INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

NOTE TO USERS

The original manuscript received by UMI contains broken, slanted and or light print. All efforts were made to acquire the highest quality manuscript from the author or school.

Microfilmed as received.

This reproduction is the best copy available

UMI

**(RE)CONSTRUCTING THE FEMININE IN ART WRITING: THE CANADIAN
MAGAZINE MAYFAIR IN THE 1950s**

by

MEAGHAN EMILY CLARKE, B.A.

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

June 12, 1996

© copyright

1996, Meaghan Emily Clarke

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-26895-0

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
(RE)CONSTRUCTING THE FEMININE IN CANADIAN MAGAZINES:
MAYFAIR AND SATURDAY NIGHT FROM THE LATE 1920S
TO THE END OF THE 1950S

Submitted by Meaghan Emily Clarke, B.A. Honours
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Angela Carr, Thesis Supervisor

John Shepherd, Director: SSAC

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

June 1996

ABSTRACT

*(Re)constructing the Feminine in Art Writing: The Canadian Magazine
Mayfair in the 1950s*

Meaghan Emily Clarke

In the 1970s Linda Nochlin began to investigate the placement of women in the art historical canon. Since then scholars have formulated strategies for evaluating the role of women in art. However, scholarship has rarely investigated the reception of Canadian women within the sphere of art criticism. This thesis focuses on art writing in general interest magazines as a methodology for reviewing the historical narrative. The purpose of this thesis is to determine the recognition of women in the arts, as artists and critics, in Canadian magazines from 1930 until 1960. Initially, this will involve a survey of Mayfair (1927-1961) as the primary document, and the journals, Saturday Night, Chatelaine and Canadian Forum during the thirties and forties. This serves as a framework for a comparative analysis of the art writing published in Mayfair and Saturday Night during the 1950s. In addition to evaluating the text itself, this investigation encompasses social and cultural facets including an examination of the context of the art material in the journals in the form of articles and advertising. This more inclusive method of analysis contributes to our understanding of the production and consumption of general interest magazines and their positioning of women in Canadian art history.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to thank Dr. Angela Carr for her insight, encouragement, support and patience. Also, I thank the faculty of the Art History Graduate Department for their input in the initial stages and support throughout. Additionally, I am grateful to Mr. Robert Fulford for his informative contributions as former Assistant-Editor and art columnist of Mayfair magazine. I also graciously acknowledge my colleagues, friends and family for their input and encouragement over the past year.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Plates	v
Introduction	1
Women as Writers on the Arts: Analysing the Stereotypes	22
Women in Art Writing: <u>Mayfair</u> and <u>Saturday Night</u> in the 1950s	57
"Happy Housewives": Contextualizing Fifties Art Writing	101
Conclusion	129
Plates	132
Appendix 1. An Analytical Table of Art Writing in <u>Mayfair</u> Magazine, 1927-1957 ..	144
Bibliography	159

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1 - Yvonne McKague Housser, <i>Indian Children at Whitefish</i>	132
Plate 2 - Gabriel Metsu, "Cover Painting"	133
Plate 3 - Paul Duval, "Lady in the Background"	134
Plate 4 - Elizabeth Hay Trott, "She Bakes Beauty on Copper"	135
Plate 5 - Robert Fulford, "The Modern Artist Who Has Painted for Half a Century" ..	136
Plate 6 - "Fine Art and Fashion"	137
Plate 7 - Ruth Bowen, "Picture Gallery Home"	138
Plate 8 - John Robert Powers, "Powers on Beauty VII: What women want to know about weight control"	139
Plate 9 - "Eaton's of Canada Decoration for Living"	140
Plate 10 - "Nemo's Advertisement"	141
Plate 11 - Marion McCormick, "Full Life With Family"	142
Plate 12 - "Why Can't You Write?"	143

Introduction

This thesis focuses on the reception of women as artists and collectors as evidenced by the writings of both male and female critics in the pages of the Canadian women's magazine Mayfair, published between 1927, when it was founded to target a high society audience, and 1961 by which time it had shifted its emphasis to fashion and travel. Mayfair was a medium of mass communication during the thirties, forties and fifties. As a woman's magazine it was accessible to a segment of society largely excluded both from traditional art journals and from an art world dominated by men. In readership Mayfair competed with newspaper women's pages and the society pages of Saturday Night,¹ another Toronto-based Canadian magazine for a general readership. The latter paralleled Mayfair's three decade existence and covered a variety of subjects including the arts. Because it was directed to both men and women, its contents provide a relevant counterpoint to the art writing of Mayfair targeted at a female audience. An initial survey of art writing published in Mayfair during the 1950s would indicate that this is an invaluable source of information about women active in the arts during the decade. Mayfair's art coverage had flourished in regular art columns featuring women artists, collectors and volunteers. However, a more thorough reading of this material, its context and its history, presents a variety of subsequent issues. Firstly, one must consider the art writing in non-specialist periodicals during the 1930s and 1940s which predated the emergence of Mayfair as an essential source of art criticism. During the 1920s, through

¹Fraser Sutherland, The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines 1789-1989 (Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1989), p. 248.

the creation of the new publications *Canadian Forum*, *Mayfair*, and *Chatelaine*, journalism evolved in terms of the number of publications addressing art-related topics. The art content in *Mayfair* included society news, portraits and coming exhibitions, while *Chatelaine* published occasional articles in the arts. By 1930, both *Saturday Night* and *Canadian Forum* were producing regular art columns written by women. Over two decades the formats of these periodicals altered and the publication of art writing shifted to *Mayfair* and *Saturday Night*.

Of all the journals listed by Mary F. Williamson and Karen Mackenzie in *The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada* one might wonder why *Mayfair* was chosen as the primary document of this study rather than better known examples like *Saturday Night* and *Canadian Forum*. Unlike the general interest periodicals of the period, *Mayfair* magazine was unique in its publication of art criticism targeting a female readership, thereby recognizing women artists within a document celebrating feminine popular culture. The decision to focus on the acknowledgement of women in art writing as a methodology for rereading and reconstructing the historical narrative flows from the strategies proposed by feminist art historians, who have advocated the integration of a critical analysis of representation with a broader sociological account of the conditions and institutions of production as well as an understanding of the reception of the resulting texts.² This concept is fundamental to a feminist reconstruction of historical narrative. One cannot understand women's art history without an understanding of the social conventions

²See for example, Janet Wolff, *Feminine Sentences*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), pp. 5, 113.

imposed upon women during any particular historical moment or how attitudes affected the reception of women, an issue often reflected in the writing of the period.

In 1971 Linda Nochlin questioned why women artists were excluded from the art historical canon.³ The answer from feminist scholars was to expose the social conventions of the period that confined the role of women within stereotypes. Also significant was the way women's understanding of the world was conditioned by those expectations, in particular the woman's perception was framed by what she read. For example Griselda Pollock listed amongst the 'ideological baggage' of a nineteenth century female visitor to the Royal Academy, conceptual notions derived from illustrated newspapers, periodical magazines, etiquette manuals, medical conversations, sermons and books on child care addressed to and consumed by bourgeois women. In these distinctive definitions of femininity and masculinity, a prevailing regime of truth was generated by the interconnections, repetitions and resemblances providing a larger framework of intelligibility.⁴ During the mid-twentieth century women continued to be shaped by ideologies conveyed to them in similar media which offered advice on: medical issues, etiquette, and child care. Not only are the texts of these sources freighted with ideologically invested meanings, but illustrations found in women's magazines play into a larger understanding of such specialized fields as art writing.

³Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" reprinted in Linda Nochlin, Women, Art, and Power (London, 1988), pp. 145-78.

⁴Griselda Pollock, Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 9.

The 'givenness' of social roles comes under particular scrutiny. Pollock argues that "as long as we discuss women, the family, and crafts we endorse the social givenness of women, the family, and the separate sphere. We must understand that sexual difference is *produced* through an interconnecting series of social practices and institutions of which families, education, art studies, galleries and magazines are a part."⁵ It is then that the hierarchies of social dominance come under scrutiny. In Old Mistresses: Women Art and Ideology, Pollock and Parker began to analyse this construction of the art historical canon and asked how essential is femininity?⁶ This analysis of Mayfair continues to investigate the interconnections and meanings of femininity constructed by art writing in the popular press.

In furtherance of the same point Rosemary Betterton observes, in the struggle to change the place of women in culture and language, the traditional divisions between High Art and mass culture have been challenged, as well as the compartmentalization of knowledge between the disciplines.⁷ Thus, the examination of popular journals alongside specialized publications like the Canadian Forum permits art writing of the period to be anchored in a broader sociological framework particular to women's general readership periodicals which can reveal rather than accept as natural aspects of the female gender role.

⁵Pollock, p. 9.

⁶Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology, London: Routledge, 1981.

⁷Rosemary Betterton, ed. Looking on: Images of femininity in the visual arts and media, (London: Pandora Press, 1987), p. 2.

The journal as a popular medium crosses institutional barriers. Various aspects of art journalism have been investigated internationally. An extensive exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1976 recorded the history and development of art in the periodical press but focused primarily on the European model of the art journal after 1800.⁸ In the accompanying book *The Art Press*, Phillpot observed that magazines offered "new art still warm, *but* mediated through print, to readers who might not otherwise experience it at all in the original."⁹ Anything published becomes broadly accessible; ideas are available to a much wider spectrum of people. By contrast, in Canada there were no specialist art journals before 1940. Access was a reflection of a market broadly based on popular culture operating within the context not only of wide distribution and immediacy, but also an understanding of the market to which it was addressed. Williamson and McKenzie demonstrate that general-interest periodicals were rich sources of information about Canadian art and artists and in the early period, the only sources. Art presented within the context of women's magazines adds another layer to the interpretation of art production and consumption of art by women.

In order to analyse the art writing itself, an investigation of the history of women in Canadian art journalism, specifically their role as critics and as artists, is necessary. Little scholarship has been published relating directly to reception of women in Canadian art journalism. However, there are some sources relevant to the topic of Canadian magazines and women in art journalism. Marjory Lang has investigated early Canadian women

⁸Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Art Press* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd, 1977), microfiche.

⁹ Trevor Fawcett and Clive Phillpot, eds., *The Art Press* (London: The Art Book Company, 1976): 2.

journalists, primarily women writing in newspapers around the turn of the century when women journalists were generally relegated to the society section.¹⁰ Society editorship, of low repute in the newspaper world, was the nadir of women's journalistic aspirations, a ghetto from which they could not escape whatever their interests, talents or aspirations.¹¹

Women's pages, although not as consistently a feature in dailies, allowed for an interspersed of substantive issues, such as women in the professions, with more routine domestic content.¹² Barbara Freeman has researched the life of Canadian journalist Kathleen Blake Coleman, woman's page columnist for the Daily Mail/Mail and Empire (1889-1911).¹³ Coleman's successful career in the newspaper business was achieved by accepting the restrictions of the male-dominated sphere, while also stretching its boundaries. Elaine Showalter's cultural approach, which studies economic and political pressures in addition to biological, linguistic and psychological factors in interpretations of writing by women, was utilised to great effect by Freeman in her analysis of Kit Coleman.¹⁴ It was a combination of the society and other women's columns, investigated

¹⁰See Marjory Lang, "Women About Town: Chroniclers of the Canadian Social Scene at the Turn of the Century," Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History, 6,2 (1990): 3-14; Marjory Lang and Linda Hale. "Women of *The World* and other Dailies: The Lives and Times of Vancouver Newspaperwomen in the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century," BC Studies 22, 85 (1990): 3-23.

¹¹Lang and Hale, p. 9. The only justification for hiring a woman staff member was to produce copy that women subscribers wanted to read. Once established as a society writer it was difficult to shed the stigma of snobbish frivolity in order to gain credibility as a serious journalist, see Lang, p. 11.

¹²Lang and Hale, p. 13.

¹³Barbara Freeman, Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989).

¹⁴Elaine Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," in Elizabeth Abel, ed., Writing and Sexual Difference (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 187, quoted in Freeman, p. 6.

by Lang and Freeman, that *Mayfair* later represented in a periodical format. Hence similar cultural approaches are very applicable to this investigation.

Douglas Fetherling's *Documents in Canadian Art* included excerpts of Canadian art writing. However for the period predating 1960, only one passage by Emily Carr was reproduced, and women are seldom mentioned.¹⁵ A number of women wrote as art critics in Canadian periodicals, particularly during the 1930s, but explorations to date in Canadian art history of critics who published in the periodical press during the thirties, forties and fifties have dealt exclusively with male writers. Helene Sicotte has examined the work of Walter Abell, Robert Ayre, and Graham McInnes in *Canadian Forum* and *Canadian Art*¹⁶. However, women critics have not been the subject of Canadian historical analyses.

In the United States a decade and a half ago Claire Sherman and Adele Holcomb examined the history of American women writing about the visual arts from 1820 until 1979. This scholarship provides valuable insight into the entry of women into the sphere of arts journalism. For the years after 1930, however, their study was more biographical, focusing on individual interpreters of visual art, rather than upon the period or journals themselves.¹⁷ The role of women in American philanthropy before 1930 has also been

¹⁵Douglas Fetherling ed., *Documents in Canadian Art* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1987).

¹⁶See Helene Sicotte, "Walter Abell au Canada, 1928-1944: Contribution d'une critique d'art americain au discours canadien en faveur de l'integration sociale de l'art," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 11 (1988): 88ff; Helene Sicotte "Walter Abell, Robert Ayre, Graham McInnes apercu de la perspective social dans la critique d'art canadienne entre 1935 et 1945," (MA, UQAM, 1989). Esther Trepanier has also examined art writings by male critics in newspapers, "Deux Portraits de Critique d'art des Annees Vingt, Albert Laberge et Jean Chauvin," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 12 (1989): 141-172.

¹⁷Claire Richter Sherman with Adele M. Holcomb, eds., *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), focus on issues concerning American women art critics.

studied by Kathleen McCarthy. Although philanthropy has not played as large a role in the building of institutions in Canada as in the United States, parallels can be drawn because it is clear in *Mayfair* and *Saturday Night* that Canadian women played key roles in private collecting and as gallery auxiliaries.¹⁸

Magazines during the period 1930 to 1960 have rarely been the focus of study in Canada, the United Kingdom, or the United States. Popular magazines have not, as a rule, been studied as a source of art historical information about women in Canada. Only Anne Page has examined the reception of women painters in Canadian art writing between 1890 and 1914.¹⁹ Her work referenced not only the periodical press of that period, but followed the reception of women in textual sources up to the modern day. While Maria Tippet in her book *By a Lady* listed some Canadian women art critics, for example Blodwen Davies, she did not concentrate on discussion of their work or their publications.

Most recently in Britain, Pamela Gerrish Nunn has undertaken research on the role of women critics writing on art in popular journals. Nunn identified the need for an investigation of art writing by women in Victorian Britain in "Critically Speaking", which appeared in *Women in the Victorian Art World* in 1995. Nunn called for a reappraisal of the term 'art criticism' and the figure of the art critic. She notes that in Victorian Britain "art criticism occurred in a multiplicity of forms and fora" and its definition must be

¹⁸Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy, 1830-1930*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), xii.

¹⁹Anne Page, "Canada's First Professional Women Painters 1890-1914: Their Reception in Canadian Writing on the Visual Arts," (M.A. diss., Concordia University, 1991).

expanded to include women.²⁰ Nunn proposed memoirs and correspondence, which fall outside a patriarchally defined 'art criticism' as valuable sources for analysis. Likewise general interest magazines, specifically those targeting women, also exist on the margins of 'art criticism', but must be included within a broader definition. The fact that they were neither original nor progressive, and considered invalid in patriarchal terms, is immaterial because these writings represent some inaccessible aspects of art criticism.²¹ A number of parallels can be drawn between Gerrish Nunn's observations about art criticism and the Canadian art world. Art criticism was not published in traditional art journals, rather it was frequently published in columns in daily newspapers and magazines. However, no scholarship on women has been undertaken in this area either in the Canadian context or examining material from the twentieth century. For these reasons my primary research has focused on the publication Mayfair and its competitor Saturday Night.

In order to fully comprehend the reception of women in the arts in Canadian periodicals, one must understand the historical and sociological context of the documents. Alison Prentice, in her study Canadian Women, which dealt with the social history of women in Canada, included some analysis of women in the media in the thirties, forties and fifties.²² Similarly Mary Vipond's study of the image of women in magazines during the 1920s is often cited in Canadian women's history and is also a seminal document in

²⁰Pamela Gerrish Nunn, "Critically Speaking" in Women in the Victorian Art World Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed., (Manchester: Manchester United Press, 1995), p. 109.

²¹Nunn, p. 110.

²²Alison Prentice et al. Canadian Women. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988).

journalistic history.²³ She has examined the position of women in society in relation to what was portrayed by the popular press and discovered that, although the mass circulation magazines claimed that women's roles had changed, they continued to foster traditional assumptions about a woman's place in the home. Such social structurings were also implicit in other forms of representation such as advertising.

In advertising, just as in articles, the role of woman as consumer became central, as Helen Damon-Moore's recent book, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, 1880-1910* has pointed out. Damon-Moore compares the content, production and readership of the two journals, and in so doing, she analyses the construction of gender through this mass medium of American popular culture.²⁴ The Ladies' Home Journal and Saturday Evening Post are in a sense the American counterparts of *Mayfair* and *Saturday Night*. Damon-Moore's study examines a different era, but does provide insight into aspects of consumption.

However, there have indeed been feminist analyses of the representation of women in Canadian advertising. Several articles dealing with how women in Canada are represented in the advertising of popular journals and women's magazines and how women are represented in the workplace have been published. Susan M. Bland, Linda J. Busby and Greg Leichly have undertaken feminist analyses of advertising in popular and women's magazines and Gertrude Joch Robinson has investigated "Women and Work" in

²³Vipond, *The Neglected Majority*, 116-24.

²⁴See Helen Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, 1880-1910*, (New York: State University of New York, 1994).

magazines.²⁵ Thus far these sociological studies have not been extended into the discipline of art history, but are valuable in understanding Canadian magazines of the period. This material is relevant when examining the relationship between writing about art by women, women artists and collectors and the representation of women in the magazine as a whole.

Advertising in journals has been studied extensively in the United States, the United Kingdom and to some degree Canada in order to analyse its impact on the consumer/reader. Research in the area of women's studies has examined the implications of advertising on women during the 1950s. Betty Friedan's Feminine Mystique of 1963 was a seminal work, which revealed the narrative of the happy homemaker as portrayed in magazines to be a subversive strategy designed to lure women out of the workforce. The myth represented a stark contrast to the lived experience of housewives in fifties suburbia.

Rather than limiting the mode of inquiry to feminist cultural analysis, much of which is essentially textual analysis referencing specific circumstances, readers and viewers, Janet Wolff favours an exploration of women's actual participation in social arrangements, institutions and process. Through a sociological analysis of this type it is possible to explore what a work actually reflects in the larger context of its production. "A social-historical approach to production will enable us to develop an account of the possible or probable meanings of a work in relation to its moment of origin."²⁶ In order

²⁵ Susan M. Bland, "Henrietta the Homemaker and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1939-50," *Atlantis* 8,2 (1983): 61-86; Linda J. Busby and Greg Leichly, "Feminism and Advertising in Traditional and Nontraditional Women's Magazines 1950's-1980s," *Journalism Quarterly* 70,2 (1993): 249. Gertrude Joch Robinson, "The Media and Social Change: Thirty Years of Magazine Coverage of Women and Work(1950-1977)," *Atlantis* 8,2 (1983): 92.

²⁶ Wolff, Feminine Sentences, p. 5.

to apply this concept to the interpretation of a popular magazine, one must look at the role of the editorial board, its constitution, and what this implies in relation to social structuring. Implicit is an examination of how the individuals perceived the women's magazine market, how they constructed the journal to appeal to the women's market and how they manipulated that market and for what purposes.

Mary Vipond found that editors of women's magazines in the 1920s were middle class and male; following traditions of mass circulation press, they catered to conventional assumptions and prevailing opinions of the average reader. They reflected the "economic and social reality of the day, and by so doing reinforced and helped justify the status quo."²⁷ The same could be said of women's magazines during the 1950s in spite of the intervening decades. If the appearance of art criticism in an 'upmarket' women's magazine seems rather unusual, the context for its production was more so:

At Maclean-Hunter there was a widespread belief, totally without foundation, that any professional journalist could write or edit on any subject. . . . But even within this bizarre context, the case of Mayfair and Eric Hutton was exceptional. Mayfair was an upscale monthly for women interested in fashion, society, travel and culture. Eric Hutton was pulled off Maclean's to run it, and found himself editing a magazine he would not normally read, directed at people he would not care to meet. Hutton was intensely interested in women - in fact, the only aspect of him I didn't enjoy was his sexual boasting - but he knew nothing of fashion, society, or the kind of culture Mayfair was supposed to celebrate.²⁸

²⁷Mary Vipond, "The Image of Women in Mass Circulation Magazines in the 20s," in Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofinmenkoff, eds. The Neglected Majority (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), p. 117.

²⁸Robert Fulford, Best Seat in the House: Memoirs of a Lucky Man (Toronto: Collins, 1988), p. 77.

To understand the reasoning for these contradictory management practices and the content of the magazine itself one must look at the development of editorial control in Canadian periodicals.

The staff at Mayfair in the 1950s was fairly balanced in terms of overall gender ratio. Yet, the divisions within the departments were rather typical. Eric Hutton was the editor and Dick Huestis was manager. Despite the fact that it was a women's magazine, male editors were evidently required to give legitimacy and authority to the publication.²⁹ Furthermore, the world of women's journalism was still operating within a patriarchal framework so those granted access to positions of responsibility were generally men. Males and females were equally represented at the levels of assisting editors although the roles were clearly gender-related. The art director and fashion editor were both women, Joan Chalmers and Vivian Wilcox respectively. Management, advertising and circulation were all areas of male responsibility. Although the stereotypes of the picture-perfect housewife were frequently perpetuated in the magazine, the writers themselves were often professional women. (It should be noted that regular women contributors to the magazine did not record their marital status in print.) Likewise attitudes in Canadian journalism during the 1950s reflected gender bias. For example, Robert Fulford described how, when

²⁹In interview Robert Fulford added another twist to this story by describing the perspective of Maclean-Hunter management towards editorship at the time. Although, three different women had earlier occupied the position of editor for Chatelaine, the last was Lotta Dempsey whose short term was considered a disaster. She lacked professionalism and was disorganised. This unfortunate scenario lends some insight into the continued reluctance of Maclean-Hunter to appoint women in editorial roles during the fifties and its "justification" for the appointment of male editors. The editor Chalmers appointed to Mayfair after Hutton was also a man, John Clare, who in fact was even worse cast than Hutton and had no interest whatsoever in the content of the magazine or women. See Fulford, Best Seat, p. 77, also personal communication with the author, April 1996.

working at Canadian Homes for editor Jean McKinley in 1954, he had spoken to Frank Tumpane about his new job. Tumpane, then one of the best-known newspaper columnists in Toronto, asked if it were true that the editor of Canadian Homes was a woman. "I said she was. He said: 'I could *never* work for a woman'." ³⁰

Dispatched from Maclean's to edit Mayfair, Eric Hutton was a survivor of the defunct journals Magazine Digest and National Home Monthly, and a self-confessed hack. ³¹ Robert Fulford described Hutton as an editor with "no authenticity"--he had neither belief in the magazine nor any vision. Hutton was only good technically and hence had nothing to contribute to content. As long as the article was readable, it would be published. Thus, the role of "editor" was partially up to the writer. In describing his own decisions regarding art content, Fulford felt it was "not necessary to edit for women." These were upper class women interested in all types of art and "women collecting would collect male artists as much as female artists if not more so." ³² This was certainly true of the female art collectors featured. However, the coverage of artists, when combined with the contributions of women writers, made Mayfair more egalitarian in terms of gender than most dual-interest journals.

According to the 1954 annual report of Maclean Hunter, the most important change in editorial policy during the year was Mayfair's conversion to a class women's magazine from a dual-interest market like the then-popular Saturday Night.

³⁰Fulford, Best Seat, p. 71.

³¹Sutherland, p. 248.

³²Robert Fulford, personal communication, April 1996.

This policy has been reflected throughout the contents in the form of an editorial requirement that words and pictures be of interest to women -- specifically women of the upper income group.³³

In keeping with *Mayfair's* new aim, fashion coverage was expanded, and a "Designs for Living" department, covering home furnishings and equipment, was inaugurated. A number of regular or periodic columns were started experimentally to be appraised periodically for readership interest and value. Photo covers were introduced with apparent success and steps were taken to increase both the quantity and quality of the magazine's illustrations.³⁴

The fifties at Maclean-Hunter were marked by overall profits fed by the business publications, but losses in virtually all the consumer magazines. Their annual reports spelt out directly the problems encountered. Advertisers, especially major accounts, continued to concentrate their appropriations in other mass circulation media, to meet stiffening competition and to get volume sales. As the report noted "it proves increasingly difficult, in the face of this trend, to stir interest in an 18 000 circulation book with a high cost per thousand. In the face of the existing trend the coming twelve months are going to continue to be difficult for the small circulation magazine."³⁵ The bureaucratic nature of

³³ Annual Report (1954), Maclean Hunter Collection, MS A-3, box 27, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, (AO).

³⁴Ibid. During 1955 Napier Moore did reply in his column to a letter from one unidentified male reader. However, given the content of the journal, it seems unlikely that the readership of *Mayfair* ever had a substantial proportion of male readers in the fifties.

³⁵"This trend to low cost per M media affected us severely although the lineage decline was largely arrested in the final half. The continuing poor quality of our lists is also a cause for deep concern. Net advertising revenue per page increased from \$325.70 to \$343.80. A further advertising rate increase is to become effective with August 1955 issue. We are counting on increased lineage, however, with the new Gruneau findings, addition of a third salesman and good merchandising as budget permits." *Annual Report*

Maclean-Hunter with large departments and percentages going to top management added to the dismal profit-making ability of the magazine.³⁶ To stem these losses Maclean-Hunter sold Mayfair in 1955 and attempted to revamp Canadian Homes and Gardens before selling it, too.³⁷ Mayfair and the semi-annual Canadian Bride went to Montrealer David B. Crombie. The 1955 Annual Report stated that there seemed to be little chance of putting Mayfair on a profitable footing, although it was felt by both Mr. Crombie and Maclean-Hunter that highly personalized management, utilizing a wide variety of special "promotions," might make it profitable under his ownership.³⁸ Crombie made a great number of changes in the magazine and completely replaced the editors and staff. However, the new staffing was not indicated in the December issue; the alterations only became evident the following year.

Fulford stayed on as art contributor and became Managing Editor in 1957.³⁹ On its own Mayfair had a smaller chance of surviving. It attempted to become a leisure and travel magazine. Pierre Berton said of Mayfair in 1958, "this magazine stands foursquare for those eternal values which have helped us to build this new, raw nation of ours - *money*."⁴⁰ However, the elusive money was not being garnered by the magazine itself.

(1954), Maclean-Hunter Collection, A-3, box 27, A O.

³⁶Fulford, personal interview.

³⁷Sutherland, p. 206.

³⁸Annual Report (1955), Maclean-Hunter Collection, A-3, box 27, A O.

³⁹Robert Fulford, personal correspondence, November, 1995. Although current Mayfair staff were told they would be given first consideration for rehiring, none was rehired except Fulford.

⁴⁰Sutherland, p. 248.

Writers, who were hired to do articles, did not get paid for months. According to Fulford, Crombie and editor Stan Hellier were not suited to the job of publishing Mayfair.⁴¹

Freelance contributor Ronald Hambleton wrote that "as a magazine Mayfair was singing its swan song. . . in its last two years of its life it began to act like the child of an affair between Maclean's and Holiday - a mix of general articles and travel pieces."⁴² The new title Mayfair International did not do the trick and the magazine capitulated in 1961.⁴³

Unlike Mayfair, which ceased publication in 1961, Saturday Night continued but with many financial problems. It went through significant changes, and reorganised its editorial staff. The alterations began in the 1940s when a reader-and-advertisers survey was conducted on the possibility of Saturday Night becoming a news magazine. Positive results prompted Saturday Night to begin to compete with Time. A new advertising manager was appointed and circulation and advertising rose. However, the magazine lost as much as \$200 000 a year by mid-century.⁴⁴ Long-time editor B.K. Sandwell became editor emeritus in 1951 and appointed Robert Farquharson as editor. Saturday Night also maintained a gender hierarchy among editors and contributors during the fifties, with women contributors only for the "Women" and "Film" sections. In the 1950s Margaret Ness often wrote the woman's columns and Mary Lowrey Ross served as film critic from

⁴¹Fulford, personal communication. Crombie had gained a considerable reputation as an advertising salesman for Reader's Digest Canada and had a dream of becoming a publisher.

⁴²Ronald Hambleton, *How I earned \$250,000 as a free lance writer . . . even if it did take 30 years!* (Toronto: Bartholomew Green, 1977), p. 107.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 179.

the 1930s to well into the 1950s. Madge Macbeth was also a long-time contributor of art and humour writing.

Saturday Night's owner, Consolidated Press was bought by Jack Kent Cook in 1952. Neither Sandwell nor Farquharson wanted much to do with the brash young capitalist and resigned and Gwyn Kinsey became the new editor.⁴⁵ Under the new management of Jack Kent Cook and Gwyn Kinsey in the fifties Saturday Night "still lost money and, increasingly, prestige."⁴⁶ The format of Saturday Night was altered to include original features like the "Front Page" and "Gold and Dross". Now about the size of Maclean's (20 by 28 cm) it also changed from a weekly to bimonthly. Paul Duval (art columnist) and Margaret Ness (the women's editor) were among those staff members who walked out to protest the changes. Kinsey retained the changes and suggested a more populist touch with front page portraits of new actresses.⁴⁷ The staff returned, but Duval contributed less frequently and the "Woman's Section" disappeared mid-way through 1956. Under Cooke the writers Sandwell had collected vanished, few of distinction took their place, and Saturday Night seemed to vanish into the woodwork during the 1950s.⁴⁸

The first chapter of this thesis consists of an investigation of the art coverage in Mayfair, Saturday Night, Chatelaine and Canadian Forum, during the thirties and forties. It traces the evolution of art content pertaining to women in these publications over the

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 211.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 213.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 214.

