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**FASHIONING MASCULINITY IN *MAYFAIR* MAGAZINE: THE AESTHETICS
OF THE MALE BODY, 1927-1936**

By

John Potvin

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

In Canadian Art History

Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario

December 1st, 2000

2000, John Potvin

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"Fashioning Masculinity in Mayfair Magazine: The Aesthetics of the
Male Body, 1927-1936"**

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

Fashioning Masculinity in *Mayfair* Magazine: The Aesthetics of Male Body, 1927-1936

John Potvin

The most scrutinized media in recent North American history have been magazine art and consumer advertising. This thesis examines representations of the male body in Canada's *Mayfair* magazine in order to determine the nature of contemporary value systems. From its inception in 1927 *Mayfair* included advertisements, editorials, and visual reportage that affirmed the socio-economic values of the elite of the country through the stimulation of consumer desire and fantasy among those at the upper end of the economic spectrum or those who aspired to the lifestyle depicted. This construct implicitly perpetuated a socio-economic hegemony. Furthermore, this thesis examines how the normative male body functioned as an ideal prototype wherein fashion, athleticism, and travel coalesce to reaffirm capitalist corporate culture in the years following the First World War. The representation of the male body functioned at once as a site of utopian sentimentalism for an era that imagined national identity in terms of stereotypes of male virility while simultaneously being located in an emergent post World War One corporate culture. Moreover, images of alterity, specifically the black male body, were used by the magazine not as a means to create a position of inclusivity, but rather as a means to further highlight and legitimize the white elite male position. Deploying feminist and social theory as a theoretical model and critical point of departure, I interrogate the *a priori* subjectivity recorded throughout the first decade (1927-1936) of the magazine's history.

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Introduction

Throughout the history of consumer culture, critical discourse has focused on one of two components: the financial aspect ignoring the socially contingent issues of gender, or following the introduction of a feminist discourse, the transaction of consumption in terms of a binary dialectic of male as (active) advertiser and woman as (passive) consumer. Although both of these issues are crucial to the examination of consumption and its impact on visual culture, they are, nevertheless, limited. Critical analysis has not extended the discourse to include other patterns of consumption nor has it divested itself of the gender stereotypes, which initially grew out of nineteenth-century social constructs. The discourse, both academic and popular has focused upon fashion as a female domain (a prerogative designated by men) and has been re-appropriated by feminists who have claimed and forged a new history based on an empowered female subjectivity.

Male gender identity and its multifarious subjectivities needs to undergo a similar scrutiny and interrogation, addressing similar, if not identical questions, employed by feminists in relation to the female body. The extant scholarship tends not to consider how visual culture has mediated, subverted, reinforced, and/or affirmed a dominant or elite discourse pertaining to gender identity. This thesis addresses the absence of any analysis of male experience(s) of consumption and visual experiences thereof and more importantly the subsequent impact on the creation and definition of masculinity through a commodified representation. Through an interdisciplinary analysis of Canada's *Mayfair* magazine during its first decade, 1926 to 1937, this thesis proposes to examine the representation of normative masculinity through fashion, sports, and travel. Furthermore,

through the examination of these features of the magazine I will argue that *Mayfair* affirmed dominant discourse and prevalent social values. This thesis challenges the stability, singularity, and homogeneity of the male gender role as represented in *Mayfair*. The magazine operates as a regulated social space in which a perceived collective subjectivity is in turn experienced by the individual reader/consumer. Among the multiplicity of representations the male body takes centre stage as an index of the modern commodity system itself.

Since the nineteenth-century fashion has been regarded as synonymous with leisure, which is culturally linked, ascribed, and attached to the female body. Feminists contend that history has been constructed within a patriarchal paradigm and as such male subjectivity has already been written. *A priori* assumptions associated with gender and fashion have been perpetrated through an exclusion of the male body in the scholarly discourse surrounding these issues. Feminist theory, originally interested in the examination of women's exclusion from the discourse, has subsequently enabled a wider range of analysis of gender issues. The representation of the male body and in particular masculinity, defined by socio-cultural status as the bread winner and a pivotal role in the capital economy, has been accorded a secondary status in studies examining gender. While the discourse addresses how print media in both image and text constructs gender relations, masculinity, and even the body itself, until very recently, we have assumed a homogenous vantage point from which our theoretical and critical gaze operates. The object of our attention has focused almost exclusively on the female sex while allowing for the perpetuation of a gendered dialectic in which the power is assumed to reside

solely in the male. This thesis argues that the same types of critical analysis may be applied to representations of men.

Extending the critical path of investigation initially established by feminist art historians and theorists requires an examination of how the male 'subject' identifies with an imposed (commodified) sexual identity and gender code, and how, in turn, these affect various forms of gender relations. By examining how the male body has been historically employed and deployed as a semiotic sign to be "read" by both genders the male body can be examined as an object of consumption. The male can be understood not only as the purveyor of the status quo and a subject who objectifies the female body, but also as object of the consumer/reader's gaze. Concomitant with this analysis is an interrogation of how a system of culture and mass consumerism encodes a particular socio-economic ideology in a mainstream magazine. Further analysis reveals how the representation of the male body becomes the site of an elite regulation of the body.¹

Mayfair as a lifestyle magazine can be understood as a vehicle to disseminate elite ideology, providing its readers with a highly subjective and particularised attitude to the male body, which it "captured and fixed."² This thesis interrogates *Mayfair* as a function of both elitist and normative discourses, which are married through the common intersection of a commodification of gender, and specifically masculinity. Moreover, it

¹ The use of the term 'elite', understood specifically in relation to the period under investigation in this thesis, references the emergent corporate elite whose primary goals were to foster and generate mass consumption through the mass media and mass production. Moreover, it also refers to the magazine's self-reflexive constructed ideal image defined and proffered by the magazine's content.

² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York, 1977), 189. Lifestyle in the context of the "smart set" periodical refers to a blueprint for 'proper' living – at least as advanced by Maclean, the editors, the writers, and advertisers. The articles and advertisements create a fiction of proper breeding and ideal living through the scenarios and objects illustrated throughout the magazine. The fantasy generated by the magazine follows the logic that if one purchases the objects one can necessarily recreate the ideal scenarios, hence 'buying into' the lifestyle or more exactly the 'elite' class position.

examines how the magazine serves to naturalise, normalise, and commercialise a particularized and constructed version of an elite dominant discourse through the agency of mass culture whose antecedents are derived from American and British sources.³ In this thesis I will explore images, which expose the magazine's understanding of normative masculinity as a preferred position within a hegemonic hierarchy.

The images considered in this examination are derived not only from advertisements, whether Canadian or American in origin, but also came from regularly featured articles as well as from the society pages and short stories indigenous to the "smart set" *genre*. This investigation is not limited to one particular genre of media as it highlights how a consumer magazine in its desire to align itself with a particular socio-economic and cultural subjectivity, constructs a total cohesive "image." Although, editorials, and short stories are not considered here, they also assist in reinforcing the homogenous message, with which the reader identifies when perusing the magazine.

Perhaps the greatest challenge in this study was the marked lack of archival records for *Mayfair* left by Maclean-Hunter and David Crombie – who bought the magazine in 1955. This deficiency in the corporate archives necessitates an examination of the material based almost exclusively on contextualization and interpretation. Additionally, little if anything has been recorded about the writers, graphic artists, advertising photographers, and editorial boards employed by the magazine. The examination of individual artists and writers is not considered herein because the focus

³ Discourse is defined here in terms of socially sanctioned knowledge. Or more exactly, a body of knowledge, and in this particular case the use of the body as a means to create and generate knowledge. It is the language, both textual and visual, that the magazine employs, which possesses and is infused with cultural, social, economic currency.

falls on how *Mayfair* constituted a homogenous commodified whole that affirmed a normative and constructed elite lifestyle, adapted from the lifestyle magazines of New York and London. Hence, this thesis has relied heavily on theoretical analysis that considers key issues in the production of mass culture.

In 1989, Fraser Sutherland chronicled the historical development of the Canadian periodical and print-press industry but did not acknowledge the socio-economic dynamics at play in shaping the magazines he cited. What is interesting about Sutherland's text is that although it was written at a time when theories about gender were emerging, these issues did not inform the text which was clearly dictated by the historically broad nature of the study. Particularly noteworthy is the inclusion of *Mayfair* in his chapter on "women's magazines." Not only does this highlight an erroneous assumption that the magazine was exclusively a women's periodical, but more importantly it underlines the complexity of characterizing *Mayfair* and the difficulty in categorizing it. By contrast, F.W. Watt in an earlier 1962 article "Climate of Unrest: Periodicals in the Twenties and Thirties" undertook not merely a historical review, but considered the socio-cultural perspective of the periodical industry in the inter-war years. Finally, Mary Vipond's seminal 1977 article "The Image of Women in Mass Circulation Magazines in the 1920s" stands as one of the few examples of research into the issue of gender in Canadian periodicals of the inter-war period. Researchers in Canadian visual culture have as yet little investigated such pivotal issues as gender and sexual identity and how such issues inform representations in this period of nascent mass consumption. It must be noted this generation of periodicals did not address issue of alterity. Furthermore, studies of

Canadian magazines have subsequently been defined in rather conservative terms and have only recently addressed issues of gender, sexual identity, and alterity.

A multiplicity of larger issues have emerged in mass media studies since the late 1960s that have centred on mass culture and the impact of advertising as a “sign” within society. Scant critical attention, however, has been devoted to the inter-war period of this century. The oft-cited 1985 study by Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity 1920-1940*, is an excellent source of information because it explores historical, socio-economic, and aesthetic considerations in its examination of American interwar advertising. Although there is no equivalent project examining Canadian advertising and fashion, Marchand’s study is all the more useful, especially given that many of the advertisements, which made their way into *Mayfair* were of American origin. Marchand’s review encompasses dynamic transcontinental shifts in sartorial and advertising concerns, issues in employment, gender equality, consumerism, mass market economies, and social unrest.

Fashion is implicated in the expression of gender identity because it attaches discursive attributes to the body including the male body. While the apparent inclusion of women into mainstream socio-economic life appears counter-hegemonic, it in fact aided in the creation of a severe male corporeal prototype. These “historic” developments have affected the definition, representation, and reintegration of an athletic, virile masculinity on the male body. It is this normalised and naturalised prototype that is under investigation here.

Although scholarly works about mass media cited above are crucial for the discussion here, they also need be examined along with studies pertaining to the

phenomena of Canadian fashion and consumption. Cynthia Wright's 1992 article "Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance': Writing Gender into the History of Consumption" argues for a consideration of the role of gender in relation to consumption a topic normally beyond the strictures of business history. Her project is not based on sociological or anthropological research, but rather upon the problem of how specific venues, such as Eaton's College Street store, can be used to investigate consumption, and more precisely "shopping," as they related to the Canadian female experience.⁴

Wright's discussion of the importance of the relationship between the department store and the mass media (in particular the periodical and advertising presses) is crucial to the development of a critical discourse of consumption in Canada in the inter-war period. She sees the 1920s as the seminal decade for mass circulation magazines such as *Canadian Gardens and Homes*, *Chatelaine* and *Mayfair* to emerge as vehicles to disseminating sartorial and design trends to highly segment-specific constituencies. Wright's analysis demonstrates how recently this type of issue has been examined and points to the need for further study.

The most recent contribution to the study of fashion and the body comes from Dani Cavallaro and Alexandra Warwick's 1998 book, *Fashioning the Frame: Boundaries, Dress and Body* which serves as a timely theoretical model from which to examine the interdependence of sartorial and corporeal experiences. Their sophisticated analysis of dress and culture employs a highly complex network of theoretical sources as they argue that fashion needs to be examined in terms of its potential "as a deep surface," rather than as a superficial layer of corporeality. Of particular note is their discussion of

⁴ Cynthia Wright, "Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance': Writing Gender into the History of Consumption" in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History* (Toronto, 1992), 230.

how fashion is used as a form of masking from which the 'true' and 'untrue' self is revealed and concealed from society. Their investigation stands as a critical departure from past analyses of fashion.

The poststructuralist, Jacques Derrida, has formulated a highly sophisticated theoretical framework in which to study and analyse cultural phenomena. Highly influential within the realm of late twentieth-century critical theory, Derrida's project of deconstruction has allowed for a fundamental shift in the way later gender studies and the discourse surrounding this field has evolved. Derrida queried the truth claims of all centred discourse.⁵ Hence, the terms "woman" and "man" have come to be understood through an analysis of the coding and evolution of such terms. Finally, Derrida's theorizing of a polysemic approach to the meaning opens up investigations of how meaning is constructed.⁶ Poststructuralism as methodology is a useful critical framework in which to examine the visual construction and representation of male gender and masculinity, and how, in limited cases, these deviate or stand as striking and radical aberrations from the normative and elitism established by and reinforced throughout the entire magazine.

Rita Felski's 1995 analysis, *The Gender of Modernity*, examines major assumptions concerning gender and its contingent relationship to modernity. Her most cogent contribution is to shift the methodological apparatus towards an examination of consumption, instead of the paradigmatic issue of production. Felski contends that "a

⁵ Irene R Makaryk (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, and Terms* (Toronto: 1993), 25.

⁶ Ibid., 41.

view of modernity as driven by the logic of productive forces gives way to a recognition that consumer demand is not simply passive reflection of economic interests, but is shaped by a variety of relatively independent cultural and ideological factors, of which gender is one of the most significant.”⁷ Felski includes the issues of sexual identity in her discussion, but her analysis is limited to the investigation of women and does not address the male as consumer or as object within the economy of consumption.

This thesis is also informed by the work of two feminist scholars who examine the construction of the male body within a patriarchal system. Employing a broader “feminist” line of interrogation, the works of Shawn Lisa Maurer and Maurizia Boscagli serve as sophisticated examples of scholarship which have questioned the network of power and its regime of meaning in constructing “truth” specifically the understanding of man and masculinity, and how these are represented.

Maurer, in her 1998 book *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century English Periodical* studies the male body in various magazines including those designed for women. Arguing that patriarchy is present in the very structuring of the magazine, Maurer limits her project exclusively to the eighteenth-century British periodical. Her observation of the conspicuous absence of any discussion on the representation of male bodies, that occupied identical pictorial and textual spaces to those of women, underlines a much needed theoretical position in the discourse. She studies how the male body constitutes an integral and critical component in the overall integrity and message of the magazine. Yet Maurer notes also the absence of the male body in the critical discourse on “women’s magazines” when she writes that,

⁷ Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1995), 60.

[F]or the critical minds that have been steeped in precisely the reified distinctions between the sexes that eighteenth-century periodicals were instrumental in creating, such terms as 'women's periodicals' or 'woman's magazine' automatically and necessarily mean the exclusion of men.... Yet [...] readings of eighteenth-century periodicals assume that very institutionalization and textual entrenchment of gender difference by positing the genre of the women's magazine as one in which men are at best peripheral, if not altogether absent.⁸

Perhaps more important is the work of Boscagli, here used as a source on the early twentieth-century construction of masculinity, as represented primarily in Great Britain. What is unique about Boscagli and her 1996 project *Eye on the Flesh: Fashions of Masculinity in the Early Twentieth Century* is her use of feminist critical theory to investigate expanded notions of gender and sexual identity and her acknowledgement of how broader issues in gender studies have extended the discourse to include alternate lines of questioning. Maurizia Boscagli highlights this very recent phenomenon when she argues that,

The critique of masculinity and of male sexuality is a recent development in feminist theory. Spurred by pioneering work in gay and lesbian studies and in queer theory, it is guided by an interest in examining and redefining what, under the heterosexual contract, has been naturalized as a norm and as such has for a long time escaped any theoretical scrutiny.⁹

Her work also provides the socio-cultural precedence for the men's wear section and advertisements found in *Mayfair* until its 1933 switch to New York as the preferred centre of style and fashion.

Over the past three decades the female body has come to symbolise an intellectual nexus of socio-political emancipation and intellectual inquiry. Recent scholarship has acknowledged the impact of this inquiry and has extended it to interrogate the

⁸ Shawn Lisa Maurer, *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century Periodical* (Stanford, 1998), 204.

multifaceted experiences of the male body, as well as various sexual identities.

Relatively new academic traditions have emerged over the past few decades such as cultural studies and gender studies and these owe much to feminism given that it has posed larger questions about key issues including gender, race, and class that are inextricably interwoven and coded within the dominant socio-political, cultural, and even economic ideological networks of power. As such these coded multidimensional aspects are necessarily inseparable from the regime of truth and power itself.

One of the most influential theorists to profoundly affect scholarship of the past two decades is Michel Foucault. His three volume *History of Sexuality* is the most commonly cited theoretical source from which to begin to challenge, understand, and theorise seemingly disparate socio-political and even economic networks and how these construct and are constructed by gender. Feminist detractors of Foucault contest his discernible reluctance to include any understanding of female subjectivity and his exclusive investigation of power, discourse, and the body in terms of a male experience. Feminist scholars such as Elizabeth Grosz, Griselda Pollock, and Lois McNay mount a credible critique, but Foucault's theoretical oeuvre, nonetheless, provides a seminal theoretical structure through which to interrogate the regime of power and its role in the construction of gender. Foucault argues for the examination of practices that affect fundamentally pivotal issues such as gender and sexual identity. As Foucault has argued, the body itself becomes the apparatus through which power produces desires, fantasies, and ideology itself. Foucault's methodology provides an ideal structure through which to examine *Mayfair* as a complex network of power relations. *Mayfair* was an elite

⁹ Maurizia Boscagli, *Eye on the Flesh: Fashions of Masculinity in the Early Twentieth Century* (Boulder, 1996), 14.

production which manipulated the reader's gaze to create mass desire in a broader constituency beyond the elite represented therein. As Foucault asserted:

The central issue, then (at least in the first instance) is not to determine whether one says yes or no to sex, whether one formulates prohibitions or permissions, whether one asserts its importance or denies its effects, or whether one refines the words one uses to designate it; but to account for the fact that it is spoken about, to discover who does the speaking, the positions and viewpoints from which they speak, the institutions which prompt people to speak about it and which store and distribute the things that are said. What is at issue, briefly, is the over-all 'discursive fact,' the way in which sex is 'put into discourse.' Hence, too, my main concern will be to locate the forms of power, the channels it takes, and the discourses it permeates in order to reach the most tenuous and individual modes of behaviour, the paths that give it access to the rare or scarcely perceivable forms of desire, how it penetrates and controls everyday pleasure – all this entailing effects that may be those of refusal, blockage, and invalidation, but also incitement and intensification: in short, the 'polymorphous techniques of power.'¹⁰

Foucault's project was not only concerned with that which is made manifest, but also with the acknowledgement and investigation of the extant "interplay of presence and absence, the visible and the hidden," that in turn assume the discourse of normalcy.¹¹ For Foucault, power could no longer be viewed in terms of a denial of the body in favour of the soul, but rather the body constituted power itself.

Few feminists have acknowledged the effects of the regime of power on both genders apart from Elizabeth Grosz who in her 1994 *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*, wrote about the contested site of the male and female bodies, and argued that the networks of power know no gendered boundaries. Grosz argues that men are equally susceptible to the controlling mechanisms of "self-production and self-observation." Both the male and female subjects experience a multiplicity of conditions

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality: An Introduction Vol.1* (New York, 1979), 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

that result from different regimes of power.¹² Grosz's position, much like Foucault, is one which argues that the body is a site on which truth claims are developed and disseminated not only in terms of dominant discourse, but she also develops further to include the impact of the modern construction of the city.

Fashion's broader role in self-representation and its dissemination through advertising is a fundamental issue in revealing the implicit regime of power and truth claims, now exposed by contemporary critical methodology. The conservative, patriarchal, epistemological canon previously assumed fashion to be an exclusively feminine pursuit which accounts for its exclusion from the academic canon. Fashion historian Christopher Breward is perhaps the most staunch advocate for the inclusion of a discipline (study of fashion) in the academic canon, which currently remains outside the dominant discourse. Breward argues that while we have deconstructed the subject and its corporeality, we have not, in the process, examined how dress has played an integral part in the defining of the individual, and more exactly how it functions to represent the individual.¹³ Fashion, its production, and its dissemination in the mass media merit closer examination.

The images examined throughout this thesis are drawn from a variety of sources, including advertising, in a purposeful attempt to demonstrate how *Mayfair*, through its power to propose and enforce a social and cultural hegemony conflated the boundaries between feature articles, advertisements and cover illustrations to transmit a singular

¹² Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporal Feminism* (Bloomington, 1994), 144.

