the war(92), it also records the dangerous tension which existed in the town in the fall of 1945. According to Lamb, Wilhelmshaven was quite a hostile place as "...the town was full of German sailors yet in uniform, who seemed not to have accepted the news of their defeat."(93) Lamb's attempt to visualize that atmosphere is reflected in her choice of medium. She employed charcoal to create a dark, foreboding type feeling in her drawing. The ghost-like forms of the ruined buildings, the eerie moon, and the scraped-out figures peopling Lamb's composition combine as well to strengthen that feeling of tension Lamb experienced while visiting Wilhelmshaven. Such a drawing shows Lamb's ability to handle the more serious subjects that the immediate postwar period offered to artists. Had Lamb been called upon to serve as a war artist on the front lines

while the war was still raging she might have succeeded in recording that aspect of the war equally well.

A very select group of female artists were permitted to contribute to Canada's official war art collection. As has been seen in this chapter, the country's female artistic community was more than willing and able to contribute their talents to the CWR scheme, but they were often prevented from doing so. Open discrimination against appointing women as war artists, and the enforcement of various restrictions on those women who did manage to be given commissions succeeded in limiting the response women were able to make with war records. At other times, family responsibilities prevented some women from creating as many and as good a war record as they would have liked. Despite all of these problems and handicaps, some female artists persevered and succeeded in contributing a valuable, if small number of works to Canada's permanent war art collection.

Chapter IV: Female Artists Outside the War Art Program

Pictorialization of the Second World War by Canadian female artists was not limited to only those who obtained commissions with the CWR program or through the National Gallery of Canada. A substantial number of women instead created war art through independent or privately-sponsored means. Unfortunately, since the end of the Second World War, the identity and the whereabouts of the work of this group of female war artists has been largely forgotten or ignored. It is a situation that needs to be rectified if one is to accurately gain an understanding of the contributions Canada's entire female artistic community made to documenting the Second World War. Therefore, one of the purposes of this chapter is to determine who these female participants were, and the range of their war records in terms of subject. Another issue which will be dealt with as well relates again to the obstacles which this group of independently working women may have had to contend with while documenting the war. Did they, for example, face the same discriminatory prejudices that female war artists working on an official or semi-official level often encountered? These issues when

combined serve to present a much clearer image of the contributions women made to visualizing Canada's Second World War war effort.

Marion Long (1892-1970), a senior Canadian portrait artist, was one such artist who devoted a significant amount of her time and talent to the war effort. For example, while working as a volunteer in the Active Service Canteen on Adelaide Street in Toronto in the fall of 1941, Long decided to take advantage of the opportunity to paint a series of character studies of the service men who frequented that canteen. A solo exhibition of these wartime portraits, entitled "Men of the Fighting Forces", was shown in 1942 in Toronto, Montreal and London, Ontario to favourable reviews. One review by the Montreal Star proclaimed Long's work as one of the outstanding art achievements of the war.(1) The Montreal Gazette also acknowledged the high quality of Long's war portraiture by writing:

It is clear that this Toronto artist has found congenial material, and the bold direct handling, sound color and, on occasion, a sense of sketchy dash do make these canvases more than ordinarily interesting. She is particularly successful in capturing the character of her sitters...(2)

While it is not certain that Long's painting of a Canadian airman (Fig. 55) was displayed in this particular exhibition, it is representative of the type of work she exhibited in

1942. Dressed as if he were just returning from a raid, this young man displays the quality of youth that was characteristic of those in the RCAF. Yet despite his youth, Long's subject was already an experienced fighter, having participated in many raids over Germany by the time he posed for the artist.(3) In recalling these sittings Long told how:

He talked little of the war, but from the few things he said, I glimpsed what he had been through and his eyes and the lines around his mouth told the rest.(4)

All that Long saw in her subject's face has been convincingly translated through Long's bold style onto canvas. With his square set mouth and steady eyes, her portrait speaks of a man who had witnessed more than he should have at his age.

Throughout the war, Long continued to paint and exhibit her portraits of Canadian service men and women. To this collection she also added portraits of several members of the Royal Norwegian Air Force (Fig. 56) at Little Norway, an air training base on Toronto Island. For this work, she was later recognized by the Norwegian Government "for services to the Norwegian cause during the war" with the Haakon VII Liberation Medal.(5) In painting such works, Long's principal motivator was not financial gain. Rather, the privately-created portraits were Long's tribute of respect and admiration that she had for the men in the various

branches of the fighting forces.(6) Another reason for Long's motivation to create such a large group of independent war records may have been due to the encouragement she, together with other Canadian artists, received from the country's various art societies to produce war records. For example, the 1943 Ontario Society of Artists annual exhibition included a special section devoted to wartime works. As explained by the Society's president, Alfred Casson, the section was added "with the object of stimulating the production of works of art related to the war, and providing a permanent record of Canada's war effort on the home front."(7) Long's own contribution to this particular exhibition consisted of four war paintings, of which In Training (Fig. 57) was one of them.

Beyond the portrait studies Long made of wartime service personnel at her own initiative, her talents were sought commercially in 1943 for additional war images by the Imperial Tobacco Company. Commissioned by the company to create a series depicting typical Canadian service men, Long painted a total of eleven portraits. From that series, four portraits of Canadian sailors were then incorporated into Imperial Tobacco's wartime ad campaign for its Players Navy Cut cigarettes. Her portrait of Lawrence Mizener, for example, was one of the faces chosen to promote the sale of

cigarettes through Canadian billboard and magazine advertisements (Fig. 58). Mizener was selected by Long during a morning inspection when he was taking his basic training at the HMCS "York" in Toronto; her resulting portrait does more than merely capture the sailor's strong, handsome physical features. Through great understanding and skill on Long's part, the canvas also exudes the qualities of honesty, courage and quiet dignity that were obviously an integral part of Mizener's character at the time. Works like this caused Toronto art critic Pearl McCarthy to declare in 1945 that Long's wartime portraits were "the best work of her career." (8)

Long was not alone in creating powerful images of the war and its participants on the home front. Alma Duncan (b. 1917), a young Montreal trained artist, was involved not only in creating war art herself, but in organizations that sought to assist artists to become more integrated with Canada's war effort. For instance, she was an executive member of the Quebec branch of the Federation of Canadian Artists in 1942 and 1943; and in 1942 she was also named to a sub-committee of the organization which was set up to establish fuller use of artists' services with the military, war production committees and labour unions, so as to increase war production. (9) Duncan served as well as the treasurer of the

Writers', Artists', Broadcasters' and Musicians' War Council in Montreal.