⁴⁸Robert Fulford, "Introduction," A Saturday Night Scrapbook Morris Wolfe, (ed) (Toronto: New Press, 1973): xii.

thirty year period from 1930 to 1960. Excluding Mayfair, over the three decades, from 1930 to 1960, there was a gradual decrease in the number of women contributing to magazine art columns as well as a decline in the coverage of women artists. Finally, women in the arts were rarely discussed in general interest magazines, apart from Mayfair, during the 1950s.⁴⁹

The initial analysis of the role of women in art criticism published during the 1930s and 1940s in popular magazines serves as a framework for a more extensive comparison of the art writing in the 1950s in Mayfair and Saturday Night. Mayfair's art coverage developed into a regular art column that paralleled Saturday Night's coverage. In order to determine how women were positioned within Canadian art criticism during the 1950s as writers and as critical subjects, Chapter II examines the reception of women artists in this particular medium. This also entails analysis of the art texts to ascertain the level of recognition of the achievements of women artists (with reference to the specialised journal, Canadian Art). Additionally, the role of women in the arts and acknowledgment of their work as volunteers, curators and collectors is considered, as is the question of whether or not Mayfair as a women's journal made art writing more accessible to women by operating as an arena for discussion of their own art production.

In the last chapter I investigate the journalistic structure of Mayfair by comparison with Saturday Night and the constellation of meanings evoked by the art text with reference to the magazine as a whole. Chapter III explores how the respective analyses of

⁴⁹In the other Canadian women's magazines: Chatelaine, Canadian Home Journal, and Canadian Homes and Gardens, arts content was largely restricted to interior decoration.

high art and the magazine itself, that paradigmatic document of popular culture, can reveal the broader sociological assumptions within which the reception of critical writing can be framed. The chapter examines the consumption of the magazine and the implicit insights into the society in which it was consumed, exploring the role of women within this decade and the mass culture referenced, expressed and conceived in its periodicals.

I believe the context of the writing must be examined, in addition to the articles themselves, to determine the multiple meanings that inform their presentation. I contextualize the art material by considering its relationship to the balance of the journals' content, in the form of articles and advertising. Advertisements, as noted above, often formulate and represent sub-texts within the editorial structure of the magazine and in society itself. This material contributes to our understanding of the function of the journal as a whole and its readership during that time period.

I draw from journalism, history and sociology in order to pinpoint trends in the magazine industry and facets specific to Mayfair and Saturday Night because an understanding of 1950s popular culture is intrinsic to this examination of mass circulation magazines. These mass circulation magazines represent multiple layers each of which has implications in terms of its internal and external structuring. Women and the perception of women cannot be understood without an appreciation of the society framing represented in the constitution of the editorial board with its subversive social and gender barriers manifesting a patriarchal infrastructure. Wolff underlined the necessity to establish such a foundation for analyses of the multivalent matrix of meanings articulated in writings such as those in Mayfair magazine. As she asserts, that it is absolutely crucial, for any

intervention in criticism or in literary production itself, to possess a “detailed knowledge of the institutions and social relations in which writing is produced.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰Wolff, Feminine Sentences, p. 114.

Women as Writers on the Arts: Subverting the Stereotypes

In order to trace the development of art writing in Mayfair one must begin with a survey of other Canadian general interest magazines that published art writing during the 1930s and 1940s. Journals and magazines have always been mediums for transmitting information and ideas that are less evanescent than newspapers and airwaves; biweekly and monthly publications provide a more permanent form of communication and have greater impact than newspapers which are rarely retained in a home over a period of time. Canadian magazines began covering the visual arts during the nineteenth century.⁵¹ The longest running example is Saturday Night, established in 1887. During the 1920s however, the journal medium began to flourish, particularly with the inception of Canadian Forum in 1920 and the Maclean-Hunter publications Mayfair and Chatelaine in 1927 and 1928, respectively. At the time the venues for publishing art criticism were scarce. It would be over a decade before Canada had a national art journal with the transition of Maritime Art into Canadian Art in 1943.⁵² Reviews and criticism of Canadian art could be found only in unspecialized journals. Canadian Forum, Chatelaine, Mayfair and Saturday Night were four Toronto-based magazines aimed at an English-speaking middle to upper-class readership. Although these magazines all exhibited some Toronto-bias, they generally purported to be national in scope. It was these four journals along with daily newspapers that were sources for art writing in Canada during the 1930s. These

⁵¹For example, Canadian Illustrated News,(1862-4;1869-1883), Canadian Magazine(1871-2; 1893-1939), Massey's Magazine(1882-1897), Canadian Courier(1906-1920)

⁵²Maritime Art was founded in 1940 as the journal of the Maritime Art Association and became extant in 1943.

commentaries were generally in the form of columns, one to two pages in length, which reviewed recent exhibitions. Reproductions of paintings, prints and drawings were also used for illustrations and magazine covers.

According to Claire Richter Sherman, in Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979, women as amateur practitioners of the arts paved the way for women as interpreters of the visual arts. The proportion of women journalists and writers during the 1930s was quite high, authorship being a professional avenue long considered socially acceptable for middle-class women. Writing involved private rather than public contact; women could acquire the skills necessary for publication and could work from the home. These women were largely self-educated and had broad interests. Writings by women reached wide audiences through journalism.⁵³

By 1930 there were a number of women writers and critics in the arts in Canada including Blodwen Davies, C.C. MacKay and Jehanne Bietry Salinger. Women as art critics achieved a power in print that allowed them a voice in the external "professional" realm normally reserved for men. By this time, women critics had ceased to focus exclusively on the amateur arts traditionally associated with women. Their analyses were not limited to 'feminine' subject-matter, but concentrated instead upon professional contemporary artists. The emergence of women as critics paralleled a similar surge in the number of women artists, many of whom eventually became members of the Canadian Group of Painters. During the 1930s these women artists were featured on the pages of Mayfair, Saturday Night, Chatelaine and Canadian Forum. Furthermore, reviews were

⁵³Sherman, p. 435.

seldom separated into gender categories; writers integrated their analyses of works by male and female artists. With few exceptions the reception of artwork by women over the decade was extremely positive.

In 1927 J.B. Maclean released the first issue of Mayfair, edited by J. Herbert Hodgins. The early Mayfair content was more a composite of society and women's pages found in Canadian daily newspapers than a woman's journal. Throughout its existence it retained the format of a society magazine rather than adopt the existing model for women's magazines -- short stories, recipes, advice and fashion.⁵⁴ The women represented in Mayfair were not simply doting housewives of hearth and home, they were the society elite, active in the metropolitan communities over which they presided. At first Mayfair was not even considered solely as a woman's journal -- it wished "to interpret the life and interests of Canadians in their most gracious moods."⁵⁵ The name of the magazine conjured up London's West End neighbourhood adjoining Belgravia east of Hyde Park and the exclusive society of the British Empire. It sought to "present the pageant of Drama, Fashion, Literature, Art, Society and Sport as it touches or amuses our own people across the dominion."⁵⁶ Members of the social elite who had formerly basked in the reflection of the social whirl in New York and London, now had a publication of their own addressed to the leisure time interests of Canadian families whose wealth enabled

⁵⁴Apart from the already established Canadian Home Journal this model was followed by numerous American women's magazines.

⁵⁵Sutherland, p. 157.

⁵⁶Mayfair, 1 (May 1927): 1.

them to live agreeably and interestingly. In 1940 Maclean Hunter biographer, J. Rutledge wrote:

Let the Philistines babble as they might 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 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'.⁵⁷

With discreet gossip, photo features on costume balls and royalty, horsy brides and lissom horses, show rings and badminton courts, Mayfair sought the upper and, it was hoped, spendthrift end of the market or those with aspirations to another way of life. At first it succeeded, growing to 150-page issues within two years.⁵⁸ Rutledge affirmed this positive response proclaiming that the people for whom the publication was planned, loved it. Additionally, he observed that a publication loved by any group was assured of the interested attention of advertisers.⁵⁹

The art content in Mayfair during the thirties consisted largely of reproductions of portraits by associate members of the Royal Canadian Academy and the Ontario Society of Artists. Kenneth Forbes, Randolph S. Hewton, Archibald Barnes and Dorothy Stevens were among the contributors. The function of these portraits was dual. The 'society

⁵⁷J. Rutledge, "History of Maclean-Hunter" [c. 1940] Maclean Hunter Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, A-4-1 Box 38.

⁵⁸Sutherland, p. 157

⁵⁹Rutledge.

portraits' were obviously included to please the upper echelon readership -- members of Toronto society who were actually able to commission portraits during the Depression. They also served to promote the work of the artist. As a woman artist Stevens, in particular, was supported by Mayfair; her photograph was featured in 1932.⁶⁰

Mayfair's "Ottawa Letter" and "Toronto High Noon Gossip" columns covered exhibition openings. These shows were also recorded in 'picture features' where reproductions of works from exhibitions or artist societies were interspersed with text. Additionally, many artists contributed the monthly cover illustrations; works by Ricardo, Glory Merritt, C. R. Wilcox, Ronald McRae and Franz Johnston were frequently featured. Other artists represented included: Elsie Deane, Helen Anderson, Markley, S.H. Maw, and Alice Bradshaw. Work by these artists also appeared in the form of graphic illustrations that accompanied articles.

Articles actually focusing solely on art were rare. "Nudes in Revival" documented with illustrations and text a renewed interest in the nude female figure.⁶¹ The article began with a quote by Dr. Johnson, "I like their beauty. I like their delicacy. I like their vivacity, and I like their *silence*."⁶² This text had been placed beneath a painting by John Russell of a female figure cropped to "study the nude" from the waist down. It was framed by reclining 'odalisques'. The objectification of the female body resulting from the juxtaposition is startling, yet parallels standard messages concerning feminine beauty and

⁶⁰"Dorothy Stevens ARCA, OSA," Mayfair, 5 (September 1932): 29.

⁶¹"Nudes in Revival, Mayfair, 5 (November 1932): 26-7, 52.

⁶²*Ibid*, 26, emphasis in text.

appearances conveyed to the readership in the rest of the magazine. Russell complained to the writer about the inadequate training of younger men, who had not completed a painstaking study of the human figure. Furthermore, the reader was made aware that models were plentiful despite their daily occupation in a shop or office, and that a premium was placed on the unclipped head. (The "bob" of the thirties was not the desired coiffure for nude studies.) Hence, the division of gender between artist and subject was made distinctly clear. It is most ironic, therefore, that it was women artists, such as Prudence Heward, Lilius Newton and Dorothy Stevens, who would continue to receive critical coverage for their depictions of the female nude figure.⁶³

In 1932 and 1933 photographs were featured of women artists who were Associate members of the Royal Canadian Academy--Dorothy Stevens and Elizabeth Wyn Wood.⁶⁴ The portrait of Elizabeth Wyn Wood, by Violet Keene, entitled "Sculptress of the Future," was featured with accompanying text. According to the writer, Wood's friends and admirers "feel instinctively that the contribution which she is making to Canadian art will be more readily estimated and appreciated in the 1950s than in the 1930s."⁶⁵ The portrait which included one of her recent sketch models, was displayed at the Royal Photographic Society's salon in London. Another woman in the arts who

⁶³In the 1970s a reversal of this artist-subject relationship was effected by women artists like Jennifer Dickson and Charlotte Wilson Hammond who depicted male nudes. In contemporary fine or graphic art, a similar juxtaposition of figure and text would incite debate amongst feminist scholars.

⁶⁴"Dorothy Stevens, ARCA, OSA," *Mayfair* 6 (September 1932): 29; Violet Keene, "Sculptress of the Future," *Mayfair*, 6 (September 1933): 17.

⁶⁵Keene, p. 17.

warranted a biography, was art collector Helena Rubinstein whose status among the social elite was in keeping with the general tone of the magazine.⁶⁶

Saturday Night, which served a mixed readership, also covered the world of society women and encompassed a wide variety of topics including regular articles on the art world during the 1930s. From its beginning as a news magazine in the late 1880s, Saturday Night covered current events, contemporary issues, political commentary, business and finance, fashion and travel, short stories and poetry in addition to reviews of art exhibitions and reproductions of art. Grace F. Heggie wrote in her index to Saturday Night that the “magazine represents, throughout its first fifty-year period, a defined and influential segment of the Canadian population - upper middle class English-speaking Torontonians.”⁶⁷ Heggie went on to note that Saturday Night “remained based in Toronto, but under the editorship of Frederick Paul, from 1909 to 1926, its coverage became national in scope.”⁶⁸ Bernard Keble Sandwell began his almost two decade editorship in 1932.

By 1930 “World of Art” was a regular column in Saturday Night that focused on exhibition reviews. Women were also frequent contributors to the arts coverage in Saturday Night. Blodwen Davies and C. C. MacKay contributed to Saturday Night as art critics from 1928 to 1931 and from 1927 to 1931 respectively. MacKay developed the column “World of Art” which ran from 1930 to 1931. Then Nancy Pyper as Lucy Van

⁶⁶“Helena Rubinstein,” Mayfair, 8 (May 1935): 99.

⁶⁷Grace F. Heggie and Gordon R. Adshead, eds. An Index to Saturday Night: The First Fifty Years 1887-1937, (Toronto: Micromedia Ltd., 1987), p. 5.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 6.

Gogh continued the same column regularly from 1933 to 1935. Finally the mantle passed to Graham McInnes who assumed responsibility for the "World of Art" byline after that date, with Paul Duval also writing art criticism for the magazine in the next decade.

In her 1930 review of the annual National Gallery Canadian Exhibition, Blodwen Davies wrote that "women painters of Canada stood out conspicuously as a group. . . They revealed themselves as experimenters of vision and courage, painting broadly and powerfully. They were represented in all the groups, Montreal, Ontario and British Columbia."⁶⁹ Davies proceeded to list the women artists who contributed from each area of the country and comment on their works. She also singled out Prudence Heward's Rollande, an "unforgettable study of a French Canadian girl in which she displayed not only technical skill and breadth of treatment but keen analytical sense as well."⁷⁰ This article seems to parallel Jehanne Bietry Salinger's National Gallery review in the Canadian Forum of the same year, which also placed much emphasis on these outstanding women artists.⁷¹

C. C. MacKay(Constance) published a number of reviews of recent exhibitions in Saturday Night in her column "World of Art". MacKay utilised only her initials in her articles, so her gender was not identifiable to the reader. In the "O.S.A. Exhibit" of 1930, MacKay supported the work of the Canadian women artists. She singled out the work of Yvonne McKague,

⁶⁹Blodwen Davies, "A National Picture Show," Saturday Night 45 (1 February 1930): 3.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Jehanne Bietry Salinger, "Comment on Art," Canadian Forum 10 (March 1930): 209.

whose canvasses display an almost brutal strength, a determined sombreness and unescapable pessimism. Every line of the composition, every brushstroke, every touch of colour express unfailingly her vision of a ruthless changeless eternity. Yet there is nothing of the literary in this atmosphere of pessimism -it is a purely aesthetic emotion she creates. She is certainly one of the notable painters.⁷²

Her vocabulary here, which included terms generally associated with male art production like "brutal strength,"⁷³ serves to transgress semantic barriers common in the description of art by women. A month later her review of the Group of Seven found some contributions by its members disappointing. Again she discussed the work of women artists preferring the nudes of Prudence Heward to those of Edwin Holgate, whose work she described as less significant.⁷⁴

Instead of focusing on Canadian art, Saturday Night often emphasized European and American art exhibitions at the Toronto Art Gallery. For example, a work by Vermeer was the principal exhibit in 1930. Hence his piece The Geographer was described in detail by MacKay. In the last sentence MacKay also mentioned a "display of small tasteful works by Clara E. Hagarty, Marion Long, and Mary E. Wrinch" at the new Eaton Galleries.⁷⁵ The consideration of these two items in the magazine reflects the hierarchy of origin (European over Canadian) and of gender then current in society at

⁷²C. C. MacKay, "O.S.A. Exhibit," Saturday Night 45 (15 March 1930): 39.

⁷³Tippett argued that male critics could only find merit in the work of women artists that possessed "masculine" strength. She cited as evidence Bertram Booker's description of the "masculine strength" of Yvonne McKague Housser, Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, 1929, p. 105. MacKay was maintaining that linguistic hierarchy; subverting by appropriation to a feminine voice. Furthermore, MacKay praised other women artists who did not fit the male descriptions, like Pegi Nicol and Marion Long.

⁷⁴C.C. MacKay, "Group of Seven," Saturday Night 45(12 April 1930): 15.

⁷⁵C.C. Mackay, "World of Art, A Work by Vermeer of Delft in the New Eaton Galleries," Saturday Night 45 (30 October 1930): 31.

large. This differentiation was further emphasized in a small separate column entitled "Women First Exhibitors In New Eaton Gallery". Although these women were the 'first' to be exhibited in the new gallery their work was not considered on its own merits but was compared to that of their male counterparts. The anonymous reviewer commented that Wrinch (Mrs. George A. Reid) created landscapes drawn on "rugged but beautiful bits of Algoma" but these were "more gentle and poetic than impressions brought by most male painters".⁷⁶ Here the terminology returned to painting qualities defined by gender. The younger generation of women artists (Heward and McKague) were more frequently situated outside of a specifically feminine linguistic context in critical rhetoric.

By 1933 Lucy Van Gogh had taken over the column entitled "The World of Art". Lucy Van Gogh was a pseudonym for Nancy Pyper, who was also Director of Hart House Theatre.⁷⁷ As a professional in the arts community, the use of a pseudonym allowed her to voice her own opinion more freely in writing. Her approach followed the format established by C.C. MacKay, but the content at times was more controversial and her criticism of artists, art and art societies could be very penetrating and acerbic. In 1933 Van Gogh when referring to the furore that had erupted during the past year concerning Eric Brown and the National Gallery, stated the "painters of the Dominion were no longer

⁷⁶"Women First Exhibitors In New Eaton Gallery," Saturday Night (30 October 1930), reference courtesy of Natalie Luckyj.

⁷⁷Evelyn McMann noted that Who's Who originally thought Lucy Van Gogh was Bernard Keble Sandwell, then the error was corrected: she is actually Nancy Pyper, born in Londonderry, Ireland and Director of the Hart House Theatre during the thirties. The first female director, Pyper also wrote drama criticism, advocated opening theatre to all classes and the creation of a National Theatre for Canada, see Evelyn McMann ed. Canadian Who's Who Index (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

divided into a Group of Seven and a Group of Hate."⁷⁸ In her writing she favoured the newly formed Canadian Group of Painters and wrote disparagingly of the lack of inspiration and technical accomplishment at the 1933 Royal Canadian Academy show. She also tackled the Academy on the subject of the nude. Van Gogh mocked the prudery of the Canadian art world. She noted that academicians avoided the nude which an "outside critic must consider very peculiar about Canadian art".⁷⁹ Not only did the conservative Academicians avoid the nude, but other exhibitors had found it necessary to go about it with circumspection. Henri Fabien(Ottawa) "got approval of a very exacting Paris jury before submitting Dancer Exercising Nude" and "Dorothy Stevens confines her nudes to the coloured races, about which the hanging committee possibly feels less reluctance."⁸⁰ Van Gogh clearly expressed her opinion on the conservative attitude toward depictions of the human figure, which continued to cause controversy in the Toronto art world for a decade.

Although MacKay and Van Gogh supported women artists in their writing, art by women was not reviewed uncritically by women. Exhibitions were reviewed in terms of individual artistic merit; gender groupings and patronising rhetoric were absent, yet women did not escape criticism. In 1934 Van Gogh had written that the OSA painters

⁷⁸Lucy Van Gogh, "World of Art," Saturday Night (30 December 1933): 16. Elizabeth Wyn Wood defended NGC Director, Eric Brown in a debate which had played out on the pages of Canadian Forum (March 1933): 226-229. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁷⁹Ibid. Her European background may have provided her with this slightly more worldly perspective.

⁸⁰Ibid.

were doing "what they wanted to do rather than what fashion told them to do"⁸¹ but a year later Van Gogh was not impressed. The OSA show received a review similar in tenor to her earlier critique of the RCA. Van Gogh commented that one show looked considerably like another and "competent" was a word that could be used to describe many.⁸² She wrote of the continuing obsession with landscape among members of the Canadian Group of Painters, successors to the Group of Seven. "Miss McKague and several other exhibitors are thoroughly competent about dead trees; we believe they would be just as competent about dead teeth, and we hope it is not an outworn romanticism that keeps them off that subject."⁸³ She noted a comment by a Mr. Panton in the catalogue that general trends were perceived only over a long period and added that in the "OSA the trend for years has been competence," but if there was now a trend for something better, it had not gone far enough to be visible.⁸⁴ VanGogh never held back from voicing her opinion and over the course of this review disapproved of each contributing artist.

Not only were women artists frequently included in exhibition reviews in Saturday Night, but articles profiling women artists were also featured during the thirties. Davies submitted "Canadian Sculptress Wins French Honors" in 1930, which highlighted the work of Miss Kathleen Wallis, a Canadian-born artist, working in Paris.⁸⁵ Van Gogh also

⁸¹Lucy Van Gogh, "Art World, the O.S.A.," Saturday Night, (10 March 1934): 21.

⁸²Lucy Van Gogh, "World of Art," Saturday Night, (9 March 1935): 15.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Blodwen Davies, "Canadian Sculptress Wins French Honors," Saturday Night 45 (22 February 1930): 15.

noted the death of "one of the foremost British women artists," Louise Jopling-Rowe, who exhibited at the Royal Academy of the Paris Salon.⁸⁶ However, this mention of a famous woman artist was partially structured as a society announcement -- she was cousin of an Arthur Rowe of Hamilton. Also featured in the section "People Who Do Things" in the year 1934 and 1935 were Elizabeth Wyn Wood and Pegi Nicol. Then in 1936 Dorothy Stevens, Florence Proctor and Jacobine Jones were the subject of two admiring "World of Art" articles.⁸⁷ These articles stressed the achievements and talents of women artists. In fact the segment on Nicol stated:

Women occupy a strangely prominent position in the realm of the fine arts in Canada. Aesthetic creation in painting and in sculpture has usually been a field dominated by men: neither in great Britain nor in France will you find as large a proportion of the well-known artists of the nation to be women. . . A surprisingly large number of young women . . . have persisted through art school and continued afterwards to keep their talents in the visual arts alive.⁸⁸

The unidentified writer was well aware of the successes of Canadian women artists and Saturday Night duly celebrated their accomplishments.

In 1928 J.B. Maclean founded yet another magazine to cater to the interests of Canadian women. Chatelaine, subtitled "A Magazine for Canadian Women," was all-encompassing in its editorial mandate. It included crafts, sewing patterns, food, recipes,

⁸⁶Lucy Van Gogh, "The World of Art, Canadian Group," Saturday Night (2 December 1933): 24.

⁸⁷See "People Who Do Things" Saturday Night (1 December 1934): 16; (9 February 1935): 34 and Graham McInnes "World of Art" Saturday Night (8 February 1936): 9; (5 December 1936): 28.

⁸⁸"People Who Do Things" Saturday Night (9 February 1935): 34. The writer also observed, "It may be that painting, except for portraiture, is not yet a profession that stands independent in Canada, that men who in other countries would have turned to the fine arts have not been attracted to them here." Interestingly the reverse effect also seems to occur over the ensuing years: the increasing dominance of men in the arts appears to correlate with the decrease in coverage of women artists in arts journalism over the next two decades. More recently the lack of professional status for certain careers (education, nursing) has been linked to the feminisation of these professions.

stories, poetry, cosmetics, housework and gardening. Rather than aim specifically at the upper middle-class, Chatelaine clearly targeted a more middle-class audience than either Mayfair or Saturday Night. However, in this case, the magazine was edited by a woman, Byrne Hope Sanders from 1929 to 1942 and again from 1946 to 1951, and there were occasional articles on current events, women's issues, social reform and the Depression.

One of the most provocative Chatelaine art review articles was contributed by Blodwen Davies, in 1930. There she attacked the members of the Royal Canadian Academy as a patriarchal 'old-boys club' of Canadian painting.⁸⁹ However, the brunt of her attack was blunted because few of the oppressors would have been among the readership of "Canadian Women of Brush and Chisel" in the June issue of Chatelaine. The article documented the fifty years during which the Academy had excluded women in contrast to the large proportion of women artists in the fifth anniversary Canadian exhibition at the National Gallery. Davies expanded on her earlier observations published in Saturday Night in which she found the work by women to be so significant that it constituted one of the chief features of importance in her analysis of the show. She added that, curiously enough the only correspondents in Ottawa for the opening of the big Canadian exhibition were three women, representing several important Canadian publications. It is most likely that one of these correspondents was Jehanne Bietry

⁸⁹Blodwen Davies, "Canadian Women of Brush and Chisel, A surprising and absorbing chronicle of achievement that few Canadians realize," Chatelaine (June 1930): 9, 42-3. Davies' article was very much in keeping with the content of Chatelaine during the 1930s. Lotta Dempsey, Agnes McPhail and Edith Kerr Hamilton all contributed to its feminist discourse. One of the most controversial pieces, Mederic Martin's suggestion that 'women go home' to leave jobs for men, unleashed fury among women readers, see "Can You Shackle Woman Again?", Chatelaine (November 1933): 26, 44. The readership response indicated that Davies' stand against the RCA would also have been strongly supported.

Salinger of the Canadian Forum; the other may have been Pearl McCarthy of the Toronto Mail and Empire.⁹⁰

Canadian Forum originally grew out of the Rebel a journal published at the University of Toronto, but during the 1930s it was affiliated with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the League for Social Reconstruction. Hence it did possess a socialist editorial board.⁹¹ During the 1930s Canadian Forum was a broad reaching magazine that included news articles, literature and poetry. It deemed itself a "monthly journal of literature and public affairs". From the very beginning Canadian Forum possessed art content with the inclusion of original illustrations by the Group of Seven. By the 1930s Fritz Brantner, Henri Masson, Bertram Brooker, Paraskeva Clark, Marian Scott, Pegi Nicol, Gordon Webber and Jack Shadbolt had joined the ranks of the original seven as contributing artists.⁹² Contributors were both male and female, although the editorial board was wholly male, and men predominated in political and academic articles.

In 1929 Canadian Forum began to run a monthly column titled "Comment on Art" which included reviews, upcoming exhibitions, art theory and criticism. Jehanne Bietry Salinger wrote this column in Canadian Forum from its inception until 1932. Then Pegi

⁹⁰Davies praised Prudence Heward's exhibition of "Rollande"(as did Salinger) and the fact that there were thirty female exhibitors.

⁹¹For the history of the Canadian Forum see Sutherland and J.L.Granstein and Peter Stevens, eds. Forum: Canadian Life and Letters 1920-1970: Selections from the Canadian Forum (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1972).

⁹²Sybille Pantazzi,"Notes on Some Canadian Magazines and Their Illustrations, 1900-1940," in McKenzie and Williamson, eds. The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada , p .2 .

Nicol contributed to Canadian Forum from 1934 to 1936 and was Arts Editor in 1935.

During the mid-1930s Donald W. Buchanan and Robert Ayre also contributed occasional articles pertaining to art.⁹³

Jehanne Bietry Salinger possessed a cultivated background and brought a more internationally informed viewpoint to Canadian art. As the regular art writer for the Canadian Forum, her column would have been well known among the academic/arts community. Her unique perspective enabled her to identify problems--specifically the discrepancy between the traditional art practice in Canada and its relation to the world stage. She also remarked upon the lack of criticism of any of the "arts" in Canada in favour of the "Canadian is good" principle. Salinger made up for this void in her own writing and could be quite scathing, especially towards the 'deadwood' of society art.

However, she was very supportive of the innovators in Canadian painting, particularly the emerging women artists, many of whom later became members of the Canadian Group of Painters. Salinger felt that the 1930 exhibition at the National Gallery demonstrated that Canada had "already reached a point of intellectual and emotional crystallization significant enough to create a native art expression."⁹⁴ She first mentioned two women, Prudence Heward, of Montreal, and Emily Carr, of Victoria, who were described as the two glories of the exhibition. Heward's Rollande, exhibited for the first time, was the outstanding painting of the show as well as a complete and beautiful achievement as a purely Canadian art expression, inspired by environment and local

⁹³Articles by Buchanan and Ayre appeared from 1933 to 1936.

⁹⁴Jehanne Bietry Salinger, "Comment on Art," Canadian Forum 10 (March 1930): 209.

colour; "No work presents better the elements that help us formulate Canadian painting."⁹⁵

Her review of Emily Carr's work was later quoted by Harris in a letter to Carr in 1930.

Salinger had called her Indian Church "the most daring painting of the whole exhibition" and Harris named Salinger as "the best person of all 3 sexes[sic] writing on art in Canada today" and added "I don't know whether we can make any inroad on [your] innate modesty but the weight of the best opinion in the country on art (sure, I include myself) ought at least to increase your desire to work or to give you more joy in it."⁹⁶ It seems that Salinger's role as an authority in the field and her enthusiastic support had a significant effect on the confidence of artists during the period, particularly Carr, who was discouraged by the reviews of her work in the west.

Robert Ayre's criticism in 1933 of the RCA echoed that of Jehanne Bietry Salinger; he found the Academy lacking by comparison with the Canadian Group of Painters. The academicians were "being left farther and farther behind" by younger men and women who brought "new energy and new vision."⁹⁷ Ayre mentioned male and female artists including Heward, McKague, Newton. In response to the removal of nude paintings from the academy exhibition Ayre's opinions corresponded with those of Lucy Van Gogh in the pages of Saturday Night. He asserted that the "philistines who insist on confusing art with morals must be overthrown . . . Lilius Newton and Richard Taylor have

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Lawren Harris to Emily Carr, March 1930, Emily Carr fonds, MG30 D215, National Archives of Canada(N.A.C.), Ottawa, photocopied from original in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

⁹⁷Robert Ayre, "Canadian Group of Painters," Canadian Forum 14 (December 1933): 98, 100. See also Donald Buchanan, "Naked Ladies," Canadian Forum, 15 (May 1935): 173.

joined Giorgione, Archipenko, Max Weber, Bertram Brooker, and Edwin Holgate in being hurried down to the cellar by these horrified guardians of public squeamishness."⁹⁸

As art contributor for Canadian Forum Pegi Nicol, wrote after the second exhibition of the Canadian Group of Painters in 1936, "close on the heels of the Group of Seven come Heward, Savage, Comfort, Clark, Schaefer and Pepper".⁹⁹ As Davies and Salinger had earlier, Nicol brought painting by women to the forefront. In fact in this particular review she focused on only the women Heward, Savage, Clark, McLaughlin, McKague and Courtice. She asserted that Heward's The Negress belonged with Lismer's September Gale and Thomson's Jack Pine among others, that Savage advanced through a metamorphosis from "belief in picturesque Quebec to belief in the sensuousness of paint itself" and that in Clark was "troika bell mirth and gloom and above all a serious attitude towards art." Nicol asserted that these women artists produced work of quality comparable to that of the Group of Seven. Isabel McLaughlin, Yvonne McKague, Rody Kenny Courtice were identified as "three women true blood sisters, the feminine branch of the original stock." She went on, "They have a masculine painting manner also true to tradition. Our art is a masculine art."¹⁰⁰

Nicol clearly defined the gender hierarchy in Canadian art wherein the Group of Seven were the 'masters' and these women artists represented the female contingent of that style. Ironically in order to validate the quality of their work she utilised the term

⁹⁸Ibid. p. 100.