¹³ Christopher Breward, "Cultures, Identities, Histories: Fashioning a Cultural Approach to Dress" in *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* (December 1998), 307.

constructed, homogenous image to the reader/consumer.¹⁴ The male body and its representation can be understood as the definitive site on which a heteronormative order grafted its 'regime of truth.'

Sally Stein argues for an approach to the analysis of magazines as a unifying entity, which deploys every aspect, as a means to create a vision of its message, so as to operate as an apparatus supporting its function within the hegemonic equation. The magazine's seemingly disparate components should not be viewed or analysed as self-contained entities, but rather as "images and text, ads and editorial matter, ... each designed to work off each other within the larger ensemble of the magazine."¹⁵ Although the format of the magazine allows for the illusion of a personalized navigation through the seemingly disparate components, the reader is nevertheless guided through what is in the end a narrative, a constructed whole whose components reinforce a cohesive message.¹⁶ Advertisements in *Mayfair* were consistently contiguous with article content through physical proximity and content, as articles unabashedly drew readers' attention back to the advertisers by listing the sources where fashions could be purchased. The reader's idea that he is in control of his response to the magazine is reinforced by the fiction advanced in the advertisements, which, rather than 'mirroring contemporary realities', provided what Roland Marchand has termed a "faltering and conservative portrait of the lives of a 'natural aristocracy' composed of the very rich."¹⁷

¹⁴ Sally Stein, "The Graphic Ordering of Desire: Modernization of the Middle-Class Women's Magazine, 1919-1939," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, 1989), 146.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁷ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley 1985), 198.

It is important to situate how and where exactly representations of men figured in the physical confines of *Mayfair* between 1927 and 1936. Advertisements for men's fashions, for the most part, were placed in such close proximity to the articles that they necessarily and overtly reinforced the content of these articles. Articles and advertisements for men's fashions were relegated to the later section of each issue of the magazine. The reportage on sports, however, whose contents was weighted heavily in favour of men with a ratio of 65 per cent to the 35 per cent featuring women, was located closer to the front of the magazine. As a result, the male reader was made to peruse a significant portion of the entire magazine. These sports pages formed an integral part of the society pages, which also featured debutant coming-out balls and gay soirées across the nation, amongst other social, cultural, and political events.

The magazine's content was divided into five discernable sections: sports, variety, travel, society, and fashion. These general categories remained the staples of the magazine well beyond the first decade of the magazine. For the most part these sections featured equally figural representations of men and women. It was, however, the fashion section wherein there was a noticeable difference in the quantity of depictions of the sexes. The first third of the magazine was devoted entirely to women's fashions whether in the form of articles, advertisements, and editorial content. Women's fashion comprised on average approximately 75 per cent of the total space devoted to the subject. Overall, approximately 20 per cent of the average issue's content was directed exclusively to men, while 30 per cent was directed to both sexes, and the remaining 60 per cent devoted to female content. Although the content for women played a greater role in the overall makeup of the magazine and was positioned more prominently in the

early portion of each issue, the representations of men and the men's sections played a crucial and integral role in the creation of meaning for the magazine.

Noteworthy, is that the images selected for this thesis have not produced through photography, but rather were hand rendered, and reflects the magazine's overall position vis-à-vis media. This contrasts the contemporary American practice, whose popular magazines had, by the 1930s, shifted their attention to the mechanical process as a means of persuasion. What the predominant use of graphic art does for *Mayfair* is that it creates an idea that the images were one of a kind and references a more traditional artistic practice as it attempts to create sense of fantasy and nostalgia. Realism and credibility, the virtues of photography are left to such advertisements as beauty and hygiene products, all of which were American.

The first chapter positions *Mayfair* within the contemporary periodical industry. The historical and socio-economic context in which Maclean Publishing Company was able to market such a magazine is discussed, as is the magazine's formulaic structure, which borrowed simultaneously from both American and British examples. Also clearly evident from an analysis of the illustrations both inside and on the covers of the magazine are an often contradictory range of influences. Furthermore, examining the implications associated with the label "woman's magazine" to *Mayfair*, I conclude that the magazine cannot be considered to be exclusively a woman's magazine, but rather that the magazine had a broader readership, which included men as well. By categorically separating *Mayfair*, from its mainstream cousin *Chatelaine* I effectively remove it from the arbitrary, and socially and politically contingent category of "woman's magazine" thereby inviting a discourse that more readily allows for an interrogation of the male

body. Finally, the chapter attempts to reconcile the apparent dichotomy between the notions of socio-economic and cultural elitism as purposefully constructed by the magazine to generate an ideal and fantasy and a normative order centred on a highly coded and regulated construction of gender and masculinity.

The second chapter interrogates the paradigmatic normative male body and its hegemonic superiority. I consider how the representation of the male body, within the paradigmatic discourse of the magazine highlight a desire to communicate a singular cohesive message. The case studies depicting “alterity” or otherness represent rare examples in which the magazine did not attempt to proffer an ideology of inclusivity, but rather employed these representations in an attempt to focus on the ‘centre’ and served to re-affirm the dominant white male subjectivity. It is also important to state that it is uniquely the male body, which is represented in terms of the black body; no representations of the black female body exist within the first decade of the magazine. In these exclusive terms, the black (male) body occupies a critical position within the socio-economic and spatial order of the magazine and its creation of fantasy and desire. As a result, I argue that dominant elite socio-economic discourse is maintained and that Mayfair functions as a site within which a normative imagery is naturalized and supported by various themes, travel destinations being one important example.

Reconciling and Differencing the Discourse(s) of Elitism and Normativity in *Mayfair*

Mayfair's initial reception has been wholly pleasing. A new Canadian magazine cannot be said to have an easy way before it. It has ill-timed precedents to live down and the best publishing traditions of Great Britain and the United States to live up to. The handicap is considerable at the outset. The public too, must be reckoned with – that great critical reading public which accepts only at face value.¹⁸

Taken from the “Contents” page of the June 1927 issue of *Mayfair*, this quote from the magazine’s then Managing Editor, J. Herbert Hodgins, underlines *Mayfair's* place within the Canadian periodical industry already saturated by American and British magazines. This chapter proposes a brief historical reconstruction of the many factors affecting Maclean Publishing Company’s 1927 creation of *Mayfair* magazine. The analysis of a constellation of factors such as market conditions, social values and mores, historical conditions, and the structure of power reveal how *Mayfair's* use of text and image is couched within a rhetoric of conservative elitism while simultaneously rehearsing a broader ideology of normativity. As a result, *Mayfair's* position, not only within the periodical industry, but also within society as a whole, is a complex one to decipher as it was informed by myriad factors, which affected its production of meaning.

The publishing industry was a microcosm of the larger economic situation. The immediate post-war era marked a crucial shift in Canada’s attitudes to foreign investment in the country. Within a mere two year span from 1925 to 1927 London’s capital investment of approximately 74.2 per cent of the total investment in Canada compared

¹⁸ J. Herbert Hodgins, *Mayfair* (June 1927), 9.

with New York's paltry 13.5 per cent almost entirely reversed.¹⁹ Furthermore, between 1914 and 1929 the United States transformed itself from "a net debtor to a net creditor."²⁰ The future direction was clear and the stage was set for more Canadian-American economic partnerships and ultimately more cross-border cultural exchange. It was an era in which Canada's desire to assert itself on the international stage became manifest, but its political aspirations were inhibited by economic realities.

The influx into the Canadian market of various American periodicals had reached an alarming rate by the mid-1920s. These included amongst others, the *Ladies Home Journal*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *McCall's Magazine*. For every \$1 spent on Canadian and British periodicals by 1929 Canadians expended \$100 on American magazines.²¹ Mary Vipond, indicates that Canadian publishers' revenues arose principally from subscriptions. This effectively limited their total print runs, distribution, and sales.²² By contrast American publishers thrived upon increased advertising revenues and were subsequently able to lower magazine costs, hence augmenting their circulation and their profits. Furthermore, many of the advertisements in Canadian periodicals aimed to sell American consumer products to Canadians. For Canadian publishers the inclusion of American advertising in Canadian magazines was a matter of economic survival and a means to even the playing field, in an era when government turned a blind eye to the needs of the national publishing industry.

¹⁹ Wallace Clement, *Continental Corporate Power: Economic Linkages between Canada and the United States* (Toronto, 1977), 70.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

²¹ Mary Vipond, "Canadian Nationalism and the Plight of Canadian Magazines in the 1920s" in *Canadian Historical Review* LVIII (1977), 44.

²² *Ibid.*, 43.

As distribution and consumption of American magazines increased, businessmen, key women's organisations, members of the cultural intelligentsia, and publishing houses lobbied the federal government in the early months of 1920 to put a stop to what they characterized as the onslaught of American periodicals which posed a threat to the economic well-being of the Canadian magazine industry. In June 1920, however, the federal government legislated that Canadian publishers should pay ¾¢ per pound postage on second-class materials, which would increase on 1 January 1922 to 1 ½¢. This "nearly ended the 'subsidy' Canadian publishers had been receiving from the government for years, for they were now required to pay close attention to the actual cost of the carriage of their papers." Publishers argued that they would be at a considerable disadvantage, given that American publishers did not mail their material, but trucked it directly into the country, avoiding the additional costs of postage altogether.²³

Fearful of the effects of the federal government legislation, the Magazine Section of the Canadian National Newspapers and Periodicals Association was founded and held its first meeting on 4 May 1920. Its membership was heavily weighted in favour of certain publishing families, among them, the Macleans. Prominent publishing families spearheaded the lobbying of the government, and were in turn supported by such noteworthy national women's organisations as the National Council of Women of Canada and the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. As these organizations were led by upper class women this suggests that concerns about publishing and advertising were not strictly divided along gender lines, but rather along class lines. After all, in the minds of such groups it was to the elite that society needed to turn for

²³ Although the term 'subsidy' was employed, the economic relief they received was a preferential rate and should not be considered, in the true definition of the term, a subsidy. Vipond, 45.

guidance and moral rectitude – or so they believed. Their goal was a federal taxation program that would impose a special tariff on incoming American periodicals.²⁴ From 1921 to 1926 the organisation unsuccessfully solicited the Mackenzie King Liberal government to alter the taxation system to better reflect the needs of its national publishing industry. King declined to support an industry he perceived to be levelling direct attacks on himself and his government.²⁵

By the fall of 1926 the lobbyists shifted their tactics to align themselves with the socio-political rhetoric of the day, and in turn influenced the moral and socio-cultural tenor of Canadian magazines. On 28 October 1926 – less than one year before the inaugural edition of *Mayfair* appeared on news-stands – H. V. Tyrell (then general manager of Maclean Publishing Co.) and Colonel Maclean, amongst others, arrived in Ottawa to present the Canadian publishers' case to the Advisory Board on Tariff and Taxation.²⁶ A summary of all the recommendations submitted to the Board is unnecessary for the purposes of this study, however, of particular note are the arguments, which no longer rested upon purely economic rationalisations as they had in the early years of the decade. Previously, the polemic was rooted in a desire to alter the taxation and tariff systems for purely economic reasons although some national concerns had been raised. Now the latter exclusively formed the mandate and political agenda of the lobbyists. More politically astute, the lobby group sought to convince the Board members, and the country as a whole, that politicians could no longer ignore issues of

²⁴ Ibid., 45.

²⁵ Ibid., 47.

²⁶ Ibid., 48.

social morality and nationalism. Their first line of attack was magazine content. They suggested that articles contained within American periodicals were “sensational, suggestive and generally as demoralising as the publishers dare make them.” Part of the resentment towards American publishers emerged after the First World War when Canadian publishers, whose loyalties were clear, claimed that American publishing tycoons “ignored the imperial war effort” and were “anti-British.”²⁷ As Vipond argues, “economic self-interest, puritanism, and patriotism were thus combined in the publishers’ plea.”²⁸ As a result Canadian publishers had a decidedly “moral handicap,” as “none of them would ‘stoop to profit by the publication of such literature’.” Suddenly and swiftly, morality and the common intellectual welfare of all Canadians took precedence over economics and publishers’ profits. In the lobbyists’ estimation consumer propaganda of this type had been precipitated by the emigration of Canadian youth seeking to benefit from a lifestyle splendidly and unabashedly represented within the covers of America’s sensational and lavish periodicals.²⁹

The assistance and promotion of Canadian magazines would, according to the petitioners, “build up a strong Canadian literature, a matter of first importance to Canadian unity, the preservation of Canadian tradition and ideals, and the development of a national consciousness.”³⁰ Professor E.E. Prince, who also presented a personal brief to the Board on behalf of the Canadian Author’s Association, reiterated these sentiments when he argued that “American magazines were primarily commercial products” and that

²⁷ Ibid., 52.

²⁸ Ibid., 61.

²⁹ Ibid., 50.

²⁴ As presented in Vipond, 50.

they tended to “ignore Canadian and British events or achievements, and thereby caused ‘denationalisation’ among Canadians.”³¹ Amidst this rhetoric, the lobbyists also noted that American periodicals entered the country duty free, whereas Canadian publishers were required to pay duty and sales tax on the exportation of such necessary goods as paper, ink, and art works of all sorts.³² But the morally driven strategy that evolved out of a fear of American encroachment seemed to have taken on real meaning rather than the issue of pure economics.

The arguments advanced by publishers throughout the decade also reflected a continued emotional affinity for British culture and civilization, as if to renew or affirm a continued umbilical link between the elite of Canada and the traditions of the Mother Country. As historian Carl Berger has pointed out: “This sense of Canadian nationalism and the commitment to conservatism which shaped it was the essence of Canadian imperialism as these men understood it. Tariff preferences, improved communications, and defence agreements were its instruments and servants, not its substance.”³³ As early as 1900, for example, Canadian imperialists sought concessions for British magazines imported into Canada in the belief that this would counteract the perceived American threat.³⁴

The imperialist discourse that continued to be articulated by a vociferous faction of the political and cultural elite in Canada in the inter-war period, was not only pro-

³¹ As presented in Vipond, 51.

³² *Ibid.*, 48.

³³ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto, 1970), 262.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 154.

British in its moral attacks against the United States, but more importantly proposed that anything Canadian and Canada itself “would become ‘the future centre of the dominating portion of the British Empire’.”³⁵ This utopian expression of identity constantly entered into the debates focused on the publishing industry during this period and as such marks the socio-cultural and by extension the economic framework within which *Mayfair* was conceived. While federal taxation policies are not under investigation in this thesis, the role of Canadian publishers in tariff lobbying does highlight certain issues, as well as the socio-political climate that directly affected Maclean Publishing Company’s creation of magazines such as *Mayfair* and *Chatelaine*. Furthermore, the discussion underlines how *Mayfair*, in particular, may be understood as a cultural barometer. After all, as the subtitle of the magazine read, “the magazine that holds a mirror up to Society.”³⁶ The production of one “segment,” that of Maclean’s vision of contemporary Canadian elite, can also be read as an attempt on the part of Maclean and his editorial staff to gage what his readers were interested in reading/consuming, and as such functions as a microcosm of contemporary value systems.

Complaints levelled in the brief to the Advisory Board on Tariff and Taxation cited “four million pages of ‘propaganda’ for American products” provided by the commercial advertising in American periodicals imported into Canada.³⁷ By citing the magnitude of American advertising in the Canadian market as evidence of the Canadian publishing industry’s inequitable market position and its need for economic refuge from

³⁵ Ibid., 260.

³⁶ Floyd S. Chalmers, *A Gentleman of the Press* (Toronto, 1969), 333.

³⁷ Vipond, 49.

the onslaught of American periodicals – which entered Canada duty-free – publishers like Maclean acknowledged the necessity of incorporating American advertisements in their magazines, especially given the government’s lack of support. Maclean, who launched *Mayfair* after the federal government’s decision on tariffs in 1926 realised the necessity of such revenues. Approximately one-third of *Mayfair*’s content, whether in the form of editorials, advertisements, fashion plates, or features originated in the United States. This phenomenon clearly reflects the inter-war reality within which a magazine like *Mayfair* functioned. The creators of the magazine were desirous of creating a “Canadian” magazine that remained ‘faithful’ to its British cousins and lineages while clearly being aligned economically (and culturally through default) to the new American corporate culture. *Mayfair* retained Estella Burke for less than a year in 1931 as the magazine’s editorial representative in London.

Canadians refused to relinquish the “negative stereotypes” they had harboured against the United States since the nineteenth-century, which morally and culturally distanced them from their American cousins.³⁸ This was one of the most significant elements in Maclean’s concept for *Mayfair* magazine. Mary Vipond succinctly articulates this undercurrent when she indicates that the Ontario publishers were essentially, “protectionist, Britannic, and conservative.”³⁹ Canada’s primary social, cultural, and to some extent political alliances remained with Britain, a position maintained by the elite in Canada until the 1939 Rowell-Sirois Report when the federal government argued for a concerted effort, on the part of the Dominion, to expand trade and cultural ties with other

³⁸ Berger, 191.

³⁹ Vipond, 62.

British colonies and more importantly the United States. The 1939 report marks the culmination of a gradual shift, precipitated by American mass consumer culture, throughout the inter-war period, towards greater economic union with the United States.

The periodical genre to which *Mayfair* owes much is what historian George H. Douglas identifies as the “smart set magazines,” like *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*, “superficially [...] designed for smart sets or social elites.”⁴⁰ Other magazines considered ‘smart’ included other American magazines like *Smart Set*, *Vanity Fair*, the *New Yorker*, and *Esquire*. The American readership of these latter magazines transcended the gender line. Similarly, *Mayfair* aspired to be more than a pure fashion magazine destined exclusively for the female fashion set. Douglas encapsulated the *raison d'être* for such magazines in the United States when he cogently described what the readership desired:

[T]hey wanted to hear about the lives of actors, poets, of theater people, pugilists, polo players... As had always been the case, the rich and affluent classes did not want to be bruised by the poor and struggling classes beneath them; they did not want to trouble themselves with listening to talk of patent-remedy cures for the sorrows of the world; they simply wanted to be entertained, not by coarse, vulgar humor, by the diluted confections produced for simple minds, but by people they recognized as possessing force and imagination.⁴¹

Much like these American smart set periodicals *Mayfair* confirmed its unrepentantly exclusive and elitist mandate in the oft-cited first issue: “It was to interpret the life and interests of Canadians in their most gracious moods. *Mayfair* from month to month will present the pageant of drama, fashion, literature, art, society and sports – as it

⁴⁰ George H. Douglas, *The Smart Magazines* (Hamden, 1991), 24.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

touches or amuses our people across the Dominion.”⁴² Each magazine published by Maclean-Hunter was highly specialized and unique, a formulaic approach which remained the hallmark of all its publishing ventures. As cultural commentator George Woodcock indicated in *Canadian Literature* in 1973, the same formula took on a decidedly broader appeal for a larger constituency of readers in subsequent decades: “Sports, the outdoors, popular politics, popular music, films, talk of doom, and gossip about Canadian celebrities: these still – in slightly changed forms from the past – loom large in its [Maclean’s magazines’] content.”⁴³

Mayfair may sometimes have been understood as a magazine for women, by historians such as Fraser Sutherland and Meaghan Clarke, but men were featured more prominently on its covers than any other periodical. There was an exclusive men’s fashion department, sports section, and more men’s advertising than in any other magazine of its genre in Canada. These elements, incorporated into the magazine, mark a distinct difference from those magazines geared towards women and denote the magazine’s apparent desire to create and cultivate a male reader. *Esquire*, the American men’s magazine, was not established until 1933, the same year *Mayfair* changed its men’s wear reporting from London to New York, presumably in an attempt to compete with this new magazine.

Maclean and his editorial board’s choices clearly reflect the magazine’s unabashed elitist outlook mirrored directly in *Mayfair*’s editorial content as it focused almost exclusively on the Anglophone elite of Ottawa, Montreal, and in particular

⁴² J. Herbert Hodgins, *Mayfair* (May 1927), 3.

⁴³ George Woodcock as presented in Morris Wolfe, “Empire in Print: Maclean-Hunter” in *The Canadian Forum* (September 1973), 23.

Toronto, with such columns as "Ottawa by Rideau," "Toronto by York," "Montreal High Noon Gossip," and "Toronto High Noon Gossip." In an attempt to rehearse a decidedly Canadian self-representation, the magazine's elitist stance is couched in a rhetoric, which attempted to align itself with Britain, though *Mayfair* clearly appropriates many economic and stylistic components from its southern neighbour's high-end periodical market. Hence, the magazine nevertheless remains socially and culturally tied to the Mother Country. *Mayfair*'s version of elitism which was British in orientation but obliquely reinforced by the adoption of appropriated American prototypes reflected in *Mayfair* is in many ways a conflation of various influences. To openly identify with an American mass-consumerism would be to dilute the magazine's attempts to situate itself as a truly Canadian periodical.