Duncan's own war art activities covered a broad range of subjects and types. Among other things, she did some poster work, Hands Off the Americas (Fig. 59) being the war poster design for which she received the most recognition.(10) In 1942 it received honourable mention in New York's Museum of Modern Art's United Hemisphere Poster competition. As described in the Montreal Standard, Duncan's poster

showed Hitler, Mussolini and the Jap traitor neatly tied up in a bow of ribbon patterned with the flags of the twenty-one republics. The flags of the republics were worked out in several different compositional forms.(11)

The United Hemisphere competition received 855 submissions, of which 53, including Hands Off the Americas, were selected for exhibition throughout the western hemisphere.

Another facet to Duncan's war art contributions was a pair of finished paintings she did of the CWACs. Army Girl in Warehouse (Fig. 60), one of those two paintings (12), is of a rather quiet scene of a solitary CWAC working amongst two long aisles of khaki uniforms. While the painting does not present the work CWACs did in a very exciting light, the experience of sketching amongst this group of Canadian women

did cause Duncan to apply for an appointment as an official war artist to paint either the women's services or industrial works.(13) Wanting to participate more fully in Canada's war effort, and being young and single without any family responsibilities to consider, Duncan would have welcomed the chance to become an Official War Artist with an overseas assignment.(14) However, like other female artists who made similar offers to the CWR program, she was rejected outright because in 1943 no provision had yet been made within the CWR program to make a special record of the women's services.(15).

Duncan was also turned down in her application to be officially commissioned as a war artist of Canada's war industries because once again, no provision had been made for the CWR to collect records of that aspect of the war. Differing from the CWMF, which during the First World War had actively employed artists like Frances Loring, Florence Wyle and Robert Gagen to visualize the country's industrial efforts, the CWR program was limited to gathering material about Canada's armed forces contributions. Efforts were made by Harry McCurry to include other aspects of the war effort in by the CWR program, especially war industries, but the government was unwilling to provide the additional necessary support. One civilian war artist, Fred Taylor, even

submitted a proposal to the Government in July 1944 which called for the establishment of a separate war art program devoted entirely to the creation and acquisition of graphic records of Canada's industrial war effort.(16) Taylor's plan called for an amount of \$100,000 to be allocated for the scheme and for ten artists to be initially commissioned to work for one year each in "industrial centres, drawing and painting in the plants and mills, factories and mines, arsenals and shipyards...".(17) The plan died when the government refused to provide any of the requested funds.

With no official means of ensuring that the industrial side of Canada's war effort was artistically rendered, it was only through the efforts of artists working at their own initiative and at their own cost that this segment of the home front's activities were documented. Drawings like Men Cutting Steel Plate, Shipbuilding and Interior of Boiler Shop (Shipbuilding) (Fig. 61 and 62) are part of Alma Duncan's contribution to this valuable and important legacy of unofficial records. As a member of the Federation of Canadian Artists, Duncan's motivation to document Canada's war industries was no doubt helped along by the ideas and encouragement that were espoused by the organization on how and why such records should be created. For example, in December 1942, the Quebec branch of the Federation of

Canadian Artists held a conference in Montreal between representatives of employers, organized labour and artists; the conference was dedicated to devising ways to help link artists with the problem of increasing war production with respect to industry.(18) As well, it was by going through the Federation of Canadian Artists that Duncan was able to acquire the permits she needed to enter and sketch in two Montreal war plants, Canadian Industries Limited, a small-arms factory, and Canadian Vickers Limited, a shipbuilding yard. Certainly admittance to the Canadian Vickers' facilities should have been simple for Duncan because it was actually through her, as the member of the Quebec branch's sub-committee to increase artistic involvement with war industries, that other artists obtained entry.(19) Without the Federation of Canadian Artists' assistance in securing those permissions Duncan could possibly have been denied access, as Yvonne McKague Housser was, or, at the very least, could have experienced some trouble in obtaining the necessary permits because plant managements were often hesitant to allow artists onto their premises.(20) They had two fears: either such artists were spies, or if they were not spies, they might slow down production by being a "constant source of interest to the employees."(21)

Upon entering the plants, Duncan worked diligently every day for a number of weeks, sketching the many and varied activities she witnessed there. She would typically go into a site and look around until a feeling about something came to her, "shapes, either men or machines, or both together." (22) She would then proceed to describe the scene in rich and accurate detail. If possible, Duncan liked to include the human element in those drawings because she "was interested in what they (the workers) were doing and the way people (spent) hours everyday in those places..." (23) Perfectly suited for depicting those industrial subjects was Duncan's choice of medium, conté. Suitable not only in its portability for sketching on-the-spot, the black of the conté also suited the type of subjects she was dealing with as is shown in Interior of Boiler Shop (Shipbuilding) (Fig. 62). In this work the shop's physical conditions of filth and grime, of noise and shadows, are convincingly translated onto paper through her medium.

Duncan's collection of war imagery has been described as an art "not divorced from reality". (24) This is true; she did look and was inspired by the everyday activities of the common worker in Canada's war industries. However, Duncan cannot be regarded as the only female artist who treated this important subject during the Second World War. Frances

Loring, Florence Wyle and Dorothy Stevens , who had attempted similar work for Eric Brown during the First World War, all sculpted or painted material documenting Canada's war industries as well. Stevens, for example, exhibited a canvas in 1943 entitled The Forge, Massey-Harris Munitions with the Ontario Society of Artists. While the current whereabouts of this work is unknown, it does serve to point to the continuing interest this type of war subject held for the artist. This interest had originally surfaced during the First World War when Stevens obtained a commission from the CWMF to etch a series of prints about Toronto's industrial war activities.

During the Second World War, free of the restrictions an official war art commission would have imposed, Stevens' war art encompassed more than just industrial subjects. It also included portraits of war figures on the Canadian home front as demonstrated by a work Stevens' displayed at the 1941 Royal Canadian Academy exhibition of Lieutenant Commander Kaakon Jorgensen of the Royal Norwegian Air Force.(25) As well, Stevens' own personal war experiences provided her with material for documenting another aspect of the conflict at home, that of civilian women and the war effort. Working in Toronto's Active Service Canteen on Adelaide Street as one of its many, tireless female volunteers, Stevens recorded her

experiences there in My Day at the Canteen (Fig. 63). This painting is a rare behind-the-scenes look at some of the work women typically did in canteens, work which was certainly not glamorous or exciting. Dressed in starched uniforms, women worked for hours, standing, cooking and dishing out seemingly endless meals for service personnel, and all of it was done to serve the war effort. Stevens' painting is one of the few war art records that specifically addresses the response civilian women made to the cause, and for this reason alone it is important. The painting is also noteworthy in that it demonstrates Stevens continuing interest in examining Canada's fashionable society ladies in her art; however, instead of showing that group of women at leisure and in their finery as was her normal practice, Stevens chose to depict them in their wartime attire of starched uniform and working diligently for the cause as volunteers.