⁹⁹Pegi Nicol, "Passionate Snow of Yesteryear," Canadian Forum 16 (April 1936): 21.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 21.

"masculine" as the significant indicator of its excellence. Thus, in order to cross the patriarchal boundaries women were not only to adopt the traditional painting style of men, but define art itself as masculine. Despite this overarching definition of "our art", including one presumes, herself as an artist, Nicol did not restrict her writing to a male frame of reference. She proceeded to compare McLaughlin's recent work, which she praised rapturously, with that of Georgia O'Keeffe. Hence these women were not placed solely within the male canon of mentors and influences, but compared to successful women artists of other countries.

Definition of women artists in a male framework continued to plague the genre intermittently throughout the period. During the late 1930s Helen Kemp Frye began writing for Canadian Forum, she contributed articles from 1938 to 1947 and served also as Art Editor during that period. In 1938 Frye wrote a biographical article on Yvonne McKague Housser in a style similar to a series on ten artists featured by Graham McInnes a year earlier.¹⁰¹ However, her gendered-neutral commentary was in direct contrast to the following quote from a patronizing biography of Marion Scott offered by McInnes:

I have no wish to arouse the ire of those readers of the FORUM who are not numbered among my own sex; but the fact remains that women, when they tackle the creative arts, have an exceedingly hard time of it. Due to various reasons into which I have neither the time nor the ability to inquire--reasons biological, social and environmental--they cannot (except perhaps in literature) wrestle successfully with the greatest creative problems, and emerge--as men occasionally do--triumphant.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹Helen Kemp Frye, "Yvonne McKague Housser," Canadian Forum 18 (September 1938): 176.

¹⁰²G. Campbell McInnes, "Contemporary Canadian Artists: No. 10---Marian Scott," Canadian Forum, 17 (November 1937): 274.

Although McInnes could not substantiate the reasons for his claims or considered it a waste of his time, nonetheless, he managed to reiterate the stereotype concerning the abilities of women artists and in so doing underlines the social constraints on women artists reflected in the popular press. Whereas, Frye documented Housser's extensive training, travel in the north and exhibitions with the OSA and Canadian Group of Painters.

In 1982 Griselda Pollock and Rozsika Parker observed that literature on women artists had employed a 'feminine stereotype' and it was the attribution of a pervasive femininity that justified a complacent judgment on women's innate inferiority in the arts.¹⁰³ Pollock has since asserted that it is art history's exclusive linkage of creativity to the masculine that locates the feminine, through textual strategies and ideological formations, as a passive, beautiful or erotic object.¹⁰⁴ Evidently adhering to this ideology of masculine creativity, McInnes went on to categorise practising women artists accordingly, "faced with the creator's problem, most women take one of two courses: either they are completely enchantingly feminine, or else valiant, impersonal, cold fury masks their femininity, which nevertheless comes through, as a sort of re-agent, suffusing everything they do."¹⁰⁵

Scott was not the only woman artist who was the object of his condescension. Paraskeva Clark's work, according to McInnes, had "two qualities unusual in a woman

¹⁰³Griselda Pollock, "Women, Art and Ideology," Visibly Female: Feminism and Art Today Hilary Robinson ed. (London: Camden Press, 1987), p. 206.

¹⁰⁴Pollock, Vision and Difference, p. 91.

¹⁰⁵McInnes, p. 274.

painter--extreme sensitiveness and wiry strength". The quality of strength in painting was directly related to male physical strength by McInnes and he evidently had difficulty applying this adjective to female painters. However, sensitivity was a strange quality to pinpoint, because one would not think of it as distinctly male; the quality of emotive sensitivity in women was seemingly on a different plane than that found in fine art production. McInnes' assertions completely contradicted the views propounded by women critics during the preceding decade in the Canadian Forum and other journals.

Helen Kemp Frye approached Housser's work as an artist, rather than relating her art directly to her gender. As teacher at the Ontario College of Art, Housser had gained her fundamental ideas about the forms and shapes of Canadian landscape from her colleagues the Group Seven. However, Frye distinguished her work from that of the Group of Seven, who often dealt with Canadian wilderness landscape. Housser included a sense of human settlement with her landscapes. Frye cited Housser as probably the first to paint Cobalt and the industrial life of northern mining towns, in a way that was "less interested in analyzing the Canadian scene than [in] showing how human beings adapted themselves to it,"¹⁰⁶(see plate 1)

In addition to Pegi Nicol other women artists wrote about art. Historically few women artists published art writing, yet these women were entering, debating and creating a discourse.¹⁰⁷ In a nation-wide controversy, sculptor Elizabeth Wyn Wood

¹⁰⁶Frye, p. 176.

¹⁰⁷Recent scholarship has begun to investigate women artists writing in the public and private sphere. Mara R. Witzling observed that it is especially difficult for a woman artist to trust the validity of her own thinking in part, because of Western culture's representation of woman as Other, an individual whose experiences have been granted only marginal status, see Mara R. Witzling ed., Voicing our Visions: Writings

defended the National Gallery in the Canadian Forum. She asserted that art functioned to enrich life, and the work of artists supplied the commodity necessary for this end. The gallery on the other hand, was constituted to collect landmark works, rather than inventory all fine works.¹⁰⁸ In a later debate women artists were equally vocal. Sculptor, Wood, argued in print with Frank Underhill over the role of the artist in Canada, and Paraskeva Clark added a rebuttal that decried the lack of social and political awareness in art.¹⁰⁹ Wood and Clark were very active in situating themselves and their work within the current criticism, a role generally accessible only to male artists.

Despite the high ratio of women critics during the thirties their prominence was brief, primarily during the early part of the decade--in history they went unnoticed. In the exhibition catalogue, Canadian Painting in the Thirties, Charles Hill included a section titled "Critical Support for new Directions" in which only Donald Buchanan, Graham McInnes and Robert Ayre, male critics for Saturday Night and Canadian Forum received mention.¹¹⁰ Even though women did play an active role in criticism during the

by Women Artists, (New York: University Press, 1991): 6, also Wendy Slatkin, The Voices of Women Artists, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1993).

¹⁰⁸Elizabeth Wyn Wood, "National Gallery" The Canadian Forum (March 1933): 226-229

¹⁰⁹Frank Underhill's review of Bertram Brooker's Yearbook of the Arts in Canada in the Canadian Forum 16 (December 1936): 27-8 was followed by Wyn Wood's "Art and the Pre-Cambrian Shield" 16 (February 1937): 13-15. Paraskeva Clark with Graham McInnes responded in "Come out from behind the Pre-Cambrian Shield" New Frontier (April 1937): 16-17.

¹¹⁰Charles Hill, Canadian Painting in the Thirties, (National Gallery of Canada, 1975): 12-13. Hill did acknowledge that the artist Pegi Nicol also contributed to the Canadian Forum. Women were acknowledged for supporting their own cause as artists, not as critics: but as members of the "Women's Art Association which organized regular exhibitions being especially effective in sponsoring the work of women artists from

1930s, they were not included in the list of influential voices; like the majority of women artists they were left out of the canon. By their absence, women critics actually on the cutting edge remained unrecognized.

Although the exact nature of the influence of these women critics upon women artists is difficult to discern, the overall reception of work by women artists in their writing was positive and encouraging, and it certainly gave publicity to work by women. Furthermore, the very inclusion of art by women amongst the reviews of male artists indicated an acceptance of women into the contemporary Canadian art world.

Although the thirties were very unprofitable for artists as whole, there were a large number of women producing and exhibiting art, and this was reflected in the high proportion of women artists covered by male and female critics in the four periodicals. Mayfair and Canadian Forum also functioned as mediums for the reproduction of art by contemporary graphic and fine artists during the thirties. Graphic art frequently provided the income to support fine artists and these included many women.

However, the periodical press also records instances of the lack of acceptance of women artists as exemplified by Graham McInnes' stereotypic articulation of the obstacles to women artists. It is clear that women were active as arts contributors to both women's and general interest periodicals during the 1930s. Furthermore, some women were involved in aspects of editorship and merited listing on the masthead. However, the name that appeared at the top of the masthead was always a man

regardless of the intended readership of the periodical. The only variance in this trend took place during World War II, when Eleanor Godfrey was the Managing Editor of Canadian Forum.

The reason for the prevalence of women in the print media may have been the result of a number of factors. Canadian women were officially declared 'persons' in October of 1929 and finally attained more power within the legal system. Their involvement in politics continued into the thirties, a period of active political interest, when women artists like Paraskeva Clark stirred the social awareness of the public. During the Depression marriage rates dropped and birth rates declined.¹¹¹ More young women sought employment as an alternative to marriage and the acceptance of middle-class women entering the work force increased. However, in employment patterns there were some restrictions placed on married women who were not self-supporting, and popular opinion dictated that available jobs went to men.¹¹²

In New Day Recalled Veronica Strong-Boag asked what happened to women in Canada after the vote was won.¹¹³ Although a decade later they were officially declared persons, limitations on their status seemed to multiply in the ensuing decade. Recurring male unemployment and misogynist critics made it difficult for women during the Great

¹¹¹Susanna Jane Wilson, "The relationship between mass media-content and social change in Canada: An examination of the Image of Women in Mass Circulation Canadian Magazines 1930-1970" (Phd. diss., University of Toronto, 1977), p. 68-9.

¹¹²Wilson, p. 144.

¹¹³Veronica Strong-Boag, New Day Recalled Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada 1919-1939, (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), p. 1.

Depression to advance their second-class status in employment.¹¹⁴ There were frequent calls for women, particularly married women, to give up their jobs for unemployed men.¹¹⁵ A woman supervisor for Canadian Pacific Telegraphs, explained that she didn't tell a soul about her marriage during the Depression because the CPR was not employing married women - in fact, they periodically checked local marriage registrations.¹¹⁶ The popular press presented these conflicting messages to women. Stereotypes were conveyed to the reader through stories, articles and advertising in the periodical press,¹¹⁷ yet art criticism on the whole refused to validate the more traditional messages. Both in terms of critical content and in terms of the validation of their gender, women played an active role. These women writers also had the advantage of practising their profession in the home and thus may have been able to avoid restrictions for women in the workplace during the Depression.

In the 1940s the proportion of art writing in Mayfair, Saturday Night, Chatelaine, and Canadian Forum altered dramatically. According to one historian, "the war years pinched the length and paper quality of all magazines."¹¹⁸ Only, Mayfair increased its coverage on the arts; while Saturday Night continued publication, the

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 44.

¹¹⁵Beth Light and Ruth Roach Pierson eds., No Easy Road: Women in Canada 1920s to 1960s, (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1990), p. 279.

¹¹⁶Although her husband was the editor of a Vancouver newspaper, Mrs. Kelly really needed her job. "The supervisor was making \$40 a week but the editor was bringing home exactly \$18.50 cash." Mrs. J.N. Kelly. "My private view of public relations," Mayfair, 29 (March 1955): 36-7.

¹¹⁷In her study Strong-Boag refers to advertisements aimed at the female consumer in Chatelaine during the thirties which emphasized male power and female appearance.

¹¹⁸Sutherland, p. 161.

column "World of Art" ceased to exist; and Canadian Forum reduced its art content.

There was also a shift in reception of art by women, which seemed to be partially initiated by the journal for which it was written and also by the changing perceptions of the male critics. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard wrote that in America,

the narrow window of opportunity for women artists that had briefly opened during the economic hard times of the 1930s quickly snapped shut again in the forties, with the emergence of the critical apparatus that supported the Abstract Expressionist movement and its macho mystique -- to which women artists were automatically denied access.¹¹⁹

Although the Canadian art world was not the centre of this avant-garde movement, the same ideas were influential, and these overall trends for American women artists appeared to be mirrored in Canadian art journalism.

In Mayfair there was an increase over the decade in art subjects particularly towards the end of the war, while portrait reproductions decreased. The shift in focus may have been a result of the lack of "society" interest during World War II, even the thoughts of society women were turned to good works for the war effort, and some were transformed into prominent career women. A 1942 article featured "Career Women" including Byrne Hope Sanders, former editor of Chatelaine, and proclaimed that the suffragette rivalry of the sexes did not exist; rather than "striving to keep them [women] out of positions, men of this generation were seeking their help."¹²⁰ Mayfair recognized this change in national consciousness with their war coverage including women in the work force. However, another man, Ronald Hambleton was hired as

¹¹⁹Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, The Power of Feminist Art (New York: Harry N. Abram, 1994) p. 13.

¹²⁰Gladys Arnold, "Career Women," Mayfair, (June 1942): 24-5.

assistant editor in 1944 and his art articles publicized the work of male artists on victory loan posters and as war artists.¹²¹ Mayfair still celebrated the lives of the rich and famous: Helena Rubinstein's penthouse was once again featured when a selection of works from her collection were to be shown in Toronto.¹²² Hambleton commented on this facet of the magazine in his autobiography to say only that "I did not care much for the snob appeal of Mayfair."¹²³

With the decline in portraits by RCA members came an increase in art writing in Mayfair: women artists appeared more frequently as did reviews of their solo and group shows with the Canadian Group of Painters. Presumably this was partially an editorial effort to target the female readership. An article featuring Edna Taçon epitomized this change. The 1944 exhibition of her works at the T. Eaton Fine Art Galleries was the basis of an in-depth article which profiled her work. "Painting No Object" deemed verbal commentary necessary for the justification of her compositions.¹²⁴ Dudley Dell also contributed a considerable number of articles including biographies of Emily Carr and Alice Bradshaw. When the death of Emily Carr in 1945 prompted renewed interest in her work in the media, Dell retold the story of the much criticized artist in the context of her memorial exhibition at the Art Gallery of Ontario. Constance MacKay described the eccentric characteristics of the "rather lonely woman of genius" who left a valuable,

¹²¹See "Artists Dramatize the New Victory Loan," Mayfair (October 1943): 18-9; Ronald Hambleton, "Four Flying Artists," Mayfair (May 1944): 20-1.

¹²²Dudley Dell, "The Rubinstein Collection," Mayfair (March 1944): 42-3, 75.

¹²³Hambleton, p. 64.

¹²⁴"Painting No Object," Mayfair (November 1944): 79, 84

but cluttered estate that was in the process of being settled.¹²⁵ Although female she was clearly placed within the popular "secluded artist" archetype.

Mayfair also expanded its art coverage geographically by featuring articles from the east and west coast. "New Brunswick Artists" highlighted the first anniversary of the Art Centre in Saint John which had welcomed 10 000 visitors. "Touring wives should be happy to know that they need not be lonesome while their husbands are battling the mighty Restigouche salmon. They can always browse around the Cody gallery and bring home a few trophies of their own."¹²⁶ Constance MacKay contributed articles on art from the west coast. She now utilised her first name rather than just initials, perhaps because she was now writing in a woman's magazine, and her articles were much more political than those in Saturday Night fifteen years earlier. In "Masks of Mystery" she deplored the loss of Indian artifacts from Canada to private collections because museum institutions were not willing to take them. She began the article with the statement, "the Native Indian carvings of British Columbia are among the most important artistic productions of this continent, and certainly the most important works of sculpture in Canada."¹²⁷ In "Down with Depopulation" she wrote about the

¹²⁵Dudley Dell and Constance MacKay, "Portrait of Emily Carr," Mayfair (October 1945): 44-5, 74, 89, 91.

¹²⁶"New Brunswick Artists," Mayfair (July 1947): 48-9. Hence, the viewing of art galleries and purchase of art objects was an activity reserved for the feminine gender.

¹²⁷Constance MacKay, "Masks of Mystery," Mayfair (July 1946): 44-45.

Vancouver Labour Arts Guild which intended to save democracy through the arts and stimulate the arts by making them "socially and politically conscious."¹²⁸

Additionally, during the 1940s there was much more arts coverage from Quebec; the Montreal group of modern painters received a fair amount of coverage in Mayfair. An exhibition at the Eaton Fine Art Galleries was publicized with artist statements, and biographies of eight Quebec artists were published in 1944.¹²⁹ Paul Duval, art critic for Saturday Night, asserted in a 1948 Mayfair article that "painting in Montreal today is more alive than any place else in Canada."¹³⁰ Nancy Rankin was one of the Montreal contributors, who in 1944 submitted a review of the Dutch Art at the Art Gallery of Montreal and an extensive article on the Bouchard Family of Quebec.¹³¹ Marie Bouchard was a Baie St. Paul folk artist, included in the list of eight Quebec artists published a year earlier. Her "primitive" art had just begun to achieve fame particularly among "smart Americans"; so Rankin visited the artistic "habitant" family in the remote countryside. The charm of the artist's naivete and background was emphasized for the urban elite reader; her early death, before the story went to press, magnified its significance.¹³² Although generally outside the realm of fine art - folk, handicraft,

¹²⁸Constance MacKay, "Down with Depopulation," Mayfair (February 1946): 46-7.

¹²⁹"The Artists Speak," Mayfair (May 1944): 70;"Eight Quebec Artists," Mayfair (November 1944): 82. Marie Bouchard and Louise Gadbois were the women artists featured.

¹³⁰Paul Duval, "Storm Centre of Canadian Art," Mayfair (July 1948): 68-9, 102-3

¹³¹Nancy Rankin, "Dutch Treat," Mayfair (March 1944): 28-9, 46; Nancy Rankin, "La Famille Bouchard," Mayfair (December 1944): 38-9, 105-6, 108.

¹³²As an artist Marie Bouchard was integral to the development of folk art in Canada; her work was included in Russel Harper's catalogue People's Art: Naïve Art in Canada (National Gallery of Canada, 1973-4).

decorative, and graphic arts were considered suitable for inclusion in women's magazines. Not only were they traditionally categorized as 'minor arts', but they were more directly associated with the home. As Rankin notes Bouchard's work became the focus of interior design, "Americans had built rooms around her pictures, introducing pine furniture hand-made, carved provençal design, or matching her colors with strong hand-blocked prints, creating a setting to match the study vitality of her canvases."¹³³ After the end of the war, interior decoration became increasingly important in magazines intent upon accessing the homemaker as consumer.

Although Duval contributed an article to Mayfair in the 1940s his primary focus was the arts coverage in Saturday Night. In 1947 Duval elicited debate from women artists in his critique of Edna Taçon.

I would like to make casual mention here of the deep seriousness with which Miss Taçon takes her work. In some countries this would seem to be a rather idle remark to make about a woman painter, but in Canada most women who exhibit paintings are non-professional ladies who paint during the holidays as a pastime. There have been few exceptions to this; but, for the most part, our women painters, up to date, have looked upon painting as another form of club-going, a practice which has lowered the quality of a number of Canadian art annuals for some long time now, and, at present, looks as though it might ring the death-knell to one patent 'progressive' group.¹³⁴

A rebuttal promptly submitted under the title "The Woman Artist" by Peggy Brisby and Anne Sanders took exception to Duval's "unfair and incorrect" statement. "Those who feel they have some contribution to make to painting must put their art before personal considerations and take it with the deep seriousness which moulds the whole pattern of

¹³³Rankin, p. 39. The majority of Chatelaine's art content adhered to this home-centred categorization of appropriate subject-matter.

¹³⁴Paul Duval, "New Qualities Mark Art of Edna Taçon," Saturday Night, 62 (1 February, 1947): 10.

life. . . For those of us who exhibit annually a matter of 50 or so pictures, it obviously could hardly be possible to accomplish this merely as a means of social distraction."¹³⁵

One cannot help but think that Salinger or Van Gogh would have heartily disagreed with Duval's assertions. Except through letters to the editor, women no longer contributed art writing to Saturday Night. This lack of a female authority publishing on art added force to Duval's public depreciation of women artists.

However, Duval was soon to be disproven. In April of 1947 the Canadian Women Artists exhibition at the Riverside Museum, New York mocked his observations. Duval realised his blunder and in his review of the exhibition began by way of apology:

having, upon occasion, deplored the social-status element and clique-consciousness which have sometimes existed in feminine art circles here, I now welcome the opportunity of paying tribute to the abilities of a rather large group of Canadian women painters.¹³⁶

Hence, the women artists succeeded in at least temporarily proving their abilities in the art media despite the supposed preponderance of male criticism.

For the most part, Chatelaine included little coverage of the arts during the 1940s. Art was sold by women's groups to raise money for the war effort and a market for Canadian handicrafts in the United States was identified. "Art gets off its Pedestal" detailed the opportunities for "young-marrieds" to acquire Canadian art through picture

¹³⁵Peggy Brisby and Anne Sanders, "The Woman Artist," Saturday Night, (8 March 1947): 10. It is ironic that on the same page was published an letter from a woman chemist in response to "Is it Home Sweet home for Women Who Want or Need a Job" documenting the inequitable treatment of women in her profession. Women in other professions were patronised and restricted by patriarchal power structures.

¹³⁶Paul Duval, "Canadian Women's Art Being Shown," Saturday Night, (26 April 1947): 2.

loan programs. Women artists had been actively involved in the Kingston Conference in 1941 and continued their involvement in artists' organisations as documented in Chatelaine. Contributor, Liz Gairdner, cited the emergence of the "Canadian Arts Reconstruction Committee," made up of town planners, architects, painters, engravers, sculptors, decorators, authors, etchers, handicraft artists and potters as evidence of the continued role of women in the development of an arts council. "Their secretary - brisk, forceful Elizabeth Wyn Wood, ARCA" asserted that this collection of organizations was unified in their promotion of Canadian art.¹³⁷ Clearly, Wood was an important and articulate spokesperson for the committee.

Rody Kenny Courtice, Bobs Coghill Haworth, Isabel McLaughlin, and Yvonne Housser were featured in "4 Women Who Paint" by Thelma LeCocq. The beginning of the article focused on a comparison of "absurd [self] caricatures" the women displayed in their recent group exhibition, to their actual appearances. However, LeCocq also identified their status as professional artists "instead of talking about bridge and exchanging recipes, they carry on what would be to the uninformed, a completely unintelligible conversation, about composition, tempera and mixed technique."¹³⁸ Presumably, the rest of Canadian women, readers of Chatelaine, partook in the former.

Kemp Frye remained at Canadian Forum into the 1940s. In "Portrait of the Artist in a Young Magazine" in 1942 she commented on the decline in art content in Canadian Forum, "Of late years the tendency has been to illustrate articles with photos,

¹³⁷Liz Gairdner, "Art gets off its Pedestal," Saturday Night (January 1946): 11.

¹³⁸Thelma LeCocq, "4 Women Who Paint," Chatelaine (September 1948): 102.

but whenever possible pen or brush drawings have been used. The art section has definitely suffered, however, as of course political and social movement have had to take precedence."¹³⁹ Kemp Frye's observation foreshadowed the future of arts content in Canadian Forum. It was Mayfair and Saturday Night that became the primary popular sources of art criticism in the following decade.

Blodwen Davies contributed to the Canadian Forum book reviews, as well as articles on social and art issues from 1945 to 1948. Towards the end of the war political changes were afoot in the Canadian arts world and women were very much involved. In "Quickening of the Arts in Canada" Davies reported on the national plan for the arts that was taking shape in the arts community. She also referred to the active role of Wood stating that the work was done under the "leadership" of Elizabeth Wyn Wood. The Canada Arts Council which called for the recognition of the arts in Canada had at last been founded. The proposed National Arts Board would promote unity and be linked internationally with UNESCO.¹⁴⁰ It was women contributors like Davies and Gairdner in Chatelaine which gave publicity to the women active in this movement.

In the same year, 1946 Alice Rowe-Sleeman documented the role of the Women's Art Association over the previous fifty-eight years,

to unite artists, craft workers, and art lovers in a voluntary educational movement for the promotion of art in all its forms . . . Here is an opportunity for women wishing to help foster the arts in Canada, and to encourage youth in

¹³⁹Helen Kemp Frye, "Portrait of the Artist in a Young Magazine," Canadian Forum, 22 (May 1942): 54.

¹⁴⁰Blodwen Davies, "Quickening of the Arts in Canada," Canadian Forum, 26 (May 1946): 34-36.

building careers. With the war relegated to history, women's efforts can now be redirected to the advancement of the arts at home.¹⁴¹

In fact, women's efforts were now redirected to their own homes. However, many women did become involved in volunteer organisations fostering the arts.¹⁴²

Although two world wars opened up employment opportunities for women and myths about certain job categories labelled inappropriate for the female gender were slowly being destroyed many of these trends were reversed after World War II. Furthermore, in art writing, by the forties the majority of the women prominent during the thirties had disappeared from Canadian art criticism. Salinger left Canada to return to San Francisco in 1932. Blodwen Davies ceased regular publications of art criticism in Canadian journals. Pegi Nicol continued her work as an artist, but died in 1949. A younger generation of women critics did not exist to take their place, and art criticism again became a sphere dominated by men.

In the year following the war the participation of women in the labour force dropped by seven percent. The termination of day care support by the federal government was a ploy to ensure jobs for returning servicemen.¹⁴³ Women were shut out of factories and told to return to the home. It was this return to the image of woman as homemaker that was typified in the pages of Mayfair, Chatelaine, and

¹⁴¹Alice Rowe-Sleeman, "Women's Art Association," Canadian Forum, 26 (June 1946): 58.

¹⁴²Hope Stoddard protested the attempt to get women 'back to the home' after World War II by forcing women to quit jobs. Telling women to return to the home implied that if the wayward ones would be properly feminine those homes would materialize fully equipped with fond and affluent husbands. "No Women Being Hired," Canadian Forum, 26 (June 1946): 58-9. See Chapter III for further discussion of women's subsequent volunteer involvement in the arts during the 1950s.

¹⁴³Wilson, p. 74.

Saturday Night during the latter part of the forties. And it was this archetype that would continue to contextualize the art writing published in Mayfair and Saturday Night during the fifties.

Women in Art Writing: Mayfair and Saturday Night in the 1950s

Among general interest periodicals, two particular journals became the primary purveyors of art writing in the fifties: Mayfair and Saturday Night published regular art columns, and featured art images. Mayfair arts coverage evolved into a regular feature entitled "Gallery and Studio" which appeared each month from 1954 to 1957. However, it was not written by a single contributor. George Allison, Peter Francis, William French, Robert Fulford, Barbara Moon, Elizabeth Hay Trott and Kathleen Wittick all contributed.¹⁴² The article generally consisted of two half-pages of text with one or two black and white illustrations. Some issues featured a "Picture Preface," which consisted of a very short text accompanied by two pages of images. There were also other articles concentrating on the arts. Often biographical in nature, these focused on individual figures active in the arts, described in three to five pages of text together with photographs. "Picture Preface" occasionally covered recent exhibitions as did "Gallery and Studio"; however the art writing in Mayfair generally focused more on biographical reviews of particular artists or figures in the arts.

On the other hand in Saturday Night, Paul Duval more frequently reviewed current exhibitions. Often these reviews took the form of an "Art" page at the beginning of the magazine which dealt mainly with reproductions of works. These were similar to the "Picture Preface" pages in Mayfair. Duval also contributed articles about art and

¹⁴²George Allison(1955), Peter Francis(1954), William French(1954), Robert Fulford(1955-1957), Barbara Moon(1955), Elizabeth Hay Trott(1952, 1955) and Kathleen Wittick(1954). Peter Francis wrote the first "Gallery and Studio" in March of 1954. The majority of these journalists contributed occasional articles when the column was first developed. However, apart from Fulford, these contributors did not specialize in art writing, rather they contributed a variety of articles on other topics.

artists of approximately one to two pages in length including images. Andrew Bell and L.A.C. Panton wrote several art articles, Isabel C. Armstrong was among the writers of single articles and Ian Vorres began contributing at the end of the decade.¹⁴³ In Saturday Night women artists were seldom mentioned in the art section and art critics were predominantly male. Women artists appeared only at the back of the magazine, in the "Women" section, where Saturday Night regularly ran items targeting the female reader: "The Feminine Outlook", "World of Women" and "The Dressing Table". Topics considered suitable for the woman reader were chosen, and the content on these few pages mirrored Mayfair with fashion, advice, handicrafts, interior decoration and biographical articles. In addition to the artists featured in the "Women" section, other women involved in the arts were also featured in biographical articles.

The arts coverage in Mayfair indicates that women occupied a number of positions in the field. Some as professional artists contravened the fifties ideals, whereas other women aligned themselves with the prevailing societal emphasis on housewives as volunteers. The arts articles in Mayfair frequently profiled women artists, collectors and women's organizations. To a certain extent the arts-related topics mirrored the rest of the content of the journal. Many of the articles were in the form of career profiles or biographies. However, women artists and collectors were not considered conventional occupations for women; women in the arts were often contextualized as unique and rare.

¹⁴³Andrew Bell(1953-1955),L.A.C. Panton(1948-1954), Ian Vorres(1959-), Isabel C. Armstrong(1950). In addition to these occasional art articles, Paul Duval contributed throughout the decade. Bell also wrote for Canadian Art and Panton was Principal of the Ontario College of Art and Vice-President of the Royal Canadian Academy before his death in 1954.

Recent exhibitions of work by male and female artists were reviewed and despite the women's focus of the magazine, male artists and critics were frequently featured.

Nonetheless, many women working in fine art, craft and design, were included who would not have appeared in traditional art journals. Women who were homemakers, and therefore within the accepted paradigm of domesticity, were also covered in the arts writing. For example, "Gallery and Studio" and the column "Volunteers in Action" traced accomplishments of women in various community groups, so the activities of women volunteering in the arts were well documented.