Mayfair's ability to depict and re-present the fantasy of a unified vision of an elite lifestyle was in part predicated on a strong notion of class division, something mass consumerism would soon dismantle. These divisions were crucial in an attempt to elicit desire and fantasy on the part of the wannabe reader/consumer. Not only was the British element integral to the makeup of the magazine, but so too was a high level of moral rectitude and responsibility. In an issue of *Mayfair*, J. Herbert Hodgins, perhaps the second most influential figure in the magazine's history, ran photographs featuring the newly acquired estate of Victor Tyrell, a prominent member of Maclean's staff.⁴⁴ Maclean was so appalled by the apparent self-promotional advertising the images clearly demonstrated that he requested the captions be rewritten. In a second instance Maclean saw a photograph of the Woodbine spring race meet, in which he noticed amongst those

⁴⁴ Chalmers, 334.

present – and included in his magazine – a “former brothel keeper.” He immediately censured Hodgins and stated that, “people of questionable reputation must be kept out of our pages; we don’t want their pictures or their names,” demonstrating that within the pages of *Mayfair* a moral tone needed to be respected at all costs, emphasising once again another aspect of elite reputation.⁴⁵

The type of Canadian lifestyle, which *Mayfair* reflected, must be comprehended firstly and primarily, while not exclusively, in terms of a well-defined and segregated class of economic wealth spurred on by and identifiable as the emergence of the new capital economy. The representation of this small constituency of the elite reflects *Mayfair*’s *raison d’être* as a vehicle for the wish fulfilment proposed by the capitalist system. Hence, the mythology of material affluence lay at the heart of the image. Maclean Publishing Company provided an image, or more exactly a simulacra of an elite of Canada for those who aspired to count themselves amongst their rank one day. Colonel Maclean, a self-made man, stood as the quintessential example of capitalist success, as 1927 not only marked the year that *Mayfair* made its debut, but was the year when the publisher acquired a custom-built Rolls Royce, the epitome of what the magazine represented.⁴⁶ Maclean effectively replaced American actors on the international stage with Canadian ones.

The growth of international tastes among this elite was also evident in the phenomenon of the trans-national ‘travel culture’ in North America, which underpinned many advertising and editorial texts. Many exclusive New York hotels, such as the

⁴⁵ Fraser Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines* (Markham, 1989), 158.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 136.

Ambassador and the Plaza in particular, advertised regularly in *Mayfair*, attracting an elite clientele from the *Golden Triangle* area of Montreal, Ottawa, and especially Toronto. By contrast their Canadian counterparts advertised periodically and not nearly as frequently as the New York hotels, except for the Ritz-Carleton in Montreal, a non-Canadian company, and Canadian Pacific Hotels across the country.

The seemingly flagrant contradiction between the desire to create a decidedly “Canadian” periodical of the commercial world is underscored in the pages of the first *Mayfair* issue, cited at the outset of this chapter, to underline the importance of economic factors in the creation of the magazine and its societal sub-texts. Maclean addressed one segment of the Canadian demographic that until then had turned to American magazines. As corporate historian J. Rutledge, in his history of the publishing house, notes:

On the face of it, the proposal to enter into competition with publications already well established with the audience that must be approached might have seemed reckless. Quality presentation, especially lavish use of illustrations and heavy paper stocks involved higher production costs than anything that had yet been undertaken. It was obvious from the start that the presentation had to be impressive or failure would be immediate.⁴⁷

Figures 1.1 1.1a and 1.2 and 1.2a best highlight the increasingly direct economic partnerships being forged between Canada and the United States and how these in turn affected the manner in which consumer products were represented in *Mayfair*. On two separate occasions in 1935 *Mayfair*’s front cover featured the Motor Show. The same illustrations also served as the back cover full-page advertisement. Graphic artists H.T. Etwell’s January cover [Figure 1.1 and 1.1a] and the Margaret Fax’s November cover [Figure 1.2 and 1.2a] promoted Goodyear on the verso. This American corporation had

⁴⁷ J. Rutledge, Maclean-Hunter Collection: Memorabilia File F-138-A-4-11, Box 38, “History of Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company” manuscript, 48.

acquired its first subsidiary and foreign plant in Canada in Bowmanville, Ontario in 1910. In these two issues the prototype of American periodicals and advertisements took on a whole new significance. An American manufacturer was advertised on the second most important space in the periodical, which subtly introduced two levels of commercial signification into the image. According to American mass communications scholar Ellen McCracken, "Together with the front cover... [the back cover] frames the reading of the magazine. The heavier paper of the covers imparts a special aura to these images."⁴⁸

For the cover 'free expression' on the part of the graphic artist was in reality dictated by the magazine's primary requirement of enticing the viewer to purchase. As a commodity object itself, the magazine also marketed the objects advertised and represented therein. At another level the artist was required to create an image approved by the manufacturer who was paying for the advertisement on the back cover. Both of these illustrations "painted exclusively for Mayfair" were by artists who contributed cover illustrations regularly. They illustrate high-class *bon vivants*, but also prominently feature automobiles for which the manufacturer supplied tires. The advertising client gained a "made in Canada" *cachée* through the image of the Canadian Auto Show on the cover of a Canadian magazine and, by extension, the product itself assumed the same character, an important selling point in the Canadian market, especially given the establishment of the Bowmanville plant, and the international economic integration that this represented.

The creation of subsidiary plants in Canada by American capitalists marked a post-war economic reality that was a feature of the automobile industry. Car

⁴⁸ Ellen McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms* (London, 1993), 98.

manufacturers who established themselves in Canada reaped a three-fold benefit. They were guaranteed an eager Canadian consuming public, were sheltered from a 35 per cent tariff, and more interestingly were also afforded a favourable export entry into the economies of British colonies and Britain.⁴⁹ Manufacturers like Ford took advantage of the situation and benefited greatly from such opportunities. This phenomenon was not limited to automobile manufacturers, but also included companies such as Heinz and Quaker Oats, which also advertised in *Mayfair*.⁵⁰ Cities like Bowmanville competed to entice American industrialists through tax exemptions and free land.⁵¹ Indeed Canada's interests lay in such international economic realities, which served to heighten Canada's impact on the international scene.

Maclean Publishing Company President Donald G. Campbell stated in 1973:

"Our circulation policy is based on the premise that the right audience is not necessarily the biggest one ...we offer audiences and services specifically tailored to help our clients sell."⁵² Although there no longer exist financial records for *Mayfair* in the first decade of its production, or for the company as a whole, circulation figures towards the end of the magazine's life reveal the relationship between *Mayfair*, *Canadian Home and Garden*, and *Chatelaine*. By the time *Mayfair* was sold to David B. Crombie in 1955, the magazine had already reached its zenith with 20,000 copies in circulation. This was in sharp contrast to the 100,000 copies, which were expected for Maclean's *Canadian House and Garden*. However, according to periodical historian Fraser Sutherland, by

⁴⁹ Clement, 60.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 60.

⁵¹ Ibid., 61.

⁵² Wolfe, 20.

1951 it was the 37,000 monthly copies of *Chatelaine* “on which most of the [company’s] profits and losses would ride.”⁵³ In the last few years *Mayfair* was no longer a profit-making periodical, which precipitated its sale to Crombie. Sutherland, nevertheless, states that *Mayfair* was counted amongst Maclean’s four most important periodicals which together grossed more than \$4 million in advertising revenues.⁵⁴ Canadian historian, writer, and social commentator Pierre Berton noted in 1958, that *Mayfair* stood “foursquare for those eternal values, which have helped us to build this new, raw nation of ours – money,” and highlights the magazine’s socio-cultural impact on the visual culture of Canada.⁵⁵

Although the demise of *Mayfair* occurred long after the decade under investigation here, it is interesting to suggest a possible hypothesis about why the magazine no longer remained successful. Canadian social historian Bryan Palmer argues that mass consumerism superseded class culture, diluting the class divisions so firmly entrenched in Western culture.⁵⁶ This situation was further compounded by what historian John Herd Thompson has argued in *Canada 1922-1938: Decades of Discord* as the issue of where Canada located its national identity. National identity, according to the author, underwent a significant yet evolutionary shift when,

English Canadians had become more North American but still felt an attachment to their British heritage; they were less British, yet they resolutely determined that they were not Americans. ‘It would seem,’ suggested one of the contributors of

⁵³ Sutherland, 244.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 137. The four included *Mayfair*, *Chatelaine*, *Maclean’s*, and *Canadian Home and Garden*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁵⁶ Bryan Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991* (Toronto, 1992), 269.

Canada and Her Great Neighbour, 'that Canadians are determined to be both North American and a British nation, but above all a nation with a distinct Canadian personality.'⁵⁷

Canada's interwar experience, therefore, was a complex interplay between the old, conservative attachments to Britain and the emergence of the powerful economically based consumer culture derived almost exclusively from American mass culture and media which precipitated the diluting of class divisions.

The demise of *Mayfair* and the continued success of *Chatelaine* is a story rooted in the struggle and shift between elitist pro-imperialist sentimentality and the development of mass American corporate culture. *Mayfair* in its inter-war years echoed the socio-economic and cultural developments outlined by Thompson. The magazine carefully and successfully straddled the expectations of a faction of a central Canadian Anglo-Saxon elite whose socio-cultural and nostalgic affinities remained oriented towards Great Britain and the newly emergent American corporate culture centred on mass culture and consumption; this was a bifurcation no longer evident after the Second World War.

It is critical to briefly examine the rise and socio-economic significance of the working class in Canada in order to fully understand *Mayfair*'s demise in 1961. The 1920s were the embryonic stage in which mass culture, Fordism, and working-class emancipation can clearly be charted. As Canadian historian Bryan D. Palmer has argued, mass culture appropriated social and class "experience" to repackage them as commodity objects. Henry Ford's innovative manufacturing process, which involved, amongst other things, the new integral components of interchangeability and standardization supplied new paradigms. The socio-economic impact of these new developments meant a

⁵⁷ John Herd Thompson, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto, 1985), 192.

reduction in the commodity's price, a sharp increase in the supply of commodity goods, and more importantly increased consumption in an era of increased prosperity. Although the 1920s marked the beginnings of Fordism in Canada, (a decade after its American inception) it would not significantly affect the population at large until after the Second World War, and as a result wages and consumer power would emerge as significant components of the new social era. Palmer writes:

To look at the 1920s is to see a hint of how old cultural modes could be displaced by a range of activities that redefined the nature and meaning of time away from work. The material foundations of the localized and often class-based cultures of an earlier epoch were being undermined by the new products, concentrated control, the expansion of urban markets, and monopoly capital's campaign to profit from any and all saleable commodities. Culture, once at least partially based in social or group experience, was in the throes of transformation: spectator sports, the rise of the mass media, and the power to overcome distance transformed culture into a potentially purchasable item.⁵⁸

This emergent reality to which Palmer alludes is clearly evident within the pages of the commodified lifestyle periodical of *Mayfair*. Ironically, the birth of the consumer economy marked the beginnings of a class shift that would prove to be the downfall of the periodical. The upwardly mobile Canadian consumer's desire in the post World War II era to be like those represented in the magazine and the commodification of the elite lifestyle with its many semiotic markers would form part of a larger visual and discursive field that promoted increased leisure (attained through hard work in the capital economy) and individual socio-economic mobility. The elitism advanced by *Mayfair* in the first decade, was no longer palatable to a new and larger middle-class. American mass culture dissolved the entrenched socio-economic boundaries making mass consumption more

⁵⁸ Plamer, 232.

interesting to a constituency not interested in exclusivity. Magazines like *Chatelaine* offered the reader a greater sense of inclusivity among a larger constituency.

Early developments in mass culture following World War II saw an increase in capital, an income taxation system, which not only benefited the elite but all levels of society. Palmer contends that: "Much of this [new post-war] culture was apolitical, extended well beyond class boundaries, and only supported the consumerism of a capitalist order promoted as pluralistic."⁵⁹ Post-war prosperity was of a magnitude never before witnessed by Canadians. It brought higher wages and an increased standard of living. By the 1950s, however, Americanisation of Canadian culture and of Canada seemed so pervasive that many viewed it as a hostile take over of Canada. The O'Leary report in 1961, amongst other recommendations, suggested that quotas be placed on incoming American mass periodicals – too late for *Mayfair*, which disappeared the same year as the report.⁶⁰ Perhaps the most dramatic difference between the pre and post World War II periods was that consumer power, once seen as part of economic demand, expanded to become an economic force on its own, driven solely by advertising. Those who once fantasised about the commodities found in *Mayfair* in the 1920s and 1930s (the upper-middle and middle classes) emerged as the constituency with the greatest buying power able to actually purchase the lifestyle once advertised but unattainable. The rise in power and growth of the middle-class within this newly emergent economy provided an endless supply of consumers whose desires could now be satiated. However, the difference now, was that the middle-class desired their semiotic language for self-

⁵⁹ Ibid., 314.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 270.

representation, which no longer adhered to the ethos continued to be advocated by *Mayfair*.

Canadian social historian Cynthia Wright in her discussion of the importance of the symbiotic relationship between the department store and the periodical and advertising presses, posits that the 1920s was the seminal decade in which mass circulation magazines such as *Canadian Gardens and Homes*, *Chatelaine*, and *Mayfair* sought, within their respective niche markets, to further perpetuate the virtues of mass culture and subtly support the corporate economy. The demise of *Mayfair* with its content clearly favouring luxury above affordability occurred following the shift towards increased production and consumption of goods for and by a greater number of consumers. In this regard the author suggests an intimate link between Eaton's and *Canadian Homes and Gardens* and *Chatelaine*, but the latter did not advertise for Eaton's in the first decade of its history, whereas *Mayfair* functioned as a regular venue for the department store, specifically the College Street store.

With the proliferation of consumer goods and the development of these magazines came the role of the advertiser's art director, whose precarious assignment was to achieve a balance between the marketing requirements of the manufacturer and by extension the publisher of the magazine, and the artistic license and integrity of the graphic designer. These two interests in advertising were more often than not at odds with each other in the early 1920s. Many corporate executives were "suspicious and apprehensive" of using art to encourage consumption.⁶¹ One indication of the antagonism between graphic artists and manufacturers was a debate over whether or not

⁶¹ Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising and the Borders of Art* (Chicago, 1995), 127.

the artists who illustrated advertisements in magazines should sign their work. Most corporate advertisers, not surprisingly, took a strong stance on the issue of signatures to ensure that their products and trademarks were free of extraneous details, which might confuse the consumer. Also, the signature, or more aptly the recognition over time of the artist would invariably garner for the graphic artist a level of success and more importantly would enable him/her to command more money. This debate can be understood in terms of what historian Michele Bogart has described as the “romantic ideology of authenticity connected by the signature” at odds with “the fundamental purposes of advertising.”⁶² While some illustrators, photographers, and writers did acquire a certain level of fame and prestige that brought them the right to sign their work most did not reach the celebrity status.

Economics also played a crucial role in the exclusion of the artist’s signature. What advertisers feared was an increase in artist’s fees. If the artist’s signature was clearly visible to the eye of the reader, it was argued, fame would inevitably improve his bargaining position. This stance, however, was not universally held since numerous agencies preferred to include the artist’s signature with the advertisement as they felt, to the contrary, that it “[served] as an indication that the agency did ‘high-class’ work. It would also function as a sign of credibility of the fact that the client and artists stood behind the product they promoted. As such, the signature served as a subliminal form of testimonial.”⁶³

⁶² Ibid., 144.

⁶³ Ibid., 145

In the United States art directors concentrated power for themselves and increased their credibility by establishing the Art Director's Club. Founded in 1920 by Louis Pedlar, the club not only offered a forum to organise, but more importantly ensured a measure of professional credibility through greater control over quality of production. The association argued that as a collective body it would ensure the highest standards of quality and professional practice. As part of its mandate, members exhibited their graphic art publicly using a presentation style similar to that of easel paintings. Bogart argues that this was done because "art directors aimed to prove that advertising art could be as meritorious as easel painting, and indeed [that it] far surpassed the crude renderings so prevalent five years earlier... [putting] advertising and easel painting on an equal plane."⁶⁴

A professional organisation similar in mandate and vision was not organised in Canada until 1948 with the founding of the Art Directors Club in Toronto. But the Canadian Society of Graphic Artists offered an exhibition venue at an earlier stage. Founded in 1904, this organisation encouraged its members to exhibit both 'commercial' and private graphic art works. Catalogues for their annual exhibitions held between 1924 and 1938 indicate that both members and non-members submitted entries. Amongst this inventory of actively exhibiting artists were those who worked for Maclean Publishing Company and those who submitted works destined originally for the cover of *Mayfair* (See Appendix A). The display of these works lent a certain prestige and elevated the status of the illustrations to a level comparable with painting, regardless of their commercial *raison d'être*.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 128-129.

The later founding of the Art Directors' Club in Canada reflected the fact that art directors and fashion editors did not initially occupy such a pivotal role in the Canadian publishing industry as they did in the United States. Because many of the advertisements featured in Canadian magazines were American in origin, the importance of a 'go-between' in the form of an editor was clearly not as necessary in Canada. The Maclean Publishing Company, for example, did not create a position for an Art or Fashion editor until March 1942 when the company began to list Bettie Munro as Fashion Editor on the *Mayfair* masthead. An Art Director *per se* did not come onto the scene until three years later. Fashion took precedence over art until November 1945 when A. Stanley Furnival became the inaugural art director. These appointments indicate the changing priorities determined by the greatest potential for economic gains, as well as emphasis determined by the demographics of the readership.

While the debate surrounding artists' signature appears principally in the American context, it is evident also within the pages of *Mayfair*. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s department stores, such as Eaton's and Simpson's which regularly advertised in the magazine, never allowed their artists to include signatures on their work. On the other hand, Canadian men's clothing manufacturer Forsyth, which favoured Ricardo as the company's exclusive illustrator, allowed the graphic artist not only to sign his illustrations, but also to work concurrently as an illustrator for *Mayfair*. High-end specialty stores such as Holt Renfrew and Creeds of Toronto avoided the problem altogether by using photography exclusively throughout the inter-war years.

Thus far, I have attempted to examine the influence of American socio-economic factors on the Canadian publishing industry, notably on *Mayfair*, and how the magazine

adapted to expanding international trends. In order to fully understand the position held by *Mayfair* within the Canadian socio-cultural milieu and economy of visibility a concise examination of *Chatelaine*, Maclean Publishing Company's other more financially successful undertaking is also necessary. These two magazines, *Chatelaine* and *Mayfair*, were not in direct competition with one another, but rather existed in a symbiotic relationship, each of which enhanced the other's position in its own clearly defined "segment." In the end it was *Chatelaine* and not *Mayfair* that emerged as Canada's pre-eminent women's publication. *Mayfair*'s place in the high-end sector of the market, not in terms of its readership, but rather in terms of the construction of an elite "lifestyle" ideal was part of the company's strategy to formulate distinct market niches of readers. The effect was to perpetuate a notion of sharp class divisions. Through the (re)presentation of upper-class lifestyle *Mayfair* fostered a capitalist mythology for readers dissatisfied with current socio-economic conditions. This role both of documenting the elite of the country and proffering a lifestyle demonstrates how *Mayfair* represented dominant social values. By contrast, with the creation of the new women's magazine, the publisher began to promote and maintain a middle-class, mainstream, mass readership, distinct from the elite non-gender specific reader of *Mayfair*. This symbiosis allowed for the creation of a market and social hegemony, which in turn gave Maclean an increased influence in the Canadian market.

Despite the strong hold of the successful fashion and society magazines, the emergence of periodicals in the decade immediately following the Great War generated a second important genre: "the confessional magazine." These periodicals did not initially set out to challenge directly the existing market, but took advantage of what were

perceived to be gaps, tapping into the newly identified segments of the American demographic, or what has become identified commonly as “market segments.”⁶⁵ In Canada the creation of the genre in the guise of *Chatelaine* came at a time when the emerging middle-class was not only demographically more important, but in many ways began to threaten the hegemonic position of the elite. This genre, not unlike the ‘lifestyle’ genre of *Mayfair*, operated as a means to ensure a middle-class mainstream bourgeois morality and functioned as a means of control. The text of these “confessional magazines” focussed almost exclusively on “emotional first person tales of conflicts and problems,” centred on family, sex, and marriage.⁶⁶ From the “confessional magazine” tradition came Maclean Publishing Company’s first “women’s magazine” *Chatelaine* which employed this formulaic prototype and financially successful precedence.