Just as the women in Stevens' painting strove to do their "bit" for Canada so too did Elizabeth Harrison (1907). This British born and trained artist had moved to Canada in 1933. When war broke out, she also attempted through a variety of means to involve herself as completely as possible with war records. Twice she appealed to H.O. McCurry to be given an official commission to draw the activities of the women's division of the RCAF.(26) Although employed with the

British High Commission in Ottawa at the time, she stated that she would willingly have given up her job if a commission could have been arranged.(27) In considering Harrison's offer, McCurry and A.Y. Jackson discussed the artist's abilities to create war records. While Jackson believed she possessed an "interesting sense of design", he expressed doubts about her work being realistic enough to be of any use for the job.(28) McCurry also had doubts about Harrison, and as a result she was never made an official war artist.(29) That decision is to be regretted, as the women's division of the RCAF was robbed of an artist who possessed the imagination and talent to have created some very interesting records of them.

As it was, she worked on her own, and in spite of working at a daily job, having her husband stationed overseas, and with the burden of having to care for their young daughter alone, Harrison drew in her spare time, and painted war subjects on weekends. Despite her frustrations about this experience, Harrison recalled that she "made the most of an unrepeatable opportunity."(30) Over the course of the war she created and exhibited a sizeable collection of war art. In 1941 her husband Eric wrote a series of articles on people doing different war jobs for the Montreal Gazette. Harrison took advantage of the situation by obtaining a

permit as "journalist's mate" which allowed her to sketch on the mine-sweeper HMS "Ironbound" at Kingston, Ontario. Taking the opportunity to fill an entire sketchbook with on-the-spot sketches, Harrison later worked up a number of them into finished paintings. For example, her sketches of a group of sailors huddled together splicing fenders on the deck of the "Ironbound" (Fig. 64) were later reworked into a single oil (Fig. 65) and exhibited in the Ontario Society of Artists 1943 annual exhibition. Splicing Fenders (Fig. 65) is an interesting look at a single activity that took place on board the mine-sweeper. Through her use of a bird's eye viewpoint and by filling her entire support with her closely knit composition, Harrison succeeded in creating a dramatic work of a generally uninspiring subject.

Harrison's talent for turning rather routine war scenes into artistically interesting works can also be seen in her painting Servicing a Bristol Bomber (Fig. 66). Painted from on-the-spot sketches she made while visiting the Trenton RCAF base one afternoon, the canvas shows a Bristol Bomber airplane being serviced in a hangar by a group of men. In this painting the artist has made the painting more exciting through the cropping of her subject, through her dashes of bright colour in an otherwise grey-blue composition and by her patterning of the light through the window. Harrison's

painting was not the only canvas to depict the work that took place in the Trenton air force base's hangars. Paraskeva Clark also took one of her war subjects from there as well. In Maintenance Jobs in the Hangar (Fig. 43) though, Clark was concerned with painting an intentionally dramatic work which showed a variety of jobs in which women were involved. In some ways Harrison's smaller canvas is the more successful of the two as it looks less contrived and is more thought-provoking.(31)

The war records of Elizabeth Harrison did not only deal with the official duties that Canadian military personnel carried out. Some of her paintings also reflect the general wartime mood of the country. For example, the atmosphere of a warm Saturday evening is beautifully captured in Saturday Night at Trois Rivières (Fig. 67). There is a feeling of life and spontaneity to the work, ranging from crowds of young men and women constantly moving about and enjoying themselves, to the pixie-type street lights that light up the night and direct one back through the composition. This was Saturday night, a night for Canada's youth to enjoy even in wartime. Harrison was inspired to paint this typical wartime scene after visiting her husband in 1943 at Trois Rivières where he was taking his basic training. Another Harrison work that documents the mood of the time is Cafeteria at the

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa (Fig. 68). Painted in 1944, it shows a different face of the Chateau Laurier Hotel than is normally documented. The artist was not concerned in picturing the hotel's impressive architecture in this work; rather she examined the hotel's key role as a favourite meeting place for people during the war. More than a social comment about the war, this painting is in reality an informal portrait of several notable people who were in Ottawa at the time. For example, within the painting are identifiable portrait sketches of a number of persons, including George Glazebrook from the Department of External Affairs; Jack Pickersgill, Secretary to Prime Minister King; Norman Robertson, Clerk to the Privy Council; Grant Macdonald a Canadian war artist; Jack Barwick of the Foreign Exchange Control Board and Joe Garner who was First Secretary to the British High Commissioner at the time.(32) No doubt the painting drew considerable comment when it was exhibited in April 1945 in "People in Wartime Ottawa" since it was a scene about personalities that many would have recognized and appreciated immediately.(33)

Several other Canadian female artists, including Elizabeth Wyn Wood, Isabel McLaughlin, Julia Crawford and Nancy Burden worked on additional independent projects. For instance, Elizabeth Wyn Wood and Julia Crawford both did work

about Canada's war industries. Isabel McLaughlin chose instead to sketch Canada's Armed Forces at a base in Pembroke; while it was Nancy Burden's design that won the competition sponsored by the Writers', Artists', Broadcasters and Musicians' War Council for a mural in Toronto's Union Station about the RCAF. While all of these female artists and others included the war in their art, the considerable efforts Marion Long, Alma Duncan, Dorothy Stevens and Elizabeth Harrison made towards interpreting the Second World War provides an ample framework from which to draw conclusions on the subject. The first is that although women creating independent war art records were sometimes frustrated and handicapped by social restrictions and fears, they do not appear to have suffered from the extreme discriminatory prejudices women typically encountered when attempting to work within Canada's official war art program. Also, by taking advantage of any opportunities that came their way, or at times by imaginatively creating their own opportunities, uncommissioned female artists pictured a wide range of war subjects in their art and in doing so produced their own personal vision of the conflict.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is evident that many Canadian women artists did create art designed to document or inspire the war effort. At the same time, it is clear that many more female artists contributed to documenting the war effort of the Second World War than the First World War, for a number of reasons. First there were more opportunities, both public and private, available to them. A partial listing of those opportunities include: the Canadian War Records program, commissions through the National Gallery of Canada and private commercial firms like the Imperial Tobacco Company, Canada's artists' societies like the Ontario Society of Artists and the Federation of Canadian Artists and the National Film Board war poster program. Second, societal attitudes were somewhat different during the Second World War. Women were more emancipated, they were also in the Armed Forces, and had proven their worth in terms of the war effort in the previous war.