Articles in Mayfair were not limited simply to painting; they included sculpture, as well as the so-called minor arts of craft, graphic art and design. The inclusion of these minor arts in Mayfair instead of in specialized journals reflected the hierarchy of mediums and barriers excluding women from the most exalted levels of art expression.¹⁴⁴

Both men and women contributed articles about art, however, there seemed to be a clear gender division between "fine" and "minor" art articles. Articles on high art were generally written by men, whereas articles about craft and "lower art" forms were more often written by women.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴Since the 1970s many women artists and writers have argued for a dissolution of the boundary separating craft and art. More recently scholarship has identified the link between craft and femininity as socially constructed. It has also revealed the problems associated with essentialist categorisations of craft with women, see Rozsika Parker, The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine (London: The Women's Press, 1984); Pennina Barnett, "Afterthoughts on curating 'The Subversive Stitch,'" in New Feminist Art Criticism, ed. Katy Deepwell, 76-86.

¹⁴⁵This was probably partially interest driven, as Fulford was primarily interested in writing on high art; additionally he was assistant editor allowing him to determine his column content.

During the 1950s in Mayfair there were nine articles devoted to women artists, whereas Saturday Night in the same period mentioned few women artists in their regular art column and the two women artists who were seen to merit a profile were placed in the "Women" section. The one exception was the Saturday Night review of the world premiere Rouart Collection in Toronto, which featured the works of Berthe Morisot. However, Paul Duval dismissed Morisot's works as "pale shades of the Impressionist masters" Manet, Degas, and Renoir, also in the collection.¹⁴⁶ There were definitely more role models to be found for aspiring women artists in Mayfair than in Saturday Night. And Mayfair contained more picture summaries and discussions of "minor arts" than articles about "high art." Women artists emerged in Saturday Night mostly in the "Women" section as amateur or handicraft artists. Mayfair art articles were more descriptive and biographical than the Saturday Night columns, which commented more frequently upon recent developments in the male preserve of contemporary art.¹⁴⁷

In Mayfair the larger proportion of women featured in the arts corresponded to the greater ratio of women editors and writers, whereas in 1950 in Saturday Night the only woman was the "Women's Editor", Bernice Coffey. The remainder were men. Mayfair clearly situated career women in relation to their biographical history and family

¹⁴⁶Morisot was cited as one of the women who "attached" herself to the French Impressionists; her relationship as student and sister-in-law to the great Manet was stressed. Two images by Manet were included with the article and referenced by Duval. "The importance of the collection hinges on a few great paintings by her contemporaries." Paul Duval, "Rouart Collection: Morisot and Her Circle," Saturday Night (4 October 1952): 13. Despite her European status and success within her own era, Morisot retained fame only by association with men.

¹⁴⁷Fifties modernism remained essentially a man's game. As Broude and Garrard observed, "In the pre-feminist 1950s and 1960s, it was rare indeed for a woman artist to find any place at all in the narrative of modernism." Modernist art critic Clement Greenberg rarely deigned to give women canonical status., p. 16

life.¹⁴⁸ Women were also mentioned in connection with traditional female pursuits, "minor art" forms and Ladies' Committees. Although logically, articles on women predominated in a woman's journal, male artists and collectors were also featured and these articles were often afforded a greater degree of coverage with more text and images. For example, one "Picture Preface" in Mayfair entitled "The Brush and Pen" discussed the Dutch Masters at the Toronto Art Gallery, and one of the Dutch reproductions was even featured in colour on the cover.

In terms of gender there also emerged a hierarchy of emphasis in content, as well as medium.¹⁴⁹ In Mayfair's coverage of the Dutch masters the images predominated in the "Picture Preface," including the cover work by Gabriel Metsu and its companion piece Writing a Letter, as well as The Merry Company by Jan Steen and The Letter by Jan Vermeer. (see Plate 2) All were 'genre' pieces of domestic interiors with subject-matter concerning women. In Mayfair the text stressed the social history of the paintings and the period. The examples reproduced represented the "ideal; not the fact" of the turbulent times. The same show covered in Saturday Night, was illustrated with reproductions of portraits by Rembrandt and Hals and two other artists.¹⁵⁰ Clearly,

¹⁴⁸Articles in Canadian Art did not necessarily focus on the women artists as "women"; difference from the patriarchal norm was not generally acknowledged.

¹⁴⁹"The Brush and Pen," Mayfair 29 (February 1955): 14. The Dutch exhibition was a landmark in 1955 and was also reviewed in Canadian Art. However, there was definitely a difference in their reviews of the show. The two images included in the Canadian Art review were portraits of men by Rembrandt and Frans Hals. Canadian Art included a much longer text which focused on connoisseurship. See Peter Brieger, "Dutch Painting - The Golden Age," Canadian Art 12 (Winter 1956): 115-117.

¹⁵⁰"Dutch Art Show Comes to Canada," Saturday Night (29 January 1955): 5.

Mayfair geared its articles to a completely different audience, presenting the images as "ideals" of domestic "life as it should be."

Women were also the subject of paintings in both Mayfair and Saturday Night. Representations of women were reproduced with reviews of art exhibitions, like the Dutch paintings, or as portraits. In Mayfair Zena Cherry contributed "What the Artist Sees in Women" which featured reproductions of portraits of women and recommendations for obtaining them from various Canadian artists.¹⁵¹ Women also provided the subject matter of a picture feature in Saturday Night. "Mother and Child in Canadian Art" included historical and contemporary religious images as well as Inuit sculptures.¹⁵² These images were all linked to the French-Canadian wood carving of a Madonna and Child on the cover. Yet, in Saturday Night a column entitled "Lady in the Background" Duval lamented the lack of images of women in Canadian art. He wrote, "down the ages, woman has been one of the great sources of inspiration for art. Draped, nude or in full fashion, she has provided centuries of western artists with their favourite subject."¹⁵³(see Plate 3) However, Duval did observe that men were not the sole creators of art depicting women. "Ironically about one-half of the noteworthy paintings of women have been done by women artists."¹⁵⁴ Duval pointed out that Plamondon, Hewton, Varley, Holgate and Lyman were equalled by Laura Muntz, Florence Carlyle,

¹⁵¹Four of the seventeen portraits featured were by male artists, see Zena Cherry, "What the Artist Sees in Women," Mayfair 28 (October 1955): 30-3.

¹⁵²"Mother and Child in Canadian Art," Saturday Night (25 December 1954): 5.

¹⁵³Paul Duval, "Lady in the Background," Saturday Night (3 September 1955): 35-7.

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

Lilias Torrence Newton, Prudence Heward and Pegi Nicol. This commentary is absurdly contradicted by the fact that of the reproductions included - by Dulongpré, Berthon, Lyman, Pellán, Macdonald, Hallam and Borduas - not one of the artists was a woman.

Duval cited the dominance of landscape painting in Canada as one reason for lack of feminine subject matter. He added "it might be worth noticing, however, that the four major figures of twentieth century Canadian painting--J.W. Morrice, Tom Thomson, A.Y. Jackson and Emily Carr--remained single."¹⁵⁵ The relevance of this link is unclear. Duval appeared to correlate the single status and prominence of the three male artists with their lack of interest in female subject matter. The role of Carr in this regard, as a woman painter, lacks logic. Duval continued, stating that "this de-sexing of art is, to me, an explanation of the overall weakness and confusion that reigns in world art today. Time will no doubt restore woman to her rightful place in the hierarchy."¹⁵⁶ Nor could Carr fit into this latter category even as a figurative painter--the implied position of women in the art hierarchy was clear--as object. The fact that this column by Duval was featured under the "Women" heading added another layer of meaning. Why had Duval not placed this column under his usual "Art" heading? Was the content intentionally linked directly with the fashion/beauty articles under the same heading so that it would appeal to the vanity of the reader? In his last sentence he counselled women against trying new beauty methods for improving their appearance in an attempt to rectify artists' disinterest in their image. Two years later an anonymous "art" picture

¹⁵⁵Ibid, p. 36

¹⁵⁶Ibid, p. 36

feature in Saturday Night seemed to refer to Duval's article when it noted that

"Canadian artists have been repeatedly attacked for not painting the human figure."¹⁵⁷

The author asserted that Canadians had concentrated on landscape and failed to recognize artists' studies of the human figure. The article championed the nude works by J.W. Morrice, William Brymner, Edwin Holgate and F.H. Varley all of which were representations of women, by male artists. Thereby, women were returned to their 'place in the hierarchy' not as professionals or as mere subject matter, but as objects of desire.¹⁵⁸

In its coverage of the "minor arts" Mayfair features "Gallery and Studio" and "Designs for Living" regularly reviewed and discussed exhibitions of pottery, carving and fabric design. Likewise, Saturday Night occasionally discussed craft and design in the "Art" section, as well as amateur and professional minor arts in the "Women" section. In "Gallery and Studio" Barbara Moon wrote about a touring show of ceramics on display at the Toronto Art Gallery which constituted the sole surviving evidence of an early American civilization. It was an exhibition of pre-Inca art and craft by the Mochican peoples, who were possibly the world's most superb ceramicists. Pottery was their prime mode of expression, as they had no alphabet or written record, and was "advanced to a technical level as high as any in history". Yet during the "rape of Inca treasure" the works were cast aside. During the early nineteenth-century curio-seekers began

¹⁵⁷"Art," Saturday Night (5 January 1957): 7.

¹⁵⁸Craig Owens, Beyond Recognition, Representation and Power (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992): 183, identified the masculine desire to fix the woman in a stable and stabilizing identity, and the subversion of this relationship by Cindy Sherman in the 1980s. Sherman placed herself in poses taken from 1950s and 1960s films and advertising, hence exposing and destabilizing the fictive image of women in the media.

searching out and preserving the scorned artifacts. An Argentine woman travelled to Peru and was charmed by the Mochican ceramics being uncovered. Her collection was later expanded by her grandson and finally, in 1954, acquired by Nathan Cummings, an American businessman and collector.¹⁵⁹ Thus, it was a woman who began the retrieval, although her name was never attached to the collection.

In the December issue of Mayfair an extensive article was included on the career of an Inuit sculptor. "Death of an artist" told the story of Akeeaktashuk, who had recently "lost his struggle with a spotted walrus."¹⁶⁰ Accompanying the article were two images of sculptures by Akeeatashuk. At the top of the article was a large reproduction of a man hunting with a harpoon. A smaller image depicted a woman with a tool, perhaps to clean skins. The text detailed the heroic story of Akeeaktashuk hunting the walrus; his wife and children awaiting his return on shore. Historically scholarship has resorted to the example of hunter/gatherer societies to argue general theories about the position of women in society.¹⁶¹ These models for gender relations assumed that men hunted so men dominated Inuit societies. In other words men controlled the public sphere, so men "worked," whereas women only exercised power in the private/domestic sphere.¹⁶² These assumptions were also congruent with the ethos that promoted the

¹⁵⁹Barbara Moon, "Heritage in Ceramics," Mayfair 29 (September 1955): 21-2.

¹⁶⁰R.A.J. Phillips, "Death of an Artist," Mayfair 29 (December 1955): 30-31.

¹⁶¹In 1990 Barbara Bodenhorn examined these assumptions in the context of the Inupiat. She found that the interdependence of men and women was fundamental to hunting. Hunting is a sacred act. The animals give themselves up to men whose wives are generous and skillful - "it is the woman to whom the animal comes". Barbara Bodenhorn "I'm not the great hunter, my wife is," Études/Inuit/Studies 14, 1-2 (1990): 57 and 61 respectively.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*

return to traditional gender roles during the 1950s. The proportional juxtaposition of the images included with the article defined the importance of the respective roles.

Furthermore, Akeeatashuk was heroicized as powerful and successful in accordance with the western art canon and linked with its contemporary and historical masters.¹⁶³

Akeeatashuk was compared to Moore, Malliol, and Leonardo da Vinci for his knowledge of anatomy.

In his review of a touring craft show at the ROM Fulford stated that the word, "craftsman" in the past had been defined as a "fine artisan, solid and sure but perhaps a little dull and behind the times." However, he claimed that lately the word suggested an exciting and individual artist who created "with his own hands and from his own designs - products that are as up-to-date as a chair by Charles Eames".¹⁶⁴ The use of male pronouns (standard at this period) further emphasized the gendered nature of Fulford's definitions. Yet, it was American craft expert Dorothy Giles whom he interviewed about the exhibition. She saw in the large response to the "Designer Craftsmen U.S.A." exhibition and in the quality of the pieces "visible evidence of the vitality of our contemporary craft production". In 1955 she stated in the interview,

Today with the machine age a century old, the crafts are reassessing their importance. Challenged by the machine, they are discovering a new usefulness and new leadership. They offer their adept new and exciting opportunities. These will be limited only by the craftsmen's failure to measure up to them. They

¹⁶³See Parker and Pollock, Old Mistresses Women Art and Ideology, and Whitney Chadwick, Women, Art and Society (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990): 9.

¹⁶⁴Robert Fulford, "They're Putting the Craftsman Back in Business," Mayfair, 29 (May 1955): 69.

will go on presenting themselves as long as man continues to be incurably curious, restless, and adventurous.¹⁶⁵

Of the three images included in the article only one photograph of drapery fabric was by a woman, Zelda Thomas of New York. The remaining two images -- a silver decanter by a man, and Philip Isaacson's rosewood bowl--exemplified what Fulford described as a "designer-craftsman combined in one man." Thus, the images perpetuate traditional gender divisions in craft, which reserved metal and wood work to men, and fabric design to women.¹⁶⁶

The extensive coverage of handicrafts in Mayfair not only reflected the gender of the artists involved in the "minor arts," but also assumed crafts were of greatest interest to those in roles of domesticity. Saturday Night validated the implied association of minor arts with women in Mayfair by placing articles on craft and design within the woman's section. For example, there were articles on a Scandinavian designer's exhibition at the ROM and a ceramicist, both of whom were women, the latter a German china painter. Moon also wrote in April an article for "Designs for Living" called "Truly Homespun."¹⁶⁷ Seven Canadian prints and weaves had taken top contemporary design awards in the National Industrial Design Council fabrics category. Canadian designers were beginning to gain acceptance over imports, both from the home owner and from

¹⁶⁵Ibid, p. 70.

¹⁶⁶The Bauhaus had followed these gender-based demarcations among mediums in the twenties and thirties: only the weaving workshop was taught by a woman, Gunta Stölzl and the Women's Department was put in place for female students to learn weaving and sewing rather than metalwork, carpentry and sculpture. See Anne Rowland, Bauhaus Source Book (Oxford: Phaidon, 1990): 82-3.

¹⁶⁷Barbara Moon, "Truly Homespun," Mayfair (April 1955): 65; "Design in Scandinavia," Saturday Night, (16 October 1954): 44-5; "Humor in China," Saturday Night, (8 May 1954): 34-5.

the decorator. Even in a commercial design field, formerly a male preserve, many of the prize-winning professional designers were women. Karen Bulow had a textile studio in Montreal and Micheline Knaff was a designer for J. and J. Brook's, both of whom won recognition internationally. Presumably this was because fabric design was a field in which it was more acceptable for women to excel, as a result of its connections to weaving and sewing, which had a long heritage as traditional female activities in the home. The title in itself suggests this, even though these artists were winning recognition for 'designs' more than the skill of the spinning and weaving itself.

Mayfair carried far more coverage of women active in the arts during the fifties than did Saturday Night. Mayfair featured profiles of six women professional fine artists: Jacobine Jones, Frances-Anne Arbuckle, Ursula Hanes, Hortense Gordon, Marthe Rakine and Ghitta Caiserman, whereas Saturday Night only featured Jacobine Jones, although, Paul Duval submitted a review of two exhibitions by women artists Mabel May and Paraskeva Clark to Saturday Night.¹⁶⁸ In her analysis of women's journals Gertrude Joch Robinson utilized the term "equal access" to denote articles which questioned occupational assumptions. Yet, she found that rather than question assumptions, journals cited women as "first" or "token," succeeding in a male domain. Mayfair and Saturday Night utilized this approach to construct an acceptable context for articles on professional women.¹⁶⁹ The positions of these career women may have been threatening

¹⁶⁸Jones (1898-1976), Hanes(1932-), Gordon(1887-1961), Caiserman(1923-), May(1884-1971), Clark(1998-1986)

¹⁶⁹Robinson, "The Media and Social Change: Thirty Years of Magazine Coverage of Women and Work(1950-1977)," 92.

to the norm, hence they were often contextualized as distinctive or unconventional. One of these "rare" women, Mrs. Franklin Arbuckle wrote one of a series of articles in Mayfair about wives of famous husbands. Unlike the rest of the contributors, Frances-Anne Arbuckle (nee Johnston) was a woman in the arts, for whom painting was far more than 'hobby'. She was a professional artist married to an artist. In her article "At home with an artist" the subtitle read, "Father belonged to the famed Group of Seven; the whole family occupied itself with art; Frances-Anne herself is an Associate of the Royal Canadian Academy and she married one of Canada's leading painters."¹⁷⁰ While the majority of the women contributors focused on their husband's careers, Frances-Anne Arbuckle outlined the history of her own family in addition to that of her husband. She also noted that since 1932 her pictures had been accepted at many important annual exhibitions and travelling shows.

Yet Frances Arbuckle admitted that as a child she had not wanted to be an artist. Her father's vigorous enthusiasms, ever-searching desire for change, and driven habit of continually working long hours impressed upon her the negative aspects of an artist's life.¹⁷¹ Frances Arbuckle also outlined the role her mother had played as the wife of a professional artist. "The former Florence Jamieson, patiently and happily followed her husband and also found the time to present him with four children."¹⁷² She continued,

¹⁷⁰Mrs. Franklin Arbuckle, "At home with an artist," Mayfair 29 (June 1955): 36.

¹⁷¹Ibid, p. 37.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 48. Evidently, Frances Arbuckle had not chosen her mother's lifestyle for herself. Yet, her mother had not remained a homemaker, either; instead she remarried and ran the Dorset Inn in partnership with her husband.

Despite my earlier determination to stay away from anything relating to painting, I decided to attend the Ontario College of Art, perhaps because my father was on the teaching staff. There I met a student named George Franklin Arbuckle.¹⁷³

Frances said that they had "an understanding" for the five years before their marriage in 1934. It was then that they moved to Georgian Bay where her father established a summer art school at which they both taught and Archie built a house. She spent six months of every year there and they lived entirely on Archie's earnings from painting plus his fees for evening teaching in the winter at the Northern Vocational School in Toronto. "Archie was doing a great deal of figure painting which was being sadly neglected in a period when most Canadian artists were concentrating on landscape."¹⁷⁴ Her discussion did not indicate whether she was continuing to paint or teach. It was not until the end of the article that Frances re-identified herself as an artist. She discussed their philosophy about art, "He feels - we both feel - that money must never be the central motive for an artist."¹⁷⁵

A later article in Maclean's by Barbara Moon shed more light on the difficulties Frances Arbuckle encountered as a mother and professional artist. Raising two daughters greatly restricted the time she had been able to devote to painting.¹⁷⁶ As was

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁷⁶Frances told how she was forced into painting interiors by the birth of her children and her husband said it was a shame that she did not get enough time to paint as she was a better painter than he. At the end of the article Franklin Arbuckle stated that two artists should not get married, or at least not have children, see Barbara Moon, "The Franklin Arbuckles," Maclean's Magazine (February 18, 1959): 20, 46-8. One of the problems encountered by artist couples was the debate concerning which partner got priority in terms of opportunities and career. Generally it was the professional career of the woman that suffered. Both Mayfair and Saturday Night articles attested to this imbalance, while encouraging its continuation.

common when discussing women in the arts, Mayfair articles positioned women in relation to male family members, husbands or fathers. In keeping with the Mayfair interest in society, the men were either successful professionals or artists themselves. Mrs. Franklin Arbuckle identified this labelling problem. She said, "People are apt to say, 'Oh you're Franz Johnston's daughter! No wonder you can paint.' As if knowledge of painting could be inherited like blue eyes or dimples."¹⁷⁷ However, in her article Frances Arbuckle made a point of including a female in the family that was very successful in the world of art. Mrs. R.E. Johnston, the widow of one of her uncles, had been in charge of exhibitions at the National Academy of Design in New York.¹⁷⁸

Karl and Laurretta Rix were another married couple, both professional artists whose careers were examined in Mayfair. A "Gallery and Studio" column by Robert Fulford featured their stylized linoleum plaques. Unlike the Arbuckles their work was a collaboration: Karl designed and Laurretta coloured. The second page of the column included a biography of Karl's twenty years as an artist. He had trained in Vienna, but as a Jew fled Austria in 1938. The reader learned little of Laurretta's background except that the two met at the Montreal School of Art and Design. The last paragraph again only discussed Karl's decision to give up commercial art. "He feels that they have advanced close enough to true art to make their financial loss entirely worthwhile."¹⁷⁹ Although their art was created in a balanced collaborative process it was Karl's expertise

¹⁷⁷ Arbuckle, p. 37.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Robert Fulford, "Linoleum is the Substance of Their Art," Mayfair 29 (June 1955):63-4.

and qualifications as an artist that were stressed. Furthermore, it seemed the social conventions of the day dictated that the husband either assumed or was accorded responsibility for career and financial decisions. Any mention of earning potential was likewise associated with men.¹⁸⁰

Articles in Mayfair about male artists also referred to the careers of wives who were involved in the arts or were artists themselves. For example, the reader learnt that Jean Horne, the wife of artist Cleeve Horne, was also a professional sculptor in her own right and member of the OSA. In addition to managing her house and her family and doing her own work she assisted her husband with his painting and statues.¹⁸¹ Similarly, the article on Jack Shadbolt featured a photograph of his wife, with the caption "Doris is a discerning critic and writer on modern painting".¹⁸² Although Doris Shadbolt's appearance was discussed and her "flare for clever clothes," so was the fact that she possessed a B.F.A. from the University of Toronto.¹⁸³ Jack Shadbolt also cited a women artist, Emily Carr, as having a profound effect on his work.

Art writing in Saturday Night did not discuss artists within the context of their family life. This may partially have led to the lack of coverage of women artists in Saturday Night as families were not considered to be within the realm of male concerns.

¹⁸⁰At the time it was considered that women only worked to supplement their husband's income and in the media the combination of housewife, mother and career woman was discouraged. Although there were drives for equal work for equal pay they were unsuccessful and paralleled by an increasing number of medical experts counselling women on their roles at home in child care, see Prentice, p. 306-317.

¹⁸¹Max Braithwaite, "Cleeve Horne: Success With Clay or Canvas," Mayfair 26 (July 1952): 42-3, 62-3. See also William French, "A Single Name a Twin Genius," Mayfair 28 (November 1954): 64-5.

¹⁸²Richard Lawrence, "The Man Who Paints Nightmares," Mayfair 25(December 1951): 57.

¹⁸³Ibid. p. 105.

Nor was home life seemingly of interest to Saturday Night readers. The "Women" section, on the other hand, occasionally featured women and their husbands involved with the arts as philanthropists, but no professional artist couples.

Additionally, in Mayfair there were articles focusing solely on the biographies of working women. These were written by both men and women. The articles documented the lives and successes of these women operating as professionals in fields that were not necessarily dominated by women. Two women artists employed at Mayfair were recognized in the "About Ourselves" column. In particular, the work of one woman appeared frequently. Of fashion artist, Jean Miller, Mayfair boasted that she was the top in Canada, and had her own company, Jean Miller Limited -- "her husband runs the business and she does the drawing."¹⁸⁴ In 1953 Elizabeth Hay Trott documented the role of some women in commercial art, including Miller, in the Monetary Times. Although the number of women graduates in commercial art may have equalled that of men, they dropped out of the race more quickly. Matrimony claimed the majority, making it more difficult for women who wanted to earn a living, as engraving houses and studios were reluctant to hire personnel, whom they suspected were headed for domesticity. It was more difficult for girls to obtain the necessary apprenticeship. Two of the larger Toronto studios were employing twenty-five to forty-five artists apiece; no more than three were women and these were confined to lettering and lay-outs. The 1951 Dominion Bureau Statistics on commercial artists indicated that men outnumbered

¹⁸⁴"About Ourselves," Mayfair 29 (May 1955): 8.

women five to one and the ratio of higher pay level was thirty to one. Trott acknowledged that a few women like Jean Miller had found a niche in fashion drawing.¹⁸⁵

Lisa Schmetz produced graphic illustrations for Mayfair which "lean strongly toward pure design, a style she has found since coming to Canada." The magazine described how, "at 29 Lisa is a shy, friendly, pink-cheeked girl" who in "anticipation of having to combine art and housewifery, has been experimenting with Canadian cookery". A small photograph of Lisa was included with the article.¹⁸⁶ But, the fact that Schmetz was young and headed for matrimony had apparently not prevented Mayfair from accepting her as an employee. Thus, design for a women's magazine was a career option for women working in commercial design, whereas other companies were not likely to employ them.

In 1955 a woman "designing genius" was featured in a nine page Mayfair article written by Robert Fulford. Tanya Moiseiwitsch was "the backstage star of Stratford" where she designed all the costumes and props for Julius Caesar and the Merchant of Venice. Based in London she had worked for the Old Vic and Royal Shakespeare Company. According to Fulford two top New York critics had formed a "two-man cheerleading team" for Miss Moiseiwitsch's "breathtaking" creations that "achieve a near-sculptured effect that fills the opening playing spaces perfectly."¹⁸⁷ The images accompanying the article included photographs of her at work and of her designs. The

¹⁸⁵Elizabeth Hay Trott, "The Art Business," Monetary Times (September 1953): 29.

¹⁸⁶"About Ourselves," Mayfair 29 (March 1955): 4.

¹⁸⁷Robert Fulford, "The Backstage Star of Stratford," Mayfair 29 (June 1955): 28.

costume department did not consist solely of women. One of the photographs showed her working with a male assistant, Ray Diffen described as "Tanya's head costumer". Moiseiwitsch was one of the few women in the arts actually featured by Mayfair outside "Gallery and Studio". The reason for the excellent coverage of her career may have been partially the result of her professional choice being one more commonly considered acceptable for women, in addition to its relevance for a fashion magazine.¹⁸⁸

In comparison, Moiseiwitsch was also the subject of an article in the "Women" section of Saturday Night. However, the content was in dramatic contrast to the Mayfair article. Rather than a summary of the professional career of Tanya Moiseiwitsch the writer focused upon the more 'feminine' topics of conversation of "interest to the readers."¹⁸⁹ Margaret Ness recorded Moiseiwitsch's appearance in detail for the reader and discovered that the designer did not have one particular favourite colour, nor did she have the time to design her own clothes or become a good cook "unlike many other people who like nothing better than to experiment in the kitchen."¹⁹⁰ Ironically, it was the male writer in Mayfair who had emphasized her professional career rather than her relation to the fifties stereotype. Obviously, Moiseiwitsch challenged the traditional homemaker archetype and the female writer for Saturday Night considered her disinterest in these matters rather unusual. However, Moiseiwitsch was widowed so she

¹⁸⁸Like Frances-Anne Arbuckle, Moiseiwitsch identified the problems associated with having a famous father. Her father Benno Moiseiwitsch, was an internationally renowned concert pianist; hence she was often referred to as "Benno's daughter".

¹⁸⁹Margaret Ness, "Theatre Designer," Saturday Night (27 June 1953): 33,36.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*

could not be considered to be neglecting her domestic role. This gave her more freedom for a professional career.

Fulford featured another woman in a Mayfair cover story. Anne Williams produced stained glass windows in her Toronto workshop of artists and a craftsman.¹⁹¹ Williams had pushed stained glass past its traditional boundaries into impressionism and symbolism; her work was esteemed by clergymen and architects. A top OCA graduate she struggled through the beginnings of her career during the Depression, but by 1954 had created over 250 windows. Williams worked long hours in her occupation, but did manage the time to keep an "eccentric" garden. "Miss Williams" was another woman who had succeeded as a professional artist; her single status made her unusual lifestyle acceptable. Two years earlier in Saturday Night Duval had also written an article on stained glass "artisans" but Williams' individual expertise was not highlighted so strongly. He outlined the history of stained glass production before noting at the bottom of the article that Williams was a very important designer and executor of stained glass. He listed five other stained glass designers, three of them women. Images of Williams' work were also reproduced with the article; however, that of Peter Haworth RCA was given priority.¹⁹²

A Mayfair "Gallery and Studio" article entitled "She Bakes Beauty on Copper," written by Elizabeth Hay Trott, told of the "handicraft" work of "comely young

¹⁹¹Robert Fulford, "She puts new life into stained glass," Mayfair 28 (December 1954):28-30, 86-7.

¹⁹²Paul Duval, "Artisans Revive Stained Glass Art," Saturday Night (12 April 1952): 13.

Francoise Desrochers-Drolet".¹⁹³ (see Plate 4) In the article the author devoted three paragraphs to the appearance of the tall, slender, blond, elegant artist. When discussing young women artists, it seems that it was necessary to connect their appearance with that of their art. Desrochers-Drolet was photographed seated in her studio working. The description of her subverted her status as professional artist; she remained object while maker. Nonetheless, the reader did learn that her work was selling extremely well throughout North America and that she was a pioneer in the craft of *émailage*. She had successful exhibitions in Montreal and New York, and her work was in numerous collections. Her designs "give the impression of light-hearted improvisations" and she "restricts herself to comparatively small pieces."¹⁹⁴

The latter statement situated Drolet amongst the practitioners of minor arts as the two prerequisites for 'high art' were that it be 'serious' and 'large'. In fact, she had exhibited in a context that was both serious and large and, she had won prizes three times at the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. As with Arbuckle, Mme. Drolet was deemed to have come by her talent "naturally" as her father was an artist.¹⁹⁵ In reality, she had undertaken extensive study and was among the most highly educated in her field. She had graduated from the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Quebec where she completed post-

¹⁹³Elizabeth Hay Trott, "She Bakes Beauty on Copper," *Mayfair* 29 (March 1955): 56. (my emphasis)

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 57.

graduate work in ceramics and travelled abroad before setting up her own atelier in Quebec City.¹⁹⁶

A piece by Derochers-Drolet was also featured in Saturday Night during the same month as the Mayfair piece. A page of prices along with images of work by artists appeared under the title, "Handicrafts of Quebec" in the "Women" section, although Derocher-Drolet was the only woman of the four sculptors featured. The four pieces in a variety of mediums, jewellery, ceramics and wrought iron, were all priced similarly at approximately twenty dollars. One handwoven item by Mrs. Marie Barcelo was also included, but this was priced at three dollars and fifty cents, a much lower price, which presumably reflected a hierarchy that also devalued women's traditional handicrafts.¹⁹⁷

The work of Francoise Derochers-Drolet had already been discussed in an earlier article by Robert Ayre that appeared in Canadian Art the previous year. Ayre praised her work and acknowledged her serious contribution to the spread of enamelling in Canadian colleges. However, Ayre went on to suggest that she would not reveal the details of her technique of combining silicate and metallic oxides, because "no doubt she could not tell" as they owe more to instinct and feel for the materials.¹⁹⁸ This seems a strange supposition to make about an artist who had completed post-graduate work in ceramics. Was he trying to validate her work as an intuitive artistic process rather than skill and appearance, or was he demeaning her technical intelligence as a woman?