If *Mayfair* was the Grand Dame of Canadian magazines, then *Chatelaine* was the ‘how-to-guide’ for Canadian middle-class women. Conceived only four months after *Mayfair*’s launch, *Chatelaine*’s would-be director George H. Tyndall wrote a revelatory letter entitled “General Plans for a Women’s Magazine of Large National Circulation” in which he outlined not only the need for such a magazine, but also its philosophical mandate, defining features, and fiscal feasibility. One of the most noticeable elements in his letter is that no mention is made of *Mayfair*. In fact, he states “there is no woman’s magazine in Canada today, which is being sold over the newsstands.” He cites Canadian competitor publications like *Canadian Home Journal*, *House Beautiful*, and *House and Garden* as examples of “second-rate” women’s magazines to reinforce his claim for the

⁶⁵ Mary Ellen Zukerman, *A History of Popular Women’s Magazines in the United States 1792-1995* (Wesport, 1998), 117.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 118.

need for a truly Canadian woman's periodical. This new magazine was to be "both distinctly feminine and distinctly Canadian."⁶⁷ Undeniably, *Chatelaine* was conceived and targeted to women, while *Mayfair* was directed to both genders. This stance was reiterated decades later by the company's historian J. Rutledge, in his statement that at *Chatelaine*'s founding "there was no magazine that regularly furnished authoritative articles on housekeeping, beauty culture, fashion and child welfare all keyed to Canadian tastes, customs and personalities and grounded in a definitely Canadian atmosphere."⁶⁸

Nationalist sentimentality aside, it was apparent that the position of the publishing house was to educate, the middle-class woman who, according to Rutledge, "needed more information and guidance for the problems that faced her day by day."⁶⁹ Here an important distinction can be seen between the two publications. Since its inception, *Chatelaine* was meant to guide, educate, and mould women into the personification of the ideal middle-class wife and mother: *The Chatelaine*. The Maclean Publishing Company took its role as educator seriously with the inauguration of its housekeeping centre, "The Chatelaine Institute." This marks a radical departure from the way that *Mayfair* approached its readership. Rather than directly guiding its readers with helpful essays, advertisements for the best new products for the home, the magazine presented a lifestyle for those who had already "arrived," as it were. Through the implied cultural sub-texts the reader was encouraged to emulate and re-create similar conditions in order to fulfil social expectations to be like those re-presented in the magazine. Hence, the magazine's

⁶⁷ George H. Tyndall, "Chatelaine" file of the "Memorabilia Files", Maclean-Hunter Box 38, F-138-A-4-1, 1.

⁶⁸ Rutledge, 52-53.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 52-53.

representation obliquely, subtly, and systematically reinforced social values to the reader/consumer.

Editorial plans for *Chatelaine* began with a national campaign inviting Canadian women to find a name for the new magazine that best suited the “feminine character of the magazine, and one that will appeal particularly to those interested in good housekeeping and home making.” The name needed to appeal not only to the readers, but also to advertisers.⁷⁰ The magazine, which directly catered to the consumer of each middle-class home, not surprisingly, interested advertisers, who, for the most part, directed a significant percentage of their advertisements to women. Editorial segments included:

Wiser selection of foods; more expert cooking; more varied menus; more competent care for the health and welfare of the family; scientific and labouring-saving methods of keeping the house and doing the work; touches that make the home attractive; hints on entertaining; the arrangement of furniture; the decoration of the home; the planning of the new home. All these would be subjects for continual discussion.⁷¹

“Regular Departments” first introduced in *Chatelaine* included: “The Promise of Beauty; the Chatelaine’s Bridge Department; The Woman Motorist; The Domestic Workshop; Chatelaine’s Handicraft; What of Your Child?” Of the topics featured in Tyndall’s aforementioned initial list of proposed features, all pertained to women’s work within the home, with the exception of “The Woman Motorist.”

⁷⁰ Tyndall, 3.

⁷¹ Ibid., 3.

By contrast, the woman of *Mayfair* did not preoccupy herself with such trivialities. Her wealth, class, and breeding afforded her luxuries of culture, travel, fashion, and the arts; all staples of *Mayfair*. Fashions in *Chatelaine* could be inspired by fantasy or the catwalks of Paris, but more frequently they were derived from patterns easily fabricated at home at a relatively inexpensive cost. According to Tyndall's proposed and subsequently developed schema, *Chatelaine*'s articles were to be about women of note in Canada, ensuring sound role models for the younger female generation, but the effect was to simultaneously propose a unitary construction of gender.⁷²

In *Chatelaine*, "one fourth to one third of the editorial matter should be fiction of the best quality obtainable," proposed Tyndall.⁷³ The editorial, fictional stories, and serials created for the magazine, by both men and women, played an important role in the overall mechanics of *Chatelaine* more than visual materials. In other words advertising, graphic art, photography and reproductions of paintings, visuality as a whole did not assume the same prominent defining role as was the case in *Mayfair*.

What is even more curious about the *Chatelaine* project, specifically as it relates to Tyndall's vision, is that despite the female focus of *Chatelaine*, the inaugural managerial staff was exclusively comprised of men. The appointment of Mr. Napier Moore to the position of Editorial Director and Byrne Hope Sanders as Editor suggests Tyndall's reluctance to entrust senior positions to professional women. What is profoundly indicative of his stance, as Tyndall himself indicated, was his recognition of the need to hire a second person -- "a thoroughly competent woman editor...[who] would

⁷² Veronica Strong-Boag, "*Janey Canuck: Women in Canada, 1919-1939* (Ottawa, 1994), 5. Examples of such articles include November 1929, "Now that Women are Persons What's Ahead?" by Emily Murphy.

⁷³ Tyndall, 4.

have to be employed to do the actual work.”⁷⁴ This “woman editor” was to be conspicuously absent from the masthead. This duplicitous ‘relationship’ spotlights the essence, nature, and *raison-d’être* of the magazine and its gendered hierarchical relationship to its target audience of female readers, a relationship that essentially replaced the woman as the dominant figure of the household (private sphere) with a new male figure, who appropriated her traditional prerogatives to dictate to her from the public sphere “authoritative” guidance for the betterment of the home.

Some advertisers like Lux Soap, Kotex, and McColl-Frontenac Oil Company Limited appeared in both *Chatelaine* and *Mayfair*, for the most part each magazine had a distinct stable of sponsors. Also, for example, men’s wear fashions were not advertised in *Chatelaine*. This disparity coincided with the vastly divergent editorial style, target audiences, and format of each magazine. Differences were not limited to the selection of advertisers, but also included the graphic designers and the staff of the two magazines worked separately. Products highlighted in *Mayfair* were not in evidence within the covers of *Chatelaine* for sound marketing reasons. Many were well beyond the means of most lower- to middle-class Canadians, who were more preoccupied with creating an ideal home, as the editorials suggested, than with luxury items showcased prominently in *Mayfair*. The cross-over of advertising, other forms of illustration, and editorial content was therefore kept to a minimum, so that Canadian men and women in the respective market audiences experienced discrete content segregated along lines demarcated by class and gender. Articles such as “Food Costs Versus their Caloric Values,” “Choosing your Child’s Toys,” “How Far Can a Woman Pledge her Husband’s Credit?” and “Do

⁷⁴ Ibid., 4.

Women Assume Too Much?" provided the readers of *Chatelaine* with 'necessary information for the young aspiring housewife and mother.'⁷⁵ Through 'helpful hints' such as these, directed to middle-class women, male editors categorically represented and reinforced a hegemony of domesticity which kept these women in the home to raise children.

As Frank Blye has argued in his article "Hegemonic Heterosexual Masculinity:"

Hegemonic obedience to heterosexuality and masculinity is a human activity, a social product embodied by individual men in their everyday, routine set of social relations. As a collective process, gender obedience by men expresses themes of competition with other men... Hegemonic heterosexual masculinity is socially constructed and socially imposed.⁷⁶

Part of what makes the normative gender roles particularly potent in its embodiment of traditional masculinity is the ability of the elite male to affirm his position in his own household. The conspicuous profusion of advertisements in *Chatelaine* that claimed to provide women with opportunities to earn extra income from of their homes speaks not only of a desire to keep women within the realm domestic activity, but also attests to a corporate culture that expounds the values of male productivity and the male role as provider of his household. Such advertisements never appeared in *Mayfair*. *Chatelaine* articles such as "The Family Purse: Making Money in Your Home," by Mabel Crews Rigland, underlined the socio-economic disparity between the woman readers of *Mayfair*

⁷⁵ *Chatelaine*, December 1929, p.28, "Choosing your Children's Toys: Some General Rules for Guidance by a noted authority on child training", October 1929, Food Costs Versus their Caloric Values: Price Does not regulate the Nourishing qualities of Food', by Ruth Davison Reid, p.24; October 1929, "How Far Can a Woman Pledge her Husband's Credit?: An Interesting aspect of the Marriage Laws, author unknown, p.58; November 1929, "do Women Assume too Much?: A Question of the Spinster's Responsibilities", author unknown, p.16.

⁷⁶ Blye, 161.

and *Chatelaine*.⁷⁷ The ubiquity of such advertisements in the 1920s and 1930s in such magazines as *Chatelaine* strikingly highlight class division. The upper-middle-class women of Canada did not need to supplement their husbands' income and had no concerns with the home-making, given that they led a life which permitted them to act as matrons of the arts a role that assured her husband's legitimacy within the political economy as well as reinforcing his role within "companionate marriage." As Canadian social historian Gary Kinsman argues, "a husband's social status continued to be measured by his ability to keep a wife at home [and that women represented in] magazines opted for marriage as opposed to a career."⁷⁸ Women in *Chatelaine*, therefore were advised to focus on the duties as both mother and wife, and not to focus on their earning potential outside of the home.

As Patricke John-Heine and Hand F. Gerth write in "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction, 1921-1940:"

Psychologically, the gratification of the reader is obtained by identification with a hero, in his vicissitudes as well as in his final rewards. Since the reader identifies himself with a particular hero model, the fiction hero, together with his status, his qualities, and his achievements, becomes an important vehicle of social values.⁷⁹

Clearly this concept functioned in terms of the serials and short stories in periodicals such as *Chatelaine*, but also in terms of a magazine such as *Mayfair*. In essence all magazines, art and other forms of representation operate covertly and overtly as social document, a guide, a book of class, decorum and breeding. The primary actors are never entirely

⁷⁷ *Chatelaine*, (December 1929), 52, 55.

⁷⁸ Gary Kinsman, *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities* (rev. ed.) (Toronto, 1996), 136.

⁷⁹ Patricke Johns-Heine and Hand F. Gerth "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction, 1921-1940" in *Public Opinion Quarterly XIII* (Spring 1949), 105.

fictional, but function within the realm of fantasy and desire. After all, *Chatelaine* was designed specifically for the “young and modern Canadian homemaker,” and was unquestionably geared exclusively towards the middle-class woman.⁸⁰ The title itself, that is the personification of *Chatelaine*, functioned as a ‘meta-symbol’ not only for the entire magazine, but also for its female readership. Success according to the lifestyle genre was therefore implicitly represented in the magazine, which can be understood as a value system representing prevailing social standards set forth by an elite, who advanced their own particularised vision of Canadian society, a society in which its people were seduced by gossip to indulge in dreams of consumer satiation.

The readership of *Mayfair* and *Chatelaine* were comprised of different constituencies. The market dominance afforded by this reciprocal relationship assured the perpetuation of certain values. The readers of the magazine, through hard and diligent attention to the *recipes* for proper living, conducted their lower- and middle-class existences within a system that was maintained and guaranteed according to the standards advanced by the magazine. As corporate historian J. Rutledge stated in his history:

Let the Philistines babble about snobbery, *Mayfair* continued its untroubled way assured in its conviction that any group or interest has a right to a medium that will serve first its own particular interests. So the basic editorial aim of *Mayfair* was to create in the minds of the reader a flattering sense of identification with the kind of life to which every *normal* [my emphasis] Canadian aspires. And to provide an entertaining review of activities and interests and tastes and prejudices of those who have arrived and an authoritative guide for those who are on their way.⁸¹

While there were segment-specific constituencies there was also a level of upward mobility, for lack of a better term, anticipated between the readership of these two

⁸⁰ Rutledge, 53.

⁸¹ Ibid., 51.

magazines, as mentioned by Rutledge at the conclusion of his statement regarding the readership of *Mayfair*. Rutledge's statement must be understood within the nuanced realities of the magazine's ideal reader. In light of the rather limited circulation numbers of 20,000 at its peak, *Mayfair*'s readers "who are on their way" towards attaining the lifestyle represented in *Mayfair* can be understood in terms of members of the upper-middle class and possibly middle class and rather than coming from a broad range of classes. At 35 cents an issue in comparison to the rate of 25 cents for *Chatelaine*, *Mayfair* was left to the higher end consumer or those who aspired to the lifestyle proffered by the magazine. The magazine, whether purchased or read in salons, waiting rooms, or newsstands would have been an ideal visual escape from the realities of the Depression, but the prohibitive cost of both the magazine and the items advertised and displayed between the covers would have limited the subscriber base. Not unlike today, those who did not belong to the class represented in the magazine still founded their hopes and aspirations around the represented ideals seeking to purchase and fantasize about the lifestyle represented within the covers.

While there is no doubt that for the magazine, there was an ideal reader, as Rutledge's statements attest, the lack of information regarding subscriptions and promotional data for the magazine precludes any conclusive evidence to theorize potential readers/consumers as being exclusively "elite." With this in mind I would contend that *Mayfair* was as a cultural product constructed by and for a highly segment-specific market and was not a function of its readers. The assertive tone of the elite values represented in *Mayfair* served to reinforced class divisions and imposed upon the middle-class reader a unitary vision of what constituted a "successful lifestyle."

Magazine publishing, like many other industries in Canada in the 1920s, was necessarily linked to and influenced by developments in the United States in a number of seminal ways. American industrial ventures after World War I were spurred by standardisation, mass production, and advertising – staples of late capitalist culture. Economic growth and prosperity, short lived though they may have been, were uncompromisingly welcomed after the devastation and hardship of World War I. Consumer goods and the visual culture associated with marketing them became “eye candy” for a generation deprived of sensory pleasures and spawned a new generation of consumers whose buying habits were no longer based entirely on needs and necessities, but rather on desire. A marked rise in the consumer economy and in the advertising that drove it ensued. The use of the ‘illustrated advertisement’ significantly increased as graphic design and photography became tools to promote sales. Advertisements were sold by conveying a sense of style and good living. Frequently represented ‘lifestyle’ images constructed a reality in which products became essential in the apparatus of this new consumer culture. These in turn sustained the fashion, consumer, and “lifestyle” magazines that would become the index of a new era in North American economic activity.

The lifestyle (re)presented and (re)created in *Mayfair* essentially functioned on some level as a mythology, a fiction from which the aspiring upwardly mobile reader could develop a blueprint and from which he could model his own present and future aspirations. As such the magazine proposed an elitist program that projected a visual repertory of class, decorum, and good social breeding. Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci argues within his definition of hegemony that “class consciousness” is the means by

which an elite class, through various social, governmental, and institutional agencies, becomes a cohesive entity and proposes a common culture.⁸² This common experience is also achieved at the level of visual representations or outward manifestations of this cohesive identity or collective experience. The “unified focus” relies on a particular spatio-temporal experience, or as Gramsci has theorized, an “historic bloc.”⁸³ The elite represented within the magazine are the primary recipients of the culture promulgated and projected by and through the magazine. These become an identifiable “set” within the larger population, who are led to accept this view of the social order.

There is an inevitable relationship with those of lower socio-economic standing, who through the consumption of the material presented and represented in the magazine, whether by direct purchase, or through indirect awareness of the values represented recognize the visual indices of what constitutes success in the social order at large. Both *Chatelaine* and *Mayfair* serve the same end from entirely different market and socio-cultural positions. Both serve to promote a commodified lifestyle or a vision of a fabricated and proposed ideal for a particular class within a larger class superstructure. Through commodification, regulation, and as a result of clear visual articulation of the various market-segment constituencies, hegemony is thus guaranteed and in broader socio-economic terms so is desire, the mainstay of the commodity system.

Within the confines of American consumerism and *Mayfair*'s marked shift to New York as the new capital of taste and fashion, it is not entirely surprising that the Depression figures rarely. Capitalist culture during the period wanted to ensure a

⁸² Walter L. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* (Berkeley, 1980), 171.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 176-177.

renewed consumption in order to kick-start the economy once again. Any discussion of the Depression regardless of the socio-economic constituency of readers would necessarily impede the process of consumption through negative psychological associations and more importantly would curtail the sustenance of those fictions upon which consumer culture was predicated. Roland Marchand contends that,

[I]f consumers wanted to believe that exclusiveness was still fully compatible with an age of mass-produced goods, advertising leaders were not prepared to undermine such expectations. On the contrary, they began to find a larger function in accommodating their advertising strategies to any fantasies and illogical faiths that would ease the continuing transition to modern society.⁸⁴

Advertisers thus secured a fiction of an aristocracy no longer based entirely on a natural lineage or genetics, but one based on the rewards of a market economy. It suggested that through consumption one could become like those advertised in the tableaux, but this only became true after the Second World War.

The quintessential social tableau employed to advance the fiction is clear in the Canada Dry Ginger Ale campaign, which ran both in Canada and the United States. Figure 1.3 illustrates an ideal family about to partake in the celebration of Christmas. The most telling figure is that of the young white maid in the far left hand corner whose separation from the rest of the family is clearly defined spatially through the opened door. It is important to realize that maids in North America were no longer predominantly white, but more often than not were non-whites from the Caribbean. As historian Agnes Calliste writes,

When the anticipated influx of British domestics did not occur, there was active recruitment and encouragement of domestics from continental Europe. However, employers continued to request permission to recruit cheap domestic labour from the Caribbean, particularly with the return of prosperity in 1923. The number of

⁸⁴ Marchand, 205.

Caribbean domestics admitted to Canada increased from 24 in 1924-25, to 67 in 1927-28, to 152 in 1929-30. Between 1927 and 1931, domestics comprised 78 percent of the 499 black Caribbean immigrants.⁸⁵

Families in Toronto preferred British and Scandinavian domestics, a fact recognized in the Ginger Ale advertisement, which continued to perpetuate a myth based on an elite utopia. This fiction was rooted in what the reader expected, not one that reflected the emerging trends of the contemporary era. As Marchand contends, only the middle and upper classes served as models for the ideal consumers within the context of the tableaux constructed by advertisers and magazine editors.⁸⁶ The elite lifestyle was naturalized to be regarded as normative through its ubiquity in advertisements and editorials which thus reinforced the symbiotic relationship between the elitist and normative discourses conjointly advanced through mass culture.

Regardless of the segment targeted, magazines to a great extent offered a world of escape and fantasy. The potency of these advertisements was not entirely the fiction they proffered, but the notion of desire, more exactly the notion that the reader, regardless of class identity, could replace the characters in the tableau him/herself. This was not only the case for advertising, but also for the entire content of the magazine. The constructed formulaic setting essential to this type of tableau format was established by magazines of the period. Setting is not only understood as physical locale, but as a variety of components. As Marchand writes,

Although ads portrayed people having fun at restaurants, ballrooms, nightclubs, and dinner parties, the major satisfaction they conveyed was that of simply being

⁸⁵ Agnes Calliste, "Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932" in *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto, 1996), 83.

⁸⁶ Marchand, 198.

there, securely installed in the proper class setting, among the proper people, and appropriately defined as 'belonging' by their attire.⁸⁷

Nowhere is this made more evident than in the November 1934 issue of the men's wear section of "The Cosmopolite"[Figure 1.4]. The caption under the fashion plate reads, "When Life Begins at 8.40 here is how Mere Men should enter the picture."

The difference between a distanced reader and the contemporary reader of the target market is our scepticism about how the magazine fabricates meaning which is important to reveal the discursive formation of fiction and desire. Here the male reader is constituted among the "Mere Men." The magazine constructs the ideal fiction through corporeal representation. The reader, therefore, in order to 'fit' into the meta-narrative of the image and more exactly that of the magazine understands it to be necessary to purchase sartorial accoutrements for the ideal man, which he currently lacks. Hence, the caption functions in the same manner as the advertisements by creating the fiction of need and hence desire. The reader is directed to the venue where these necessary components can be purchased at the end of the caption. There exists a binary opposition in how this image operates. It positions the reader as unlike (at least for the moment) the mannequins displayed within the constructed scenario. The image allows the "Mere Man" to perceive what he is not, and subsumes his identity in the (re)presentation of the ideal man who is the embodiment of modern metropolitan masculinity, through the acquisition of the products. Hence, the magazine affords the reader a way out of his subordination and inferiority. Through sartorial signs and invitations to consumption the reader is allowed access to a privileged lifestyle reproduced, represented, and displayed before his very eyes.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 200.