However, in both wars, female artists shared the same experiences. For example, in neither conflict did any woman artist ever reach the battle front while the conflicts still

raged. Male and official prejudices ensured that this did not happen. Women artists of both wars also had to rely on men to propose or to sponsor their projects for them. And both of these situations existed in spite of the comparative quality of their work vis-à-vis their male colleagues'. What resulted was that women within their war art concentrated upon the home front, the women's divisions of the armed forces and civilian contributions to the war effort and they did it extremely well. One good aspect of the Second World War's art program was that young artists did get encouraged, like Molly Lamb, and the female contributions, particularly during the Second World War have been more fully documented, and made clearer to subsequent generations because of its existence.

Many aspects of the female artists' experience in the Wars remain to be explored. For example, these include the commercial art activities of the war and other war artist CWACs who have only been briefly touched on here. Even the present location of much of this art remains to be revealed. None of these avenues have been adequately explored as part of this thesis, but their absence does not in any way detract from the conclusion of this thesis. Had women artists been given more opportunities and the same freedom of movement and expression as their male colleagues enjoyed, both women's legacy of war art and our understanding of

Canada's experiences during the two World Wars would have been much richer, diverse and complete.

Footnotes

Chapter I: Female Artists and the Canadian War Memorials Fund: Framework, Process and Restrictions

1. National Gallery of Canada (hereafter NGC), Canadian War Memorials, 5.41-C, (General) File 1, "Canadian War Records Office Official Report", August 31, 1919: app. 1, "Canadian War Memorials Report of Executive Committee", p. 5.
2. Other countries, such as Australia and Britain, had already recognized the value of war records created by artists and had established ways to obtain such artistic works. For instance, the Australians first began utilizing artists to document their wartime efforts in 1915 with the Gallipoli Campaign; while the British created a department of pictorial propaganda in February 1916.
3. Maria Tippet, Art at the Service of War, (Toronto, 1984), p. 117.
4. Ibid., p. 23.
At Canadian War Records Office (CWRO) committee meetings in September 1916 it was suggested that the CWRO commission the British artist Richard Jack to paint a single war painting. Jack was eventually commissioned to document Canada's war effort; however, he was employed by the CWMF not the CWRO.
5. Ibid., p. 25.
6. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C (Carlyle, Florence), Eric Brown to J.B. Hunter, Deputy Minister of Department of Public Works, April 5, 1921.
7. During the war Sir Robert Borden was Canada's Prime Minister, Sir George Perley was Acting Canadian High Commissioner and Sir Edward Kemp served as Canada's Minister of Militia and Defence after Sir Sam Hughes' dismissal.
8. Katherine Hale, "Canada Lost Great Colorist in

- Florence Carlyle", Toronto Star Weekly, June 16, 1923.
9. Norwich Gazette, "Centennial Exhibition of Paintings will be on Display in Woodstock," January 26, 1967.
 10. Toronto Telegram, "Paintings Typify Artist," May 16, 1925.
 11. Caroline Armington studied first under J.W.L. Foster in Toronto. Later she travelled to Paris where she studied at the Académie Julien and at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière.
 12. NGC, Canadian War Memorials, 5.41-C, (General), file 1, telegram from Lord Beaverbrook to Sir Edmund Walker, January 10, 1918.
 13. Lord Beaverbrook also obtained Walker's opinion about the talents of A.Y. Jackson, H.J. Mowatt, J.L. Graham and Ernest Fosbery.
 14. NGC, Canadian War Memorials, 5.41-C, (General), file 1, telegram from Sir Edmund Walker to Lord Beaverbrook, January 12, 1918.
 15. Canadian War Memorials Exhibition (exhibition catalogue), (London, 1919), cat. nos. 311 No. 8 Canadian General Hospital and 315 The British Army and Navy Leave Club.
 16. Catalogue of War Etchings (exhibition catalogue), (London, 1919), p. 13.
 17. Hilda Ridley, "Clara S. Hagarty, A.R.C.A., O.S.A. and Her Exhibition of Lovely Flower Pieces and Italian Scenes," Saturday Night, October 29, 1928.
 18. In 1905 Hamilton exhibited three works in the French Academy's Salon; while in 1909 her painting Les pauvres was shown in Paris' New Salon.
 19. NGC, War Memorials Applications, 5.41-W, (Hamilton, Mary Riter), Colonel H. Appelton to Sir Robert Borden, January 9, 1917.
 20. Tippet, p. 29.
 21. NGC, War Memorials Applications, 5.41-W, (Hamilton, M.R.), M.R. Hamilton to Eric Brown, April 15, 1917.

22. NGC, War Memorials Applications, 5.41-W, (Hamilton, M.R.), Eric Brown to M.R. Hamilton, May 31, 1917.
23. Tippet, p. 28.
Walker and Brown were ignorant of the CWMF's existence until six months after its creation.
24. Toronto News, Nov. 2, 1913, cited by W. Garland Foster in "Coals to Newcastle," The Western Home Monthly, May, 1930, p. 40.
25. In the administration of the CWMF in Canada, Brown's responsibilities included suggesting and selecting suitable artists and subjects. Walker, in addition to assisting in the selection of artists and subjects for the CWMF, arranged for any permits the artists required and took care of the financial end of the scheme.
26. Artists did not have to be commissioned by the CWMF for it to acquire their work.
27. Tippet, p. 50.
28. By 1918 the National Gallery of Canada owned the following paintings by May: The Market Under the Trees, Street scene, Montreal and Boats on the St. Lawrence, acquired in 1913, 1914 and 1916 respectively.
29. Toronto Mail, "Local Artists show Sculptory: Splendid Exhibition is now on view at the Grange," November 27, 1915; Toronto Globe, "Toronto Sculptors Spring a Surprise," November 15, 1915.
30. Canadian National Exhibition Association, Report and Financial Statement for 1917, delivered at the thirty-ninth annual meeting, p. 36. Cited in Christine Boyanoski's Loring and Wyle Sculptors' Legacy, (Toronto, 1987), p. 19.
31. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-W, (Wyle, Florence), Eric Brown to F. Wyle, September 18, 1918.
32. McAvity applied on two separate occasions to become a war artist for the CWMF and was rejected both times because the quality of her art work was not considered sufficiently high.
33. NGC, Canadian War Memorials, 5.41-C, (General) File 1,

"Canadian War Records Office Official Report", August 31, 1919: app. 1, "Canadian War Memorials Report of Executive Committee", p. 5.