¹⁹⁶Ibid.

¹⁹⁷"Handicrafts of Quebec," Saturday Night, (26 March 1955): 36.

¹⁹⁸Robert Ayre, "Enamels and Ceramics in Quebec," Canadian Art 11 (Spring 1954): 98.

In 1951 Mayfair printed an article which documented the production of the mural sculpture produced by Jacobine Jones for the Bank of Nova Scotia building in Toronto.

If you saw Jacobine Jones at a tea party and were told she earns her living as a sculptor, you'd almost certainly envisage her as a dainty figure in a pale green smock and a black velvet beret artistically chipping the figure of Narcissus out of a piece of purest alabaster.¹⁹⁹

In fact, the fabrication of her thirty by twenty foot sculpture was carried out in her studio by a crew of "husky men under the dynamic direction of a woman executive in grey flannel trousers."²⁰⁰ Eleven photographs accompanied the article which illustrated the various stages in the process. The images of workers and mechanical workshop interiors provided a clear confutation of the former stereotype articulated by the author, as did the description of her intensive year long effort. Her many accomplishments in sculpture in Canada and internationally, attested to her ability to create large scale commissions. Although the author succeeded in debunking the feminine artistic myth in relation to Jones, her appearance was still the initial point of comparison for her work--in the title, "Tiny Woman Produced Heroic New Sculpture" and in the text. Evidently, 'heroic' sculpture was generally identified with 'large' male artists. Furthermore, by situating her work in comparison to her size, the author emphasizes her 'unusual' status as a woman artist.

Duval contributed an article to Saturday Night later in the year after the installation of the mural by Jacobine Jones. Interestingly enough, this particular "Art and

¹⁹⁹"Tiny Woman Produced Heroic New Sculpture," Mayfair (May 1951): 50-5, 81.

²⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p. 51.

Commerce" article was placed in the section of the magazine devoted to women.²⁰¹ The editors obviously felt the subject-matter would appeal more to the women readers, but Duval paradoxically began the article with a statement about the importance of an alliance between Canadian commerce and art. His argument would seem to be addressed to the readers of "Gold and Dross" rather than "World of Women". His introduction to the Bank of Nova Scotia murals was markedly different from the appearance - conscious Mayfair article and seems to have assumed a different readership. However, Duval went on to include a similar resume of her education and previous commissions.

In Saturday Night as an adjunct to "World of Women", "Distaff" ran during the early fifties. It was a single column listing the accomplishment of women in Canada, including scholarships. It was here that Jacobine Jones' appointment as head of the sculpture department at the Ontario College of Art, Toronto, was briefly announced, "Jacobine Jones, CSS, OSA, Miss Jones was born in London, England; came to Toronto, in 1932 to see her sister and stayed. One of her pieces is in the Kelvin Museum in Glasgow; her ceramic "Flight into Egypt" is in the Ontario Museum."²⁰² The "People" section on the other hand was dominated by men.

Mayfair profiled another woman sculptor, Ursula Hanes. Besides learning that Hanes was "small" and "blonde", the reader was informed that the artist divided her time between portraits and semi-abstract compositions. Her three recent portraits of actors at

²⁰¹Paul Duval, "Modern Sermon in Stone," Saturday Night (21 November 1951): 44.

²⁰²"Distaff:" Saturday Night, (17 July 1951): 23.

Stratford had gained her a reputation in theatre circles. At the Cambridge School of Art in England where Hanes had studied, she was considered less than the class genius. In fact she was told plainly that her drawing was terrible. Although she had not been convinced it was that bad, she did realize it was different. A sculpture teacher finally explained that she drew like a sculptor and suggested she join his classes. After completing her program in Cambridge, Hanes studied at the Art Students League and Columbia University where she was trained by prominent American sculptors. Later, she completed a one-year course at the Toronto Institute of Child Study because she wanted to have a way to earn a living. She also learned jewellery-smithing because she wanted to earn money doing something that was close to sculpture.²⁰³ The need for Hanes to train in other fields indicates that it was not financially possible to pursue only sculpture; branching out into more traditional fields for women was necessary despite her impressive curriculum vitae.

The financial and academic concerns of Ursula Hanes were in rather stark contrast to the archetypal, young women in the fifties, eager for a life of domesticity. Hanes was completely independent and was not excessively rich; however, she was a single, not a married working woman. Hence, she did not have to divide her time raising a family and her story did not contravene the housewife norm accompanying motherhood. Although she had considered settling in England, she decided it would be possible to remain a sculptor in Canada. As the article was written, Hanes was off on a

²⁰³Robert Fulford, "Stars of Stratford Festival Pose for Young Sculptress," Mayfair 29 (November 1955): 78.

six month tour of Britain, France and Italy saying "I want to get in touch with what's happening in sculpture in the world. But I'll be back."²⁰⁴ It is interesting that in 1955 Hanes still had to go to Europe to see what was happening, even though America was quickly becoming the centre of the art world. In actual fact Hanes spent a year in Europe. Her 1957 curriculum vitae after her return to Canada stated that her year in Europe "gave me the opportunity to clarify my thoughts concerning the relationship between the trends developing in modern art today and the heritage of the past."²⁰⁵ Her globe-trotting as a working artist was in distinct contrast to the holiday, trips, and cruises written about and advertised for society women in Mayfair. However, Hanes' decision was in keeping with a strong emphasis in Mayfair upon European influences (with a special issue on London, fashion articles in Paris, and travel articles on Florence and Dublin), which still seems to have been ascendant in some quarters in Canada.

At the top of a Mayfair column about Hortense Gordon was a photograph with the caption, "A painter of everything from hurricanes to old boats, Mrs. Hortense Gordon of Hamilton, Ontario, reduces her subjects to bright powerful abstracts."²⁰⁶ No images of her paintings were shown, other than those visible in the background of her photograph.(see Plate 5) According to the article Gordon was a very independent young

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁵Ursula Hanes, Curriculum Vitae ,(16 August 1965), p. 2, National Gallery of Canada Artist Files, "I left Canada for Europe where I spent several months in London meeting sculptors such as Henry Moore and Reg Butler." In Rome, Florence and Milan she had the opportunity to meet many Italian artists and to work in a Roman bronze foundry, learning the skill of bronze casting.

²⁰⁶Robert Fulford, "The Modern Artist Who Has Painted for Half a Century," Mayfair 29 (April 1955): 81-2.

woman. At age sixteen after attending Saturday art courses, she left Hamilton for Chatham. "She announced she was an art teacher, set up a studio, and began teaching part-time."²⁰⁷ The writer continued, "One of her paintings was shown in the Royal Canadian Academy show. She married John Gordon, a staunch traditionalist twenty-five years her senior and they became known as the 'turbulent Gordons'". The conflict was over her style; they argued about modern painting. According to Hortense Gordon her husband stated, "'If she wants to paint in the modern way, she can.' But he never really approved."²⁰⁸ This statement indicates that it was "approval" women gained from their husbands in terms of their career and it implies that it was he who actually had the power to say whether or not she could paint in the way she pleased.

In the late 1930s Hortense Gordon's style extended to abstraction after a visit to the Museum of Modern Art. The 1993 retrospective exhibition of her work in Chatham pointed out that this was after John Gordon's death when she further developed her abstract work "without John's inhibiting presence."²⁰⁹ In "Gallery and Studio" in the 1955 issue of Mayfair Fulford described her recent exhibition with Painters Eleven. "Her colleagues, all of them at least two decades younger than she, were her most enthusiastic supporters."²¹⁰ Fulford expanded on Gordon's importance as a member of Painters

²⁰⁷Ibid., 81. According to the most recent Hortense Gordon exhibition catalogue, she was actually 18 when she left home and was living with an aunt and uncle in Chatham. Paddy O'Brian, A Dedicated Life: Hortense Mattice Gordon, (Chatham: Thames Art Gallery, 1993), p. 9.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 82.

²⁰⁹O'Brian, 15.

²¹⁰Fulford, 82.

Eleven, in addition to her recent solo exhibition in New York. He placed her at the cutting edge of modern art and titled the article "The Modern Artist Who Has Painted for Fifty Years." By 1955 Gordon was evidently an important and influential painter on the Canadian scene. In the Spring issue of Canadian Art that year George Elliot also mentioned the importance of Gordon's contribution to abstract art in Ontario.

I call it a gentle revolution because it may have begun during the First World War in Hamilton, Ontario with Hortense Gordon. At that time she was painting abstractions as non-communicable in their day as any canvas of Harold Town today. There is a mystic thread binding events from early Gordon to early Town. It is the thread of personal intensity, almost a violence, in contradiction to the controlled individuality of Milne, Varley or Oglivie.²¹¹

However in his article Elliot did not mention any of Gordon's more recent work or the fact that she had recently begun exhibiting with Painters Eleven. In reality, not only was she still very much a practising artist, but along with Town she was at the forefront of the abstract art scene in Canada.

Fulford also described Hortense Gordon's experiences sketching hurricanes. When state troopers arrived to evacuate her from a Cape Cod house she refused to leave her sketching.²¹² Although emphasizing her tenacity and dedication to her work, Fulford's description gave the impression that Hortense Gordon tended toward the eccentric. In fact, this was another characteristic found in the biographical writing in Mayfair regarding older independent women. It was the individuality and eccentricity of

²¹¹George Elliot, "The Search for Vitality in Ontario," Canadian Art 12 (Spring 1955): 95.

²¹²Fulford, "The Modern Artist Who Has Painted for Half a Century", 82. The canvas, "Hurricane Motifs" (1956) was in the 1994 exhibition in Chatham.

these women which set them apart from the mainstream. An article by Charles S. Band described Emily Carr in a similar manner.

Emily Carr was a very odd person. She was not one of the group. I met her in Victoria several times. She walked the streets with five dogs and cats at her heels and at home she had two monkeys, a parrot and some canaries. How she paid for their food I will never know because she could barely pay for paint and canvas. She was a genius, a most original and creative painter with tremendous drive.²¹³

Nonetheless, Band admired and collected her work; Carr was the only woman artist mentioned from his collection. It appeared that one way for women to gain acceptance and renown in the male dominated art world was to be considered unusual. Societal barriers made it necessary for women artists like Carr and Gordon to be independent and work in isolation from the art sphere. However, the label eccentric was sometimes abetted by the women themselves rather than completely the result of societal structures. In the Hortense M. Gordon catalogue Paddy O'Brian wrote, "by the late 40s Hortense had not only established a reputation as an eccentric, but immensely enjoyed working at it."²¹⁴

Other societal assumptions are evident in reports of Ghitta Caiserman's 1952 scholarship to paint in Mexico, acknowledged at the bottom of a Saturday Night article about male artist York Wilson. Duval stated there was little doubt she would "realize the award's aim: to develop 'latent possibilities of a student, especially as regards the

²¹³Charles S. Band, "I collect what I like," Mayfair 29, (April 1955): 57.

²¹⁴O'Brian, p. 19.

possible benefits he will receive from a year of study in Mexico'.²¹⁵ In Mayfair five years later Fulford profiled Caiserman in "Gallery and Studio". Fulford found that she achieved humanity in her painting. Her work was semi-realistic and she was firm in her belief in her own work despite the onslaught of abstract painting. Although Fulford disagreed with her argument about the comparative uselessness of non-objective painting, he acknowledged that the position she had adopted "produced some of the most pleasing art to be seen in Canada."²¹⁶ Interestingly, she cited her earliest influence as a little-known woman painter, Käthe Kollwitz.

In 1951 Duval reviewed shows by two women artists in his art column, titled, "A Late Debut; A 'Part-Time' Artist: Two One-Women Shows in Toronto." Mabel May and Paraskeva Clark, were "two of the ablest woman painters Canada has yet produced."²¹⁷ In comparison with Emily Carr, Duval found May's work bereft of epic personal experiments in technique or design, however she presented her own "encrusted brand" of Impressionism. According to Duval, May's long delayed first solo show at age sixty-six attested to her personal modesty as she had never considered herself 'ready.' Modesty seemed to be a recurring theme in fifties art writing about women, echoed in interviews with housewives who insisted that their husbands possessed the creative

²¹⁵The male pronouns deployed despite the gender of the winner imply that the new scholarship program was not instituted with women artists in mind. Paul Duval, "York Wilson: A Review," Saturday Night (12 January 1952): 14, 16. (my emphasis)

²¹⁶Robert Fulford, "The Realist's Argument," Mayfair 31 (April 1957): 73.

²¹⁷Paul Duval, "Canadian Impressionists: A Late Debut; A 'Part-Time' Artist: Two One-Women Shows in Toronto," Saturday Night, (17 April, 1951): 25.

expertise.²¹⁸ Clark identified herself as a homemaker, but had also pursued her career as an artist.

Paraskeva Clark calls herself a "part-time" painter. Being a housewife and mother, she fits her painting as best she can into her daily domestic routine. She paints the life she knows about her, and takes her themes wherever she happens to be: still-life from her kitchen, a view from the backyard, or Georgian Bay on a holiday.²¹⁹

Duval observed that her show revealed "within necessarily restricted limits" her portrayal of "the more muted moments of the passing scene." His description of her work seemed a far cry from her political paintings and writings of the thirties. Her active role in Canadian art during the past three decades was not mentioned. Instead Duval portrayed her first and foremost as the archetypal busy housewife, who happened to paint in her spare time. The reason for this incongruous image of Clark may be simply a reflection of Duval's patronizing critical interpretation of her work, or it may also indicate Clark's fifties viewpoint. Many women during the fifties painted themselves as happy homemakers in order to be accepted within the social mores of the time. Clark labelled herself as a part-time painter perhaps to fit this mold; but may also have been expressing her exasperation with familial demands on her time.

On one occasion a group show of work by women artists was featured along with a Saturday Night women's fashion spread. For the Easter parade on Toronto's "Fifth Avenue" paintings and sculptures were to be displayed in store windows. Works

²¹⁸Broude and Garrard, p. 15-16 discuss the subordinate roles modelled by women artists during the fifties and sixties. Working on the periphery they often functioned as "wife of" or facilitator for male artists rather than innovator.

²¹⁹Duval, p. 25.

by such "well known Canadian women" as Emily Carr, Florence Wyle, Jacobine Jones and Dora de Pedrey Hunt would be exhibited.²²⁰ A model was photographed posed in a shop window beside a sculpture of Saint Joan by Jacobine Jones. (see Plate 6) The juxtaposition of a medieval female hero and a fifties fashion model seems rather bizarre, yet in so doing the fashion industry succeeded in publicizing fine art by women artists. Ironically, it was only under these circumstances that a group exhibition of Canadian women artists made the pages of Saturday Night.

At least one woman curator was featured in Saturday Night, in an article by a woman critic. In the "Art" column Isabel C. Armstrong wrote of Mme Gauthier, curator of the Gatineau Park Museum. The museum extended "beyond the limitations of an art historical morgue" and had become a centre for the encouragement of artistic talent along the lines of weaving, designing, wood carving, needlework.²²¹ Gauthier became interested in folksong and handicrafts while studying violin in Budapest. In Canada Gauthier built herself a reputation as an expert and accumulated an arts and craft collection including Acadian, French-Canadian, West Coast Indian and Inuit examples. Although Gauthier was obviously an authority in this area, her professional role remained within the category of "minor" arts.²²² However, as an art writer, Armstrong

²²⁰"Fine Art and Fashion," Saturday Night (9 April 1955): 36.

²²¹Isabel C. Armstrong, "Perpetuity," Saturday Night, (14 March 1950): 29.

²²²Gauthier's placement in the hierarchy was clear when compared with the extensive coverage that outlined "the strong sense of mission" of the newly appointed Director of the National Gallery of Canada, Alan Jarvis. "Persona Grata: Is Art Really Necessary?" Saturday Night (21 January 1956): 11-12.

contributed one of the few articles on women in the arts that was an "Art" column rather than a column for "Women."

Another woman involved in gallery work was featured in Saturday Night. In 1952 Duval wrote about Montreal commercial dealer Agnes Lefort, "Exhibitor-Encourager"²²³:

One of the most effective forces in the Quebec art world is a *petite* and dynamic triple threat named Agnes Lefort. Tiny, finely-featured Miss Lefort has made her creative presence felt around Montreal for the past 20 years, first as an exhibiting artist and later as a venturesome art gallery proprietor.²²⁴

The focus of the article was her career history rather than her contemporary art gallery. Lefort had studied art in Montreal and Paris and worked in art education. As a teacher she had assisted Pauline Rochon with the establishment of the celebrated Art Centre of Ste-Adèle. It was the success of the centre that had given her the courage to launch her own gallery. Although, the "slender silver-haired" woman was contextualized in terms of her appearance, Duval's profile of her career recognized her growing importance in the Montreal art scene.

Mayfair did not generally address current issues or contain political discussion. However, Fulford's praise for Hortense Gordon's abstract work contrasted with a later article entitled, "He's betting \$250 000 against modern art". Barbara Moon outlined the position of Charles Greenshields, an amateur painter, who denounced the "squalor, ugliness, and obscenity" of modern artists by setting up a foundation for students of

²²³Duval's label "encourager" is analogous to the term Broude and Gerrard, p. 16 utilise to describe the role of women artists in the fifties -- "facilitators" for male artists. Similarly, the "leader painters" Duval listed that Lefort had 'encouraged' were all men.

²²⁴Paul Duval, "Exhibitor-Encourager Lefort of Sherbrooke St." (30 August 1952): 37.

traditional methods.²²⁵ Thus, critical debate within the Canadian Art world did reach the pages of Mayfair.²²⁶ The latter article was not found in "Gallery and Studio" but as an extensive feature, probably because Greenshields was wealthy, controversial, and male. Two years later Fulford wrote an article titled, "A few kind words about non-objective art" in which he pointed out that any idiot who said a few inane words about modern art was bound to get printed.²²⁷ This article was published to refute a similarly anti-modern argument just published by Graham McInnes in Canadian Art. Fulford granted that McInnes was a knowledgeable critic, but he had not considered the new concept of space.

The release of the Massey report in 1951 prompted L.A.C. Panton to ask in Saturday Night, "Does Canada Owe Its Artists a Living?". Panton asserted that the National Gallery was "inadequately housed, overworked, and undernourished" and that "artists have long been chilled by the inimical climate in which they must produce their work."²²⁸ However, not all contributors were so supportive of Canadian artists. Andrew Bell in "A Report on Canada's Contemporary Art" wrote with disgust that the "discreet Massey report was daring enough to proclaim that painting was the most advanced of our arts" but proceeded to pan the entire CNE art exhibition.²²⁹ He referred to the renowned Emily Carr as "short on craft" but "hot talk transcended an impediment

²²⁵Barbara Moon, "He's Betting \$250 000 Against Modern Art," Mayfair 29 (October 1955): 27-29.

²²⁶This debate received mention in "Coast to Coast" in Canadian Art. "Coast to Coast," Canadian Art, 12 (Summer 1955): 172; "Coast to Coast," Canadian Art, 13 (Winter 1956): 260.

²²⁷Robert Fulford, "A few kind words about non-objective art," Mayfair (March 1957): 46, 48.

²²⁸L.A.C. Panton, "Does Canada Owe Its Artists a Living?" Saturday Night (24 July 1951): 11, 26.

²²⁹Andrew Bell "A Report on Canada's Contemporary Art," Saturday Night (12 September 1953): 7-

of speech." Of the exhibitors the last two Bell mentioned were women. Yvonne McKague, a disciple of the Group of Seven was on her own at last because "all along she has given the impression that, if she chose to be exclusively her human and mystical self, she would prove both original and important."²³⁰ Paraskeva Clark "counts on intellect to do what a job which a simple expression of her romantic, feminine intuition could do infinitely better."²³¹ Romantic was hardly a descriptor applicable to Clark yet it was made clearly evident that intellect was not an admired quality in a female painter during the fifties.

Another exception to Mayfair's avoidance of controversy was an article by Fulford which contained in-depth interviews and discussion of the political upheaval in arts funding. In "What's Happened to the Canada Council" he wrote that the Massey Report's chief recommendation was a National Council to promote the arts, and four years have brought no action. He asked the question, "Does Canada still need an arts council?" of six Canadian experts in the arts. Representatives of art, music, drama, and dance all answered in the positive. The only woman included was Celia Franca, ballerina and director of the National Ballet, who asked "when will the government realize that without its sponsorship - subsidization, if you will - our growth will be slow and cautious, instead of healthy and fast?"²³² The significance of her inclusion was undermined by the commentary of Martin Baldwin, director of the Art Gallery of

²³⁰Ibid, p. 8.

²³¹Ibid.

²³²Fulford, Robert. "What's Happened to the Canada Council," Mayfair 29 (August 1955): 27.

Toronto. He agreed that patronage cannot fund the expenses of operating the gallery and purchasing masterpieces, saying that he "can take a visitor through the gallery and point out there is dust in many places no housewife would allow it, carpets that need cleaning, floors that should be waxed."²³³ Hence, women figured in a larger operating budget as cleaners. The Canada Council issue was very much in the forefront of arts discussion. In the winter issue of Canadian Art that year the Canada Council controversy was also discussed in "Coast to Coast."²³⁴ Yet, it was not given the same extensive coverage as in Mayfair. The anomalous nature of the Mayfair article in terms of content could perhaps be explained as a reflection of Fulford's interests. He strongly allied himself with those lobbying for an arts council. The impact of the article is difficult to discern, but the fact that it addressed a different audience, a female readership that included women involved in the arts, rather than an art journal, may have lent more support to the cause of the arts council.

In Mayfair and Saturday Night art collectors were featured representing the elite in the market of art production. As prominent citizens and art enthusiasts art collecting provided a leisure activity for the rich. During the 1950s women were active volunteers in the arts, but rather than working in public art galleries wealthy women could assist with a husband's art collection. One of these women was Clare Mendel. She and her

²³³Ibid

²³⁴"Coast to Coast," Canadian Art 12 (Winter 1955): 81; "The Art Forum," Canadian Art 12 (Winter 1956): 218.

husband were wealthy and prominent citizens of Saskatoon; together they had amassed an extensive collection of modern art.

Mrs. Mendel was frankly surprised to be questioned about herself, "People always write about my husband, I'm just in the background," she exclaimed. But the vigorous personality of Fred Mendel, art collector and patron, is matched by that of his vivid and lively wife, who could never be classified as "background."²³⁵

In fact, Clare Mendel handled the close to 300 pictures in the Mendel collection. Despite this declaration by the author, the article did not focus on her role as collector and curator, rather most of the article highlighted the duties of an upper class housewife. Her hospitality, culinary expertise, household staff and children were detailed, whereas in her gallery the reader learnt only of her flair for interior design. This article was one of a series that Saturday Night developed, which mirrored the Mayfair series featuring the wives of famous men, such as Mrs. Franklin Arbuckle. Similarly, the women were adjuncts to their husband's accomplishments. Female deference appeared to be a standard form of role playing in the fifties couple dynamic.

Another woman collector featured in the Saturday Night "Women" section was Mrs. H.A. Dyde, the wife of a prominent lawyer, but also,

probably the youngest and certainly the only feminine voice among the eight members of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Canada. She regards this position with some awe - "They all know so much more than I do" - but with intense and lively enthusiasm.²³⁶

Like Clare Mendel, Mrs. Dyde made a disclaimer about her own abilities in the male dominated art world. Despite her reticence Dyde was highly qualified for a position on

²³⁵Idabelle Melville, "Art and Western Hospitality," Saturday Night (3 March 1956): 27-9.

²³⁶Ruth Bowen, "Picture Gallery Home," Saturday Night (10 December 1955): 59-61.

the board confirmed by her great involvement in the arts, personal collection of over one hundred canvases, and a master's degree in history from the University of Toronto. Dyde operated her collection as a lending library for friends and had organized an exhibition "Collector's Choice" touring western galleries.(see Plate 7)

In Mayfair some of the wealthiest art collectors were profiled. Samuel and Ayala Zacks possessed several hundred pieces of modern French art. Ayala Zacks made regular trips abroad to buy art works for their magnificent collection. However, her background, in addition to her wealth, set her apart from the average Canadian housewife. Israeli-born, educated in Paris, Ayala Zacks joined the French underground, as well as the Free French during the war. She won several decorations and the Croix de Guerre for her work before coming to Canada in 1946.²³⁷ Another woman collector to appear in Mayfair was Princess Artchil Gourielli, professionally known as Helena Rubinstein, in a "Gallery and Studio" article titled "Queen Anne: meet Picasso, Matisse: meet Chippendale"[sic].²³⁸ In her New York penthouse she combined modern painting with traditional furniture. Editors obviously felt women would be interested in cosmetician Helena Rubinstein, as she also appeared in the women section of Saturday Night, photographed with some of her "collection of objets d'art" in the foyer of her Park Avenue penthouse.²³⁹ However, like Ayala Zacks, Helena Rubinstein was an exception.

²³⁷Robert Fulford, "Private Gallery on Tour," Mayfair 30 (August 1956): 4,10.

²³⁸Robert Fulford, "Queen Anne: meet Picasso, Matisse: meet Chippendale," Mayfair 29 (1955): 22-3.

²³⁹"Women" Saturday Night, (26 November, 1953): 29

She was rich and successful and advertisements for her cosmetics appeared in the magazine. Furthermore, it firmly classified her as a 'rarity' succeeding in a man's profession. Rubinstein was very wealthy, so rather than pose a threat to the community, for middle class women, she probably crossed the boundary into fantasy. Thus, her successes and accomplishments in business were celebrated, but she did not represent a role model for average women.²⁴⁰

In the "Women" section of Saturday Night Duval contributed "Canadian Art at Home" in which he instructed women on the correct methods for art collecting. The reader learnt about the value of this growing hobby as a decorative *motif*, the availability of inexpensive originals, and procedures for appropriate framing techniques. However, Duval stressed that "the main pleasure from collecting contemporary Canadian art is not derived from its presence as a mere ornamental addition to the furnishings of the home."²⁴¹ This statement is rather ironic considering it was this role that came to the forefront in articles on women collectors. Furthermore, this article appeared under "Women" rather than "Art" presumably because decoration of the home was the responsibility of the homemaker, rather than her husband.

One male authority appeared in a seven-page article in Mayfair, written by art collector Charles S. Band entitled, "I collect what I like." Band talked extensively of his friendship with the Group of Seven and some of Band's pieces were reproduced. He

²⁴⁰During 1955 Mayfair and Saturday Night both featured articles on another rich woman's penthouse. mining magnet Viola Macmillan. See Barbara Moon, "They Live in a House on the Roof," Mayfair 29 (August 1955): 37-8; Mary Lowrey Ross, "Having a Wonderful Time," Saturday Night (25 June 1955):51-3.

²⁴¹Paul Duval, "Canadian Art at Home" Saturday Night (8 November 1952): 41, 44.

emphasized the importance of the patronage of business to the cultural scene. Collecting was singularly a male pursuit in his mind and he recommended it as a hobby for businessmen. It was a way to escape from business problems and relieve pressure. His patriarchal perspective was exemplified by his response when questioned what he could see in a painting, "Well what can so-and-so see in his wife?"²⁴² Yet, Band did mention two roles that women played in collecting and the art world. He noticed that the wives of collectors played a large part in their husband's hobby and at times "gently and shrewdly involved her husband in the subject almost without his knowing."²⁴³ In fact, as evidenced by both Mayfair and Saturday Night it was these "shrewd" women who were responsible for some of the most important Canadian art collections.

Band also stated that a well organized women's group was "the most important group in any gallery." He cited the Art Gallery of Toronto group as very effective.²⁴⁴ A "Gallery and Studio" article by contributing editor George Allison titled, "They Sell to Buy New Art" described the new shop in the Toronto Art Gallery run by the Women's Committee on a volunteer basis. Their primary aim was to raise money for new paintings and help relieve the gallery of some the expenses which produced its annual deficit, the abiding headache of all public galleries.²⁴⁵ The women sold telephone book

²⁴²Band, 57.

²⁴³Ibid.

²⁴⁴Ibid.

²⁴⁵George Allison, "They Sell to Buy New Art," Mayfair 29 (February 1955): 46. Contributing editor George Allison, generally wrote articles about the women's organizations involved in the art world. See also, George Allison, "Who Says Nobody Goes to Antique Shows". Mayfair, 29 (January 1955): 63. The importance of these volunteer organizations was evidenced by his regular contributions, however, ironically he was a male journalist, obviously outside of the women's committees.

covers among other items and had resorted to writing letters to friends telling of the shop rather than spend money on advertising.

"The Ladies Stepped in to Sell Canadian Art" was the title of another column of "Gallery and Studio" focusing on the involvement of women in the Toronto Art Gallery. In 1946 the small but eager band of women put their heads together to solve the problem of buying new Canadian pictures. What emerged was their annual show and sale of Canadian art. The committee felt that the way for the show to serve art best was by helping uncover new talent. Kazuo Nakamura, who exhibited in the 1954 show gave a demonstration of his technique. After that he appeared on television and sold a work to the National Gallery. Mrs. Frederic Moes (Dorothy Cameron) said, "although the Women's Committee would hesitate to take credit for the recent public interest in Nakamura, perhaps a gentle boost has been provided."²⁴⁶ Women may have had a substantial impact on artists' careers, not in the traditional masculine roles of curator or dealer, but rather through gallery auxiliaries.