The last element worth mentioning in this particular issue of "The Cosmopolite" is the ubiquitous notion of a rapprochement between the fashion centres of London and New York. Although New York, specifically Fifth Avenue, became the new centre for sartorial information and trends in *Mayfair*, London remained a key and integral component in the construction of elite male corporeality and masculinity, and as such the change in reporting venues was initially a cosmetic alteration, which over time became a gradual and subtle shift. In this case, men's writer K.M. Morphy wrote, "Tweeds are coming forth in the best British manner and are doing much to encourage a cordial entente between Great Britain and Manhattan."⁸⁸ Morphy's statement indicates that British and New York sartorial trends were clearly linked, at least for that season. While this apparent influx of British tweeds appears superficial, it serves as one example of many of the department's continued resort to British ideals and more importantly reveals that fashion overall remained heavily influenced by British traditions and developments, not only in Canada, but also in New York. The move to Fifth Avenue can be understood as part of the gradual shift towards the United States in terms of economics and mass culture. The influence of Great Britain, evident in the representation and construction of masculinity is particularly relevant to images of the male body. In the final analysis the image of the ideal man in Canada was rooted in British traditions despite the growing influence of American mass consumer culture.

The magazine's tone, content, mandate, and format, influenced by both the United States and Great Britain were not so much a "contradiction"—as they seem to the late twentieth-century reader—but were a function of a fundamental and socio-political and

⁸⁸ K.M. Morphy, *Mayfair* (November 1934), 87.

economic shift. The magazine's executives sought to develop an international *cachée*, while proposing a decidedly Canadian identity for the magazine – a mark of post-war nationalist sentiment.

This attempt to create a “modern,” sophisticated magazine, which drew upon European (and American) antecedents and aesthetic developments, was grounded in cross-pollination on various levels between the United States and Britain and the Continent at a time when the United States in the post-war era was attempting to make its influence felt on the international stage. At the same period, for example, American magazines opened subsidiary departments both in Britain and Continental Europe. The trend was also reflected in magazines employing a distinctly Art Deco graphic art style following the Paris Exhibition of 1925 [Figure 1.5]. This complex negotiation was similar to the way in which the magazine was positioned in the market by naturalizing a particular subjectivity based on a socio-economic elitism on the one hand, and “normative” gender roles on the other.

Locating Normative Masculinity in Fashion, Sports, and Travel

Mayfair's development in the early years responded to Canada's burgeoning national image by representing a cultural vision that not only fit within the Commonwealth, but also within North America. A similar layering can be understood in the representation of the male body, its representation within the context of advertising fantasy, and the construction of masculinity proposed in the first decade of *Mayfair*'s history. As Frank Blye argues in his 1987 article, "within the political economy framework, gender and sexuality will be moved outside of the 'official' ideology of gender roles and relocated in the material and social conditions of their existence."⁸⁹ The layering of influences reflects both contemporary economic practices based exclusively on American mass capital culture and socio-cultural and political affinities with Great Britain. Seemingly divergent influences evident within the representation of the male body demonstrate how it functioned as a site of power within the contemporary socio-economic climate.

This chapter attempts to deconstruct the representation of the male body to show how masculinity was constructed according to normative corporeal typology. Furthermore, rare depictions of alterity, instead of proposing inclusiveness, tended to reinforce the same dominant discourse. Even these representations of alterity act to reinforce and secure the normative white hetero-identified male hegemony. This lifestyle vision is in turn carried into the depiction of space, constructed both in the setting of the modern city as well as in the idealized space of the vacation spot. Hence, *Mayfair* operated not only as a promoter of consumer goods, but unavoidably and systematically

⁸⁹ Frank Blye, "Hegemonic Heterosexual Masculinity" in *Studies in Political Economy* 24 (Autumn, 1987): 160.

sold a lifestyle. The purposeful use of exceptional cases of alterity to affirm normative masculinity finds a correlation in the elite status granted to the normative white male in travel advertisements that include representations of the black male.

It is necessary to understand the regime of truth formulated and established within the covers of *Mayfair*, as also asserting not only gender and class values, but an entwined cultural matrix grounded in particular indices of economic and social success. During the 1920s and 1930s, amidst the growing corporatization and social regulation of the normative body, men were expected to dress in a manner that overtly signalled their position and status within society. Attire, stylish products, posture, expression, and “setting” comprised a highly complex network of discursive practices which articulated man’s wealth, respectability, position, and more importantly his masculinity and social virility. The refined, sophisticated male as constructed in *Mayfair* proposed an ideal, assembled through transcontinental pastiche which was pervaded by normative gender values and the indices of economic success, both ‘approved’ social practices for men at that period. Hence, the male body lies at the nexus between American mass culture and British neo-imperialist elitism. The corporate elite responsible for the genesis of the periodical hoped to create a truly international magazine, while attempting to forge a Canadian identity. With the assistance of American advertisers and British style mavenes the publishing elite envisaged a cross-cultural Anglo-Saxon utopia wherein the (conservative) normative (white heterosexual male) body assumed a heightened hegemonic position. As argued by Carl Berger, “the idea that Canada was to function as an interpreter between the United States and Great Britain was also refashioned and

reformulated in the 1920s and 1930s.”⁹⁰ The magazine through its use of normative discourse on gender and sexual identity coupled with an elitist positioning regarding class and even race together created a Canadian “tableau” of desirable lifestyle constructs resulting in the print media being deployed towards an elitist agenda.

Throughout the Depression *Mayfair* not only promoted the lifestyle of the rich and famous, but also advertised products to suggest the potential for upward mobility.⁹¹ In the wake of the Depression the newly ‘renovated’ men’s wear section “The Cosmopolite,” as it was to be called from 1933 on, took on a distinctly aggressive and bold format. Graphic illustrations of the *object-de-luxe* reproduced in earlier columns were now replaced for the most part by photographs. In December 1936, cognisant of the downturn in men’s apparel features in the magazine and possibly a loss of consumption amongst its male readers, the writer of “The Cosmopolite” went about downplaying the negative economic climate by proclaiming:

[T]he Depression is over...as far as the well-dressed man of New York is concerned – for the spree of buying going around that has the haberdashers and tailors run ragged looking for EXPENSIVE materials and luxury items that went sadly out of date about six years ago.⁹²

The remainder of the article reads like a fashionable call to arms, a call to join the ranks of those stylish men who were demanding \$20 sweaters and \$5 gloves. While the article also states that women “ALWAYS” have the requisite monies to spend on fashion, it was

⁹⁰ Berger, 265.

⁹¹ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley 1985), 195.

⁹² *Mayfair* (December 1936), 104.

men's spending on their sartorial needs that here functioned as a clear referent of the economic health of the nation.

As Susannah Jane Wilson notes in, "The Relationship Between Mass Content and Social Change in Canada," every sector of society, with the exception of the elite of Canada, experienced hardship and devastating losses on a daily basis during the Depression. Specifically with references to story themes, she notes that most Canadian periodicals of the day employed "escapist themes" and that women's magazines in particular (although not exclusively) purportedly ignored the existence of the Depression. In her final argument, Wilson encapsulates what is in essence the dichotomous function of the magazines of the times: "[I]f magazines reflect social time periods one would expect concerns of the Depression to be addressed during this period."⁹³ Wilson's point certainly holds for *Mayfair* because true the Depression as a topic was scarcely mentioned throughout the period in the magazine's pages. This is explained in large part by advertisers' as well as publishers' need to ensure that those, who continued to have the means to consume, did so. This was the singular means by which North America emerged from its economic hibernation. Moreover, as Wilson herself states, the elite of Canada suffered little, if at all, as a result of the devastating economic downturn precipitated by the 1929 stock market crash, unlike the rest of the Canadian population who suffered tremendously.

While *Mayfair* shares a number of common features with American periodicals, it is important note a significant difference in the approach to representation of the male

⁹³ Susannah Jane Wilson, "The Relationship Between mass content and social change in Canada" unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (U of T, 1977), 144.

body in its advertising. Periodical historian Roland Marchand has studied how American advertising used the concepts of “businessman” to express “modernity.”

All middle-class and upper-class men were businessmen, the tableaux implied. A businessman exemplified efficiency and control. If a woman’s modernity was primarily decorative, a man’s was primarily functional. In modeling the typical man on themselves, advertising men distorted the realities of occupational and class structures. By refusing to give men a distinct “look” as consumers, they preserved the assumption that dominant male instincts for production and functional modernity would counter any decadent tendencies of the consumption ethic.⁹⁴

The striking difference between the men in the American advertisements and those of the same period in *Mayfair* is the magazine’s depiction of the man of leisure rather than men engaged in work-a-day activities. Photographs depict the *smart set* male engaged in travel, sports, and leisure activities, as well as advertisements for the latest fashions that obliquely reference the elite male position within the political economy. These activities of sports, travel, and leisure function as signifiers for the reader to associate with the “fruits of one’s labour,” and mark the attainment of the goals established by the capital economy. The constructed prototype exists within a highly stylised social context, or to use Roland Marchand’s term “tableaux,” of an elite lifestyle enabled by the free market economy.

British cultural historian Maurizia Boscagli in her book *Eye on the Flesh: Fashions of Masculinity in the Early Twentieth Century* explicates the critical emergence of the “New Man” in Britain and Europe in the early decades of the twentieth-century, and its impact upon the cultural representation of the male body, which marks a significant shift in the definition of masculinity. According to Boscagli, the new ideal of

⁹⁴ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley, 1985), 191.

masculinity was a direct moral and social challenge to the aesthete and decadent

effeminate masculinity.⁹⁵ Boscagli writes:

At the historical moment in which the 'grotesque' corporeality of dissident social groups (women, homosexuals, "other" identified as a danger to the bourgeois polity) was being shrilly presented by eugenicists and imperialists as a metaphor of subversion capable of compromising a whole culture, power had to argue *in favor* of the body in order to make it its prop.⁹⁶

The author further remarks that the social impetus for the dramatic shift in the corporeal representation and its subsequent transformation was borne out of the "crisis" in "bourgeois models of masculine subjectivity and male authority." The representation of the male body as a site of a new vitalistic ideal masculinity, coupled with perceived threats of social decay and racial degeneration produced a mythology of the new virile strong, athletic male aggressively engaged in "mass sports, personal hygiene and practises that could fortify the body of the nation."⁹⁷ Boscagli notes the irony in this metamorphosis at a historic moment when most men's occupations no longer required severe and physically demanding labour.⁹⁸

The experience was not dissimilar in Canada. Indeed many facets of the Canadian experience, particularly for the well-to-do, were still culturally, politically, and emotionally linked to Great Britain. Discourse pertaining to gender was suffused with anxiety as men felt increasingly threatened by "superficial signs of the loosening of women's subordination commonly associated with the flapper of the 1920s, in

⁹⁵ Maurizia Boscagli, *Eye on the Flesh: Fashions of Masculinity in the Early Twentieth Century* (Boulder, 1996), 3.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

conjunction with the growing opportunities for female employment in monopoly capital's clerical and service sectors."⁹⁹ As historian Bryan Palmer has noted this perceived threat was evidenced in newspaper articles such as the one in Halifax's labour newspaper, *The Citizen*, when a journalist "asked with some worry in 1922, 'What will be Man's Place in Society of the Future?'"¹⁰⁰ The man's position within the household reflected a gendered hegemony that positioned him as the primary and in many cases the only breadwinner. However, his role was swiftly changing. Attempts to head off the change were evident in *Chatelaine* advertisements inviting women to earn extra income from the home, an issue linked not so much to gender but to class. Such advertisements did not appear in *Mayfair* for the ideal woman, as represented in the magazine, was a woman of leisure who did not need to work from in or out of the home. Not only did this reinforce the vertical hegemony along class lines, but it also secured the elite male's position. Such a male fulfilled the expectations of the capital economy and thus secured his masculinity.

The way in which the male body is represented articulated the male role in society. The family structure was the fundamental social building block, comprised of a male and a female in "companionate marriage," and was a means by which to ensure the hegemonic position of the elite (ruling) class.¹⁰¹ After the First World War, discourse surrounding the health and welfare of the nation and its people revolved around a capitalist, middle-class family structure.

⁹⁹ Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991* (Toronto, 1992), 235.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 235.

¹⁰¹ Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume I* (New York, 1979), 123.

The mass media, in particular, and the new corporate culture sold not only the goods they produced and advertised, but more importantly the “social norms” and lifestyle associated with them.¹⁰² Scholars have maintained that the decade immediately following the war witnessed what has been termed a “heterosexual counter-revolution.”¹⁰³ As the term would imply the counter-revolution was essentially a reaction to the perceived decline brought on by liberal urban sexuality and women’s increased inclusion into the public sphere. The social elite upheld values that redressed the losses during the war and sought to increase infant survival rate. The emphasis on “companionate marriage” was pervasive and was felt by all regardless of socio-economic position.¹⁰⁴ Although not a new issue for the elite of the country, they were, nevertheless, concerned with this issue given their propensity to focus on the preservation of their bloodlines, which ensured socio-economic continuity and their hegemonic position in the country.

Fears of increased immigration was yet another means by which the white heteronormative hegemony sought direct institutionalised intervention to perpetuate its dominance. Section 38 of the Immigration Act allowed for the restriction of immigration of “any race deemed unsuitable to the climate of requirements of Canada, or of immigration of any specified class, occupation or character.” Although the country was experiencing a shortage in qualified labourers, the act imposed morally and racially prohibitive sanctions on immigration from anywhere other than white western European

¹⁰² Gary Kinsman, *The Regulation of Desire: Homo and Hetero Sexualities* (rev. ed.), (Toronto, 1996), 69.

¹⁰³ The term “heterosexual counter-revolution” as presented in Gary Kinsman was coined by George Chauncey Jr., Carolyn Strange, and Tina Loo in *Making Good*, have designated the same phenomenon as “Returning to Normalcy”

¹⁰⁴ See Kinsman, 69.

countries. Immigration was further curtailed immediately after World War I because of high unemployment, and the government's and the elite's "desire to restore the Anglo-Saxon character of the population." As Agnes Calliste has noted, Order in Council P.C. 717 of 1922 allowed for such a restrictive policy to be enforced.¹⁰⁵

The two most pervasive editorial and advertising components of the magazine, which perpetuated the construction of the identity of the normative male role were the regular monthly fashion and sports features. Social historians Dani Cavallaro and Alexandra Warwick have theorized the relationship between and significance of clothing and the social order in the following manner, "[D]ress contributes to the production of a discourse wherein individual bodies do not inhabit the collective formation but are actually inhabited by it."¹⁰⁶ The men's fashions represented in *Mayfair* indicate a predisposition to turn to London for social guidance on constructions of the male body.

Until mid-1933, when they ceased to print the regular "Fashions for Men: Mayfair's Letter from London," London remained the preferred centre for cosmopolitan fashion. The most salient difference continuously underlined in the magazine between the fashion centres of London and New York is clearly outlined in the July 1928 issue of "Mayfair's Letter from London" in which A. M. Gale writes,

The Londoner and New Yorker differ fundamentally in their conception of the ethics of clothes! 'Conservative,' 'individual,' 'traditional' are adjectives descriptive of the Londoner's taste, whereas the New Yorker, swayed by the fad of the moment, standardizes his clothing.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Agnes Calliste, "Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932" in *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto, 1996), 71.

¹⁰⁶ Dani Cavallaro and Alexandra Warwick, *Fashioning the Frame: Boundaries, Dress and Body* (Oxford, 1998), 117-118.

¹⁰⁷ A.M. Gale, *Mayfair* (July 1928).

The attributes of “individuality,” “conservatism,” and “tradition” refer to an elite system contrasted with the American forms of standardisation and populism also reflected in American modes of production. “Conservative” and “individuality” became the hallmarks of the modern sophisticated man of *Mayfair*. Marchand has argued that during the period that “men rarely assumed decorative poses or exaggerated bodily proportions.”¹⁰⁸ This concept of “individuality” is an interesting one given that the clothing, and use of semiotic attributes in a commodity lifestyle magazine functions contrary to any such notion.¹⁰⁹

Art and fashion historian Anne Hollander argues that, “modishness as a serious concern was supposed to be a feminine province, even a privilege, linked not only with weakness and fickleness but also somehow with godless and unaccountable female sexual power.”¹¹⁰ Effeminacy was as much the issue as same-sex relationships which went against the grain of the normative aesthetic and representation. The normative male body was normally represented as dressed up “conservatively, avoid[ing] distorted modernist poses.”¹¹¹

In an April 1930 advertisement for the high-end specialty store Holt Renfrew the men’s department was lauded as having “been handsomely redecorated this month as a luxuriously carpeted salon worthy of old London’s clubland itself. It gives confidence to

¹⁰⁸ Marchand, 191.

¹⁰⁹ John Storey, *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture: Theories and Methods* (Athens, 1996), 116. German sociologist George Simmel as discussed by Storey, argues that at the turn of the century the urban bourgeoisie in Berlin, “confronted by the anonymity of city life, the new urban bourgeoisie used particular patterns of consumption to maintain and to display a sense of individuality.” I would argue that in fact this was quite similar in the mentality underlining the drive of the magazines and advertisers, but was in fact further from the truth in regards to the actual fashions and bodies represented in the magazine.

¹¹⁰ Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (Berkeley, 1978), 361.

know that here there need be no hesitation as to what is *correct* [italics mine]— it is merely a matter of selecting from a choice stock that bears the hallmark of London.”¹¹²

The conservative and traditional image that the urban sophisticates of London accepted were those that the Canadian elite male could confidently consume.

Even after the 1934 shift to New York’s Fifth Avenue as the new centre formal fashion, London models still figured within the regular men’s column, [Figure 2.1]. Noteworthy in this particular example from “The Cosmopolite,” are mannequins modelling formal attire, a common thread throughout many of *Mayfair*’s advertising and editorial men’s wear sections despite the Great Depression. [Figures 2.1 and 2.2] The economic impact and co-dependence between advertising and editorial content is also evident in the advertisement for Ed Provan of Toronto which featured the importance of the latest in formal wear, and the use of identical images in both the editorial spread and advertisement for Eaton’s College Street store. The Eaton’s advertisement also highlights the store’s attention to the needs of its elite male clientele by advertising the latest imported goods from London. The continued reference to things “British” in the men’s department underlines a significant sartorial reality, which set men within a static representation of an elite normativity. Men’s fashions were consistently referred to as a never-changing style, referencing a traditional ideal man defined through their sartorial choices. This articulation of an ideal through purposeful stylised repetition ensured the stability of the gender construct.

¹¹¹ Marchand, 191.

¹¹² *Mayfair* (April 1930), 91.

Film stars like Douglas Fairbanks, famous for his deep tan and feats of athleticism, affirmed of the new ideal male physique, but male actors were never featured in any capacity in *Mayfair*.¹¹³ British royalty, specifically the Prince of Wales provided a model for the *Mayfair* man looked for his fashion sense. The Prince was the subject of monthly sartorial reports and was also used to sell such commodity goods as Grand Pianos, as seen in the advertisement by The Duo-Art Reproducing Piano sold as Mason and Risch Limited of Toronto [Figure 2.3].¹¹⁴ Throughout the 1920s and well into the 1930s the Prince of Wales was considered the pinnacle of stylish, refined elegance, an easily recognisable archetype for emulation by men 'in the know' in the urban centres across Canada.

The intersection of fashion and sports is perhaps the most striking and ubiquitous component of the men's sections, even more so than that of the formal attire discussed above. The male body, more often than not, was shown engaged in leisure and sports activities.¹¹⁵ The Leishman Clothes advertisement in the February 1930 issue of *Mayfair* illustrates how the normative body is visually represented [Figure 2.4]. While many advertisements and graphic art pieces produced between 1927 and 1936 could easily illustrate the nature and function of the normative body, this particular example illustrates the style of the decade. Youthful, trim, and healthy men, showcased up-to-date fashions, in an 'outdoors' *tableau* that draws attention to the 'cult for fitness' central to popular

¹¹³ Mike Featherstone, "The body in Consumer Culture" in *Theory, Culture and Society Volume 1, Number 2* (September 1982), 23.