34. NGC, War Memorials Applications, 5.41-W, (Hamilton, Mary Riter), M.R. Hamilton to Eric Brown, April 15, 1917.
35. This type of attitude towards women during the First World War did not only apply to female artists but to all Canadian women wanting to do something for their country's overseas war effort which was of a non-traditional nature. For instance, in 1919 Grace McPherson, who had served in Europe as an ambulance driver during the war, recalled how Sir Sam Hughes had said he would stop her or any other girl from going to France. Hughes was Canada's Minister of Defence at the time and his statement demonstrates the type of road blocks women commonly had to surmount during the Great War.
Grace McPherson, "With the Motor Ambulance", The Gold Stripe. No. 2, May 1919, p. 81.
36. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-M, (May, Mabel), Eric Brown to M. May, September 4, 1918.
37. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Loring, Frances), Eric Brown to F. Loring, September 10, 1918.
38. Ibid.
39. Manly MacDonald was commissioned by the CWMF to record women's work on the land.
40. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-S, (Stevens, Dorothy), D. Stevens to Eric Brown, n.d. (September 19, 1918).
41. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-S, (Stevens, D.), Eric Brown to D. Stevens, September 27, 1918.
42. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-M, (May, M.), Eric Brown to Sir Edmund Walker, December 4, 1918.
43. Ibid.
44. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-M, (May, M.), Eric Brown to Margaret McCaul, April 8, 1919.
45. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-M, (May, M.), Eric Brown to M. May, September 4, 1918.

46. Before Women Making Shells, May's canvas size typically measured about 24 by 30 inches as demonstrated by Market Under the Trees (24" x 30"), Street Scene, Montreal (23 1/4" x 28 1/2") and Boats on the St. Lawrence (23 1/2" x 28 1/2").
47. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-M, (May, M), M. May to Eric Brown, January 15, 1919.
48. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-S, (Stevens, D.) Eric Brown to D. Stevens, September 27, 1918.
49. Ibid.
50. Brown said that Stevens could retain two proofs of each image. That number was later changed to five.

Chapter II Female War Artists: Testing the Boundaries

1. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Loring, Frances), letter from F. Loring to Eric Brown, September 15, 1918.
2. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-M, (May, M.), Eric Brown to M. May, September 4, 1918.
Letter includes a notation regarding how May responded.
3. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-M, (May, M.), M. May to Eric Brown, September, 25, 1918.
4. Rosemary Donegan, Industrial Images, (Hamilton, 1987), p. 28.
5. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-W, (Wyle, Florence), F. Wyle to Eric Brown, October 25, 1918.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

9. The Grinder was exhibited in the 1919 showing of the Canadian War Memorials and it seems that the relief was intended to be part of the following year's exhibition too because in the catalogue for the 1920 exhibition Canadian War Memorials Paintings Exhibition-1920-New Series, The Last Phase Loring's Grinder is listed as being catalogue entry 209. In Eric Brown's annotated copy of the catalogue, now in the National Gallery of Canada, number 209 has been stroked out and there is a note next to it saying "not sent". The work may have been withdrawn from that exhibition because by then it had been decided not to acquire it for the Canadian War Memorials collection. Today, the plaster relief is part of the Art Gallery of Ontario's holdings.
10. Barker Fairley, "Art at Art Gallery," The Rebel, Vol. IV, No. 3, (Toronto, December 1919), p. 125.
11. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-W, (Wyle, F.), Eric Brown to F. Wyle, November 3, 1919.
In Brown's letter to Wyle he repeats part of A.Y. Jackson's November 2, 1919 letter to himself in which Jackson spoke of the sculptors' work.
12. NGC, Reproductions of Canadian Art, 5.41-R, Permission for (file 1) Eric Brown to Robert Stead, Director of Publicity, Department of Immigration and Colonization, March 26, 1920.
13. Other Canadian women were proving their ability to cope with hard manual labour too. On this topic Brown related to Loring that he had heard that there were "women workers in the Angus railway works at Montreal handling the heaviest kind of railway material, mostly foreigners, marvellously developed and strong."
NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Loring, F.), Eric Brown to F. Loring, September 18, 1918.
14. Arthur E. McFarlane, "Two Toronto Sculptors are Doing Big Work in a Novel Studio....," Toronto Star Weekly, August 1, 1925.
15. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Loring, F.), Eric Brown to F. Loring, September 18, 1918.
16. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-S, (Stevens, D.), D. Stevens to Eric Brown, October 8, 1918.
17. Ibid.

18. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-S, (Stevens, D.), Eric Brown to D. Stevens, September 27, 1918.
19. Ibid.
20. Alan Sullivan, Aviation in Canada 1917-1918, (Toronto, 1919), p. 50.
21. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-S, (Stevens, D.), D. Stevens to Eric Brown, n.d., before June 16, 1919.
22. NGC, Canadian War Records, 5.42-S, (Stevens, D.), Walter M. Grant (on Canadian Club of New York stationary) to Eric Brown, n.d., 1919.
23. Ibid.
24. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-S, (Stevens, D.), Eric Brown to D. Stevens, May 19, 1919.
25. The current location of copies of either Montreal print is unknown.
26. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-S, (Stevens, D.) Eric Brown to Sir Edmund Walker, September 23, 1919.
27. The Gold Stripe was edited by H.F Paton for the benefit of the Amputation Club of British Columbia.
28. Anne Anderson Perry, "Artists and Their Doings O Canada! What of Art?," Western Women's Weekly, Vol. 2, No. 8, February 1, 1919, p. 9.
29. NGC, War Memorials Applications, 5.41-W, (Hamilton, M. R.), Colonel H. Appelton to Sir Robert Borden, January 9, 1917.
30. Perry in Western Women's Weekly, Vol. 2, No. 8, p. 4.
31. Letter from Mary Riter Hamilton to Mrs. Young, June 9, 1919, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. W.C. Higgins, Victoria, B.C.
32. "Mary Riter Hamilton an Artist Impressionist on the Battlefields of France," The Gold Stripe. Vancouver, No. 3, December? 1919, p. 12.
33. Frederick G. Falla, "Dauntless Canadian Woman Tells of Grim Experiences while Painting the Nightmare Land of

the Somme," The McClure Newspaper Syndicate, New York, September 10, 1922.