Margaret Andrew wrote an article in the winter 1955 volume Canadian Art about the Vancouver Art Committee and its new picture loan program. "About the only good thing to be said for the impoverished condition of most Canadian art galleries is that it gives plenty of amateur art enthusiasts the chance to work their fingers to the bone in the cause of art." It appeared from the number of articles about women volunteer

²⁴⁶"The Ladies Stepped in to Sell Canadian Art," Mayfair 29 (October 1955): 57. An active auxiliary member in the fifties, Dorothy Cameron was to become an important Toronto art dealer in the next decade now renowned for her involvement in an obscenity court case. Robert Fulford,

organizations in Mayfair that this was precisely what a great many women did. Andrew also said:

We may get in the hair of some professional staff, but they are kind to us. Some artists used to refer to us as "culture vultures" but even they are impressed with our effective work on their behalf. Reporters consider us publicity hounds...we have even won recognition for our efforts from the largely male council of the Gallery who naturally feared such a group of strong-minded women.²⁴⁷

As a committee member she attested to the fact that active women's organizations often had to battle the prejudices of the male establishment in the arts. In Canadian Art entire articles were not generally devoted to the activities of women's committees, rather they were mentioned in "Coast to Coast". Andrew provided an unique perspective, from the inside, of the work of women's auxiliaries that, although documented in Canadian Art, Saturday Night and Mayfair, were usually described by contributors who were not directly involved.

In galleries throughout the country women formed committees to promote the visual arts. Their fundraising, the pioneering of picture loan programs, their encouragement of young artists, and the pressure they exerted on gallery boards to make new acquisitions, had a major impact. Elizabeth Kilbourn was quoted in Canadian Women, stating that "these women, perhaps more than any other group. . .consciously pioneered the public acceptance of contemporary art."²⁴⁸ In addition to lending invaluable support to the arts "volunteerism" provided a forum for interaction outside the

²⁴⁷Margaret Andrew, "How You Can Borrow Pictures in Vancouver," Canadian Art 12 (Winter 1955): 72.

²⁴⁸Prentice, 337.

home. It gave women isolated in suburbia a network of connections and support systems, and it accepted traditional gender roles.

In her book By a Lady Maria Tippet asserted that there was an "unprecedented acceptance that women artists enjoyed in the male art community from the 1940s to the mid 1960s."²⁴⁹ In the wider realm of art journalism in 1955 this acceptance was not evident and in fact appeared to decrease in comparison to the previous decade. Presumably, Tippet was speaking of painters and sculptors, but Mayfair does little more to validate her conclusion than does the male-centred Saturday Night and Canadian Art.²⁵⁰ Even a women's journal was imbued with male authority, as well as artists. Albeit women artists received critical acclaim in Mayfair, it was often in the "minor arts." When successful women fine artists were celebrated, they were situated in relation to the fifties feminine archetype; either they maintained the image of the happy homemaker or their anomalous difference from this norm was emphasized. Either way stereotypes were the stock and trade. Women's integral role as volunteers was also celebrated, but this did not diminished the existing hegemony of the male art community. Tippet said acceptance was a factor of their contribution to new styles or forms: by changing social and artistic conditions, access to grants and scholarships, and admission to liberally-minded art schools and workshops, women traversed barriers to their own

²⁴⁹Maria Tippet, By a Lady, Celebrating Three Centuries of Canadian Art by Canadian Women. (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 138.

²⁵⁰Feminist analyses of Canadian Art during the period 1940-1960 were completed for the graduate course, 11.500, at Carleton University, 1994-1996. During the fifties the dearth of women artists and critics in the magazine was clearly evident.

emancipation.²⁵¹ However, in light of the journal writing in the fifties, a reversal of social and artistic conditions appeared more evident than alterations advantageous to women. The homemaker icon pervasive in Mayfair in its entirety provided more of a consistent and subversive barrier to women in the arts.²⁵²

Tippett also argued that many women practitioners of non-representational form believed that they were only accepted in the dominant male art community because they were painting like men. Denying they were women seemed to be the women artists' passport to professional acceptance and success. This is perhaps more in keeping with the rhetoric in Canadian Art, whereas the majority of the articles in Mayfair that concerned women artists were biographical and gender was emphasized. Although more articles in Saturday Night took the form of reviews, the gender of women artists was always clearly conveyed to the reader. In fact the passport to success often appeared to lie more specifically in disassociation from men, because household commitments fell almost exclusively within the responsibility of women according to existing expectations. Many of the women in the arts, in addition to the journalists in the magazine, were unmarried or widowed. Although, some women had built successful artistic and collecting partnerships with their husbands, Hortense Gordon exemplified the complications involved in having a partner also involved in the arts.

²⁵¹Tippett, p. 138.

²⁵²See Chapter III for a more complete discussion of this phenomenon. For example, Prentice p. 307-311 addresses the impact of media messages on woman during this time period. The ideals of beauty, devotion and domesticity were pervasive and reinforced by advice columns counselling women on their role in child care.

"Happy Housewives": Contextualizing Fifties Art Writing

Utilising traditional methods of art historical connoisseurship one would examine art articles individually, independent and incognizant of the larger document and societal framework in which they were produced. The reception of women as artists and critics in Mayfair cannot be understood without the larger framework of the period reflected in the content of the magazine in its entirety. A comparison of art writing with general articles and advertising material will indicate broader sociological issues and reveal the multiple facets of the production and consumption of popular magazines in the fifties.

The meanings must be analysed in terms of the total product in order to understand its positioning in relation to its reception. Sociological analysis of the period and its cultural hegemonies can allow for further comprehension of the relationship between production and the resulting recognition of women in art within this medium. It will also reveal the encoding of conventions in the magazine and its role in reflecting the existing social strata. The inculcation of stereotypes offered barriers to women readers.

During the fifties in Mayfair and Saturday Night women were presented as subject matter in art as well as in advertisements placed throughout the magazines, which featured images exemplifying the feminine ideal. These images must be read together to fully understand their consumption as a complete entity. The gender stereotypes produced by the text should be analysed in conjunction with those documented as occurring in the fifties era in order to comprehend the conditions for its consumption. Feminist film critic Claire Johnston's interest in concepts of consumption goes beyond textual analysis to an examination of the conditions of viewing. She examines how texts are interpreted in

specific social and historical circumstances.²⁵³ Popular magazines and the society in which they were produced presented a specific set of ideologies and stereotypes that influenced the consumer's reading. Wolff wrote in Feminine Sentences that the nature of the representation of women in painting and literature must be assessed in relation to the conditions and structures of cultural production and consumption as well as broader areas of ideology and social relations.²⁵⁴ The implication of homemaker stereotypes pervasive in popular magazines is that they act both as reflections of society and as professional barriers preventing women from seeking careers in the arts. The representation of women in the images and texts of popular magazines must be considered in terms of the journal's fabrication by an editorial board and their perception of the readership targeted. One must consider the impact of the male editors in their production of popular magazines for female readers. Wolff proposed exploration of the circumstances of the readers and viewers, because the sociology of audiences, readers and viewers will tell us what a work will actually mean at its reception.²⁵⁵

In Duval's 1955 article in the Saturday Night "Women Section" on the dearth of art utilising women as subject, he concluded "it is only to be hoped that she will not take her revenge by accelerating the deadly possibilities for standardization offered by charm school and beauty counsellor. The painter already has enough objects for *still-life*."²⁵⁶

²⁵³Claire Johnston, "The Subject of Feminist Film Theory/Practice," Screen 21 (Summer 1980): 28 in Wolff, Feminine Sentences, p. 113.

²⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 105.

²⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁵⁶Duval, "Lady in the Background," p. 36.

However, the opinion of John Robert Powers, Mayfair beauty columnist, was rather to the contrary. "Powers on Beauty VII: What women want to know about weight control" included a table of the correct figure measurements for each height, with bust, waist, hips, thigh, calf, ankle, and upper arm listed. (see Plate 8) Evidently drastic measures would have to be taken by most women to achieve the perfect ratio.²⁵⁷ Another Powers column instructed:

In a personal sense, it is your privilege, as a woman, to make yourself attractive, interesting and of value to others. By the breadth of your interests and the charm of your approach, you bring solace, enjoyment and harmony into the lives of all who know you . . . and happiness to yourself.²⁵⁸

Where could professional woman artists like Hortense Gordon, featured in the same issue, fit into this type? Both Duval and Powers considered themselves authorities on female beauty and referenced the fashion world that Duval mentioned with disdain. Although these male experts had seemingly contradictory perspectives on the requisite criteria for the ideal, they placed women in an identical capacity, that of beautiful object, whether in

²⁵⁷John Robert Powers, "Powers on Beauty VII: Here's what women want to know about weight control," Mayfair 29 (March 1955): 67. It is little wonder that women's magazines have long been blamed for contributing to eating disorders like anorexia nervosa and bulimia. Naomi Wolf wrote that during the 1950's "women's natural fullness was temporarily enjoyed". She correlated women's thinness with their operation in male spheres as their bodies became the "prisons that their homes no longer were", see Naomi Wolf, The Beauty Myth, (Toronto: Random House, 1991), 184. However, I would argue this point in reference to Mayfair, which seemed to emphasize women's figures and weights even in 1955. Articles, imagery and advertising ranged from dieting etiquette to ideal female beauty. The expert contributor on dieting, Thyra Stanton Winslow had already written three books on the subject, see Thyra Stanton Winslow, "The Etiquette of Dieting," Mayfair 29 (April 1955): 30. Friedan has stated that according to department store buyers women have shrunk three and four sizes smaller since 1939. Women were eating a chalk called Metrecol to try and shrink themselves to the size of fashion models, even then, see Friedan, p. 13.

²⁵⁸John Robert Powers, "Powers on Beauty VIII: The inner and outer glow," Mayfair 29 (April 1955): 52. It bears pointing out that it was "attractive" that was listed first. In addition, this advice clearly adhered to the principles of altruism and martyrdom. As a woman your role was to act for the good of others and you would be happy doing so. Power's statement also seemed to underline two of Mayfair's noble pursuits for women: to be beautiful and to volunteer.

fashion or in art. Neither the work of Gordon, nor her person, with career woman status, fit into either category. A large proportion of the articles, images, and photographs in Mayfair focused on fashion and beauty. Saturday Night regularly included fashion features in its "Women" section and beautiful film stars were frequently splashed across the front cover and featured in the magazine.

In magazine images and writing, women's role in the domestic sphere was also linked to interior decoration. In her analysis of the Canadian architectural press, Annmarie Adams has attributed the association of women with interior design to Victorian theories of sexual difference that claimed that women were better at arranging or finishing work started by men.²⁵⁹ Adams' observation that women were to derive "pleasure" from interior decoration is corroborated in Mayfair and Saturday Night. In the latter, the description of prominent Saskatoon art collector, Clare Mendel, exemplified these characteristics. The article underscored her involvement in the interior design and decoration of her art gallery and home.

Vipond discussed this phenomenon in her study of Canadian magazines during the 1920s. She noted that an article about a woman editor placed a great deal of emphasis on the vase of flowers on her desk and the paintings and mirrors hung on the office walls of this female executive.²⁶⁰ It was these paintings and interior decoration that continued to be the focus of 1950s articles, which profiled women, in both Mayfair and Saturday Night. Furthermore, women in images always occupied interiors. Both magazines featured a

²⁵⁹Annmarie Adams, "Building Barriers: Images of Women in Canada's Architectural Press, 1924-73," RFR/DRF 23,2 (1994): 12

²⁶⁰Vipond, "The Image of Women," p. 123.

series of articles on wives of renowned husbands. The photographic images that accompanied the articles clearly situated the women in the home. In Saturday Night the women were generally placed beneath a painting and the title of their prized objet d'art was given. The emphasis on the home and interior of art collector Dorothy Boylen was also mirrored by the Eaton's Interior Decorating Service advertisement on the facing page.²⁶¹ (see Plate 9) Rachel Bowlby has placed department stores together with advertising as marking the beginning of consumer society in the nineteenth century.²⁶² Cynthia Wright has also documented some of the direct and indirect links between the T. Eaton Company and the other Maclean-Hunter magazines Chatelaine and Canadian Homes and Gardens during the 1930s.²⁶³ Eaton's evidently continued to foster this relationship during the fifties counting on the homemaker consumer to desire the latest in decoration for her home. The new commerce urged women to buy products; their role functioned dually in "commodified" images of themselves and as consumers. It was this construct that continued to operate in popular magazines like Mayfair and Saturday Night.

Advertising played a large part in Mayfair. Not only was it interspersed throughout the magazine, but its content corresponded with the text and images in the articles. Saturday Night followed a similar format placing advertisements mirroring the

²⁶¹See Mrs. Lowrey Ross, "Women: Family Home" and "Eaton's of Canada Decoration for Living," Saturday Night (15 October 1955): 50-1.

²⁶²Rachel Bowlby, Just Looking: Consumer culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola (New York: Methuen, 1985): 11.

²⁶³Cynthia Wright, "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance': Writing Gender into the History of Consumption," in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, Gender Conflicts (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992) p. 246.

articles in the women's section. In some instances the placement of advertisements posed interesting paradoxes, when ads for feminine beauty and fashion items were juxtaposed with articles recounting the lives of working women. For example, opposite an article by Barbara Moon in Mayfair, which highlighted the accomplishments of a number of women commercial fabric designers, was an advertisement for perfume. A drawing depicted a nude woman who lay, presumably on a bed, in a pose similar to the "Rokeby Venus". The text above read, "The very essence of woman. . .her beauty. . .her allure".²⁶⁴ Again, a paragon of female beauty was retrieved from the canon to be sure that women understood their role as beautiful art object. If they made use of the perfume they would become equally beautiful and alluring. Below was a picture of a perfume bottle, beneath which was written, "discovered by Charles of the Ritz". Thus, not only was Charles credited with discovering the scent, but he appeared to be asserting that the quintessence of women was their beauty and allure.

The advertisement opposite a Mayfair article on the Women's Committee at the Art Gallery of Toronto was for a "fabulous new girdle with a scoop front, the miracle that actually scoops your front in flat and keeps a firm hand on your whole figure".²⁶⁵(see Plate 10) A profile drawing of a slim blonde, her arms raised above shoulder height and her waist pinched inward by the girdle, occupied almost the entire page. Likewise, beside the Saturday Night profile of artist Bernice Fenwick Martin, a similar advertisement

²⁶⁴"Charles of the Ritz," Mayfair 29 (April 1955): 66.

²⁶⁵"Nemo's Advertisement," Mayfair 29 (February 1955): 47.

proclaimed "You can look like a pet without feeling pinched."²⁶⁶ Thus if one reads the double-page spreads together, women were positioned as multi-talented professionals, volunteers and alluring beauties all at once.

The roles in which women were placed as subjects in art and advertising were linked to contemporary feminine stereotypes. Not surprisingly the 1950s image now permanently etched in our minds of the smiling, aproned housewife standing in a sparkling kitchen can also be found within the issues of Mayfair magazine. On the pages of Mayfair, the 1950s woman appeared to be walking a fine line between domestic devotee and fashionable beauty. Although seemingly contradictory, the latter was inextricably linked with the former, as an attractive appearance was necessary to obtain a husband and having done so, to please him. In order to comprehend the duality of a woman's role, one must position her within the decade.

During the 1950s people were convinced that the suburbs were a better place to live and raise a family. Urban decentralization became the norm in Canada and the United States. The city community structure was replaced by the isolation of life in the sprawling suburbs. Technology in the home was on the increase and there was an influx of money, goods and services. Yet, gender roles became even more clearly defined. Despite the participation of women in World War II, "home-maker" was touted as the sole occupation suitable for women. Betty Friedan in Feminine Mystique identified the 1950s phenomenon and the truths behind the masks of women: "Their only dream was

²⁶⁶"Women Section" Saturday Night (17 January 1953): 35.

to be perfect wives and mothers."²⁶⁷ Friedan documented the rise of "a mystique of feminine fulfilment" after World War II, when the "suburban housewife became the dream image of the young American woman and the envy... of women all over the world".²⁶⁸

The reality was somewhat different from the stereotype. Housework was not held in high esteem or considered intellectually challenging by the male-centred workforce.²⁶⁹ Furthermore, once their children were in school these young mothers were left with little to occupy their minds. In one Mayfair article a Mrs. Kelly exemplified the archetypal housewife living in the suburbs. Her adherence to the role of the faithfully doting housewife corresponded exactly with the guidelines outlined in the 1950s Ontario Home Economics handbook for schools, as it did with the John Power's guidelines for an inner glow which he set out in another Mayfair article in 1955.²⁷⁰ Mrs. Kelly's hobby was painting, and she made sure she kept herself interested and busy so "boredom never arose."²⁷¹ By its very mention 'boredom' must have been an issue. Alison Prentice in Canadian Women states that during the 1950s women were

²⁶⁷Betty Friedan, Feminine Mystique. (New York: Laurel, 1974 first edition 1963), 14.

²⁶⁸Friedan, 18.

²⁶⁹Phyllis Rosser, "There's no place like home," in New Feminist Criticism, Art Identity, Action, ed. Joanna Frueh, Cassandra L. Langer, and Arlene Raven (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994), p. 61.

²⁷⁰The list of instructions in the home economics guide included: have a delicious dinner ready, prepare yourself, clear away the clutter, prepare the children, minimize all noise, greet him with a warm smile and drink, make him comfortable, make the evening his and listen to him -- let him talk first. See Dale Anne Freed, "Women of the '90s: You've come a long way..." Toronto Star (Toronto) 8 March 1994, p. F1 and John Robert Powers, "Powers on Beauty VIII: The inner and outer glow," Mayfair 29 (April 1955): 52.

²⁷¹Mrs. J. N. Kelly, "My private view of public relations," Mayfair (March 1955): 36-7.

increasingly cut off from traditional women's support systems. Young women with small children, were living in the suburbs and performing their own domestic work.²⁷²

Phyllis Rosser confirmed Friedan's discovery that behind the image of perfect happiness "lay anger and even insanity (mental breakdowns) brought on by the loss of identity that came from being relegated to and isolated in the home."²⁷³ These texts and magazine images did not allow freedom for professional careers. The mythologizing of women either commodified or actively posed barriers - preventing women from acting as professionals.

The recurring stereotypes clearly presented professional barriers to women in the arts. In a study of thirty years of Canadian women's magazines between 1950 and 1977 Gertrude Joch Robinson found that topics such as children, health, home, food and beauty accounted for about 80 percent of their content. Robinson divided the remaining article topics into work-related categories.²⁷⁴ According to her study the three major work sub-topics during the fifties were career planning, volunteer work, and career profiles. The content of Mayfair and Saturday Night in particular corresponded with the latter two categories. Robinson also found fifties career articles focused on women in traditional work as housekeepers, teachers, and entertainers.²⁷⁵ In keeping with Robinson's research concerning conventional occupations, Mayfair ran a series that

²⁷²Prentice, p. 320.

²⁷³Rosser, 66.

²⁷⁴Robinson, "The Media and Social Change," p. 92, Robinson in her analysis included Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal, Chatelaine, Time, Reader's Digest, and Maclean's.

²⁷⁵Robinson, 94.

continued throughout 1955 (in nine of the twelve issues) that highlighted the lives of wives of famous husbands. These women wrote the articles, but generally used their husband's names. Few of these women had careers outside of the home and although the articles focused on their lives, it was generally in relationship to their husbands' accomplishments. For example Mrs. J. N. Kelly's article was subtitled, "A fascinating parade of people march through a woman's life when her husband's occupation is interpreting the inarticulate machine of big business to the public."²⁷⁶ In Saturday Night the "Women" section also published a series which followed this "housewife" format. The majority of women featured on covers and regularly in articles outside the women's section were in entertainment; film stars were regularly profiled.

Susanna J. Wilson's earlier study of female heroines in Chatelaine and Maclean's from 1930 to 1969 found that profile heroines bore little resemblance to the types of occupations in which Canadian women found employment. They had a wide range of occupations which were high status, important, stimulating and often highly rewarding.²⁷⁷ As a result of Friedan's work unmasking the happy homemaker ideal pervasive during the fifties, Wilson postulated that during the 1950s profiles of women

²⁷⁶In the article the reader learned that Dorothy Frances Hoffman began married life as a supervisor for the CPR earning more than twice that of her husband as an editor. Yet, Mrs. Dorothy Kelly's career received no further mention, instead she outlined her husband's successful career. In fact the description of their current relationship seemed antithetical in comparison. "At 6 pm when his car turns in the drive, I am ready and rested to talk with him if he wants to talk or just read the papers and mix a companionable drink if he is contemplative. I never bring up troubles of my own until after dinner when I am sure that he has thrown off anything that's bothering him." Mrs. J.N. Kelly, "My private view of public relations," Mayfair (March 1955): 36-7.

²⁷⁷Wilson, p. 131.

should have emphasized traditional family roles.²⁷⁸ Although Wilson's survey did not demonstrate a parallel trend in story heroines, Mayfair and Saturday Night corresponded to her hypothesis by focusing on traditional occupational divisions when profiling women. Furthermore, the manner in which non-traditional career women were featured must also be examined. As previously discussed these women were frequently identified as anomalies or unique within their profession. Women who succeeded in a male dominated society could give inspiration to women readers to seek similar occupations, but they were clearly not the 'norm'. Alternatively, identification with achievement and power-oriented women in the magazines might have served as catharsis for motivational needs that female readers were unlikely to satisfy in real life.²⁷⁹

Wilson did point out that emphasis on successful women could have a negative effect by "inculcating a disapproval of the lower status jobs in which the majority of the audience find employment, and at the same time creating a false impression of the extent of mobility of women into high status jobs."²⁸⁰ This negative effect may have figured in the decline of Mayfair as the readership during the 1950s was actually lower to middle class women who could hardly identify with the women on the pages of Mayfair, although they may have sought a sense of escape. Despite the apparent contradictions between magazine representation and readership, it has been pointed out that female

²⁷⁸Wilson p. 147, 214, found that contrary to Friedan's interpretations of American magazines, fictional and profile heroines in Chatelaine and Maclean's did not encourage women to remain at home or become active consumers.

²⁷⁹Wilson, p. 132, citing Clark and Esposito(1966), p. 485.

²⁸⁰Wilson, p. 132.

readers read articles for entertainment and it is this fantasy factor which seems to most clearly apply to Mayfair. Women readers were able to obtain pleasure from romantic notions of successful independent careers in the arts. The profiles of collectors and their grandiose homes particularly capitalised on this utopian aspect of the reader-subject interaction.

Marriage seemed both a hinderance and a help to women artists during the fifties. Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron have compiled a volume of essays addressing the complexity of artist partnerships of which Lee Krasner and Jackson Pollock represent the dynamics of a 1950s artist couple and the secondary role of the woman artist.²⁸¹ The vast majority of professionals in the field were unmarried or widowed. Of the women featured in the journals Mayfair and Saturday Night Lefort, Hanes, Caiserman, Gordon, Moisewitch, May and Jones were unmarried or widowed. However, marriage to another artist could also be beneficial if a professional partnership developed as in the case of Loretta Rix. Furthermore, the more renowned male artist often promoted the woman's career. In her work on the Canadian architectural press, Adams found architect couples featured and alluded to the question of whether marriage to another architect eased the woman's way into the profession during this period.²⁸² In some respects this may have been the case as Arbuckle, Rix and Horne were all addressed in Mayfair in conjunction with the work of their husbands and each succeeded

²⁸¹ Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron eds., Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993).

²⁸² "Partnership with a man was actually recommended for women in British career guidance literature." Adams, p. 23.

in maintaining an artistic career. However, marriage and heredity were both a boon and a handicap to women artists. While perhaps providing more opportunities, training and encouragement, it detracted from their individuality.

The success of work by women with relations in the arts was attributed to genetic characteristics rather than personal skill or talent. Frances Arbuckle(Johnston) referred to these disadvantages. This dichotomy was also identified by Pamela Gerrish Nunn in her work on Victorian woman artists. If there was a hint of an artistic father, brother or husband in the woman's pedigree, he was brought forth by critics to stand as witness for her and used as a yardstick by which to measure her failings.²⁸³ For the most part, despite the active role of the Canadian Group of Painters during the thirties and American women artists, other women artists were not referenced as influential in the careers of women artists. Historically matrilineal inheritance has largely been ignored. It has been assumed that readers would not be familiar with women artists and comparisons with well-known male artists provided a pseudo-credibility.²⁸⁴

Marriage and children appeared to stultify the careers of women artists: Clark, Arbuckle, Gordon and Weil identified these problems in Mayfair and Saturday Night. In the latter, Weil turned to writing because she found it difficult to paint satisfactorily if interrupted and "no mother of six can expect to be undisturbed for long."²⁸⁵(see Plate

²⁸³Pamela Gerrish Nunn, Victorian Woman Artists. (London: Women's Press Limited, 1987), p. 33. Similarly, on the Canadian artist, Florence Carlyle, Anne Page, p. 61 questioned whether Carlyle would have been termed a genius if she had not been related to an illustrious man.

²⁸⁴Deepwell, p. 8.

²⁸⁵Marion McCormick, "Full Life with Family," Saturday Night (21 July 1956): 35.

11) This career option seemed more accessible to married women during the fifties and was advertised as such. A photograph of Mrs. Minnie E.H. Long was placed beside the subtitle "Works at Home Regularly - Sells Articles" in an advertisement for a writing course.²⁸⁶(see Plate 12) The advertisement clearly emphasized both the marital status of Minnie Long and the fact that she remained in the home while pursuing her career. Among those article topics listed were homemaking, travel, hobbies, local club and church activities, all presumably aimed at the housewife writing at home. Despite this encouragement of women writers, few women were prominent in art criticism, in fact the suitable categories defined in the advertisement all would have clearly fit into the women's section.²⁸⁷ The reader was encouraged to try the course, like Mrs. Long, who now wrote for the Lancome Globe, and furthermore the advertisement claimed thousands of similarly "unknown" men and women contributed the bulk of commercial writing. The advertisement's claims were targeted at shy housewives rather than ambitious women journalists seeking notoriety for their work.

On the other hand, in the area of art collecting, a prominent husband appeared to be an advantage to woman collectors. These women funnelled their husband's wealth into the purchase and display of hundreds of art pieces during the fifties. Women were very active in these collecting partnerships and influential in the development of many

²⁸⁶"Why Can't You Write?," Saturday Night (27 April 1957): 4.

²⁸⁷ Sherman p. 437 identifies the historical association of certain fields with women writers. "Some areas in which women's writings have excelled, such as travel writing, interior design, landscape gardening, decorative arts, crafts, and textiles, do reflect social and cultural attitudes related to the traditions of women as guardians of culture and amateurs of the arts. That these genres or fields have not been highly regarded in the prevailing judgment of art historians again reflects underlying social and aesthetic biases that are now undergoing fresh scrutiny."

private Canadian collections. Since the Victorian era this has been an access point for wealthy women into the art world. "Culture was a field assigned in some ways to women to mind, as part of their task of sweetening the world for men, and in other ways forbidden to women, as part of what was too difficult a world for them to handle without men's mediation or management."²⁸⁸ In Women's Culture McCarthy addressed the historical role of women in art patronage in the United States, where the notion prevailed that women were the nation's cultural custodians, but in actual fact it was a surprisingly limited role. Before the enfranchisement vote philanthropic endeavours had provided the primary means for the majority of middle and upper-class women to fashion public roles. Women used financial gifts and volunteered time to build institutions and feminize new occupations.²⁸⁹ Women patrons enriched artistic holdings, but also helped to strengthen the set of institutes and ideas that ultimately trivialized the contributions of women. Therefore, they unwittingly condemned themselves to isolation and other women as well.²⁹⁰ By comparison with men, who more frequently supported multi-purpose institutions modelled on business, women sponsored specialized non-profit institutions and voluntary associations.²⁹¹ During the fifties the majority of Canadian women collectors featured in Mayfair and Saturday Night seemed to follow this gendered model of collecting. The participation of women in associations

²⁸⁸Nunn, Victorian Women Artists, p. 110.

²⁸⁹McCarthy, Women's Culture: American Philanthropy, 1830-1930, xii.

²⁹⁰Ibid, p. xv.

²⁹¹Ibid, p. xiv.

was well documented in Mayfair's "Gallery and Studio" and "Volunteers in Action", and wealthier women like Clare Mendel combined community involvement with collecting privately. Charles Band on the other hand, typified the corporate concept of a male collector. He associated art collecting directly with the support by business of the arts. Women's auxiliaries were generally mentioned as groups, hence accomplishments were not individualised. Although the contributions of women collectors were celebrated, these collectors were generally wealthy and featured in association with husbands. All women were trivialised by the emphasis on their feminine appearances, interest in art primarily as interior decoration for the home, and on their successful husband's authority on art.

Linguistic barriers also existed for professional women in arts; stereotypes were conveyed through texts which subordinated the work of women. In her analysis of the literature on early Canadian women artists, Anne Page identified the use of personal anecdotes when dealing with women artists which served to "diminish slightly the artist's professional merit, presenting instead a sentimental woman."²⁹² This methodology was frequently utilised in writing about women artists during the fifties. These anecdotes further highlighted the domestic and maternal role of the woman artist. During the 1950s many writers employed gender specific vocabulary and feminine analogies in their description of work by women. Common critical terms like 'vitality', 'strength', 'vigour', 'decorative', and 'pleasurable' have been identified with gendered meanings, and the

²⁹²Page, p. 66.

attribution of "genius" has been shown to be thoroughly gendered.²⁹³ In the 1970s Lucy Lippard identified the criterion of "innovation" for entry into the exclusionary canon, and Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock further examined how the feminine stereotype is enshrined linguistically in art history.²⁹⁴ More recently Katy Deepwell has advocated the need for scrutiny and examination of terms of reference in discussion and contextualisation of women's art practice. Rather than acting as a transparent medium for expression, language is coded and conventionalised.²⁹⁵ In art criticism during the fifties women artists were often recognized as anomalous, eccentric or precious. Janet Sydney Kaplan uses the term "gynocritics" to apply to an alternative approach to criticism that reads women as vital active, precursors and innovators.²⁹⁶ The deconstruction of the fifties narrative in magazines is necessary to allow for this possibility.

Both Mayfair and Saturday Night had male editors and largely male editorial boards. In the mass media gender bias was very apparent and men remained in positions carrying authority and financial responsibility - hardly surprising since journalists like

²⁹³Deepwell, ed. New Feminist Art Criticism, p. 8, also Christine Battersby, Gender and Genius (London: Women's Press, 1989).

²⁹⁴See Lucy Lippard, From the Centre: feminist essays on Women's Art (New York: Dutton, 1976); Parker and Pollock, Old Mistresses.

²⁹⁵Deepwell, p. 8 Similar observations concerning language were made by Anne Page, p. 55, 59 in her discussion of art writing of thirty-five years earlier. For early Canadian woman artists' work delicate, charming, decorative and delightful were descriptive, while work by men was associated with qualities of power and strength.

²⁹⁶Deepwell, p. 6, 7.