¹¹⁴ *Mayfair* (October 1927), 61.

¹¹⁵ See Janice Winship, "Handling Sex" in *Looking On: Images of Femininity in the Visual Arts and Media* (London, 1987), 218. This marks an important difference between the gendered depiction of men and women. The female counterpart is more often than not engaged in the process of "beautification" and personal amelioration.

discourse from the late 1920s on. While the advertised clothing was for “outdoor togs,” social standing and masculinity was implied in a spatial order that positioned the figures in the ‘outdoors.’ The affluent male reader/consumer understood the men whether in cover images, advertisements, or photographs were viewed as globetrotters and recreation seekers. They were seldom shown within a closed, indoor space. This contemporary taste for fitness can be seen as another important means to represent the male body.

Gestures, proper comportment, the latest styles, either from London or New York, the transformation of the male physic into that of a powerful athlete, and man of the outdoors all had one thing in common, the visual regulation of the male body. Within the subconscious of the male reader, the male fashion sections and advertisements in the magazine essentially operate as a homo-social arena of acceptable and socially sanctioned voyeurism, and a means of self-surveillance that is at once non-threatening and de-sexualised.

In Canada, the city had become both a source of fascination and spectacle, but simultaneously engendered a nostalgic longing. It was in the city that the new corporate elite pursued financial and social success, while leisure was often centred in the outdoors. These ‘natural’ environments offered the elite a venue for relaxation and more precisely were arenas in which the legitimisation of sports could be further guaranteed. Thus, the outdoors operated as an extension of the normative spatial and social order of the modern city. Activities like polo, skiing, tennis, riding, cricket, and golf were the preferred sports of the elite and functioned as an extension of the social space. Regardless of where they were held, sporting events displayed the elite normative male’s physical and social superiority.

Athleticism played a significant role in the representation of the dominant and normative male body type in the 1920s and 1930s. Although *Mayfair* regularly featured activities and championships for both men and women for such sports as tennis, badminton, horse racing, polo, golf, and skating, men's sports activities featured prominently [Figure 2.5]. With the "fetish for fitness," the male body acquired a decidedly powerful social and aesthetic currency.¹¹⁶ While the "fetish for fitness," evident in visual representations of the day, included those of lower economic positions or those of diverse racial backgrounds, these two groups do not figure in *Mayfair*, nor did they assist in the creation of this dominant corporeal aesthetic as they did not appear in advertisements or editorial content.

Historian Colin Howell in his article "A Manly Sport: Baseball and the Social Construction of Masculinity" remarks that the scholarship on the development of manliness and team sports has silenced working-class experience(s) of sport. He continues by stating, "most of the work on the social construction of masculinity reveals a strong preoccupation with articulate, white middle-class reformers and their prescriptions [for] turning youth into men."¹¹⁷ While I would agree with Howell when he argues that "the language of masculinity often transcends class divisions."¹¹⁸ I would also suggest that the singular representation of elite male in such social documents as *Mayfair* necessarily excluded what are now described as images of *alterity* because this would in

¹¹⁶ Jeffrey Weeks, "The Body and Sexuality" in *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies* (London, 1981), 364.

¹¹⁷ Colin Howell, "A Manly Sport: Baseball and the Social Construction of Masculinity" in *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto, 1996), 199.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 200.

turn jeopardize the white normative masculine hegemony, and hence dilute the cohesive nature of the message articulated throughout the magazine.

Turning once again to Figure 2.4, the representation of men as young looking, virile, stoic, and strong – products of the contemporary athletic zeal was consistent. Shoulders were broad while waists and hips were thin with a seemingly inflexible linearism in the image that highlights the fetish the male athletic body. Because the ideal was socially constructed the same image continued well after the shift in focus to New York as evidenced by the image for the July 1936 “Cosmoplite” section [Figure 2.6]. This indicates that at least initially the change to New York in the men’s department was superficial. The social necessity to maintain status according to conventions meant that men’s fashions were notoriously immune to the affected seasonal trends that plagued women’s wear. The ubiquitous cigarette between the mannequin’s fingers served as an extension of his athletic virility and was a visual prosthesis of the male phallus [Figures 2.4 and 2.7]. In the 1920s and 1930s it was not uncommon to see advertisements with men sporting a cigarette, perhaps the most fashionable accessory of the day — although it was rare to see the same for women (unless in an advertisement for cigarettes).

Representations of sports and leisure were completely naturalised within the first decade of the magazine’s publication. For example, “Keen and Mellow” became the slogan associated with the Canada Dry advertising campaign. This popular advertiser, much like Leishman’s clothing, offered scenarios in which the elite were found in their leisurely pursuits, such as riding, as evidenced by the October 1929 advertisement in *Mayfair* [Figure 2.8]. A park functions as an ideal backdrop for the tableau in which two riders engage in a social activity afforded by their success and stature in society. The use

of different coloured horses and the position of the arms and hands create a clear and articulate gender differentiation. The figure on the left with one arm out, with the other arm casually placed on his hip refers to his mastery and command of the horse. Whereas the figure on the right, with hands together, refers to a more delicate stance and point to the man's female companion. The soft drink, touted as "The Champagne of Ginger Ales," possesses a decidedly international reputation. After all it was being served in "many a great hotel in... New York... at hotels in London... in Parisian restaurants and cafes." The purposeful association with an international flavour was intended to attract through lifestyle identification. The creation of a "tableau" in order to sell the product was crucial, especially given that advertisers used a fictitious elite in its advertisements to attract consumers. It further highlights the manner in which gender stereotypes were constructed as part of these scenarios through the gestures and subtle articulation of corporeal experiences within the space as a means to sell a particular product in advertisements directed both the female and male consumer alike.

To fully grasp the impact of the "tableau" format and how it affects the reading of the representation of the male body it is crucial to examine how many of these scenarios are constructed as a non-threatening de-sexualised environment. One need only turn to the first and only men's underwear advertisement that employed photography in the period under investigation. Unlike its female counterpart, male undergarment advertising did not include the use of photography until 1933 with the advertisement of Springstead knitwear [Figure 2.9].¹¹⁹ One of the men holds a pipe, a common accessory for the male of good breeding, with a foot firmly placed on a leather armchair, while the other man

¹¹⁹ *Mayfair* (January 1933), 77.

holds a book. Both, wear loafers, with their underwear and pose as if fully attired in a men's club. These men simulate what appear to be 'natural' poses. Unlike the advertisements for women's underwear, which featured women in lingerie displayed as an object (often truncated in some way) this advertisement chose to contextualize and create a scenario, that alludes to the elite venues and lifestyles commonly represented in the magazine [Figure 2.10].

The viewer, regardless of class finds himself a spectator, a voyeur of the private lives of these two [elite] men. The advertiser skilfully projects an environment in which the constituency of male readers and potential consumers would feel most at home. Fashion historian Valerie Steele has argued that "the history of male underwear is also related to status anxiety and fear of effeminacy," which ran counter to the normative athletic masculinity of the post-war era.¹²⁰ A man's private den or reading room is a space in which women are naturally absent. As such, the men are represented in their natural milieu. The setting affirms their respectability, and their bodies are not exposed in any way. The ability of the reader to identify with the space represented, becomes an index of how the advertisers anticipated the target audience might identify with the products advertised. The normative male whose sexual identity was ideally grounded within capitalist political economy is visually articulated through a clearly defined corporeality. The reader can identify with the men represented in the magazine, because the context provides a framework for a rapport to be established especially given the "respectability" of the setting. The stylish accoutrements of the normative male were,

¹²⁰ Valerie Steele, "Clothing and Sexuality" in *Men and Women: Dressing the Part* (New York, 1989), 57.

therefore, not so much about consumer desire, but about membership in a normative elite club. Consuming specific objects made him a **man**.

Although limited in its readership, *Mayfair* was a product of mass culture and mass consumption. Within this culture there would most certainly have been many readers who aspired to the lifestyle represented by *Mayfair*. The necessity to extend the appeal beyond the borders of the elite class meant that the magazine enfolded contemporary social and cultural norms. What is meant by this is that the magazine, through its advertising extended into the wider public, the private elite spaces – of private clubs, personal travels, private dens, and exclusive stores– and in so doing visually collapsed the class boundaries that existed prior to the First World War. Those represented in the “tableaux” as elite actors offered the fiction of the lifestyle to everyone, although its potential was not realizable until after the Second World War. The mannequins in the Springstead advertisement participate in the fiction of the magazine’s elite bodies that are the male ideal.

Mayfair invited to accept the narrative proposed by the magazine at face value, that is to say, the reader assumes the role of protagonist within a context of normative male representation. Secondly, these representations affirm a value system that supports mass consumption and corporate identity, which is necessarily incorporated into cultural expectations of the male body. Normative sexuality is subsumed within the same corporate capitalist ethic, so that the consumer co-opted into this body image assumes the role proffered by these advertisements, as an aspirant to the lifestyle therein represented. In essence, the male body becomes an index of the capitalist structure itself.¹²¹ The

¹²¹ Both the word *incorporate* and *incorporation* have as their Latin origin the term *corpus*, meaning body.

corporate culture espoused by *Mayfair* and readers, and the represented bodies are in fact one and the same. The myth proposed within the pages operates as a conduit of fantasy and desire, while simultaneously offering a false sense of belonging to those who consume the magazine, but do not belong to the elite class represented. This projected desire serves to legitimise and reinforce the upper class position and subjectivity within the political economy.

Settings of sports, leisure, and travel were fabricated for the sole purpose of fantasy creation; desire was an inevitable and profitable by-product. Photographs of the country's elite from the society pages show them engaged in sports and leisure activities. As well travel was reproduced in *Mayfair* on a monthly basis as a means of social documentation [Figure 2.5]. Such photographs served to authenticate, as "original" the *lifestyle of the rich and famous* in the advertisements and magazine as a whole. These photographs also lent credibility to the use of celebrity personages, who provided "first hand" reports concerning the efficacy of the products advertised.

To understand the magazine as social documentation goes beyond the commodified and regulatory aspects of the objects for sale. As Michel Foucault asserts, "It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection."¹²² This repeated act of depiction places the object (the body) in a position of surveyed, while the reader acts as the surveyor. Regulation is achieved through the constancy of the surveying gaze, which uses the magazine to frame the ideals of acceptability and respectability, thus assuring a perpetuation of the magazine's ideals. Essentially, the magazine and its contents are

¹²² Foucault, 187.

judged in the terms established by the magazine itself as it reinforced prevalent dominant values. This applies to all bodies depicted and represented in the advertisement and features which support the hegemony of the represented class and sustain class structures through constructions of identity. Furthermore, the elite reader, whose identity resembled the lifestyle in society photographs, through socio-cultural and economic association, was legitimised. In the context of 'magazine as social document', *Mayfair* essentially operated as a visual means to guarantee auto-surveillance. Through visual indices the reader regardless of class affiliation could ascertain whether or not he conformed to the standards established by polite society – as defined by *Mayfair* – the pinnacle of refined taste.

In the introduction of *Race, Class, Gender: Common Bonds, Different Voices*, Esther Ngan-Ling Chow argues for a theoretical framework that acknowledges an important nexus between race, gender and class as complex cultural and socially contingent constructions. Among five "themes" that Chow identifies, the first is that the representation of alterity serves to construct corporate masculine hegemony and sexual identity. Chow writes that,

[T]he interlocking of race, class, and gender simultaneously forms multiple systems of domination and meaning that have interactive, reciprocal, and cumulative effects on structural conditions and social processes that shape the life experiences of women and men. [...] Race, class, and gender are conceptualised as 'interlocking categories,' as 'intersecting systems,' as 'interdependent dimensions' of inequality, and as 'multiple bases' for oppression rather than separate types of identity as they normally are treated. This conceptualisation requires us to focus our analysis on their interactive, reciprocal, and cumulative effects.¹²³

¹²³ Esther Ngan-Ling Chow in *Race, Class, gender: Common bonds, Different Voices* (Thousand Oaks, 1996), xxi.

This formulation allows for the re-reading of *Mayfair* as a text that positions difference outside the normative and elitist subjectivity established by the magazine. *Mayfair* operated within an essentialist paradigm that established binary positions of normativity and alterity. The magazine established “hierarchical binary oppositions” so that even its rare representations of alterity, supported and reinforced normative discourse.¹²⁴

As already noted, travel played an important part in the lifestyle discourse of *Mayfair*. The elite’s fascination with travel was played out in feature-length travel articles by Madge McBeth, the monthly self-referential “Globe Trotting Canadians,” regular advertisements, annual issues devoted to vacationing [Figure 2.11], and in regular reportage on the latest sartorial trends for the travelling man and woman. It is not at all surprising that travel played such a crucial role in the construction of a lifestyle magazine, but it also played a role in the construction of masculinity. Statistical data regarding Canadian travel habits for the period under review are sparse.¹²⁵ North American consumption trends were affected by the Depression except for the elite. As a result the representation of travel remained significant throughout the magazine. Steam ships became backdrops for many fashion advertisements – rivalled only by representations of the automobile. For the middle-classes the car was the primary means to vacation.¹²⁶ Cruises, however, were for elite and as such the luxury cruise liner formed an ideal backdrop for *Mayfair*’s advertisements.

¹²⁴ Irena R. Makaryk (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms* (Toronto, 1993), 42.

¹²⁵ Duncan McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism* (London, 1999), 106. This is due to the fact that in Canada the Canadian Travel Bureau was created only in 1934, five years after the British agency.

¹²⁶ Palmer, 234.

It would be erroneous to suggest that the advertisements under review here were the only travel destinations promoted in *Mayfair* (such places as New York also figured prominently). However, the advertisements discussed involve important juxtapositions of privilege and alterity. Race is used to reinforce elite power relations in the few examples that include representations of the black (male) body as part of the discourse of travel. One depiction of the black male body can also be seen in the cover illustration of the May 1934 issue, which represents labour within the tourism industry [Figure 2.12]. Any discussion of alterity must acknowledge the existence of many factors in the words of Jan Nederveen Pieterse, “constituted on the one hand by *identity* – boundaries of inclusion and exclusion for the individual or group – and on the other by *hierarchy*, for the *difference* identity and alterity, or self and others, is not neutral but charged with meaning and value.”¹²⁷ Through the calculated but limited inclusion of the black body, elite hegemony was maintained and particularised. “Otherness” or alterity is here to be understood in terms of oppositional differences subjectively experienced through class or gender constructs. At issue is what Pieterse called the “relations between representations of ‘otherness’ and the dynamics of power.”¹²⁸

There were no black females represented in travel advertisements but the presence of black male figures embodied a semiotics of exotic “picturesque” destinations as opposed of the “white” metropolitan centre [Figure 2.13]. The case of Bermuda is an interesting one as it highlights North America’s relationship with the Caribbean islands and West Indies [Figures 2.14 and 2.15]. Before the First World War, the colony’s

¹²⁷ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven, 1994), 225.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 224.

tourism campaigns focussed on a “passive” aesthetic formula: “sun, warmth, and rest.” A significant shift occurred, however, in the 1920s when the colony realised the potency of such words as luxury, exclusivity, and amusement.¹²⁹ Bermuda, as well as the other islands, became a “mid-ocean playground” for the North American elite. By war’s end, golf had assumed a prominent place in North America’s recreational pursuits. As a result, an exclusive golf course and resort was planned and designed by the leading golf course designers of the day and was completed in Tucker’s Town in 1922.¹³⁰ In the 1920s Canadian companies like Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Steamship offered travel holidays and to promote Bermuda as an ideal vacation destination.¹³¹ The colony, with the assistance of the Wales Advertising Agency of New York, increased its visibility and prominence as a luxury destination in the 1920s by featuring their advertisements in such upscale, exclusive periodicals as *Vogue*, *The New Yorker*, and *Harper’s Bazaar*. Thus, began the smart set of New York’s fascination with the island.¹³²

Annual exhibits which promoted the “Wave washed Shore...[and] Sun Kissed Land,” the Trade Development Board of Bermuda, whose aggressive promotion and advertising campaigns, became particularly astute in targeting *desirable* constituencies.¹³³ In addition to the elite, the colony shrewdly seized the opportunity to capitalise on North

¹²⁹ McDowall, 80.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 100.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 89.

America's emerging phenomenon of the travel honeymoon – a recent development in North American marriage. Historian Duncan MacDowell writes:

[T]he advent of luxurious, regular liner service in the 1920s made honeymooning a growth industry....Couples began to seek out romantic destinations where in isolation [they] could then discover their new relationship...the advent of luxurious, regular liner service in the 1920s made honey-mooning a growth industry.¹³⁴

In addition to its advertising features *Mayfair's* "Globetrotting Canadians" section, though not exclusive to the ins and outs of tourism to Bermuda, nevertheless functioned as a litany of the who's who of the Canadian travelling elite with lengthy lists of couples and families who had travelled abroad.

Regardless of the country of origin, tourists were ravenous in their spending habits and thirsty for pleasure and fantasy. American companies such as American Express advocated Bermuda a "place where *successful businessmen* [my emphasis] go," whereas "social vanity" was the pitch made to the fashionable society woman.¹³⁵

Bermuda was a locale wherein, according to Paul Russell, one went "to realise fantasies of erotic freedom; and most important, to derive secret pleasures from posing momentarily as a member of a social class superior to one's own."¹³⁶

Travel advertisements for Bermuda are striking [Figure 2.14]. Although Bermuda was one of many other Caribbean destinations advertised in *Mayfair*, the advertisement for Bermuda is nonetheless quite unusual because it was in colour a feature reserved exclusively for the front and back covers. Physically located in the middle of the issue,

¹³⁴ Ibid., 92.

¹³⁵ Trade Development Board Minutes, 6 April 1927, as presented in McDowall, 100-101.

¹³⁶ From Paul Russell's "Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars, 1980. p.39-42 as presented in McDowall, 101.

and on markedly heavier paper it draws attention to the advertisement's overall importance within the visual discourse of the magazine. The presentation points to the advertiser's sizeable budget and the economic impact of the travel industry in the Caribbean as well as the perceived advertising potential within this elite Canadian constituency.

The representation of the black body is used not only to 'contextualize' the setting of the fictional 'narrative', that is, the exotic Caribbean island, but more importantly is employed as a means to reinforce the representation of the normative male's socio-economic standing, and hence his hegemony, as Pieterse has written,

The primary condition for the commercial representation of black men is that they be recognizably a-sexual and non-threatening, depicted usually within marginal positions – as 'hewers of wood and carriers of water' in colonial Africa, servants and entertainers in the West."¹³⁷

In Figure 2.15 the hunched servile Bermudan male figure and the athletic, handsome, virile North American male coupled with his 'pretty' female partners serve to underline the class, racial, sexual, and spatial ranking consistent with the magazine's elitist discourse.

The powerful white male is here set in contrast to the servile black male and effectively serves to reinforce a binary construction of the power relationship between the two. The normative elite male is not to be solely understood in terms of gender and sexual identity, but also in terms of his economic status. Here the white Anglo-Saxon male, demonstrates authority over the black male through his privileged position as the consumer of tourism. Social "tableau" advertisements such as Figure 2.14 and Fig.2.15, emphasized, what Marchand has argued was "the importance of class [and race]

¹³⁷ Pieterse, 188.

distinctions [which] provided a flattering and conservative portrait of the lives of a 'natural aristocracy' composed of the very rich."¹³⁸ The black male, as well as the man's female companions, reinforce the normative male's position of privilege.

According to historian Duncan McDowall,

[T]he [Trade Development] Board's grooming of Bermuda went beyond the physical; it soon became a kind of social engineering designed to remind Bermudans that tourism was a part of the fabric of their society, not just a hotel façade.¹³⁹

Through his servitude and the simple act of bending to serve the beverages, the black man acquiesces within the white patriarchal structure, while his "history" and identity are effaced through his servant's uniform. Also the black male becomes a naturalized 'accessory' for the exotic location, his identity inextricably linked to the visual representation of the tourist destination.

While white male and female actually constitute the "other" in Bermuda, the black body that is depicted as removed, anonymous, and distanced from the urban realities of the normative body, apparently enjoys his task as server. The representation of alterity functions on some level as another crucial means of asserting the hegemony of the normative. Depictions of the normative embody the ideals of the 'centre', whereas the black body represents exoticism and sensory fulfilment associated with the periphery.

According to Pieterse,

[R]epresentations of others relate to power, not merely in the sense of imperial power but also of the disciplinary power exercised by the bourgeoisie within

¹³⁸ Marchand, 198.