34. On the verso of one of the paintings sent to the Gold Stripe, Villiers-au-Bois, is an ink stamp of the Vancouver shipping firm, the American Railway Express Company. Also included as part of the stamp is the date October 21, 1919. This information probably indicates the date the company received the shipment to deliver it to the veteran's magazine.
35. "Mary Riter Hamilton an Artist Impressionist on the Battlefields of France," The Gold Stripe. Vancouver, No. 3, December, 1919, p. 12.
36. Barker Fairley, "At the Art Gallery," The Rebel, Vol. IV, No. 3, (Toronto, December 1919), p. 124.
37. In the 1919 showing of Exhibition of Pictures, Sculpture, Etchings and Lithographs by Canadian Artists of War Work in Canada, Women Making Shells was accompanied by three of its preliminary studies. All three studies are now part of the Canadian War Museum's collection.
38. Fairley in The Rebel, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 124. In Fairley's review of May's work, he discussed May's preliminary study numbered 135 in the 1919 exhibition. It is unclear however, which of May's three studies in that show he was speaking of. In the exhibition catalogue, numbers 133 to 135 were simply titled as study without any dimensions or any other kind of information being given.
39. Vancouver Province "War has Developed New Style in Art of Painting," April 10, 1920.
40. Ibid.
41. Angela Davis and Sarah McKinnon, The Battlefield Paintings of Mary Riter Hamilton 1919-1922, (University of Winnipeg Gallery, 1989), p. 24.
42. Maria Tippet in Art at the Service of War deals quite thoroughly with the story of D. Wood's Canada Golgotha, see pages 81-87. More recent information about the possible identification of the event in Wood's bronze may be found in Seth Feldman's Canada Golgotha. The program was broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on November 11 and 12, 1987.

Chapter III Female Artists and the Canadian War Records Program

1. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 1, H.O. McCurry to the Deputy Minister, Department of National Defence, October 23, 1939.
2. Approximately one third of the delegates that attended the Conference of Canadian Artists were female.
3. National Archives of Canada (hereafter NA), Wartime Information Board, RG 36/31, Vol. 12, file 8-1, Federation of Canadian Artists, letter from Fred Taylor, Chairman of the National Petition Committee, and Dorothy MacPherson to Prime Minister King, February 16, 1943.
4. André Biéler and Elizabeth Harrison eds., Conference of Canadian Artists, (December 1941), p. 41.
5. NGC, Vincent Massey, 9.2, H.O. McCurry to Vincent Massey, January 30, 1940; NGC, 5.41, Canadian War Artists Committee, file 1, H.O. McCurry to H.H. Wrong, Department of External Affairs, September 15, 1942.
6. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-J, (Jackson, A.Y.) file 4, A.Y. Jackson to H.O. McCurry, June 19, 1944.
Although on paper the Canadian War Artists Committee was suppose to be empowered to select artists for the CWR program, its actual position was not quite this definite as the Armed Services was known to sometimes set aside the Committee's recommendations in preference to its own ideas.
7. Artists officially appointed to the program were initially commissioned for a six month period with the option of being renewed. They were supplied with all needed artistic materials and they were expected to go wherever their assignments ordered.
8. Taped Interview by Terresa McIntosh with Molly Lamb Bobak, Ottawa, November 16, 1987.

9. Lamb's diary, now part of the holdings of the National Archives of Canada, dates between November 1942 and September 1945. It is set up in a newspaper format and consists of a number of articles and illustrations which principally document Lamb's own experiences as a CWAC.
10. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, Molly), M. Lamb to H.O. McCurry, April 14, 1943.
11. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-J, (Jackson, A.Y.) file 4, A.Y. Jackson to H.O. McCurry, Mar. 28, 1943.
12. "Hobbies that are Different Department," Khaki. Vol. 4, No. 14, April 2, 1945, p. 6.
13. "Army Art CWAC Draws Private Life of Women Soldiers," New World Illustrated, Sept. 1943.
14. Ian Lumsden, The Queen Comes to New Brunswick: Paintings and Drawings by Molly Lamb Bobak (exhibition catalogue), (Fredericton, 1977), p. 8.
15. NGC, Canadian Army Art Exhibition 1944, 5.41-C, S.Sgt. C.W. Dill, "64 District and Borden Entries for Canadian Army Art Contest Fine Artistic Ability Shown by CWAC, Men", Unidentified Source, Feb. ?, 1944, pp. 1 and 8; NGC, Canadian Army Art Exhibition 1944, 5.41-C, Douglas Duncan to H.O. McCurry, Feb. 23, 1944. Of the total number of works entered from Military District No. 2 and Camp Borden, Dill's article gives the number as sixty-four; however, Douglas Duncan indicated in a letter to McCurry that sixty-six entries had actually been received.
16. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 2, Minutes of the Special Committee appointed by Defence Council on the Employment of Artists in the Armed Forces, November 13, 1942.
17. National Archives of Canada (hereafter NA), Joan Murray Collection, MG 31 D142, Volume 4, typescript of interview by Joan Murray with Colonel Stacey, August 10, 1981, p. 9.
18. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 3, H.O. McCurry to Group Captain Conn, April 3, 1944; NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), H.O.

McCurry to P. Clark, May 22, 1944.

In these two letters McCurry's attempts to have Clark appointed as an Official War Artist for the RCAF are identified.

NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, P.), P.

Clark to H.O. McCurry, May 17, 1944.

In this letter to McCurry, Clark writes that she had been speaking with Charles Goldhammer, an Official War Artist with the RCAF, and she was told by him that there was little chance of her being made official as "there was a definite rule not to take any more civilians - when they (RCAF) had 450 of their own artists!"

19. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 2, Minutes from Meeting of the Canadian War Artists Committee, June 2, 1943.
20. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 2, Vincent Massey to H.O. McCurry, August 17, 1943.; NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 3, H.O. McCurry to Vincent Massey, September 28, 1943.
21. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 2, Vincent Massey to H.O. McCurry, August 17, 1943.
22. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 3, H.O. McCurry to H.O. McCurry, September 28, 1943.
23. NGC, Canadian War Records Applications, 5.41-W, A-B, Joy Bain to H.O. McCurry, January 31, 1944.
24. N.A., Charles Comfort Collection, MG 30 D81, Vol. 7, War Service-Correspondence on War Art Programme, note at bottom of typewritten N.D.H.Q. Ottawa, Historical Section (G.S.) Staff List, March 8, 1945.
25. All four CWACs, Blackley, Herbert, Howden and Wilson, had entered the Canadian Army Art competition in 1944; however, none of them appears to have had any formal training as an artist.
26. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, M.), H.O. McCurry to Captain Harris, Oct. 5, 1944.
27. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-J, (Jackson, A.Y.) file 4, A.Y. Jackson to H.O. McCurry, May 11, 1944.
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30. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 3, Meeting Minutes of the Canadian War Artists Committee, May 3, 1944.
31. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 3, H.O. McCurry to Vincent Massey, Sept. 6, 1944.
32. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 2, Minutes of Meeting of the Canadian War Artists Committee, March 2, 1943.
33. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, Molly), H.O. McCurry to M. Lamb, September 18, 1944.
34. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, Molly), M. Lamb to H.O. McCurry, September 20, 1944.
35. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, Molly), H.O. McCurry to M. Lamb, September 23, 1944.
36. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, Molly), M. Lamb to H.O. McCurry, September 26, 1944.
The painting of CWACs marching in a city street was done in response to McCurry's suggestion that Lamb record the subject.
37. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, Molly), M. Lamb to H.O. McCurry, n.d. (before Dec. 6, 1944).
38. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, Molly), M. Lamb to H.O. McCurry, October 20, 1944.
39. NGC, War Records Applications, 5.41-W, A-B, Joy Bain to H.O. McCurry, February 13, 1944.
40. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-H, (Haworth, Bobs, Haworth, Peter), P. Haworth to H.O. McCurry, September 22, 1943.
41. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 2, Minutes of Canadian War Artists Committee Meeting, December 10, 1942.
The other female artists included on that list were: Yvonne McKague Housser, Marion Scott, Kay Daly, Prudence Heward, Isobel McLaughlin, S. Bouchard, Bobs

Haworth and Liliias Torrence Newton.

42. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-M, (MacLeod, Pegi Nicol), Pegi Nicol MacLeod to H.O. McCurry, October 28, 1940.
43. Pegi Nicol MacLeod to Marian Scott, January 20, 1944. Cited in Joan Murray ed. Daffodils in Winter The Life and Letters of Pegi Nicol MacLeod, 1904-1949, (Moonbeam, 1984), p. 211.
44. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-M, (MacLeod, Pegi Nicol), H.O. McCurry to Pegi Nicol MacLeod, July 17, 1944.
45. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 3, H.O. McCurry to Vincent Massey, September 6, 1944.
46. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-M, (MacLeod, Pegi Nicol), H.O. McCurry to Pegi Nicol MacLeod, July 17, 1944.
47. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artist, 7.1-M, (MacLeod, Pegi Nicol), H.O. McCurry to Pegi Nicol MacLeod, July 26, 1944.
48. MacLeod's parents also looked after her daughter Jane in 1945 when she returned to Ottawa to do more war records.
49. Pegi Nicol MacLeod to Marian Scott, October 27, 1944. Cited in Joan Murray ed., Daffodils in Winter, p. 224.
50. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, Molly), H.O. McCurry to M. Lamb, September 18, 1944.
51. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 7.1-M, (MacLeod, Pegi Nicol), H.O. McCurry to Pegi Nicol MacLeod, July 11, 1945.
52. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-M, (MacLeod, Pegi Nicol), H.O. McCurry to Pegi Nicol MacLeod, July 25, 1945.
53. Interview by Joan Murray with Louise Comfort, Ottawa, September 16, 1980. Cited in Joan Murray, Canadian Artists of the Second World War, (Oshawa, 1981), p. 80.
54. Pegi Nicol MacLeod, "Recording the Women's Services,"

Canadian Art, Vol. VII, No. 1, December 1944-January 1945, p. 49.

55. Pegi Nicol MacLeod to Marian Scott, September 16, 1945. Cited in Joan Murray ed., Daffodils in Winter, p. 240.
56. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file 3, H.O. McCurry to Group Captain Conn, April 3, 1944.
57. Ibid.
58. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, May 17, 1944.
59. Ibid.
60. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), H.O. McCurry to P. Clark, May 22, 1944
This letter demonstrates that Clark knew of McCurry's wish for her to become an Official War Artist with the RCAF; and further correspondence between McCurry and Clark does not indicate that Clark was against this idea.
61. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), H.O. McCurry to Group Captain Conn, November 2, 1944.
62. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), H.O. McCurry to P. Clark, December 9, 1944.
63. NGC, Canadian War Artists 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), copy of a memorandum from Wing Officer W. Taylor to Group Captain Kenneth Conn, November 14, 1944.; NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), Group Captain K. Conn to H.O. McCurry, November 15, 1944. Taylor drew up a full list of subjects she felt Clark should paint. That list was evidently forwarded to Clark even though both Group Captain Conn and H.O. McCurry found it to be totally unsatisfactory.
64. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), H.O. McCurry to P. Clark, December 9, 1944.
65. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), H.O. McCurry, September 14, 1944.
66. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, September 19, 1944.
67. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva),

P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, January 22, 1945.

68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
From her visit to Trenton, Clark was able to suggest half a dozen subjects to H.O. McCurry that she felt could be worked up well into finished canvases.
70. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, November 14, 1945.
71. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, February 21, 1947.
72. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, November 14, 1945.
Although accepted by the Canadian Group of Painters' 1946 exhibition selection jury, Clark refused to allow Red Time Story to be shown.
73. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), H.O. McCurry to P. Clark, November 16, 1945.
74. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, February 19, 1954.
75. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, May 11, 1945.
76. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, January 20, 1947.
77. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), P. Clark to H.O. McCurry, August 9, 1945.
78. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-C, (Clark, Paraskeva), H.O. McCurry to P. Clark, August 22, 1945.
79. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-H, (Haworth, Bobs and Peter), P. Haworth to H.O. McCurry, June 29, 1942.
80. Bobs and Peter Haworth taught art the rest of the year at Toronto's Central Technical School.
81. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-H, (Haworth, Bobs and Peter), P. Haworth to H.O. McCurry, July 24, 1942; NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists, 7.1-H, (Haworth, Babs and Peter), H.O. McCurry to P. Haworth,

July 29, 1942.

82. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-H, (Haworth, Babs and Peter), J.M. Gibbon (C.P.R.) to H.O. McCurry, June 17, 1943.
The Canadian Pacific Railroad provided the Haworths with the necessary rail passes to and from the west coast. Those passes were given with the condition that the Haworths later reimburse the C.P.R. with sketches of equivalent value.
83. NGC, Walter Abell, 7.4, Lawren Harris to Walter Abell, August 28, 1943.
84. Queen's University Archives, Haworth Collection, H.O. McCurry to P. Haworth, November 29, 1943.
It appears as if the selection made by the Canadian War Artists Committee was paid for out of National Gallery of Canada funds. The \$600.00 paid was basically given to cover the expenses the Haworths had incurred with their project over and above their transportation.
85. Queen's University Archives, Haworth Collection, H.O. McCurry to P. Haworth, July 9, 1942.
86. NGC, Canadian War Artists Committee, 5.41-C, file , "Canadian War Artists Committee Instructions for War Artists", March 2, 1943.
87. Molly Lamb, "W110278" The Personal War Records of Private Lamb, May 24, 1945, National Archives of Canada, C-135837.
88. Molly Lamb, Baseball Game in Hyde Park, Canadian War Museum, acc. no. 12005
Information taken from a label on the verso of the watercolour.
89. Molly Lamb was overseas from July 1945 until November of that same year. Bruno Robak was posted overseas from 1944 until 1945 and Campbell Tinning was over even longer, from late 1943 until late 1945.
90. NGC, Canadian War Artists, 5.42-L, (Lamb, Molly), M. Lamb to H.O. McCurry, November 5, 1945.
91. Ibid.
92. The one surviving building on the street depicted in Lamb's drawing Wilhelmshaven at Night, housed "Bill's

Harbour Club" in October 1945. This was a Canadian service canteen that was run by 5 CWACs.

93. Molly Lamb, Wilhelmshaven, at Night, 1945, Canadian War Museum, acc. no. 12110.
This information is taken from a label on the verso of the drawing.

Chapter IV: Female Artists Outside the War Art Program

1. Montreal Star, "Art Exhibit Shows Men in Services", July 8, 1942.
2. Montreal Gazette, "Paints Members of Armed Forces", July 9, 1942.
3. "Collection of Oil Paintings in Memorial Room Donated by General Alumni Association", The Queen's Review Vol. 23, No. 8, Kingston, November 1949, p. 232.
4. Ibid.
5. Mona Purser, "The Homemaker Norse Airmen's Portraits Fine International Link," Toronto Globe and Mail, June 24, 1948.
6. NGC, Artist's Documentation Form, (Long, Marion), Completed by Long and sent to the National Gallery of Canada, n.d. (Received January 16, 1943).
7. Alfred Casson in 71st Annual Spring Exhibition Ontario Society of Artists (exhibition catalogue), (Toronto, 1943), p. 5.
8. Pearl McCarthy, "War Records by Marion Long", Toronto Globe and Mail, June 2, 1945.
9. Queen's University Archives, Federation of Canadian Artists, MG II E, Coll. 10A, Box 3, FCA Bulletins and

- Reports (1942-1948), Federation of Canadian Artists-
Quebec Division News Letter, No. 1, 1943, p. 1.
10. Duncan did other war posters for the Montreal Nutrition Committee and for the National Film Board.
 11. Jane Griffith, "Allied War Posters Impressive", Montreal Standard, October 24, 1942, p. 10.
 12. Duncan's second CWAC painting, Army Women in Warehouse, 1943, is now part of the National Gallery of Canada's collection.
 13. NGC, War Records Applications, 5.41-W, C-G (Duncan, Alma), A. Duncan to H.O. McCurry, July 28, 1943.
 14. Taped Interview by Terresa McIntosh with Alma Duncan, October 7, 1987.
 15. NGC, War Records Applications, 5.41-W, C-G (Duncan, Alma), H.O. McCurry to A. Duncan, August 4, 1943.
 16. NGC, War Records Applications, 5.41-W, T-W (Taylor, Fred), F. Taylor to H.O. McCurry, August 1944.
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 17. NGC, War Records Applications, 5.41-W, T-W (Taylor, Fred), Proposal for "Industrial War Records Painting", from F. Taylor to H.O. McCurry, n.d. (Received June 2, 1944).
 18. Queen's University Archives, Federation of Canadian Artists, MG II E, Coll. 10A, Box 3, General Records (1942-1948), Federation of Canadian Artists- Quebec Division News Letter, No. 1, 1943, p. 1.
 19. Queen's University Archives, Federation of Canadian Artists, MG II E, Coll. 10A, Box 3, FCA Bulletins and Reports (1942-1948), Federation of Canadian Artists- Quebec Division News Letter, (No. 2), 1943, p. 1.
 20. NA, Fred Taylor Collection, MG 30 D360, Vol. 1, file 1-32, "H" (Miscellaneous) 1932-1977 (1 of 3) Yvonne McKague Housser to F. Taylor, March 11, 1943.
 21. NGC, War Records Applications, 5.41-W, T-W (Taylor, Fred), copy of letter from Rielle Thomson, Department of Munitions and Supply, to H.O. McCurry, March 12, 1942.

22. Taped Interview by Terresa McIntosh with Alma Duncan, October 7, 1987.
23. Ibid.
24. G.T.P., "Alma Duncan's Drawings Reveal Artists's Eye for Drama in Industry," Ottawa Journal, May 27, 1947.
25. Evelyn de R. McMann, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, (Toronto, 1981), p. 389.
26. NGC, War Records Applications, 5.41-W, H-L (Harrison, Elizabeth), E. Harrison to H.O. McCurry, December 9, 1944.
27. Ibid.
28. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists (7.1-J), (Jackson, A.Y.) file 4, A.Y. Jackson to H.O. McCurry, January 8, 1945; NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists (7.1-J), (Jackson, A.Y.) file 4, A.Y. Jackson to H.O. McCurry, February 1, 1945.
29. NGC, Correspondence with/re Artists (7.1-J), (Jackson, A.Y.) file 4, H.O. McCurry to A.Y. Jackson, January 15, 1945.
30. Letter from Elizabeth Harrison to Terresa McIntosh, November 4 1987.
31. Harrison's painting Servicing a Bristol Bomber measures 44.5 x 52.3 cm., while Clark's work Maintenance Jobs in the Hangar measures 81.5 x 101.9 cm.
32. Letter from Elizabeth Harrison to Terresa McIntosh, November 4, 1987.
33. Held at the Photographic Stores Ltd. on Sparks Street in Ottawa, the exhibition was a showing of Harrison's wartime portraiture.

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- Federation of Canadian Artists MG II E

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(Private) Mr. and Mrs. W.C. Higgins, Victoria, B.C.

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Figures

Fig. 1

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Fig. 67

Fig. 68