Frank Tumpane still claimed they could never work for a woman.²⁹⁷ The message from woman's magazines was that middle-class women were "ensconced in their well-equipped homes in the suburbs" living lives of domesticity and affluence.²⁹⁸ Doris Anderson, former editor of Chatelaine, wrote that at the time Europe and North America were still carrying on the well established and highly profitable tradition. The magazines catered to middle-class women homemakers concerned with running a house, having children, pleasing a husband and dabbling in hobbies and good works.²⁹⁹

At the height of its popularity during the 1950s, the majority of Mayfair readers appear to have been white middle-class and upper-class women. At least working class women or women of other ethnic backgrounds were seldom pictured or discussed. The only women of colour depicted were in special travel articles. Although Mayfair's price was similar to that of Chatelaine, the readership seems to have included the slightly more wealthy. The reason for this hypothesis is that Mayfair retained elements of its origins as a society magazine in the world of debutantes, highlighting weddings, social activities, and fashion. However, a Maclean-Hunter research project found that to the surprise of management there were also a number of subscribers in a lower income bracket.³⁰⁰ Saturday Night readers were probably within the same income bracket as

²⁹⁷See my Introduction, p. 14.

²⁹⁸Linda K. Kerber and Jane De Hart-Mathews, Women's America, Refocusing the Past, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 433.

²⁹⁹Doris Anderson, "Women's Magazine in the 1970s" Canadian Women's Studies 2,2 (1980): 15.

³⁰⁰Management felt the year's achievement would be more praiseworthy if it was not all too apparent that there are too many subscribers in the lower and lower-middle classes, see Annual Report 1954. Robert Fulford, personal communication, had no knowledge of this finding. Evidently the disturbing results of the

Mayfair readers - middle to upper class men and women. However, there was a large emphasis on business and finance aimed at the male reader. Although women had access to both texts and in fact both magazines targeted women (Saturday Night in a special section) it is very unlikely that men read Mayfair.

In terms of regional distribution, a 1940 Analysis of Circulation of Canadian Publications indicated that Ontario had by far the greatest proportion of Mayfair readers followed by Quebec and British Columbia. In particular, the metropolitan cities of Toronto and Montreal had 28 and 11 percent of the readership, respectively, or 40 percent of the total.³⁰¹ This figure is in keeping with the emphasis on these cities within the magazine in the 1950s. In fact it is likely that by 1950 there was an even greater proportion of urban readers paralleling the ever-increasing movement from rural areas. For the year 1955 the Mayfair circulation figure was 20 480. This was the highest level of circulation in the magazine's entire existence. In December of 1955 Mayfair was sold to Crombie Publishing, whereupon the circulation gradually declined to 9 030 in 1959. The 1955 circulation figure for Saturday Night was almost three times that of Mayfair at 60 416. Saturday Night's circulation increased, but fluctuated during the 1950s from a low of 40 000 to a high of 78 000 readers.³⁰²

survey were hidden from staff by Maclean-Hunter.

³⁰¹Analysis of Circulation of Canadian Publications, (Toronto: Association of Canadian Advertisers Inc., 1940).

³⁰²William McCallister, ed. Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Son Inc., 1956).

However, readership numbers could vary depending on the statistical analysis.

Magazines were eager to increase these numbers for advertisers and the Maclean-

Hunter reports attested to this aspect of marketing:

With Mayfair's restricted circulation, especially in a period when advertisers and agencies are thinking almost inclusively in terms of mass, the audience "quality" factor is more vitally important than ever. To meet this existing situation, and with neither quantity or quality to exploit, we commissioned Gruneau Research Limited to do a survey to verify the high multiple female readership we felt we had on Mayfair. The results revealed a total women's audience of over 230 500 at a cost per M of \$1.52. It gives us a peg on which to hang a vastly more competitive sales story.³⁰³

In Decoding Women's Magazines Ellen McCracken referred to this acute awareness on the part of the publisher of readership demographics and receptivity of the target audience to various representations.³⁰⁴ Magazines in the 1950s were using these market-based surveys to determine advertising strategies. However, input regarding content from readers did not appear to be as much of a concern. McCracken identified this imbalance in the relationship between the editor and the reader: "the senders and receivers of these cultural texts participate in an immensely unequal power relation; readers have little input into the monthly representations that claim to be about their lives."³⁰⁵ Wilson argued that audience feedback in the form of letters to the editor did

³⁰³Annual Report (1954) Maclean-Hunter Collection, A-3, box 27, A.O.

³⁰⁴During the fifties this became increasingly important with rising competition from other forms of mass media, predominantly television.

³⁰⁵Ellen McCracken, Decoding Women's Magazines: from Mademoiselle to Ms., (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992): 301.

not directly affect the content of Maclean-Hunter magazines.³⁰⁶ Fulford confirmed that response from Mayfair readers was extremely limited.³⁰⁷

Vipond found that mass consumer magazines depended primarily on advertising for income. During the fifties the Canadian magazine industry's revenues were sharply reduced by competition from three sources: television, weekend supplements in daily newspapers, and the rising popularity of Time and Reader's Digest.³⁰⁸ In direct competition for advertisements with magazines, the circulation of newspapers like the Globe provided a far greater profit margin for the advertising agencies that designed the ads and recommended the clients. In the elite magazine industry there was not the competition that allowed for so many advertisements to reach the same market.³⁰⁹ Another market-based perspective was proposed by A.J. van Zuilen's case study of the decline of American mass circulation magazines after World War II, which concluded that during the 1950s and 1960s general interest mass audience magazines failed to capitalise on the increasing fragmentation of the American population into groups.³¹⁰ Zuilen focused on dual interest periodicals and his analysis could certainly be applied to the financial losses of Saturday Night. Similarly the woman's periodicals associated with these presses encountered many problems. Canadian Home Journal was a product of

³⁰⁶Wilson, p. 216.

³⁰⁷Fulford in personal interview.

³⁰⁸Vipond, The Mass Media in Canada, (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1992), p. 61.

³⁰⁹Fulford, personal interview, April 1996.

³¹⁰A.J. van Zuilen, The Life Cycles of Magazines: A Historical Study of the Decline and Fall of the General Interest Mass Audience Magazine in the U.S. During the Period 1946-1972 (Uithoorn, Netherlands: Graduate Press, 1977), p. 298.

Saturday Night's Consolidated Press, and was sold to Maclean-Hunter at the end of the decade. In an effort to overcome financial difficulties, it was merged with Chatelaine. Maclean-Hunter's Canadian Homes and Gardens, and Mayfair also met their demise during this period. However, contrary to Zuilen's argument these latter journals catered to specific segments of the population. Unfortunately the wealthy sector no longer provided a financially viable audience on a large scale. Furthermore, one cannot help but ask if the male management and editor at the helm of Mayfair contributed to its downfall through ignorance of largely female readership interests.

Woman's magazines provided an escape and a link with other women, but also reflected the cultural hegemony of the period. It was an 'artificial life' and the message from a patriarchal society was that they should be happy. During the 1950s the advertising industry developed, capitalising on societal envy for material goods. Advertising manipulation encouraged people to have what other people had; the "keeping up with the Joneses" ethic thrived in the suburbs. Mass media in the form of television and magazines targeted women as primary consumers. Women were told the new time-saving devices would leave them with more time to devote to being perfect mothers and wives. For example with the "Mobile Maid", an automatic dishwasher, women no longer needed to suffer in a kitchen piled high with dishes, and instead could stand in a sparkling new kitchen.³¹¹ And so when the pay cheque came home the

³¹¹The ad proclaimed "out with the old way", and "in with the new" while the happy homemaker hooked up her machine, see Mayfair, 29 (May 1955): 59. It was the advent of this very technology which may have increased the boredom of women in suburbia. The arrival of home appliances eliminated the need for homemakers to leave the house, rather than meeting others in the Laundromat, work was brought back into the home.

women spent it. The companies realized they had a 'captive audience' in the home. Susan Bland has observed that in Maclean's, in fact, women portrayed in advertisements in 1950 were even more domesticated than those portrayed in 1939.³¹² In the 1950s advertising revenues in woman's magazines soared, shifting the balance between editorial and advertising departments.³¹³ In woman's magazines editorial and advertising pages naturally complemented each other, from fashion and cosmetics to interior decorating. In its entirety the product was commodity driven and the powerful influence of fashion magazines in the marketplace was realized at the time. James Playsted Wood wrote, "Women pore over the magazines to discover what is *de rigeur* and even those women that cannot afford the products are affected in their choice of cheaper substitutes. . . .Advertising media . . . perform an equally important function through stimulating consumption of the goods produced under a luxury economy."³¹⁴

Much research has been done in the area of woman's magazines since the release of Friedan's book. The purported mass deception and manipulation of the middle-class American housewife by the mass media espoused by Friedan has been rejected by some as simplistic. Instead the homemaker is considered a rational consumer, particularly

³¹²Bland, "Henrietta the Homemaker," p. 62 observes that after 1947, advertisements suggested there was no place for women but hearth and home. Not only were they "paragons of domesticity", they also showed an unquestioning delight in their tasks." Capitalizing on the loneliness of war and the deprivation of goods, women became "happy housewife consumers" living in cosy homes with convenient appliances. The changing role of woman during the war contributed to the upswing in the role of woman as homemaker. Bland explains, "The women of 1945 were ready for the idea that their place was in the home and that it was both the duty of the homemaker to consume, and to be fulfilled and happy in the home".

³¹³Naomi Wolf, p. 64.

³¹⁴James Playsted Wood, Magazines in the United States. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956), p. 130.

working class women who ably managed their family's finances. What was actually bought and what was desired must also be considered however.³¹⁵ During the fifties magazines capitalized on this concept. For working class readers of Mayfair its contents would have offered desired roles and images. Furthermore, the woman's role represented in the magazine as that of primary consumer proposed a sense of false autonomy - a woman's world defined by the home and the products she utilised. Helen Damon-Moore's study of Ladies Home Journal corroborated Friedan's findings that "the foundation for this condescending, even misogynist attitude toward women lay at least in part in the reliance of magazine editors on large amounts of gender-targeted advertising."³¹⁶ McCracken has observed that in spite of the oppositional meanings developed by readers the master narratives constructed by woman's magazines continue to succeed in channelling women's desire into consumerism.³¹⁷

Mayfair and Saturday Night were presented to an audience that was theoretically made up of active consumers. Women as consumers were represented in the arts as well as in advertising - to be primary consumers of arts and culture was one aspect of their fifties role. Magazine articles enabled many elite women buyers and collectors of art to display their collections and discover new purchases. Furthermore, the work of women artists was publicised and validated within a journalistic medium; the magazine articles thereby provided contemporary Canadian artists with a means of promoting

³¹⁵Wright, p. 232.

³¹⁶Damon-Moore, p. 197.

³¹⁷McCracken, p. 301.

their work to a segment of the market. However, despite the frequent publicity, the art hierarchy was maintained. For example, in Mayfair advertisements for antique furniture and Leggatt Brothers gallery, often appeared on a page adjacent to "Gallery and Studio". Rather than advertisements for Canadian art and galleries, it was an advertisement for a London gallery with British artists that was placed next to the text. Black and white images in the articles could not compete with colour reproductions of English landscape scenes painted by Royal Academy Artists. The advertisements appeared to be aimed at Canadian readers who would travel to London and purchase the works or have them sent to Canada, reinforcing the concept of consumerism in conjunction with the superiority of European artwork.

The idea of separate spheres was constructed by historians to explain nineteenth-century gender roles, wherein the public sphere was male and the private sphere female. This ideology could be referenced in the context of gender roles during the fifties. However, the application of this binary opposition is rather limiting in terms of actual occupied space and the magazines themselves. In Damon-Moore's study she found that the activity of consuming transcended the metaphor of separate spheres. Women were not limited to the private sphere in their activity of purchasing items for the family home.³¹⁸ Similarly there were not distinct boundaries between the female-targeted and male-targeted magazines. Previously, Canadian scholarship on general interest and women's journals has not made a distinction in content between the two genres. However, in terms of consumption women could read both volumes, whereas

³¹⁸Damon-Moore, p. 4.

presumably men would not. Doris Anderson confirmed this differentiation, stating that many 'men's' magazines were also widely read by women, although, editorially, in content and in personnel they were dominated by men and aimed at men. Anderson also asserted that their advertising was aimed at men because they had more disposable income than women.³¹⁹ This did not seem entirely applicable to Saturday Night as advertisements for fur coats, perfume and lingerie frequently graced its pages. Damon-Moore, in her analysis of gender and commerce in the American journals Ladies' Home Journal and Saturday Evening Post from 1890 to 1914, found that magazines for both men and women were pervaded by images of appropriate gender ideals.³²⁰ This also seemed to be the case in Mayfair and Saturday Night as both contained images obviously aimed at the female reader. Hence, both Mayfair and Saturday Night although theoretically representing divergent editorial mandates presented gendered visions of women for women reinforced in advertising. Saturday Night presented both the male and female perspective and appropriate gender norms. The images of ideal femininity, fashion and beauty for women-only in Mayfair were still consumed by men in Saturday Night.

This analysis of the production and consumption of Mayfair and Saturday Night has provided insight into the relationship between the art writing and the framework for its dissemination. The male-dominated magazine industry presented a multivalent construction of gender within their products that was consumed in conjunction with the

³¹⁹Anderson, p. 15 cites Esquire as one of the magazines aimed at well to do men of leisure. Mayfair would have been an equivalent for women.

³²⁰Damon-Moore, p. 198.

texts. A historical and sociological examination of the decade is necessary to gauge the probable responses of the viewer to the material. The lives of women during the fifties affected their viewing and reading of the contents of the journal. Advertising and the vision of the perfect feminine ideal played a large part in the content of the magazines and directly and indirectly affected the texts in the magazines and the viewer's readings of them. Although women in the arts were frequently acknowledged in Mayfair and Saturday Night, their role was restricted by the constant articulation and representation of societal archetypes in this medium of popular culture.

Page describes how the first generation of women artists were acknowledged in contemporary writing, particularly by Newton MacTavish in The Fine Arts in Canada, but were later written out of the canon by historians and critics and in fact received less recognition in MacTavish's second book.³²¹ Women artists and critics seemed to have similarly been banished during the fifties. The fact that the first generation of women artists had already disappeared from the history books by that time meant they could not pave the way for up and coming artists, nor could they serve as role models for the next generation. Instead women were often presented as bubble-headed despite their role as collectors and volunteers. Like beautiful appearances, beauty in art was determined by the male journalistic elite who clearly placed women in an adjunct role.

The representation and interpretation of women primarily as consumers subverted their status as professionals. Woman's role as principal consumer presented a false sense of independence because women were not self-reliant when men clearly

³²¹See Page, p. 51-71.

occupied the role of breadwinner. This gendered division is premised upon an oppositional relationship of producer and consumer. The professional or producer as male artist also controlled family finances, even in the case of artist couples as indicated by Francis Arbuckle and Loretta Rix. It was almost impossible for married women to achieve status as fine artists, as in the case of Ursula Hanes, or as graphic artists as described by Elizabeth Hay Trott. Even when they functioned as consumers of art, their power as consumers was undermined by their position as subordinates to their husbands as the providers--of funds for purchasing art and of expertise in art buying.

Conclusion

General-interest periodicals offer an important resource for art historical information--writing about women in the arts was seldom published elsewhere between 1930 and 1960. The reception of women artists in the thirties presents an essential framework and marked contrast to the writing two decades later. Emily Carr, Paraskeva Clark, Prudence Heward, Isabel McLaughlin, Pegi Nicol and Elizabeth Wyn Wood were among the women repeatedly featured in articles and exhibition reviews. Women critics were active in the thirties and published regular columns for Saturday Night and Canadian Forum, in addition to contributions to Mayfair and Chatelaine magazines. As critics they were influential in shaping the artistic discourse and their writing was a reflection of the art community as it evolved over the decade. However, the number of women that published art criticism gradually declined in Canadian magazines as did the acknowledgement of women artists.

Mayfair on the other hand, increased its art content to become an anomaly among general-interest magazines during the 1950s. Its development of a regular art column featuring women in the arts as artists, collectors, curators and volunteers presents a valuable and seldom referenced source of art criticism during the fifties. Comparative analysis indicated there were far more articles in Mayfair on women artists than the parallel popular journal Saturday Night. Yet, in spite of the magazine's focus on the female gender and ostensible detachment from the patriarchy in the fifties it was nevertheless evident that women were still functioning within the male sphere. In the field of art writing, women were often placed in accordance with traditional gender roles either

as amateurs/volunteers or as professional women artists operating outside the norm.

These women were contextualized in terms of their family, marital and financial status - one or all of which were described as out of the ordinary. Furthermore, the patriarchal management and absence of women contributing art criticism, although in concordance with 1950s journalistic trends, was incongruous and appeared to re-edify barriers already existing for professional women in the arts. Additionally, the remainder of the contents of the magazines targeted the female readership as homemakers.

Popular magazines such as Mayfair function as time capsules by presenting a multivalent document representative of the time and the world that encompassed the art criticism. The beauty, fashion and domestic content created a paradox; professional women in the arts generally had to reject the feminine archetype created by these texts in order to pursue a career. The context of the art writing during the fifties modified the reception of women as professional artists. These prevailing stereotypes, consumed in conjunction with the art writing, functioned as professional hurdles to women in the arts. This thesis appears to indicate not only a link between the number of women critics and the success of women artists, but also the broader implications of societal and advertising stereotypes prevalent in the popular magazines for which the criticism was written. In total these factors provide insight into the aforementioned scarcity of women artists during the fifties and their subsequent elusiveness in the art historical canon.

This analysis of art writing in Mayfair magazine has presented innumerable questions about the role of women in Canadian art journalism. There remains much to be learnt in the field of Canadian art criticism. It is hoped that this investigation will add an

additional insight to the art historical narrative and provide a framework for additional research in this area. The fifties is a period in which the work of women artists has remained largely undocumented and a wider survey could be completed of the Canadian art criticism written about women artists during this decade. This remains an area to be looked at in terms of the changing reception of artwork. Additionally, very little is known of the women who contributed art writing during this period and an in-depth examination of their individual histories is necessary to fully understand their roles as art critics. An extensive sociological analysis of journals and readership is also required to understand the complex dynamic that occurred between the production of the journal and its consumption by the reader. This pre-feminist era represents an intriguing period in Canadian history as well as in art, that is well documented by popular periodicals.

The reception of women artists in popular magazines was simultaneously contextualized by a set of restrictive qualifiers. Not only was their role as professionals restricted linguistically and structurally, but ideologically in a manner clearly represented within the texts and sub-texts of the journals. The integrated methodological analysis I have utilised in this thesis leads to a comprehension of general interest magazines as inclusive and multifaceted art historical documents. This form of analysis also facilitates an alternative access point to traditional research methods, and facilitates the uncovering of another layer in the current (re)vision and (re)reading of the Canadian art historical canon.

INDIAN CHILDREN AT WHITEFISH

Yvonne McKague Housser

Plate 1

Yvonne McKague Housser, *Indian Children at Whitefish*
Canadian Forum 18 (September 1938): 176.

Plate 2 Gabriel Metsu, "Cover Painting," Mayfair 29 (February 1955): 1.

Women

Portrait of a Lady by Louis Dulangpré (?) c.1840.

The Robinson Sisters by George Berthon, 1846.

Lady in the Background

by Paul Duval

Down the ages, woman has been one of the great sources of inspiration for art. Draped, nude or in full fashion, she has provided centuries of western artists with their favorite subject. Venetian and Florentine, Dutch and French, Spanish and English—all great schools of painting have reflected the face, form and color of woman. Raphael and Titian, Rubens and Gainsborough, Degas and Renoir painted court lady, dancer, courtesan or kitchen maid with the same affection. Even today, when much of art seems locked in a deep freeze of cubes and prisms, great artists like England's Augustus John and France's Henri Matisse have found feminine curves at least as interesting as Euclidean lines.

Unlike his European brothers, however, the Canadian painter appears to have been

strangely oblivious to the spell of woman. There are shockingly few convincing portrayals of the fair sex throughout the three centuries of our art. Canadian art is virtually as barren of the female face and form as our postage stamps. When Canadian artists do approach the subject they seem to do so with a sort of cool caution. They paint their women the way a fisherman stuffs a fish and, for the most part, their portraits show as little warmth. Standing before them, the spectator is convinced that the models must have been clamped in place like the ladies who posed for Victorian daguerreotypes.

Why have Canadian artists treated woman as though she were the poison ivy, rather than the bloom of art? Why is

woman celebrated in song, story and art in other lands but not here? Are we to take our clue from Canadian literature and conclude that, since the poets have deemed her worthy of so few poems, the subject, herself, is probably to blame? Certainly, from a painter's point of view this can hardly be so.

I have heard painters demur that the basic material is fine, but that modern dress is not as "paintable" (whatever that means) as the costumes of yore. Personally, I am firmly convinced that Goya or Manet could have painted women in ski suits, slacks or even khaki jeans without sacrificing either their art's aesthetic content or their sitters' feminine appeal. After all, every woman doesn't look equally well in tweeds and brocade, and it is

SEPTEMBER 3, 1955

35

Collectors on both sides of the border buy Françoise Desrochers-Drolet's unique enamel-on-copper ware as fast as she makes it in her Quebec studio.

She Bakes Beauty on Copper

HANDICRAFTS in Quebec have come a long way. Witness the enamel-on-copper plates, ash trays and other decorative pieces by comely young Françoise Desrochers-Drolet.

Her jewel-bright, brilliantly designed enamel-on-copper products are now regarded as collectors' items by enthusiastic buyers in markets as far afield as Rockefeller Center, New York, and in shops on the Pacific coast.

Each time Mme. Drolet has held an exhibit in New York the display has been sold out entirely. She now works on orders several years in advance.

Just this autumn the Quebec Government bestowed on her the top prize in the decorative arts, awarded every three years. (Alternate years the prizes are awarded for painting and sculpture.) Value of the prize is \$1,500.

The craft of *émailage*, as they call it in Quebec, is comparatively new in this country. Probably not more than a dozen Canadians have mastered it as yet. Mme. Drolet is a pioneer in this field. Largely because of her example the craft now is being included in decorative arts courses.

Her first big exhibit was almost

are proud to recognize her work not only in various Canadian embassies but in such places as the Museum of Faenza, Italy, in the United Nations collection in New York, and in many distinguished private collections. It also is to be seen in the Museum of the Province of Quebec and in the Centrale d'Artisanat.

Although she restricts herself to comparatively small pieces—plates, ash trays, other similar receptacles—her range of colors and of designs is exceedingly wide and gives the impression of light-hearted improvisation. A tree, a fish, a shell or a rooster may provide her with a motif. Frogs or coins may provide the themes . . . or else a simple zig-zag, stripe or polka-dot design. Circles, scrolls, ripples—nothing is too simple for transmutation into the timeless loveliness of opaque or translucent, smooth or crackly enamel designs on a copper base.

The rich materials and deep flowing transparencies used by this artist in an endless variety of free, creative designs has resulted in objects of rare decorative beauty.

Mme. Drolet works and designs directly on the metal with-

Elizabeth Hay Trott,
"She Bakes Beauty on
Copper," *Mayfair* 29
(March 1955): 56.

A painter of everything from hurricanes to old boots, Mrs. Hortense Gordon of Hamilton, Ontario, reduces her subjects to bright powerful abstracts.

The Modern Artist Who Has Painted for Half a Century

HORTENSE GORDON, a small Hamilton widow who is celebrating her fiftieth year as a professional artist by painting abstract after abstract, recently received from a young colleague a 1955-style paean that richly merits recording here. "This girl," the young artist said, "is gone!"

The *avant garde* painter who described her this way was born 20 years after Hortense Gordon began to paint. But his praise—and his phrase—indicated not only the extent of Mrs. Gordon's acceptance among artists but also the unique position she holds in Canadian modern art.

Hortense Gordon sold her first painting—a frost-on-the-pumpkins landscape—when she was a 16-year-old art teacher in Chatham, Ont. In the half century since then, her style has moved from early nineteenth-century realism through impressionism and post-impressionism to her present form—abstract art. Sometimes, in the course of all this, she has been a little behind the times; sometimes she has been a little ahead. Right now she is way out in front.

Last month, when a group of abstract and non-objective artists exhibited together in Toronto under the name Painters 11, Hortense Gordon was very much among them. Her five oils—from the sombre, almost dreary Dere-

be against the spirit of the show. The painters, who were assembled for their second annual exhibition, made plain that they do not agree; none of them paints quite like any other. They have joined merely to exhibit and to present a united front for their very general and loose category of art. The list of painters includes some of the best in the country: Jack Bush, Oscar Cahen, Tom Hodgson, Alexandra Luke, J. W. G. Macdonald, Ray Mead, Kasuo Nakamura, William Ronald, Harold Town and W. Hawley Yarwood.

For Mrs. Gordon the whole show was a large delight. On opening day she arrived before all the others and walked through the Roberts Gallery alone, soaking in what she called "the vibrations of all those powerful personalities." But it was only one in a long series of delights in a colorful and vigorous career that has spanned two generations of artists and three continents.

Drawing came easily—more easily than walking—when Hortense Gordon was a small child in Hamilton. Her father, a newspaperman, saw talent in his daughter as early as her fifth year. Each day he gave her four sheets of copy paper and told her to fill them with sketches. For years this was her only prac-

Robert Fulford, "The Modern Artist Who Has Painted for Half a Century," *Mayfair* 29 (April 1955):

81-2

FINE ART and Fashion combine in this photograph—fashion in the person of actress Charmion King of stage, radio and TV, who models a Balenciaga salt-and-pepper tweed suit (available at Creed's), and fine art represented by the 24-inch cast stone figure of Saint Joan by Jacobine Jones, which will be part of Creed's Easter window display. Miss King is wearing a white straw hat by Ruby Cook and is carrying a stole of natural Russian Crown sables by Creed. Below is a photograph of Miss King as The Maid, in her undergraduate days at Hart House Theatre.

Ashley & Cropper

36

Easter on Toronto's "Fifth Avenue":

Fine Art and Fashion

THIS IS THE THEME of the second annual Easter Parade by the Yonge-Bay-Bloor Association, with models and the Easter paraders themselves providing the fashions, and with paintings (Old Masters and modern), sculpture and ceramics on display in the store windows, from April 7 to 12, to provide the Fine Art. On view will be work from such well known Canadian women as Emily Carr, Florence Wyle, Jacobine Jones and Dora de Pedrey Hunt.

April 9 '55

Saturday Night

WOMEN

Picture Gallery Home

by Ruth Bowen

YOU TAKE IT for granted that a good friend will lend you a book from his library shelves. It is more unusual for a friend to remove a picture from her walls with the words, "I'll lend it to you".

Mrs. H. A. Dyde of Edmonton, formerly of Ottawa, has been lending pictures from her personal gallery of Canadiana for years, both in the kinship of sharing what another likes and in enthusiastically appreciating the chance to help the paintings of Canadian artists to become better known.

Wife of Edmonton lawyer, H. A. Dyde, wartime assistant to three different ministers of defence, Mrs. Dyde's voice is probably the youngest and certainly the only feminine voice among the eight members of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery. She regards this position with some awe—"They all know so much more than I do"—but with intense and lively enthusiasm.

She certainly doesn't relate her personal interest in lending pictures to the gallery program, but from her collection of well over a hundred canvases and sketches by Canadian artists she has been generously sharing them round since she first began to collect pictures. "Six are away now," she says. "I miss them."

In the rooms of the Dyde's west-end home in Edmonton, which tops a hillside with a valley view of the Saskatchewan, the pictures are at ease. They represent different schools of painting but abide with each other in the gracious rooms, offering the same quality of warmth and interest that good reading, close at hand, gives to a home. They are not so much displayed as they are a part of the grace of a finely tutored and selective collector whose appreciation of art is as much a gift as the creative gift itself.

They hang in all the rooms downstairs, in the open hallway, drawing-room, dining-room and sun-room, up the stairway, in the upper halls, in the bedrooms. Some you understand; some you don't. They offer beauty and piquancy, a beauty which you can't define and a curiosity which struggles for precise definition.

Everywhere also in this picture-gallery home, and just as unobtrusively displayed, are lovely pieces of carving, Eskimo primitives in soapstone, the exquisite head of a Madonna in white wood, a gift from friends in Quebec, and pottery turned on the craftsman's wheel, some the work of Sibyl Laubenthal of Edmonton.

Dark green walls offset the paintings in white frames that

Mrs. H. A. Dyde of Edmonton points to an oil sketch of Dr. Charles Canzell, the noted geologist and her former neighbor in Ottawa. It is the work of Liliat T. Newton.

DECEMBER 10-11 1955

59

POWERS

ON

BEAUTY: VII

Here's what women want to know about weight-control

By JOHN ROBERT POWERS with ANNE FROMER

WOMEN who want to make themselves more beautiful constantly ask me questions about beauty care. In many years of answering them, I've found that five questions crop up regularly. This month and next, I'll review these questions and give my answers to them (answers which, incidentally, are given in far greater detail in my new book, *Secrets of Charm*).

Weight is an ever-present problem with many women, and the first two of this month's most-asked questions concern it. The third deals with milady's bath and the ways to make it more beneficial.

Question: With all the stress that is being laid upon the dangers of overweight I have tried to find out the right weight for my own height, age, and figure proportions. However, the various charts I consulted provide differing answers. Is there any way I can determine my ideal weight?

Answer: Yes. Here is the step by step procedure: first, get a scale, a tape measure, a ruler, a pencil and a slip of paper. Next, establish your exact height. Have someone help you make certain. Then take off your shoes and stand with your back erect against a doorjamb. Place a ruler on your head so that it is parallel to the

floor and one end touches the jamb. Ask your helper to put a light pencil mark at the spot where the ruler meets the jamb. With a tape measure, mark off the distance between mark and floor. Then jot down the result on the slip of paper.

Next, measure your wrist. Your aide will be a help here. Be sure that the tape is held neither tight nor slack, and that it is placed around the most prominent part of the bony protuberances. Be particular, for on this measurement rests the accuracy that defies charting. Again, write the result on your slip of paper.

To arrive at your ideal weight, locate the grouping below that includes your height and wrist measurement. Then follow the instructions.

Your Ideal Weight

GROUP I: Height: 5 ft. to 5 ft. 3 in. . . . wrist measure $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Step one: allow 100 lbs. for the first 5 ft. Step two: add 5 lbs. for each inch you measure over 5 ft. for your total.

Caution: if your wrist is larger than $5\frac{3}{4}$ in., add 5 lbs. to the total; if your wrist measures smaller than $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., subtract 5 lbs. from the total.