¹³⁹ McDowall, 98-99.

metropolitan society, or power as it permeates the 'society of normalization.' The savage is indispensable in establishing the place of civilization in the universe.¹⁴⁰

Following the First World War, North America began to function essentially as a (capitalist) colonial power. Such representations of the black male functioned to affirm that power. The black male body is rendered secondary through the white-identified reader's gaze which fantasizes a tropical get-away. The reader/consumer visually locates his identity within the representation of the North American white male, who, through his social and economic 'superiority,' is able to provide his companion(s) with luxury unlike the de-sexualized and subservient black male. This representation of economic and class hegemony, allows the white male to naturalize a role and level of prestige through the advertisement. Although the white male is not identifiable in the conventional sense of the term, he is, nevertheless, a countertype for the reader/consumer signified through a regularization and standardization of normative corporeality.

Mayfair's readers/consumers were constantly made aware of their place in a capitalist system established by the manufacturers, advertisers, and more evidently the magazine itself. Depictions of alterity, such as the black body were not readily circulated in Canadian magazines. Magazines like *Mayfair*, therefore, mediated visibility as they created and recreated what Pieterse labels as the "pathologization of difference."¹⁴¹ The collective and individual act of consuming the magazine and the representations contained therein re-affirmed the magazine's ideal (white upper-middle-class) male consumer's own position in relation to a corporeal "other." The final result is that of an

¹⁴⁰ Pieterse, 233.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 233.

objectification of the black body as a commodity and hence an object for consumption as well as a servile other that sustained the elite hegemony.

Foucault asserts that, “this space of domination, disciplinary power manifests its potency, essentially, by arranging objects [read depicted bodies]. The examination is, as it were, the ceremony of this objectification.”¹⁴² Within this paradigm, the black body naturally acquiesces to a discursive attribution and confining space given that the people of these countries were perceived as a collective, indefinable, faceless entity entirely defined in terms of the country’s tourist trade. The tourist trade in countries such as Bermuda is a trade in bodies within a clearly hierarchically defined spatial order. Canadian immigration policy directed towards Caribbean blacks was determined in the period from 1900 to 1932 by the opposing forces of “employers’ demand for cheap labour to do unskilled and domestic work was set in tension with the state’s desire to exclude blacks as permanent settlers.”¹⁴³

Seemingly antithetical to this racial and social regulation was the fetishised and exoticised component appropriated through masquerade, in bourgeois society in Europe and North America. Stylish events – commonly referred as “Negro Balls” – such as the one hosted as the Beaux-Arts Ball reported in the May 1933 issue of *Mayfair* were highly fashionable in both European and North American centres throughout the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁴⁴ The reportage of the event relayed that “formality was thrown to the equatorial wind, skins were darkened, wigs and headdresses were donned and ankles, arms, necks,

¹⁴² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1977), 187.

¹⁴³ Calliste, 70.

¹⁴⁴ Pieterse, 170.

ears and noses bedecked with barbaric rings and jewels.”¹⁴⁵ The decorations took on a seemingly tamer tone with “mammoth spiders” spinning their webs in palm trees while “giant cannibals” devoured human bones.¹⁴⁶ The event appeared to possess a fantastic appeal to those metropolitan sophisticates who unabashedly danced until the wee hours of the morning donning their exotic apparel. It would appear as though through sartorial ‘camouflage’ members of what would usually be a reserved and conservative group assumed a new and decidedly decadent persona: masks, however, easily abandoned at the end of the night.

The representation of black male body was limited to travel destinations and were never depicted within the setting of an urban centre. As a result the reader/consumer of *Mayfair* became a colonial voyeur removed from these travel destinations. North America following the First World War began to function as a colonial power, while clearly not to the same degree as seen in the European colonial expansion witnessed in the previous century. Frederic Jameson argues that the centre, or metropolis while it affected the reality of the periphery it was, nevertheless, physically and socio-economically distanced from this economically contingent periphery. Jameson asserts that,

[C]olonialism means that a significant structural segment of the economic system as a whole is now located elsewhere, beyond the metropolis, outside of the daily life and existential experience of the whole country, in colonies over the water whose own life experience and life world – very different from that of the imperial power – remain unknown and unimaginable for the subjects of the imperial power, whatever social class they may belong to. Such spatial disjunction has as its immediate consequence the inability to grasp the way the system functions as a whole. Unlike the classical stage of national or market

¹⁴⁵ *Mayfair* (May 1933), 18-19.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

capitalism, then, pieces of the puzzle are missing; it can never be fully reconstructed; no enlargement of personal experience (in the knowledge of other social classes, for example), no intensity of self-examination (in the form of whatever social guilt), no scientific deductions on the basis of the internal evidence of First World data, can ever be enough to include this radical otherness of the structural connections between that and this, between absent space and daily life in the metropolis.¹⁴⁷

I argued earlier in this chapter in relation to the normative body that the male body needs to be understood not only in terms of gender constructs, but also in terms of race and economics. The metropolis, namely Toronto, functioned as the nexus of economic activity in Canada, and as a result the city, as a defining space, further assisted in defining not only white male and female bodies through the fiction of representation, whether queer or normative, but also facilitated the creation of alterity, as embodied in the black body. In a rare example of the black body used in an advertisement other than for travel, the Northern Electric advertisement in the April 1930 issue of *Mayfair*, purposefully deploys the primitive black body as a means to sharply contrast the technological developments achieved by the centre [Figure 2.16]. The binarisms within the image of primitive/civilized, urban/country, power/weakness, progress/stagnation, knowledge/ignorance, domestic/foreign, active/passive, urbane/provincial, same/different, majority/minority, new/old, active/passive, and black/white are representative of an overarching (economic) imperialism. Here the telephone stands as the personification of the missing representation of the white male normative figure as it contrasts the “communication” method of Africa. The urban metropolis, as a result, functions as the centre in which all scientific, civilized development occurs. Within this economic imperialism, the centre thereby has the obligation to colonize the periphery.

¹⁴⁷ Frederic Jameson, “Modernism and Imperialism” in *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature* (Minneapolis, 1990), 50-51.

In her article "Cities/Bodies," Elizabeth Grosz writes that the "The *city* [is] a complex and interactive network which links together, often in an unintegrated and de facto way, a number of disparate social activities, processes, and relations, with a number of imaginary and real, projected or actual architectural, geographic, civic and public relations."¹⁴⁸ People are brought together necessarily through a complex of systems within which each occupies a distinctive and essentially highly specialised function. As diverse corporeal bodies come together and interact within the spatial order of the city, what allows the powerful elite to maintain their distance and dominance, amongst other means, is travel, which allows their position of privilege to extend their consumer/imperialist gaze into various spatial configurations. It is this act of consumption that allowed the normative elite reader freedom from the social inversions that plagued city life. The modern metropolitan centre served as the nexus of a centripetal political economy, which necessarily dictated how this centre appraised the periphery and how those residing on the periphery viewed the 'centre.' In the final analysis the normative body functioned as the correlate of the modern city: "The body, however, is not distinct, does not have an existence separate from the city, for they are mutually defining."¹⁴⁹

During the 1920s and 1930s those of power and influence from the metropolis, were limited in their opportunities for accurate visual and textual information, most of which, moreover, was decidedly biased in favour of a white elite subjectivity. As Pieterse has argued,

¹⁴⁸ Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies/Cities" in *Sexuality and Space* (New York, 1992), 244.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 248.

[I]mages of 'other' [read black body] do not circulate because of their truth but because they reflect the concerns of the image-producers and image – consumers. Some images owe their currency precisely to their distortion of reality, as if they were magic formulae, or talismans...¹⁵⁰

Through collective active/proactive consumption of the magazine and the represented bodies, namely the black bodies contained therein, the consumer/reader purchasing the magazine, re-affirmed its own position through a physical and perceived moral distance from the object, that is the objectified black male body.

I have identified how *Mayfair* has deployed and maintained a normative representation of masculinity through complex discursive practices. Furthermore, I have shown how the rare examples of the representation of the black male body assisted in securing for the white elite male his masculinity. The representation of the white elite male body in many respects becomes the site on which dominant social mores, values, and ideology is crafted. As such this depiction of normative masculinity represents the pinnacle of Canadian society in the inter-war period.

¹⁵⁰ Pieterse, 233.

Conclusion

The role of the male body in twentieth-century visual culture is an area that requires much more research and interrogation. Not only does it underlie a missing link in an ever-expanding academic tradition, but the male as object of the gaze has only very recently come to the fore of critical inquiry. Since mass culture's emergence in the early twentieth-century the male body has — like the female body — been used to sell products. Although moral imperatives have regulated the public display of the male body in a fashion which differs greatly from the female body it is crucial, nonetheless, to chart the developments that have guided our contemporary market-driven visual culture. The commodity system through the century has turned the male body into an object of and for consumption akin to that of the female body in its ability to inspire desires and fantasies. The Madison Avenue system has realised the potency of the male body, semi-nude or otherwise, to sell products that are otherwise mundane. So insidious is this system of image making that even depictions of what would have been deemed 'deviant' in the 1920s and 1930s are now considered legitimate fodder for desire creation amongst a once maligned consumer constituency. Through its clear articulation of normative masculinity and its use of alterity to reinforce white elite normativity, *Mayfair*, functions as a visual precedent from which to understand contemporary visual and consumer culture within Canada.

Notions of modernity and its many correlates have been identified as part of the male paradigm. However, the implications of this dominant discourse on male bodies has scarcely been investigated. This thesis is a prelude to what I hope will be many more studies of its kind in the area of Canadian visual culture. In many respects this thesis is a

study of excavation, an unearthing of one small portion of corporeal experience. With the exception of Meaghan Clarke's 1996 Master's thesis, no other substantial research has been devoted to *Mayfair*. This plainly highlights the ripeness for further investigation and research.

Mayfair functions as a complex network of representation(s) operating as a site for the ritual of social display and surveillance. Here the "economy of visibility" has been transformed into the "exercise of power."¹⁵¹ Display is an integral function of mass culture, whether in the form of mannequins in department store windows or on glossy pages of lifestyle and fashion periodicals. Display is also a means by which to affirm the ethos of twentieth-century western culture through visibility, regulation and standardisation while fostering the illusion of individuality, democracy, and independence. Within the socially prescribed spatial confines of society pages the body, many bodies in fact, are not only on display, but more importantly establishing a regime of surveillance. Elite bodies are displayed for other elite viewers and for others as a means to ensure that capitalist values are maintained. Black bodies support the same elite mythology. The "moral majority" ensure that socio-economic stability is maintained through regulated corporeal positionings. The multiplicity of interactions and exchanges are clearly unlimited, but this enquiry has been limited to certain aspects of the male gender construct. This self-imposed limitation of the material further allows for continued research into how other components of these exchanges and interdependencies manifested themselves through representation. As a lifestyle magazine, specifically *Mayfair* legitimised and ritualised a form of display, or more aptly surveillance.

¹⁵¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York, 1977), 187.

Mayfair as the site of social ritual and display must also be understood as a simulacrum of the body. As simulacrum, the magazine purposefully dissolves the decisive lines between reality and representation. *Mayfair* subtly and skilfully achieves this through desire and fantasy, which is displaced by the reader/consumer onto the *bodies*: the object of the gaze. Furthermore, the magazine itself can be seen as a simulacrum. As part of the fashion system, it is in constant flux. *Mayfair* as “lifestyle guide” becomes a sensualised site of desire in which the five senses never find true satiation as the magazine glamorises and commodifies an *erotics of foreplay*. The magazine involves the viewer in a voyeuristic consumption, which can never be consummated. The advertisements of department and specialised stores conveniently located throughout the magazine direct the reader/consumer to needs which may be fully met, but the consumer is only satiated for a short period of time, as the true object of gratification can never be purchased: the ideal bodies in the clothing and the lifestyle these represent. Furthermore, the self-regulatory gaze experienced by the white male viewer, through his use of the representation itself to re-create the lifestyle proffered by the magazine and hence to some degree legitimises the magazine’s subjectivity. As Oscar Wilde wrote in the preface to his controversial novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray*: “Those who read the symbol do so at their peril. It is the spectator and not life, that art really mirrors.” Arguing within this reified aesthetic position, *Mayfair* further mirrors the spectator and the spectators’ desires. This transaction of consumption (voyeuristic and otherwise), as a result, perpetuates the absence of a true, stable ‘original’. The reader as

consumer never fully realises that the magazine masques the true nature of its intentions to regulate (desire, corporeality, and subjectivity) through the transaction of the sale.

MAYFAIR

AP
S
M
V. 9
no 1

MOTOR SHOW NUMBER
JANUARY, 1935

\$2.00 a year : 25 cents a copy

MacLean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto

A GUEST AT THE ROYAL WEDDING
TEN NIGHTS IN A BALLROOM

Printed exclusively for Mayfair

Figure 1.1 Cover, January 1935, *Mayfair*.

He: "... and, you'll notice, my dear,
many of the new cars are on Goodyears."
She: "Yes, but don't take chances. Look
them over for our new car."

MORE PEOPLE RIDE ON
GOODYEAR TIRES THAN
ON ANY OTHER KIND

GOODYEAR

Figure 1.1a Verso, January 1935, *Mayfair*

Figure 1.2 Cover, November 1935, *Mayfair*.

GOODYEAR

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HE: The cars this year are certainly beautiful, and safer than ever.

SHE: Is that why so many of the cars have Goodyear Tires?

HE: Did you notice that too? They aren't all equipped with Goodyears, but you can get them on any car by just asking.

SHE: Well let's be sure to do that, dear. They look a lot nicer, don't you think?

HE: Yes, that's true, but I know for sure they're safer and longer-wearing.

Figure 1.2a Verso, November 1935, *Mayfair*.

O Glorious Day of Feasting and Good Cheer!

HALF-PAST ONE, ANYWHERE, CHRISTMAS

CHRISTMAS beneath a winter's sky . . . Christmas where beats a tropic sun . . . on land . . . at sea . . . any place in this world so wide . . . any place, but always *Christmas*? And in countless homes throughout this country and the United States . . . with the turkey . . . or afterwards as healths are given . . . you'll find "Canada Dry," the Champagne of Ginger Ales.

When "Canada Dry" lends its marvelous flavour to the day—

Refreshing as a brisk sleigh ride over the snowy hills . . . keen as the winter wind whipping across your face . . . mellow as the greetings of old friends . . . such is the quality of this fine old ginger ale.

Because of its wonderful flavour "Canada Dry" has won the approving nod of connoisseurs. Because of its high quality it is served from one end of the Dominion to the other . . . in famous hotels and clubs . . . on transatlantic liners . . . in the Houses of Parliament at Ottawa . . . in London . . . in Paris.

Purest ingredients contribute to its distinction and prestige

But all these things are so for just one reason—*basic excellence*. Only the purest ingredients, only the highest quality of Jamaica ginger, are used in this fine old beverage. An exact process of blending and balancing helps produce its distinction. Hourly check-ups

prevent variation from carefully determined standards. Daily tests under laboratory methods assure purity. Its delightful and delicate sparkle is achieved by a secret process and enables it to keep its sparkle long after the bottle is opened. So pure is it that leading hospitals serve it and leading physicians prescribe it. Here is truly a pure ginger ale!

This is "Canada Dry," a better, purer, finer ginger ale; having a marvelous flavour; "dry" as a rare old wine. And this is Christmas, a friendly time, a happy season. The two just go together! Order "Canada Dry" in the Hostess Package.

"CANADA DRY"

The Champagne of Ginger Ales

*Canada Dry Ginger Ale Limited, Toronto, Edmonton and Montreal
Formerly J. J. McLaughlin Limited, and California Springs Corporation Limited*

Figure 1.3 "Canada Dry" advertisement, December 1929, *Mayfair*.

Mayfair, November, 1934

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The Cosmopolite

A DEPARTMENT FOR THE WELL DRESSED MAN

5th Avenue Reviews

What Men Will Wear

This Coming Season

By K. M. Morphy

INDIAN Summer came to Fifth Avenue in a glow of brown, and it does things for a chap, especially if his complexion still boasts tints from the great summer outdoors. . .

Without a doubt brown is THE color for Himself this autumn, and will run all through the winter, for it is such a satisfying color. . .

The Young College Man is taking himself seriously in the matter of clothes — as usual, and he bears watching. For what he wears today, the rest of Young Manhood will be wearing as soon as his tailor gets around to it. . .

So earnest is Princeton about the cut of its lapels and the set of its broad shoulders that an Apparel Clinic has been established there, with a real live professor in the chair . . . and 'tis said this is one course where classes are not "cut". . .

Fifth Avenue is closely following all the tips from there, and a lively controversy is under way regarding Notch Lapel versus Peak Lapel, not to mention a heated debate: "Resolved: That a gentleman when outdoors should never be seen without suitable headgear" . . . So cast an eye over your toppers, m lads, or you'll be high halted. . .

Tweeds are coming forth in the best British manner and are doing much to encourage a cordial entente between Great Britain and Manhattan. Deep browns, with lighter over-checks in a bolder pattern, are favored, while pencil-stripes continue to get a play, especially if they are properly subdued to the general color scheme. . .

The "change pocket" is appearing more insistently on the better suits, and, strangely enough, owes its origin to its college training. Of course, no college youth pretends to have "change," but then they say it's a grand place to park the football tickets. . .

When Life Begins at 8.00 here is how More Men should enter the picture. Mayfair presents your Cosmopolite of the Formal Season . . . be he 18 or 80. If it is to be a tailcoat season with you it is well to remember that there has been a British invasion. Quiet and conservative let it be, with no extreme slant to the placing of buttons or to the cut of the front. But be sure to remember that your tails should hang exactly to the back of your knee . . . and not a mere fraction of an inch lower. In short: watch your evening streamlines. Tails are always worn "when ladies are present," after 6 o'clock in the evening. Keep your dinnerjacket for the club or stag dinners. From the Robt. Simpson Co.

While there is a definite trend toward relegating the odd jacket-slacks to the great Outdoors, where it naturally belongs, many Die-Hards are brave enough to saunter forth in

two-timing outfits that, I must confess, look so comfortable and informal that I think they will always have their adherents.

See also page 88

Figure 1.4 "The Cosmopolite" November 1934, *Mayfair*, p.87.

FORMAL WEAR SHIRTS

by

FORSYTH

The distinguished patronage of a preponderance of Canada's best-dressed men entitles Forsyth to a claim of something above par in the tailoring of fine shirts for Formal Wear.

Customized quality and comfortable correctness put Formal Wear Shirts by Forsyth in a class with the fine formal garments of the world's leading tailors.

The best men's shops have them, priced from three to five dollars.

No one ever regretted buying quality.

Figure 1.5 "Forsyth" advertisement, January 1929, *Mayfair*.

Mayfair, September, 1934

81

Above: Two London dress models for fall, 1934. The formal suit-wear shows a slightly higher cut at the waistline, which is slender and elegantly fitted; the coat falls just to the knee of the knee. From Ed. Proven

THE COSMOPOLITE

Continued from page 30

They're advocating these foldable, reliable 2-ounce fur felt hats to wear until overcast time. They're lighter than a feather.

Aren't we the shy creatures! And some of the smarter stores are remembering this in their placing of men's clothing and furnishings. Out of the path of women-customer's feet come to be their object. One newly-rejuvenated men's shop in a department store, has built cubicles where men may try on a hat, or a tie, in peace and comfort....

How I wish we copied styles as quickly as the women-fall! England and Scotland have brought out some of the most stunning trends of their seasons. But we won't get a peek at them until some time next spring. A great many of them have introduced a new or deep red interweave into the season, for that touch of color...

Something of England, the Acan showed a great many matching waistcoats and ties. And the one-button morning coat, generally in double-breasted local style, was all the rage.... just in case you'll be asked to a wedding!

Have you a cane? If not, get one before long, for they're coming in strong, and stand a good chance of being adopted wholesale. Kied of a golden way of showing away Depression....

Looking back over the summer months we can definitely say that it was a "White Summer." Never so many white suits have been seen.... never so many chuckling clankers who went off the red into the white sales.

And get away your Whites preferably. For they will be back next summer bigger and better than ever. We rather fancy ourselves in them.... and they do look down our humidity.

THE MEN'S SHOP

Presents the New
Importations of
FALL TOPCOATS
from Joseph May
and Burberry, London.

Now, in the Men's Shop, you may see the fine, new selection of English coats for fall. A wider and better selection this season than in previous years. New patterns and weaves — distinctive and smart. Styles typically English — in either raglan or balmacaan models. Priced from \$29.50 to \$55.00.

Bay Street Section

The Men's Shop

EATON'S COLLEGE STREET

Figure 2.1 "Eaton's College Street: The Men's Shop" advertisement, September 1934, *Mayfair*, p.81.

CUSTOM TAILORING

This is a man's ad., so let's talk in figures—the language a man will understand. Figures are all-important in this business of custom-tailoring, and none realize it more so than the craftsmen who build Simpson's made-to-measure clothes. Morning, noon, or night, on formal or informal occasions, you'll always be on the right side of the style ledger with clothes custom built by Simpson. On checking up, you'll find that fabrics, trimmings, styling and tailoring all combine to pay big dividends in satisfaction.

THE ROBERT SIMPSON COMPANY LIMITED

The Store for Men—Second Floor

*MORE than ever
full dress this Fall.
And if you desire the
epitome of swank—the
Inverness Cloak
as shown here. Plan
your Fall wardrobe
now for the season is
on us.*

Coltman

275 YONGE STREET
BETWEEN THE HURON & CHURCH

A trio of hats by Henry Meach of London. Gentle curves on top and on brim show the English origin of the sport hat at left; the black with lappet, at centre, is the inevitable choice for formal full occasions. At right: a fine felt, with raw edge, for daytime wear. The T. Eaton Co.

THE COSMOPOLITE

Continued from page 79

haberdashers make up some for them and, there you are! What's good for one gender is good for another.... quoth the haberdasher. So you'll see some stunning and nightbirds in the sacred precincts of the Avenue.... if you ask for them, they're rather a dark secret, as yet....

By its sleeve you shall know it! When buying that new fall suit, pay attention to the sleeve. It's there that a tailor does his best.... or worst. If it's good tailoring, the sleeve is so constructed as to provide a pendulum motion that will draw the collar and front into bunches when you bend the elbow.

Two sweaters.... the outer one, the rugged Kentucky-mountaine type; the

pullover of the same color but of finer weave.... and so passes this autumn. And there's a tendency to save "m' easy" in color. Deep reds, soft pinks and rich blues are noted.

"Where the blue of the night meets the white of the day".... the Marine Corps mess jacket of blue is now hanging out the white mess jacket for late summer and early fall wearing. Quite a few catalogue Free Zones are doing them up to take them back to sterns Alma Mater, this fall....

The pencil striped shirt is quite an elegant affair. Saw a fall showing of them in pale cream, with soft blue stripes.... and of course a soft blue tie is indicated.... See also page 81

Plaid and checked overcoats, the English toppers for women. Both of these are in the recently revived Balmain style, with Prussian (top) collar—on the left a Burberry model, and on the right a Richard Austin make. Imported by T. Eaton Co.

Figure 2.2 Image from "The Cosmopolite," September 1934, *Mayfair*, p.80.

Mayfair, October, 1927

61

H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES

In his daily routine, his life of almost unparalleled activity, music comes to His Royal Highness as a means of real rest. For it is well known that he loves music.

The Duo-Art Reproducing Piano, which it was our privilege to place at his disposal during his recent visit, at the Toronto Regiment Officers' Mess, of which he is Colonel-in-Chief, was a familiar friend. At home he enjoys its marvellous music, as he did all the time he was on his famous round-the-world cruise, when Duo-Art was selected for H.M.S. "Repulse."

While Duo-Art music was provided primarily for the enjoyment of His Royal Highness, it is hoped that it also carried a message to him emphasizing his own picturesque description of Canada as "The Land of Come Again."

The Prince's Choice

Duo-Art takes the world's best compositions and reproduces them with all the technique, all the grace, all the soul—the very personality—of pianists who are selected from among those of world-greatness to make recordings.

Princely music can never be common-place. In composition it must be good — likewise in execution. Whether in the artistic interpretations of the classics or in the most brilliant executions of lilting, lighter music, Duo-Art measures up to the requirements of cultured discrimination. Its superiority of reproduction as well as of its extensive repertoire makes Duo-Art truly the medium of princely music.

The DUO-ART Reproducing Piano

Is installed only in places of peerless prestige—the renowned Steinway, the Stock, the world-famous Weber and in Canada, exclusively in the Mason & Risch.

QUARTER ANGLE
STYLE
In the Petite
Grand Design—
One of Various
Models — Grand
and Upright—
the Mason & Risch
Duo-Art.

MASON & RISCH *Limited*

Head Office and Factories: Toronto, Ont.

Branches Throughout Canada

Figure 2.3 "Mason and Risch Limited" advertisement, October 1927, *Mayfair*.

RIGHT up-to-the-minute—right for the season—Leishman outdoor togs aptly fit the wearer—his company—and the sport. If you would feel fit—wear Leishman's!

At the better stores across Canada—ready to put on, for tailored to your exact measure.

LEISHMAN CLOTHES

WM. H. LEISHMAN & COMPANY LIMITED — 192 Spadina Avenue — TORONTO

Figure 2.4 “Leishman Clothes” advertisement, February 1930, *Mayfair*.

Mayfair, May, 1930

35

Top, left: Mrs. G. G. Pitt, Winnipeg, winner, Manitoba Ladies' Singles

Top, centre: Mrs. W. Woodman, runner-up, and Mrs. Hawgood, winner, Ladies' Consolation

Top, right: C. L. Jones, winner, Men's Singles

Second row, left: C. L. Jones and C. O. Wood Jr., runners-up, and John Moss and R. L. Campbell, winners, Men's Doubles

Second row, right: Mrs. Pitt and Mrs. Cochran, runners-up, and Miss MacCallum and Miss Ross, winners in the Manitoba Ladies' Doubles

Bottom: Miss J. Ross and G. Alenck, winners, and Miss Hilda Armstrong and Dr. C. O. Wood, runners-up, Mixed Doubles

MANITOBA TITLE HOLDERS

Figure 2.5 "Manitoba Title Holders" (sports society page), May 1930, *Mayfair*.

The Cosmopolite

A DEPARTMENT FOR WELL-DRESSED MEN

THE "Queen Mary" brought over some stunning men's fashions. We saw them at a press preview at the British Empire Building — the white suits, tailored from Mal-linson's heavy silk shantung, were particularly impressive. The tall blonde who modelled them chose black silk shirts — with white ties, made of same material as the suits — black and white shoes and black socks with white cloaks.

Captain Anthony Eden caused quite a vogue to start among the Young Bloods in New York and points elsewhere — that of the white linen waistcoat. He wears them with his town clothes, and looks very, very nifty, take my word! We all watch Captain Eden — he brought back the black Homburg to the fashion map . . . some little time ago.

The beaches hereabouts are colorful affairs — with the men folks contributing more than their share. Saw a bright henna red sail cloth suit on a lad who had tired of the water and had climbed back into slacks and loose jacket over his bathing trunks and striped beach shirt . . . noticed that his shoes were of linen, with rope soles, so good for yachting.

AM SEEING lots of terry cloth robes — it is such an absorbent material that I don't think it has yet met its peer as a beach fabric. And the terry beach coat is very good, generally worn a little longer than the usual coat. Saw one pale beige one that took my fancy. Had leather buttons — and a pocket lined with waterproof — to protect cigarettes and the odd few dollars one takes along.

Just saw another smart beach style — terry cloth military cape! The body of the cape was white; the collar and slashed pockets trimmed with royal blue. My, was it good looking! And grand to use for a beach mat, too.

New! The "Loungama" — it's a pyjama with a wide piece of matching material, on an extension sash, which you slip over the trousers of the pyjama suit — and you have a rebel Sounds rather complicated, but it's just like putting an apron on . . . back and front!

THE very nicest looking beach slacks are made from all rayon, and of course they come in every color imaginable. I fell for them in royal and wine . . . worn with white dishrag shirts.

The broad waistband of knitted wool blended with elastic is quite the "tops" in the bathing shorts seen around. Fits the waist so well — does away with that "sloppy" look.

In fact ALL the beach styles this year are trimmer than hitherto — for so many seasons all the men folks went "collegiate" near the seashore. This year they have pulled up their socks, as it were — much to the general improvement of the sartorial landscape.

The cross-stripe, round-neck, knitted cotton pullover is seen consistently every place where the sun shines. It has proved to be one of the most popular sports styles of the summer.

(See also page 67)

Fifth Avenue Reviews What
Men Will Wear This Season

By K. M. Murphy

Stunning out of the ordinary is the new "College Street" sport shirt. It is tailored especially for the Men's Shop, Eaton's College Street, from fine textured cotton Oxford cloth. Fastened with loop button-holes at the neck, it may be worn open, fully buttoned, or with a colored neckerchief. The broad lapelled collar looks equally well when the shirt is worn with or without a jacket. The back is smartly pleated and full for comfort. Colors — white, blue and tan. Men's Shop, Eaton's College Street.

Figure 2.6 "The Cosmopolite," July 1936, *Mayfair*.

MEN'S

**S
H
O
P**

*Yours for a
Sporting
Summer*

Before you pack your grip for that vacation you've been looking forward to, drop in at The MEN'S SHOP. Whatever you need in the way of slacks or shoes, swim suits, polo shirts, sports jacket or flannel suits—you'll find in this fashionable store—in fact everything that well groomed men are wearing in the country, at the beaches or on a cruise. You are not only offered the newest and smartest sports apparel, but also an exceptionally wide range from which to make a selection. We list a few suggestions:—Flannel Suits, \$35.00; Flannel Trousers, \$5.00 to \$12.50; Sport Jackets, \$15.00 and \$20.00; Sport Shoes, \$5.00 to \$8.00; Bathing Trunks, \$2.95 to \$5.50; Terry Robes, \$6.00 to \$8.50; Polo Shirts, \$1.50 to \$7.50.

Free Parking While Shopping.
Bay Street Section

EATON'S - COLLEGE STREET

Figure 2.7 "Eaton's College Street: Men's Shop" advertisement, July 1935, *Mayfair*.

Mayfair, October, 1929

91

Like an autumn day Keen and Mellow

Mellow as the sunlight which falls through the leaves along the bridle path . . . keen as the cool air with its suggestion of coming winter . . . refreshing as a brisk canter through the park . . . this is much of the thrill you get when you drink "Canada Dry" Ginger Ale.

Over the dinner table connoisseurs nod with approval as they drink. It's the favorite beverage in many a great hotel . . . in New York . . . at hotels in London . . . in Parisian restaurants and cafes . . . at famous continental watering

places. And in countless homes throughout this country and the United States, this fine old ginger ale is frequently served.

The distinction, the flavour and quality of "Canada Dry" have won it a universal appeal. Matchless in flavour . . . unequalled in quality . . . a subtle, ginger taste . . . "Canada Dry" rightly is held as a finer, better, truer beverage.

"Canada Dry" is blended and balanced in exact proportions

Absolutely pure ingredients give it basic excellence. High-quality Jamaica ginger,

grown especially for us, makes it a real ginger ale. An exact process of blending and balancing contributes to the inimitable result — "Canada Dry." A secret process of carbonation enables it to retain its sparkle long after the bottle is opened. It is so pure that leading hospitals serve it.

Order "Canada Dry" today. Try it with dinner tonight. Learn how its wonderful flavour adds new delight to a meal. Its purity recommends it to parents. And its high quality recommends it to everyone who likes a better, finer, mellower beverage. Order it in the Hostess Package of twelve bottles.

"CANADA DRY"⁹⁹

The Champagne of Ginger Ales

Canada Dry Ginger Ale Limited, Toronto, Edmonton and Montreal
Distributors: E. J. McLaughlin Limited, and A. G. Jones & Company Limited

Figure 2.8 "Canada Dry" advertisement, October 1929, *Mayfair*.

Mayfair, January, 1932

77

Lamzwool
Underwear
fits
Because —
it is tailored

Non-Irritating — Guaranteed

EVERY suit of Lamzwool underwear fits as illustrated — because it is tailored. Lamzwool is positively guaranteed not to irritate the most sensitive skin. It will not shrink. Truly, the finest Pure Wool underwear — and at moderate prices . . . At the very next opportunity ask at your favorite shop to be shown Lamzwool Underwear — feel its soft smooth texture — note its perfect tailoring. You'll find it exactly the winter underwear for which you have always been searching . . . You may get it in three weights — in all sizes — for every member of the family. It will give that warm, comfortable feeling all through the long winter months . . .

SPRINGSTEAD KNITWEAR, GALT, ONTARIO

Figure 2.9 "Springstead" advertisement, January 1932, *Mayfair*.

Mayfair, April, 1932

75

Corticelli Lace-Mode

Fashion's most authentic expression of the vogue for lace — clever interpretation by Corticelli — simulating the dainty designs of fine old lace.

To see these exquisite lace hosiery creations is to desire them — equally suitable for sport, street or evening wear — available in nine admirable Corticelli shades

— at leading shops everywhere —

Corticelli
MADE IN CANADA
Quality
SILK HOSIERY

Figure 2.10 "Corticelli Silk Hosiery" advertisement, June 1932, *Mayfair*.

Figure 2.11 "Cover," July 1928, *Mayfair*.

Figure 2.12 "Cover," May 1934, *Mayfair*.

(6)

THE ISLES OF JUNE

Emerald seas ... gleaming miles of sandy beach ... gardens of luxuriant beauty aglow in the sunshine ... Paradise is very near.

Soft, southern June-like breezes will greet you in mid-winter in these magic tropic lands where each vacation day is filled with the freshness and charm of surroundings that are truly British and quaintly colonial.

You'll swim in limpid waters, fish in transparent seas, golf on a course of surpassing beauty, ride on picturesque bridle paths ... indulge to your heart's desire in out-door activity or merely idle the sunny hours away, just as your fancy dictates. The diversion, the relaxation you seek are yours at Nassau, at rates to suit the most exacting or liberal budget.

Nassau is easily reached by Air, by Rail or by Ship.

For information write —

Canadian National S.S. Lines, Montreal and Miami.

Munson S.S. Lines, New York and Miami.

Furness-Withy Line, New York and Bermuda.

Pan-American Airways, New York and Miami.

Your Tourist Agent or

THE DEVELOPMENT BOARD

NASSAU, BAHAMAS

Figure 2.13 "Nassau" advertisement, March 1934, *Mayfair*.

Lazy Living

IN THE CARIBBEES

MORALE, after all, is largely a matter of geography. . . . So a fig for this mad Siberian existence! Let's be off to the Tropics . . . where there's warmth and languor and balm for the nerves. Ladies and gentlemen, we give you The West Indies!

What happier way to reach these leisured lands than aboard the *Lafayette*? Muse upon the delights of cruising the Caribbean in this 25,000 tons of France-Afloat. The comfort of her grand salons. The freedom of her spacious decks. The joys of her sunlit swimming pool. Not to mention the pagan satisfaction of soaking, luxuriously, in your very own private bath. (There's one with practically every cabin on the ship.)

And the cuisine! Ah, we have you there. Every dish is a masterpiece calculated to throw gourmets into a state of reverent contemplation. The service throughout is perfect . . . and conducted, unobtrusively, by stewards who speak English. Nothing, absolutely nothing, has been spared to give you the time of your pampered life. And you get all this for the modest cost of a stay at an ordinary winter resort!

Make up your mind, boldly, imperiously, to go down to the Spanish Main this winter . . . via the *M. S. Lafayette*. Your travel agent will gladly arrange all the details for you, without charge. . . . French Line, 1196 Phillips Place, Montreal; 53 Richmond Street, W., Toronto; or 19 State Street, New York City.

December 21 (Christmas Cruise) 12 days \$155 up
Return January 2. Nassau, Kingston, Havana.

January 26. Also February 17 . . . 19 days \$235 up
St. Pierre—Fort-de-France, Martinique; Bridgetown, Barbados; Port of Spain, Trinidad; La Guayra—Curaçao; Venezuela; Willemstad, Curaçao; Colon, Panama Canal Zone; Havana, Cuba.

French Line

NORTH ATLANTIC SAILINGS: ILE DE FRANCE, Nov. 25, Dec. 16 (Christmas Sailing), Jan. 13 • PARIS, Nov. 17 • CHAMPLAIN, Dec. 2 and 30, Jan. 20 • LAFAYETTE, Jan. 6 • DE GRASSE, Dec. 13

Figure 2.14 "French Line" advertisement, December 1933, *Mayfair*.

Mayfair, April, 1936

Bermuda

PLEASURE ISLAND

SEE BERMUDA AND LIVE

Stunned by surrounding beauty, says an old proverb, visitors in Naples desire only to lie down and forthwith expire. . . .

Your arrival in Bermuda will have the opposite effect . . . for here life acquires a delightful charm to be found nowhere else on this madly spinning globe.

In this island Arcady you escape everything fatiguing in modern civilization . . . all haste and soot, all industrial clamour, all motor traffic. Here you live in a climate that is kept temperate year-round

by the Gulf Stream . . . a world of yacht races, moonlight sailing . . . dancing al fresco . . . tennis . . . golf on splendid courses where you tee off to the song of the surf. Here you cycle along white coral roads to pink beaches that are justly famed for the amazing clarity of waters glowing with lovely rainbow hues of turquoise, green and sapphire.

You will like Bermuda's pleasantly English atmosphere. You will enjoy the superlative floral beauty . . . and you will

approve of the gracious charm that yearly persuades discriminating people (many bridal couples among them) to select this tranquil Riviera of the West.

"BUT CAN I AFFORD BERMUDA?"

The inexpensiveness of a trip to Bermuda almost astonishes those making their first visit. Sailing from New York, round-trip passage (with private bath) on a luxurious liner costs as low as \$60 for four seven days at sea. From Halifax or Boston, the slightly longer round trip (without private bath), as low as \$68. In Bermuda you can secure a splendid room and excellent meals for 57 a day.

FOR BOOKLET: YOUR TRAVEL AGENT, OR THE BERMUDA TRADE DEVELOPMENT BOARD, SUN LIFE BUILDING, MONTREAL

Figure 2.15 "Bermuda" advertisement, April 1936, *Mayfair*.

COMMUNICATION

THROUGH the jungles of darkest Africa the voice of the primitive "telephone"—the drum—still reverberates. By means of a code of drum-beats which no white man has yet been able fully to decipher, one dusky operator speaks to a community miles away. There another drum is pounded, and so, in relay fashion, long distance messages are transmitted from one tribe to another.

• • •

Perhaps the greatest asset to the social and business life of Canada is the modern telephone. A network of some four million miles of wire spreads over the Dominion and links up a million and a quarter telephones from coast to coast.

A large proportion of the wires, instruments and other apparatus involved in this vast telephone system was manufactured in the plants of the Northern Electric Company.

INFORMATION

The Northern Electric Company also manufactures electrical equipment for industrial purposes, and distributes many electrical appliances indispensable to modern housekeeping.

Northern Electric
COMPANY LIMITED
A National Electrical Service

25684

Figure 2.16 "Northern Electric Company Limited" advertisement, April 1930, *Mayfair*.

APPENDIX A

List of all those Artists who exhibited Works with the Canadian Society of Graphic

Art and who were Employed at *Mayfair* Magazine, 1924-1938

Month/ Year	Catalogue Number	Artist Name	Print Name	Medium	Value
February 1925	204	Ronald McRae	Russian Costume Design	Watercolor	No asking price
	163	Franz H. Johnston	Poster for CNR	Tempera	No asking price
	164		Poster for CNR	Tempera	No asking price
April 1931	157	Margaret de Vorce Fax	The Dance of the Marionette	Charcoal	\$10.00
	158		The Bacchanal	Charcoal	\$10.00
April 1932	352	Richard C. Wilcox	Ferguson's Cove	Colour Drawing	\$10.00
	353		Guidi Vidi	Colour Drawing	\$10.00
	354		Repairs to Net	Colour Drawing	\$10.00
May 1933	492	Richard C. Wilcox	Whig Standard	Etching	\$8.00
	493		New Moon	Etching	\$8.00
May 1934	168	Richard C. Wilcox	Portrait Drawing	Chalk	\$15.00
	169		Costume Drawing	Chalk	\$15.00
	170		Bull-Dogging	Dry Point	\$8.00

	171		The Waltz	Dry Point	\$8.00
May 1935	180	Richard C. Wilcox	Cover, February 1935 Mayfair	Chalk	No asking price
	181		Cover, March 1935 Canadian Homes and Gardens	Chalk	No asking price
	182		Lilies	Chalk	\$35.00
	183		Nude	Chalk	\$35.00
April 1936	257, 258, 259	Frank Shadlock	All entitled, Russian Dancers	Etching	\$5.00 each

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