GROUP II: Height: 5 ft. 3 in. to 5 ft. 6 in. . . . wrist measure $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Step one: allow 100 lbs. for the first 5 ft. Step two: allow 5 lbs. for each inch over 5 ft. for your total.

Caution: if your wrist measures larger than $5\frac{3}{4}$ in., add 5 lbs. If your wrist measures less than $5\frac{3}{4}$ in., subtract 5 lbs.

GROUP III: Height: 5 ft. 6 in. and over . . . wrist measure 6 in.

Plate 8

John Robert Powers,
"Powers on Beauty
VII: What women
want to know about
weight control,"
Mayfair 29 (March
1955): 67.

EATON'S OF CANADA

DECORATION FOR LIVING

Don't confuse decorating with window-dressing! To avoid stuffiness while achieving restraint, order and balance in a room is the essence of good decoration.

EATON decorators relate their skills to the activities, interests and aspirations of the individuals who occupy a home, to create an atmosphere which has a positive quality . . . one which permeates the "LIVING" rooms for today.

They do it with style! They are experts on the strategy of room arrangement, the vitality of colour, the importance of scale. Consult them, free of charge, and let their knowledge and experience help you make the difference between a home which is commonplace and one which reflects, in a distinctive way, the personalities "at home" within it.

EATON'S INTERIOR DECORATING SERVICE

50

SATURDAY NIGHT

41

nothing
makes
your
figure
behave

Behave

nemo's fabulous new girdle
with Scoop Front—the miracle
that actually scoops your front
in flat—and keeps a firm hand
on your whole figure!

Plate 10 "Nemo's Advertisement," Mayfair 29 (February 1955): 47.

WOMEN

Mrs. Paul G. Weil on the stairway of her Montreal home.

Full Life With Family

by Marion McCormick

A DAILY demonstration in how to manage an active family of six children and enjoy an otherwise full life is available from Mrs. Paul G. Weil, of Montreal. Small, dark, pretty, Mrs. Weil lives a many-faceted life amid a tumult of children and activities.

Vital statistics include the fact that she was born Mary Rosmond, in Almonte, Ont., educated in Ontario, and later abroad. She has lived long enough in Montreal to consider herself a native, and is married to Dr. Paul Weil, director of the blood bank at the Royal Victoria Hospital. Her children range in age from just over one year to not quite 20. Sonia, the eldest, is a first year medical student at McGill University. Next is 11-year-old Victoria, then Alexandra, seven, Gregory, six, Cecelia, three, and 15-months-old Kathleen.

The Weils live in a tall brick house on a steeply winding street near McGill. There is the only family house still on

the street. The others, all of Victorian vintage, have been turned into apartments. It has the spacious, high-ceilinged rooms, many fireplaces, and random planning of an earlier age in architecture, before compactness became an ideal. The house is furnished with an unexpected combination of modern furniture and Victorian pieces, which go together happily. Watery green backgrounds are used in the dining- and living-rooms which connect into an enormous room that looks out into the garden. Mrs. Weil's most prized possession, a landscape by Emily Carr, hangs over the living-room fireplace.

As big as the house is, it isn't big enough to accommodate all of her interests. A painter of professional standing, Mrs. Weil has more or less resigned herself to giving up painting for the next few years. She plans to paint again when the children are older, but the room that used to be her studio has been turned into a bedroom for one of the children,

and she has turned her attention to writing as a temporary substitute.

Trained in Paris and Vienna, she has exhibited at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, and at the Toronto Art Gallery. She finds it difficult to paint satisfactorily if she is interrupted, and no mother of six can expect to be left undisturbed for long. Interruptions when she is busy at the typewriter don't upset her, she has found, so she has undertaken a series of writing assignments.

She manages to tie in her interests tidily, with a volunteer public relations job for the Women's Auxiliary of the Royal Victoria Hospital, and free lance radio writing on medical and welfare subjects. Her most effective public relations effort on behalf of the hospital came about by accident just before Christmas, when she and her husband contributed blood to a pair of infant twins who needed the rare blood type both Weils have. She kept track of the twins' progress, and reports that they are thriving.

Her other interests include membership in the Institute of International Affairs, the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association, and the Quebec Home and School Association, for which she organizes a province-wide art competition for school children. This annual event

Tall windows overlook the garden. Victoria, Gregory and Cecilia are called in to tea in the candle-lit dining-room.

JULY 21ST 1956

35

**WORKS AT HOME
REGULARLY
— SELLS ARTICLES**

"After only seven lessons, I asked the editor of the Lacombe Globe to consider my stories. Now he accepts my weekly news reports regularly. One item was reread from the Globe by a radio commentator. To think I can accomplish all this sitting right here at home, thanks to N.I.A." — Mrs. Minnie E. H. Long, Alberta, Canada.

Why Can't You Write?

*It's much simpler
than you think!*

SO many people with the "germ" of writing in them simply can't get started. They suffer from inertia. Or they set up imaginary barriers to taking the first step.

Many are convinced the field is confined to persons gifted with a genius for writing.

Few realize that the great bulk of commercial writing is done by so-called "unknowns."

Not only do these thousands of men and women produce most of the fiction published, but countless articles on business affairs, homemaking, social matters, travel, sports, hobbies, local club and church activities, etc., as well.

Such material is in constant demand. Every week thousands of cheques for \$25, \$50 and \$100 go out to writers whose latent ability was perhaps no greater than yours.

APPENDIX 1

An Analytical Table of Art Writing in Mayfair Magazine, 1927-1957

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
1927	May	13	R.S. Hewton A.R.C.A	Miss Audrey Butler	portrait
	June	17	Dorothy Stevens	Mrs. A.H.C. Proctor	portrait
	July	31	R.S. Hewton	Mrs. Thomas Caverhill	portrait
1929	Mar.	110	Mrs. E. Ridout Fellowes		portrait
	June	26	Kenneth Forbes ARCA	Mrs. MacKenzie Randolph Campbell	portrait
1930	Mar.	38	Kenneth Forbes	Mrs. Norman Perry	portrait
	Oct.	40	Kenneth Forbes	Mrs. T.K. McNair	portrait
1931	Jan.	31	Archibald G. Barnes	Mrs. Frank Hearn	portrait
	Feb.	19	Robert Watt	Children in Chalk	Montreal Art Assoc.
	Feb.	31	Dorothy Stevens OSA	Mrs. Gordon Finch	portrait
	Mar.	47	A.G. Barnes	Miss Harryette & Miss Mabel Elizabeth Coulson	portrait
	Apr.	38	Victor Long	Mrs. R.J. Cromie	portrait

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	June	47	Kenneth Forbes ARCA OSA	Mrs. Donald Graham	portrait
	Aug.	34	P.A. de Laszlo	Mrs. George Vanier	portrait
1932	Jan.	41		Mayfair's Letter from Vancouver	new art gallery opened
	Feb.	42	Dorothy Stevens	"Society Portraits by the New ARCA" Miss Patricia Watson Mrs. Goerge W. Ross	Dorothy Stevens in private life Mrs. Reginald de Bruno Austin
	Feb.	70		Toronto High Noon Gossip	Group of Seven; Harris, Prudence Heward(nude)
	Feb.	82	Marion Long	Pastel Portraits by Marion Long Recently on View in Toronto	Miss Anne Holland
	Feb.	84		Art Gallery of Toronto -2 Portraits	Sir Joshua Reynold Gainsborough
	May	36	Kenneth Forbes	Mrs. Kenneth K. Forbes, Mrs. C. Blake Johnson	portraits
	June	30, 31		Getting Your Portrait Painted	Dorothy Stevens Kenneth Forbes Archibald Barnes
	Aug.	28	Desmond Vaschell	Mrs. P.J. Baskerville	portrait

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	Sept.	29		Dorothy Stevens ARCA OSA	photograph
	Nov.	26, 27, 52		Nudes in Revival	
1933	Jan.	11		These Artists	Elizabeth Bart-Gerald - portrait artist
	Feb.	9		Youth as the Artist Sees it	Henri Fabien Dorothy Stevens
	Feb.	22	Miss Arlene Generaux	Potpourri of Canadiana	Mrs. Bernard Devlin
	Mar.	31	Randolph S. Hewton ARCA	Miss Audrey Cook	portrait
	May	30	Kenneth Forbes	4 New Portraits	portraits
	June	28		Montreal Portraits	Simon Ewles Alphonse Jongers
	Sept.	17	Violet Keer	Sculptress of the Future	Elizabeth Wyn Wood ARCA
	Dec.	38	Kenneth Forbes ARCA OSA	Lady in Blue	Mrs. D.M. Hogarth
1934	Jan.	25		Sunshine & Wind: in Water- Colour	Royal Scottish Society of Painters in Water-colours
	Oct.	32	Kenneth Forbes	Mrs. Harry Oakes and her Children	portrait
1935	Jan.	29	Kenneth Forbes	Mrs. Jules Timms	portrait

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	Jan.	31		Portraits from 1934 Academy	E. Wyly Grier, Kenneth Forbes, Alfred Laliberte
1935	May	99		Helena Rubenstein	biography
1936	Feb.	30		Canadians in Colour	portraits by B. Bennet-Alder and John Russell
	Aug.			Mrs. P.A. Dumoulin	Kenneth Forbes RCA
1937	Feb.	26		A Charming Group of Miniatures	Mr. B. Bennet-Alder
	Feb.	32-3		Canada's Senior Painters Show	Their Solid North
	Apr.	54		There's a Spring Tonic in Canadian Art Show	OSA Carmichael McLaren
1938	Jan.	33	Mr. Kenneth Forbes RCA OSA	Mr. Thomas L. Moffat	portrait
	Feb.	32	Mr. Bennet-Alder	Miniatures from the Maritimes	
1940	Feb.	30	Kenneth Forbes	Mrs. Thomas Moore	portrait
1942	June	61		Pictorial Canadiana	1848-58 collection
1942	July	19, 35		Good News	Montreal Art Gallery

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
1943	Apr.	26-7		Up From the Cellar: Down From the Attic	Superfluity Shop -Red Cross
1943	Oct.	18-19		Artists Dramatize the New Victory Loan	posters
1944	Feb.	30-1, 59	Pearl McCarthy	Mexican Art Today	
	Feb.	32-3		Canadians View Mexican Art	
	Mar.	55		Freedom in Art Expression	10 young innocents Eaton's, College St.
	Mar.	70-1		Gala Art Show	Art Gallery Toronto
	Apr.	28-9, 46	Nancy Rankin	Dutch Treat	Art Gallery Montreal Dutch Art
	May	20-1		Four Flying Artists	Alwinckle, Goranson, Schaefer, Holgate
	May	86		The Artists Speak	Brandter, Mulstock, Masson, Surry
	June	82	Ronald Hambleton	Assignment to Paint	A.Y. Jackson
	Oct.	53	Nancy Rankin	The Friends of Art	Mme Perrier
	Nov.	79, 84		Painting No Object	Edna Tacon
	Nov.	82		Eight Quebec Artists	

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	Dec.	25	Nancy Rankin	Feast of Deveillon	reprod. Kathleen Morris "After Grand Mass"
	Dec.	104	Ronald Hambleton	The Return of Varley	
	Dec.	109	Ronald Hambleton	The Three Knowles	
1945	Jan.	24		They Come Bearing Gifts	Jo Michotte Belgian painter
	Feb.	64-5		French Priests to Group of Seven	
	Mar.	19-21, 66, 79	Madge MacBeth	Paint Tells the Story	Canadian War Artists
	Mar.	76		The Draftiest Studio in the World	
	Apr.	97		Canvases by Streiger	portrait
	May	28-9		Dutch Develop Arts and Crafts	
	July	51		Canadian Crafts	
	Oct.	44-5, 74, 89, 91	Dudley Dell and Constance MacKay	A New Portrait of Emily Carr	
	Nov.	53, 100		Peruvian Painter of Beautiful Women	Mariano Soyer
	Dec.	38-9, 105-6, 108	Nancy Rankin	La Famille Bouchard	Baie St. Paul artists sculptors

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
1946	Jan.	32		Canadian Group of Painters	7th Exhibition Toronto
	Feb.	46-7, 68	Constance MacKay	Down with Depopulation	Vancouver Labor Arts Guild
	Mar.	41	Jack McLaren	I have been Karshed	
	Mar.	42-3, 75		The Rubinstein Collection	Princess Gourielli's NY penthouse
	Mar.	50-1		Jewish Art from Abraham to 1946	
	July	34-7, 76		Weekend Specialist	Ron Jackson bird artist
	July	44-5	Constance MacKay	Masks of Mystery	B.C. aboriginal masks
	Aug.	66		Canadian Younger Artists	
	Sept.	77		Grant Macdonald Art Exhibition	
	Oct.	68	Arthur W. Walls	Saskatoon's Art Loving Mayor	Angus Macpherson
	Nov.	86-7, 109	Dudley Dell	Alice Bradshaw Introd. to Mayfair Artist	
1947	Jan.	45-6		The Spirit of Modern France	Art Gallery Toronto
	Jan.	76		January Cover Artist Leon Masson	
	Feb.	109		Mexican Art	

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	Mar.	66	Margaret Bloy Graham	Statuary of New York City	drawing
	Apr.	61-3, 93		Busy Men Who Paint for Fun	
	Apr.	88		Saint John Artists Honoured with Fellowship	Dorothy McAvity
	Apr.	96		Ontario Society of Artists Pause to Glance Backward	
	May	30		Canadian Landscape Painting Through the Years	
	June	51-3, 106	William Menard	The Ghost of Gaugain	fictional story
	June	54-5		For the Navy Travel is Work	Lieut. Irwin L. Crosthwait naval artists
	July	48-9		New Brunswick Artists	
	Sept.	62-3, 106		The Arts of French Canada	
	Oct.	66-7, 122		Aboriginal Art Inspires Australian Designers	
1948	July	68-9, 102-3	Paul Duval	Storm Centre of Canadian Art	Quebec's Most Modern Painting
	Aug.	62-4		Banff School	

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	Sept.	65	George Foord	An Artist Should Be Able to Eat	
	Oct.	124			painting by Estelle Kerr
	Dec.	74-5		Mayfair Art Show	Eatons Gallery
1949	Sept.	46-7		At the Art Directors Exhibition	Mayfair medals
	Oct.	94-6		Art Students make Mayfair Covers as Study Project	
1950	Jan.	24		Vancouver Art Gallery Sale	Women's Aux. Committee
	Jan.	51		How Should You Spend Your Money in 1950	invest in painting
	Jan.	54-6		45 Canadian Paintings Sell for \$2850	Women's Committee Toronto Art Gallery
	Mar.	24-5		Old Paintings of Famous Thoroughbreds	
	Apr.	95	Barbara Swann	Beautiful Carvings of Canadian Birds	Eugene Lynch
	July	33		Toronto Gallery Gives Gay Ball to Raise Money	
	Dec.	36		Hamilton Women Raise \$1500 for New Art Gallery	

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
1951	Feb.	39-41		Folk Art for Petroleum Executives	
	Mar.	56-8		Across Canada With a Sketchbook	Mr. Walsh
	May	51-55		Tiny Woman Produces Heroic New Sculpture	Jacobine Jones Bank of Nova Scotia
	May	48-9		Painting Comes to Life at Gallery Masquerade	
	July	40-2		What Makes the McDonald's Paint	
	Aug.	47-9		Fun for Arts Sake at Garden Party	Fundraising Montreal Museum
	Sept.	51-3	R.H. Vanden-Bergh	Horse Painting Can Be Artistic Also	
	Oct.	53-5		Canada's Richest Art Exhibit	A.G.O.
	Nov.	58-9		The Gallery Built for Emily Carr	
	Dec.	57-9, 99-105	Richard Lawrence	The Man Who Paints Nightmares	Jack Shadbolt
1952	Feb.	36-7	Robert Thomas Allen	Please Spare the Artist Your Opinion	
	Mar.	40-1	Elizabeth Hay Trott	Why Our Churches Have an Old Look	

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	July	42-3, 62-3		Success with Clay or Canvas	Cleeve Horne
	Oct.	48-53, 82, 84		Canada's Finest Art Collector	Charles Wasserman
	Oct.			14 Famous Paintings from the Van Horne Collection	
	Nov.	63-4, 67-8	Frobisher J. Creel	Any Fool Can Paint	
1953	Feb.	50-1, 54		The Merry Doodlings of Len Norris	cartoonist
	Feb.	52, 79		B.K. Sandwell says we've worn out the top hat and tails	in art galleries
	Mar.	45		Our New Way of Living	architects
	Apr.	46-9, 96, 90	James A. Murray	Canada's Greatest Chinese Art Treasure	ROM
	Dec.	48-9, 54	Alan Field	Roloff Beny	Guggenheim Fellowship, NY
1954	Mar.	54-5, 57	Peter Francis	European Masters and Contemporary Canadians	Gallery and Studio -new column
	Apr.	54-5	Peter Francis	Gallery and Studio	colony artists Ottawa
	May	56-7, 74	Kathleen Wittick	Art New Angles from Europe	AGO

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	June	10		Mayfair's Been Framed (and we love it)	incl. Jean Miller
	June	52-3	David Rogers	Art: Modern Art - Step by Step	artist Bob Prauda
	July	18	Ronald Hambleton	3-creed Survey Sheds Light on Arts	Volunteer Groups in Action
	Sept.	10		His Buildings Tell Tales of Canada	Thor Hansen
	Sept.	27-9, 58, 61-5		A.Y. Jackson: A rebel painter's own story	
	Sept.	80		Gallery and Studio: Club Cars Offer Built in Scenery	
	Oct.	30-3	Zena Cherry	What the Artist Sees in Women	portraits
	Oct.	56-8	Kathleen Wittick	Gallery and Studio: New Life for Doon	
	Nov.	12-16		Backstage Portraits Capture the Spirit of Stratford	Grant MacDonald
	Nov.	64-5	William French	Gallery and Studio: A Single Name a Twin Genius	Konrad Sadowski
	Dec.	28-30, 86	Fulford	She Puts Life into Stained Glass	Anne Thompson

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	Dec.	31-5, 48-50, 59, 70, 72		Karsh	
	Dec.	51	Paul Duval	Gallery and Studio Tom Thomson's Cabin -by the Subway	
1955	Jan.	63	George Alliston	Who Says Nobody Goes to Antique Shows	
	Feb.	14-15		The brush and pen	
	Feb.	46	George Allison	They Sell to Buy New Art	
	Mar.	56-57	Elizabeth Hay Trott	She Bakes Beauty on Copper	Derochers- Drolet
	Apr.	27-29, 57-60	Charles S. Band	I collect what I like	
	Apr.	63		A Canadian Portrait	
	Apr.	81-82	Robert Fulford	The Modern Artist Who Has Painted for Half a Century	Hortense Gordon
	May	69-70	Robert Fulford	They're Putting the Craftsman Back in Business	
	June	25-28, 58-62	Robert Fulford	The Backstage Star of Stratford	Tanya Moiseiwitch
	June	48-51	Frances Arbuckle	At home with an artist	

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	June	63-64	Robert Fulford	Linoleum is the Substance of the their Art	Karl and Lauretta Rix
	Sept.	21-22	Barbara Moon	Heritage in Ceramics	
	Oct.	27-29	Barbara Moon	He's Betting \$250000 Against Modern Art	
	Oct.	56-57	Robert Fulford	The Ladies Stepped in to Sell Canadian Art	
	Nov.	78-79	Robert Fulford	Stars of Stratford Festival Pose for Young Sculptress	Ursula Hanes
	Dec.	13, 21	Robert Fulford	A Lost Tradition	
	Dec.	30-31, 51	R.A.J. Phillips	Death of a Artist	Akeeatashuk
1956	Jan.	65	Fulford	Gallery and Studio: Henry Moore	Toronto Show Utrillo, Togyemy
	Feb.	34-5		They Had A Ball at the Museum	MMFA
	Feb.	46	Fulford	Kazuo Nakamura	
	Mar.	52	Fulford	School is Out	Greenwich Gallery, Isaacs
	Apr.	69	Fulford	Renaissance in Britain	
	May	70	Fulford	New Outlook in Our Painting	Canadian Tradition Dying

YEAR	MONTH	PAGE	AUTHOR	TITLE	SUBJECT
	June	51-2	Fulford	Triple Threat in Abstracts	Michael Snow
	July	46	Fulford	The Old Master Restorer	
	Aug.	4, 10	Fulford	Zacks Collection	
	Sept.	84	Fulford	Tarascan Exhibit	
	Oct.	61	Fulford	Robert Varvarande	
	Nov.	78-9	Fulford	Fred Ross New Voice from N.B.	
	Dec.	74	Fulford	Art Books for Christmas	
1957	Jan.	42	Fulford	Tonnacour's Curious Crisis	
	Feb.	52-3	Fulford	Rakine the Happy Compromise	Marthe Rakine
	Mar.	46-9	Fulford	A Few Kind Words About non-objective art	
	Apr.	73	Fulford	The Realist Argument Ghitta Caiserman	
	June	56	Fulford	Suspense from Saint John	Miller Brittain
	July	44	Fulford	Leon Bellefleur	
	Sept.	62		The Case of the Missing Art Books	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Canadian Art. Ottawa: Society for Art Publications.

Canadian Forum. Toronto: Canadian Forum Ltd.

Chatelaine. Toronto: Maclean Hunter Ltd.

Mayfair. Toronto: Maclean Hunter Ltd.

Saturday Night. Toronto: Consolidated Press Limited.

Archival Sources

Archives of Ontario. Maclean Hunter Collection.

National Archives of Canada. Emily Carr Collection.

National Gallery of Canada Archives. Artist Files.

Secondary Sources

Adams, Annmarie. "Building Barriers: Images of Women in Canada's Architectural Press, 1924-73," RFR/DRF 23,2 (994): 3-12.

Analysis of Circulation of Canadian Publications. Toronto: Association of Canadian Advertisers Inc, 1940.

Anderson, Doris. "Women's Magazines in the 1970s" Canadian Women's Studies 2,2 (1980): 15-16.

Ballaster, Ros et al. Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine. London: MacMillan, 1991.

Battersby, Christine. Gender and Genius. London: Women's Press, 1989.

Betterton, Rosemary, ed. Looking on: Images of femininity in the visual arts and media. London: Pandora Press, 1987.

Bland, Susan M. "Henrietta the Homemaker and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1939-50," Atlantis, 8,2 (1983): 61-86.

- Bodenhorn, Barbara. "I'm not the great hunter, my wife is," Études/Inuit/Studies 14,1-2 (1990): 55-74.
- Bowlby, Rachel. Just Looking: Consumer culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola. New York: Methuen, 1985.
- Brooker, Bertram. Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, 1929. Toronto, 1929.
- Broude, Norma and Mary D. Garrard eds. The Power of Feminist Art. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994.
- Busby, Linda J. and Greg Leichly. "Feminism and Advertising in Traditional and Nontraditional Women's Magazines 1950's-1980s," Journalism Quarterly. 70,2 (1993): 249-256.
- Chadwick, Whitney. Women, Art and Society. London: Thames and Hudson, 1990.
- Chadwick, Whitney and Isabelle de Courtivron eds. Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993.
- Chalmers, Floyd S. A Gentleman of the Press. Toronto: Doubleday, 1969.
- Chalmers, Floyd S. Both Sides of the Street: One Man's Life in Business and the Arts in Canada. Toronto: Macmillan, 1983.
- Damon-Moore, Helen. Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, 1880-1910. New York: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Deepwell, Katy, ed. New Feminist Art Criticism. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Dempsey, Lotta. No Life for a Lady. Don Mills: Musson Book Company, 1976.
- Fawcett, Trevor and Clive Phillpot, eds. The Art Press. London: The Art Book Company, 1976.
- Ferguson, Marjorie. Forever Feminine: Women's Magazine's and the Cult of Femininity. London: Heinemann, 1983.
- Ferguson, Marjorie. "Imagery and Ideology: To Cover Photographs of Traditional Women's Magazines", in Hearth and Home Images of Women in Mass Media. Eds. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Fetherling, Douglas, ed. Documents in Canadian Art. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1987.

Freed, Dale Anne. "Women of the '90s: You've come a long way..." Toronto Star(Toronto) 8 March 1994, F1.

Freeman, Barbara. Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989.

Friedan, Betty. The Feminine Mystique. New York: Laurel, 1974, first edition, 1963.

Fulford, Robert. Best Seat in the House: Memoirs of a Lucky Man. Toronto: Collins, 1988.

Granastein, J.L. and Peter Stevens, ed., Forum: Canadian Life and Letters: Selections from the Canadian Forum. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Hambleton, Ronald. How I earned \$250,000 as a free lance writer . . . even if it did take 30 years! Toronto: Bartholomew Green, 1977.

Harper, J. Russell. People's Art: Naive Art in Canada. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973-4.

Heggie, Grace F. and Gordon R. Adshead, eds. An Index to Saturday Night: The First Fifty Years 1887-1937. Toronto: Micromedia Ltd., 1987.

Hill, Charles. Canadian Painting in the Thirties. National Gallery of Canada, 1975.

Kerber, Linda K. and Jane De Hart-Mathews, "Betty Frieden, The Feminine Mystique," Women's America, Refocusing the Past. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Lang, Marjory. "Women About Town: Chroniclers of the Canadian Social Scene at the Turn of the Century," Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History. 6,2 (1990): 3-14.

Lang, Marjory and Linda Hale. "Women of *The World* and other Dailies: The Lives and Times of Vancouver Newspaperwomen in the First Quarter of the Twentieth," BC Studies (Spring 1990): 3-23.

Light, Beth and Ruth Roach Pierson, eds. No Easy Road: Women in Canada 1920s to 1960s. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1990.

- Lippard, Lucy. From the Centre: feminist essays on Women's Art. New York: Dutton, 1976.
- Malcolmson, Patricia. "Bobby Socks and de Beauvoir: Growing Up Female in the 1950s," Queen's Quarterly (Fall 1995): 557-565.
- McCarthy, Kathleen D. Women's Culture: American Philanthropy, 1830-1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- McCallister, William, ed. Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals. Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Son Inc., 1956.
- McCracken, Ellen. Decoding Women's Magazines, From Mademoiselle to Ms. London: MacMillan, 1992
- McKenzie, Karen and Mary F. Williamson, eds. The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979.
- McMann, Evelyn, ed. Canadian Who's Who Index. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- Nochlin, Linda. Women, Art and Power. London, 1988.
- Nunn, Pamela Gerrish. "Critically Speaking," in Women in the Victorian Art World ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr, Manchester: Manchester United Press, 1995.
- Nunn, Pamela Gerrish. Victorian Woman Artists. London: Women's Press Limited, 1987.
- O'Brian, Paddy. A Dedicated Life: Hortense Mattice Gordon. Chatham: Thames Art Gallery, 1993.
- Owens, Craig. Beyond Recognition, Representation and Power. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Page, Anne. "Canada's First Professional Women Painters 1890-1914: Their Reception in Canadian Writing on the Visual Arts." Montreal: Concordia University, 1991. M.A. diss.
- Parker, Rozsika. Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine. London: The Women's Press, 1984.
- Parker, Rozsika and Griselda Pollock. Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

- Pollock, Griselda. Vision and Difference: Femininity, feminism and histories of art. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Prentice, Alison et al. Canadian Women. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988.
- Rex, Kay. No Daughter of Mine: The Women and History of the Canadian Women's Press Club, 1904-1971. Toronto: Cedar Cave Books, 1995.
- Robinson, Gertrude Joch. "The Media and Social Change: Thirty Years of Magazine Coverage of Women and Work(1950-1977)," Atlantis 8,2 (1983): 82-92.
- Robinson, Hilary, ed. Visibly Female: Feminism and Art Today. London: Camden Press, 1987.
- Rosser, Phyllis. "There's no place like home," in New Feminist Criticism, Art Identity, Action, eds. Joanne Frueh, Cassandra L. Langer, and Arlene Raven. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994.
- Rowland, Anne. Bauhaus Sourcebook. Oxford: Phaidon, 1990.
- Sherman, Claire Richter with Adele M. Holcomb(Eds.). Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Sicotte, Helene. "Walter Abell au Canada, 1928-1944: Contribution d'une critique d'art americain au discours canadien en faveur de l'integration sociale de l'art," Journal of Canadian Art History 11(1988): 88ff.
- Sicotte, Helene. "Walter Abell, Robert Ayre, Graham McInnes apercu de la perspective social dans la critique d'art canadienne entre 1935 et 1945," (MA, UQAM, 1989).
- Slatkin, Wendy. The Voices of Women Artists. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1993.
- Straiton, John S. Of Women and Advertising. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1984.
- Strong-Boag, Veronica. The New Day Recalled, Lives of Girls and Women. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman , 1988.
- Sutherland, Fraser. The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines 1789-1989. Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1989.
- Tebbel, John and Mary Ellen Waller-Zuckerman. The Magazine in America, 1741-1990. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

- Tippett, Maria. By A Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992.
- Trott, Elizabeth Hay. "The Art Business," Monetary Times. (September 1953): 28-31, 104.
- Victoria and Albert Museum. The Art Press. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd. microfiche.
- Vipond, Mary. "The Image of Women in Mass Circulation Magazines," in The Neglected Majority. eds. Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977.
- Vipond, Mary. The Mass Media in Canada. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1992.
- Wilson, Susannah Jane. "The relationship between mass media-content and social change in Canada: An examination of the Image of Women in Mass Circulation Canadian Magazines 1930-1970." Toronto: University of Toronto, 1977. Phd. diss.
- Witzling, Mara R., ed. Voicing Our Visions: Writings By Women Artists. New York, University Press, 1991.
- Wolf, Naomi. The Beauty Myth. Toronto: Random House, 1991.
- Wolfe, Morris, ed. A Saturday Night Scrapbook. Toronto: New Press, 1973.
- Wolff, Janet, Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Wood, James Playsted. Magazines in the United States. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956.
- Woodward, Helen. The Lady Persuaders. New York: Ivan Obolensky Inc., 1960.
- Wright, Cynthia. "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance': Writing Gender into the History of Consumption," in Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History. eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, Toronto: University of Toronto, 1992.
- Zuilen, A.J. van. The Life Cycles of Magazines: A Historical Study of the Decline and Fall of the General Interest Mass Audience Magazine in the U.S. During the Period 1946-1972. Uithoorn, The Netherlands: Graduate Press, 1977.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

APPLIED IMAGE, Inc.
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved