An Art Critic at the Ringside: Mapping the Public and Private Lives of Pearl McCarthy

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the life and writing of Pearl McCarthy (1895-1964), art critic for the Toronto Globe and Mail from 1936 until 1964. Representing the first attempt at the recovery of McCarthy's biography and her weekly art reviews, this thesis positions her work as art critic within the local relations of the Globe and Mail, as well as the broader socio-historic relations. Drawing on feminist methodologies and research, it examines the various reasons that have contributed to McCarthy's omission from the histories of Canadian art, women and journalism. Of central concern to this examination is the intersection of McCarthy's public and private lives, and the many contradictions imbedded within these two realms. It also provides a mapping of the main themes within McCarthy's "Art and Artists" columns - nationalism, modernism and non-Western art - taking a critical look at the conservative and progressive elements expressed in her writing, and locating them within their historical contexts.

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Introduction

Locating Pearl McCarthy

I have read her columns for many years and can say with conviction that no one has done more for Canadian art and Canadian artists.

Charles S. Band, honorary vice-president of the Art Gallery

Charles S. Band, honorary vice-president of the Art Gallery of Toronto, October 1962

Pearl McCarthy established the Globe and Mail's art page and reigned for many years as undisputed queen of the fast-changing art world. I consider myself privileged to have known her, and her early support of me inspired me to grow and to take on challenges.²
Jack Pollock, art gallery owner, 1989

In November 1936, Pearl McCarthy became the art critic for the Toronto Globe and Mail (Figure 1). For the next twenty-eight years, her "Art and Artists" column appeared on a weekly basis, covering local visual art in and around Toronto, as well as the Canadian and international art scenes.³ She remained in this role until her death in March 1964. (See Appendix 1) In spite of a life-long career in the same position, McCarthy has largely been forgotten in the histories of art and journalism. This thesis presents the first comprehensive look at her life and writing. My aim is to demonstrate the significant role that McCarthy played within Canada's visual culture through the recovery of her biography and the examination of selected weekly columns. There is substantive evidence to suggest that her art writing raised the general public's awareness of the importance of the artist and modern art within contemporary society. This thesis will therefore map the main themes in McCarthy's art columns, focusing upon the contradictions arising from her conservative ideals and her more progressive views that challenged the dominant ideologies of the period. It will also critically examine her position as a woman journalist in a maledominated profession, with special emphasis on the impact of the gendered relations at the Globe and Mail. Finally, it will locate McCarthy's position as art critic within the discourses of journalism and art history, by arguing that she elevated the role of arts

writing within the Globe and Mail, but also within the broader context of society.

This thesis will be presented in three chapters focusing on McCarthy's position in Canadian art and journalism history, her life story, and the predominant themes expressed in her weekly columns. These diverse areas will be linked by the recurring theme of binary oppositions that marked McCarthy's private and professional lives. The following section will provide a brief overview of the general issues discussed in each chapter.

Chapter One will examine the possible reasons accounting for McCarthy's "absence" from the histories of journalism and art, arguing that both her gender and her departmental location within the Globe and Mail have resulted in a double marginalization. The discussion will begin with a look at the patriarchal practices of history writing in general, and their impact upon traditional paradigms of art and journalism histories. The second area to be discussed is feminist research and the writing of women's history. While feminist historians have raised important concerns about the way in which women's experiences and contributions have been neglected by "malestream" historians,⁵ their focus has usually been aimed at feminist heroines or the victimization of women. Feminist historians of journalism have tended to examine women working in "hard" news areas, with the result that McCarthy's work as art critic has been ignored. This discussion will be followed by a look at McCarthy's feminist interventions within her writing. Working in a male-dominated field, McCarthy was aware of sexist discrimination facing women in journalism: lower pay, ghettoized positions, fewer opportunities for advancement, and sexual harassment. These gendered inequalities made her acutely aware of the unequal power relations existing between men and women in a patriarchal culture. By dealing with gendered biases in her writing, McCarthy presented challenges to the existing power structure. Most often these topics were implicitly stated, and were introduced through "ruptures," which can best be described as conscious points of disjuncture within her writing.⁶ The final section will discuss the positioning of art criticism within the discourses

of journalism and art history in order to determine the context for McCarthy's marginalization within both areas.

Chapter Two will examine the personal and professional strands of McCarthy's life and work, focusing on the intersection of these two somewhat contradictory, and yet complimentary spheres. As a woman who pursued a professional journalistic career in the first half of the twentieth century, McCarthy's life raises many questions about her location within a male-dominated profession. Therefore, her position at the Globe and Mail, as well the gendered relations marking the public and private realms of her life, will be critically explored. It will address a number of questions involving her work as art critic in the process. How typical and/or atypical was she of women of her time? What factors surrounded her entry into professional journalism? What was it like to be a woman journalist at a time when society, in general, discouraged women from having full-time professional careers? How did she negotiate her position at the Globe and Mail? The linkage between biography and practice will be woven throughout this chapter, in order to locate her within the local site of the Globe and Mail, but also her position within a larger societal context. The chapter will trace the various familial and societal influences resulting in McCarthy's decision to enter professional journalism. It will also explore the reasons for her conflicted views towards social class, education, "high" culture, and the general readership for whom she was writing. Finally, McCarthy's relationship with her husband, Colin Sabiston, and the impact of the public and private aspects of their partnership will be discussed.

The third chapter will map out three main themes in McCarthy's "Art and Artists" columns: nationalism, modernism/formalism, and non-Western (First Nations and Inuit) art. These themes have been chosen as representatives of her conservative and progressive viewpoints in order to establish her position within the discourse of Canadian art history, as well as to explore the contradictory nature of her public "voice." In examining these

themes, I have kept in mind the following questions. How much choice did McCarthy have in choosing topics for her columns, and what impact, if any, did her editors have upon her writing? Does the thematic content in her columns reflect her personal views? Are there any examples in her writing where she was able to play or break with the rules and/or limitations imposed by her editors or the tastes of the public? How do her opinions compare to her contemporaries? In an attempt to answer these questions, McCarthy's writing will be situated within the local relations at the Globe and Mail, but also within the broader socio-political context. It will be demonstrated that her views regarding nationalism, and its sub-themes of patronage, decentralization, democracy and propaganda. represented a conservative outlook, one that supported the dominant ideologies of the time. In terms of modernism, her early writing (1930s) expressed a progressive outlook in contrast to her later writing on this subject which tended to be more conservative in scope. The most progressive side of McCarthy will be seen in her examination of the racial discrimination experienced by Inuit people, and particularly by First Nations groups. Her own marginalization as a woman seems to have given her insight into the unfair power relations between White society and aboriginal cultures. Similar to her feminist interventions discussed earlier, she employed the use of "ruptures" as a way of raising critical issues concerning racial injustices.

Literature Review:

Women's Journalism History

While McCarthy has made the occasional appearance within Canadian art histories, with few exceptions, she has almost completely disappeared from the history of journalism. Her "absence" is not unique, for the contributions and experiences of the majority of women journalists have been excluded by most male historians. The following section will examine the existing literature and research on Canadian women journalists that

formed the groundwork of this thesis, in order to demonstrate the need for an examination of McCarthy's work as art critic.

In spite of the professional gains made by women into journalism by the early twentieth century, there are relatively few scholarly works that examine their contributions. In contrast, extensive literature exists on and about men in the newspaper industry. Written primarily by men, these histories usually focus on general economic accounts and/or male editors, publishers and journalists. Consequently, women's experiences in the newspaper business have largely been overlooked or simply ignored. In 1974 communications professor James Carey, described American journalism histories as:

dull and unimaginative, excessively trivial in the problems chosen for study, oppressively chronological, divorced from the major current of contemporary historiography, and needlessly preoccupied with the production of biographies of editors and publishers.⁸

The situation, described by Carey, is equally prevalent in Canadian histories of journalism. Most begin with the emergence of pre-Confederation newspapers that expanded slowly, but steadily from political party organs into commercial enterprises of the twentieth century. When female journalists have been included, most often they are indexed under the general label of "Women," or are positioned in a separate chapter, apart from the main narrative. In other words, as sociologist Dorothy Smith would explain, they are treated as a special class outside the main group. (see Appendix 2) Typical examples of Canadian histories of journalism that generally ignore the experiences of women journalists include: Douglas Fetherling's *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper*, W.H. Kesterton's *A History of Journalism in Canada*, and Paul Rutherford's *The Making of the Canadian Media*. Not surprisingly, Canadian professor of journalism, Andrew Osler, has argued that of all the human stories journalism recounts, it consistently does the poorest job of telling its own.

In the last few decades feminist historians have begun to redress this gender

placing them within the historical record. In particular, the focus has centred upon such journalists and writers as Anna Jameson, Sara Jeannette Duncan, Kathleen Coleman, Cora Hind, and Nellie McClung. He But, because most of these are journal articles or single chapters in books, they tend to be more generalized accounts of women's journalistic experiences. However, Barbara Freeman's 1989 book *Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman* is an important addition to feminist histories of journalism, in its critical examination of the professional pressures facing Coleman, and how she successfully negotiated a position within a male-dominated workplace. Most recently, Kay Rex has published *No Daughter of Mine*, chronicling the history of the Canadian Women's Press Club. She examines the many barriers facing women in journalism, and their collective struggles to overcome them. 16

While these histories have secured a space, albeit a marginalized one, for women in journalism history, very few writers have focused on the way that power relations within the workplace have been gendered, and what these implications actually meant in terms of women's lives. As writer Susan Crean points out, most critical analysis involving issues of gender is centred upon the construction of gender and the representation of women in the media.¹⁷ Likewise, Carl Bybee, a professor in telecommunications and film, maintains that standard approaches to the study of gender inequality in journalism typically focus on four main categories: women's exclusion from economic opportunities within news organizations; the portrayal of women in advertising; the exclusion of women's lives from news coverage; or the misinterpretation of women in the news. By treating these areas independently, Bybee argues that sexism has come to be perceived as a dimension of inequality separate from political and economic issues.¹⁸ Crean's and Bybee's observations are supported by other feminist researchers who note that by 1977 a bibliography about sex stereotypes in media output contained more than a thousand

entries.¹⁹ Undeniably, this research has been badly needed, and it remains relevant today. Yet, Freeman's work on Kathleen Coleman represents one of the few in-depth studies that integrates the writing of a woman journalist, and the professional milieu in which she worked.

Like most women journalists, Pearl McCarthy's contributions and experiences have been excluded from the historical record. With the exception of Senator Richard Doyle's book, *Hurly-Burly: A Time at the Globe*, McCarthy does not appear in any history of journalism. While Doyle's brief references provide a personalized account of McCarthy during his time as editor at the *Globe and Mail*, they are anecdotal in nature, and thus do not provide any analysis of her work as critic. Given the lack of attention paid to women's experiences within the histories of journalism, one goal of this thesis has been to recover the writing of Pearl McCarthy and position her within the gendered relations of the *Globe and Mail*.

The Absence of Newspaper Art Criticism Within Art Histories

Similar to the histories of journalism, McCarthy's name has largely disappeared from the art historical record, even though she had achieved a great deal of status during her lifetime in the Canadian visual arts.²¹ Her "absence" from Canadian art history is not surprising, given the fact that scholarly research on art journalists is practically non-existent.²² And while McCarthy's contributions as *Globe and Mail* art critic may not have been completely ignored, to date, she has not been the subject of any full scale art historical research.

In the first edition of his book, *Painting In Canada: A History*, J. Russell Harper included Harold Town's painting, *In Memory of Pearl McCarthy*, 1964 (Figure 2). However, the text does not discuss this work, but rather focuses on Town and his art in

general.²³ And in the second edition, written eleven years after the first publication, Harper replaced Town's dedication to McCarthy with his collage, *Homage to Currelly* (1957).²⁴ Likewise, David Burnett, in his 1986 monograph entitled *Town*, also includes Town's *In Memory of Pearl McCarthy*. Focusing on the life and art of Town, Burnett provides only a formal discussion of this painting.²⁵ More significantly in terms of this thesis, Burnett was the first to address McCarthy's influential role as art critic by crediting her as the first critic to give Town's work serious attention.²⁶

In the 1988 exhibition catalogue on Kathleen Munn and Edna Taçon, Joyce Zemans et. al, surpass Burnett in their inclusion of McCarthy's writing. In their discussion of Taçon's work they reference McCarthy's columns on ten separate occasions in their discussion, and also acknowledge McCarthy's support for Taçon's modernist abstract art: "Pearl McCarthy, art critic for the Globe and Mail, who had already dedicated a column to Taçon and her work in August 1941, recommended the exhibition on the day it opened."27 Historian Maria Tippett also mentions McCarthy's encouragement of Taçon in her 1992 book, By a Lady. 28 However, McCarthy does not appear anywhere else in this history of Canadian women artists, despite the fact that she regularly reviewed a number of the painters and sculptors included by Tippett.²⁹ Finally, McCarthy is briefly included in the memoirs of former art gallery owner, Jack Pollock. While Pollock provides insights into aspects of McCarthy's personal life and stresses her importance as art critic, 31 his account is a general one. He does, however, recall conversations between himself and McCarthy. As Pollock recounts, she expressed her shock that no gallery, including the Art Gallery of Toronto, had shown any interest in exhibiting Frances Loring and Florence Wyle's sculpture, and suggested that Pollock invite them to exhibit at his studio.³² It was not until after McCarthy's death in March 1964, that Pollock finally arranged an exhibition of their work. He describes this event as: "It was a bittersweet afternoon, but I knew Pearl was

smiling in the wings and saying, 'Well done.'...if I have any regret, it is that I did not act sooner on Pearl's advice."³³

In the last fifteen years, several biographies have been published on Canadian male art critics.³⁴ While these texts are significant in their contributions to the history of Canadian art journalism, their focus is strictly on male critics.³⁵ Consequently, the issues of the power structures in the news room, and their effect upon gendered relations have yet to be addressed. These works will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter One in the section dealing with art journalism's relation to "high" art writing.

Despite recent art historical research on male art critics, critical examinations of art journalism within the mass press, and the contributions of women art journalists remain a neglected area. Pearl McCarthy's contribution has inevitably "fallen between the cracks" of journalism and art histories.

Methodologies

The paradigm most influential in this thesis has been feminist theory and research which has developed critical analyses of how in patriarchal societies women and men, in general, tend to live different lives and have different experiences. Feminist theory has had impact upon other disciplines central to this inquiry, including art historical discourses, media theory, sociological theory and oral history. The poststructuralist theories of Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault have provided a broader framework in which to examine McCarthy's role as newspaper art critic, as well as her gendered position at the *Globe and Mail*, and in society in general. The discussion will begin by looking at feminist theory, followed by an overview of the other theoretical approaches that have influenced the writing of this thesis.

A feminist analysis is based on the fundamental assumption that gendered relations within our society have been unequal, with women being in a subordinate position to men.

Addressing the broad question of how and why women have come to be subordinated, feminist theory offers analyses of the social and cultural processes through which their subordination is maintained and perpetuated. It is important to remember that feminist theory is both a diverse body of theory and a political movement engaged in the struggle to emancipate women from male domination. Feminist thinkers have always understood that knowledge, and its production, are inextricably tied to the exercise of (male) power. Therefore, feminist interventions into the various disciplines, such as history and sociology, have been done with the purpose of providing women with the "tools" for social change. As such, feminist theorists and researchers have played a major role in the women's liberation movement by offering new ways of understanding and analysing the gendered relations within our society. 38

Although early twentieth century feminists, such as Virginia Woolf, had previously raised questions about women's "absence" from history, the 1960s and 1970s saw a growing feminist movement concerned with the lack of women's voices in academic circles and university curriculums. Described by Gertrude Robinson as the period of "recovery and reappraisal," feminists from numerous disciplines began the onerous task of "adding" women's names to social theory and the humanities. In 1979 Elaine Showalter defined feminist critique as an interpretation of texts from a feminist perspective to expose clichés, stereotypes, and negative images of women. Generally focusing on male literary and theoretical texts, feminist theorists also called attention to gaps in a literary history that had largely excluded writing by women.

While the period of re-discovery made visible a number of those women who were previously unknown, or who had been forgotten, early feminist criticism offered only a "band-aid" solution. Feminist scholars soon found that the addition of women into history writing proved to be inadequate. It became widely accepted that although women's inclusion was a necessary step towards equality, it did not address the power relations

responsible for women's exclusion in the first place.⁴¹ Therefore, feminist historians, such as Joan Kelly, began to argue that:

the activity, power and cultural evaluation of women should be assessed in relational terms through a comparison and contrast with the activity, power and cultural evaluation of men and in relation to the institutions and social developments that shape the sexual order.⁴²

Likewise, Elise Boulding asserted that one must try to understand how a feminine culture is created inside a system of unequal relationships, and how the mechanisms of exclusion are constituted and maintained.⁴³

Feminist art historians have drawn similar conclusions to those of Kelly and Boulding. In their influential book *Old Mistresses*, Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock claim that feminist art history has a dual purpose. They argue that the re-discovery of women involved in cultural production is by itself inadequate, and that it must coincide with a deconstruction of art history in order to understand the relationship between women, art and ideology. ⁴⁴ Continuing, they state that the biggest omission of feminist art history has been our failure to analyse why modern art history ignores the existence of women artists. By confronting these questions, we are enabled to identify the unacknowledged ideology which informs the practice of this discipline and the values responsible for its classification and interpretations of all art. ⁴⁵ Likewise, Janet Wolff maintains that purely textual interpretations of women's art are limited, calling instead for a social-historical approach to art production. ⁴⁶

Streams of Feminism

While most feminists would agree that women are subordinated within patriarchal society, various strands of feminist thought differ in how they identify forms of women's oppression. Despite their divergences, there are several commonalities: understanding the

organization of production, reproduction, sexuality and socialization.⁴⁷ The following section will briefly examine three dominant streams of feminist thought - liberal feminism, radical feminism, and socialist feminism (the last has been the most influential in shaping the methodological framework for this thesis).

Liberal feminists, such as Betty Friedan, argue for women's rights to enjoy the freedom and equality of opportunity claimed by the autonomous liberal (male) individual. Rejecting any biological determinism, liberal feminists maintain that sex discrimination is unjust primarily because it deprives women of equal rights in pursuing their own self-interests - this is a basic human right regardless of gender. Moreover, women's inferior social status is not freely chosen; bias and discrimination deny their access and participation with men in higher status occupations. Their goal is to free women from their subordinate positions in patriarchal society. But as Lorraine Code observes, while liberal feminists argue that women have equal representation and have a voice in decision-making structures, they often assume that the structures themselves need no modification beyond those that would automatically occur if women were included on an equal basis with men. Although McCarthy never defined herself as a feminist, as we will see, she was supportive of the liberal-feminist struggle for women's rights in the public sphere. This issue will be explored more fully in Chapters One and Two.

In contrast, radical feminism emerged from women's disillusionment with New Left politics during the late 1960s. ⁵⁰ Its slogan, "the personal is political," contends that sexism is manifested in patriarchal families, gender stereotyping, pornography, wife and child abuse, and rape. Caroline Ramazanoglu says that by redefining what is public and what is private raises the problem of where power lies and on what power rests. The reconnection of the public and the private has meant broadening the concept of power to show that the private domain is as political as the public. ⁵¹ Many radical feminists, such as

Mary Daly, would argue that any male-female relation will necessarily be oppressive to women, thus, female separatism is the only option.⁵² While Ramazanoglu cautions that radical feminism ignores the different class interests of women's lives,⁵³ its politicization of the private domain has been helpful in examining the private/public dichotomy in McCarthy's life. Despite the fact that McCarthy had gained a great deal of status as art critic, both nationally and internationally, in terms of her personal relationship with her husband, she assumed a submissive role. This contradictory aspect defining these two areas of her life will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Two.

Feminist thinkers in the socialist tradition have traced the divided socio-sexual order to the organization of capitalist production outside the home. Drawing upon a Marxist analysis of class oppression, socialist feminists argue that capitalist economy oppresses women as a group, similar to the way it oppresses the working class a whole.⁵⁴ But within capitalist patriarchal society, women are subjected to further forms of oppression as a result of their sex. Historians in this tradition believe that women's subordinate position in the sex/gender system is expressed in super-exploited sex-typed jobs for the majority, but also in the discriminatory pay and advancement of more privileged women who do find equal work. 55 As Joan Kelly maintains, our personal, social and historical experience is shaped by "the simultaneous operation of relations of work and sex, relations that are systematically bound to each other." Similarly, in her examination of the divisions between women's lives (working class from middle class, white from black, first world from third world, lesbians from heterosexuals), Ramazanoglu stresses that the point of a class analysis is to determine how particular production systems work, to see which groups dominate and control each production system, and which groups are dominated and exploited.⁵⁷ Socialist feminist theory has been particularly useful in understanding the binary oppositions circumscribing McCarthy's life. Having grown up in a well-to-do family, McCarthy was afforded the luxury of pursuing her post-secondary

education. When her parents suffered a loss of fortune while she was in her mid-twenties, she experienced a shift from the ruling class to the working class. In spite of her lack of material resources during her work as art critic, she continued to identify with the dominant ideologies of the era that maintained and perpetuated her subordinate position. And although McCarthy belonged to the working class, she herself was also responsible for the subordination of another woman as she found it necessary to hire a housekeeper. Chapters Two and Three will look at these class-based contradictions of her public and private lives in greater detail.

Poststructuralist Theory

Discussing the period from the late 1960s until the mid-1980s, Linda Nicholson argues that a recurrent pattern occurring in feminist theory has been the tendency to reflect the viewpoints of white, middle class women living in Western industrialized nations. Ironically, different streams of feminist thought have replicated the specific types of "universalizing mistakes" found in the particular schools of thought to which their work was most closely allied. In an attempt to address this contradiction within their work, a number of feminists were drawn to poststructuralist theory which offered a critical framework to examine women's diverse positions within patriarchal society while avoiding generalizations of Western, white, middle-class women's experiences. Therefore, Nicholson calls for a post-modern feminist theory that would replace the universal notion of "woman" and "feminine gender identity," focusing instead upon the complexity of social identities, as well as the various other factors involving class, race, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation.

As Chris Weedon observes, poststructuralist theory does not have one fixed meaning, but is usually applied to a variety of theoretical positions.⁶¹ However, some general statements can be made about poststructuralism which have impacted upon

contemporary feminist theory. Most feminists today would reject any notion of a metanarrative (any all-encompassing theory) which claims to identify the basis of women's subordination. Poststructuralist thinkers also maintain that subjectivity is neither unified nor fixed.⁶² The concept of deconstruction, based upon the work of French theorist Jacques Derrida, is used in the critical examination of texts and assumptions in order to reveal the inconsistent and paradoxical use of the concepts from which they are derived. As meaning is never "fixed" in language, words, ideas and concepts can fluctuate, as they are always historically mediated and produced. Accordingly, gender is viewed as socially and culturally mediated within specific socio-historical contexts. But while deconstructive practices have been useful in feminist research in stressing the plurality and non-fixity of meaning (i.e. the concept of Woman), Weedon cautions that since it only examines texts in their relation to other texts, it does not take into account issues pertaining to social context, especially those related to power.⁶³ Nevertheless, the concept of deconstruction has been a useful "tool" with which to expose the universalizing fictions of gendered roles. While McCarthy unquestioningly subscribed to many of the stereotypes defining femininity, especially within her relationship to her husband, the fact that she held two graduate degrees, and worked her entire life in a male-dominated profession demonstrates that she challenged the socially constructed concept of "Woman."

The concept of ideological state apparatuses developed by French philosopher and sociologist Louis Althusser has also been helpful in understanding McCarthy's work in journalism. Drawing on the writings of Karl Marx and Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, Althusser argues that in order to persist over time, an economic system like capitalism is maintained through the work of the ideological state apparatuses which include political parties, religion, the mass media, art, literature and sport. These various structures work to integrate individuals into the existing economic system by subjecting them to hegemony of the dominant ideology, in other words, those ideas and values that support the dominance

of the ruling, capitalist class.⁶⁴ As it will be seen with McCarthy's writing, she was a staunch supporter of the liberal-humanist ideologies promulgated by the *Globe and Mail*. Despite the ideological content in her work, she maintained that her writing (with few exceptions) was non-biased. This was made possible because the ideologies that she regularly promoted were aligned with the values of the ruling class, and as a consequence, they were seen as the "natural" way of conceptualizing the world and its relations.

Another poststructuralist writer who has attracted the attention of number of feminists is French theorist Michel Foucault and his ideas on power. As art historian Deborah Cherry notes, Foucault's theory of the discourse of power offers a way for feminists to analyse the production and reproduction of patriarchal forms of power, at an institutional level, as well as in individual relations between men and women. Most importantly, Foucault argues that where there is power, there is also resistance, and that these points of resistance are everywhere in the power network. Moreover, there is no single point of "great Refusal," but there simultaneously exists a plurality of resistances. Foucault's theory of power and resistance is particularly helpful in accounting for McCarthy's use of "ruptures" in her writing. Within the journalistic limitations imposed upon her by her employers, McCarthy found ways of working within the restrictive environment of the newsroom, by consciously introducing disjunctures in her writing in order to question gendered and racial biases.

Sociological theory

Dorothy Smith's feminist-Marxist critique of sociological practices, and her theories on research methods provide a useful paradigm from which to examine the historical positioning of women within professional journalism. Arguing that the subject matter of sociology is organized from a determinate position in society (i.e. a ruling-class, white,

male one), Smith concludes that traditional sociological theory and practice recover only the object of research. Consequently, such a sociology masks the way these objects are constituted and constructed in the actual concrete social relations in which the sociologist conducts research. Drawing on Karl Marx's class analysis, Smith attempts to articulate women's experiences at the micro-sociological level and position them in the larger relations of the social and economic organization of capitalism. As Smith maintains, research at the micro level provides a point of entry into the larger relations of ruling:

The particular "case" is not particular in the aspects that are of concern to the inquirer. Indeed, it is not a "case" for it presents itself to us rather as a point of entry, the locus of an experiencing subject or subjects, into a larger social and economic process. The problematic of the everyday world arises precisely at the juncture of particular experience, with generalizing and abstracted forms of social relations organizing a division of labor in society at large. ⁷⁰

The particular site, or case, is thoroughly socially organized; the social is always inextricably there. Generalizability inheres in the particular, as the expression of the particular form is itself an attribute of social processes. According to Smith, there exists a material world in which relations of domination are enacted. In terms of McCarthy's life and work, Smith's sociological theories present the researcher with various explanations for how people's experiences are organized through the practices of the ruling regime - how administrative power is actually practiced and enforced.

Media Theory

Several media theorists have been influential in the writing of this thesis. In her 1978 sociological study of news production, Gaye Tuchman examined the microanalysis of news making. But, while she was interested in daily routines of reporters and editors, she also viewed news as enactments of the institutional processes in which newsmaking took

place. In her view, news was like a frame through which the social world is routinely constructed.⁷¹ As we will see in McCarthy's writing, particularly in her anti-fascist and anti-communist views expressed during wartime, she willingly promoted the liberal-humanist beliefs of the *Globe and Mail*, that were aligned with the dominant ideologies of Western capitalism.

Drawing on Tuchman's work, as well as Foucault's discourse of power and knowledge, Carl Bybee examines the construction of gender relations within news practices. In his view, because:

a pervasive web of power relations is spun in the mutually reinforcing interaction of knowledge production between micro and macro social practice, we must confront several issues simultaneously at a number of analytic levels.⁷²

These various levels in which knowledge is produced encompass the epistemological, the social structural and the phenomenological (daily practice). Kathy Ferguson argues that bureaucracies, such as the *Globe and Mail*, are both a structure and process, and must be located within their social context in Western society. As a structure, bureaucracies can be described as a fairly stable arrangement of roles and assignment of tasks, which are experienced by most individuals as static. Moreover, it is the established structural dimensions of bureaucracy that are most readily identified. As a process, bureaucracies symbolize a temporal ordering of human action that evolves out of certain historical conditions toward certain political ends. With this in mind, Bybee's critical framework will be used to consider the thematic areas of McCarthy's writing in terms of the implicit and explicit meaning of the text, the ideological position (of the *Globe and Mail*), and, the interaction between text and social context.

Women's biography

Most feminist historians agree that in writing women's biographies gender moves to the centre of the analysis, since women's lives differ from men's often in profound ways. Gerda Lerner urges that biography of women should apply a feminist approach to women's lives, using the new feminist scholarship in literature, psychology and anthropology. This allows biographers to use life-cycle analysis, or to address topics like how women's private and public lives intersect, or the familial support networks that sustain women's public activities.⁷⁶ Susan Ware says that one of the most important contributions of women's history to the craft of biography is its emphasis on personal lives and their impact on public accomplishments. 77 And conversely, "it sees the relation of the sexes formed by both socioeconomic and sexual-familial structures in the systematic connectedness."⁷⁸ As Joan Kelly argues, feminist thought regards the sexual/familial organization of society as integral to any conception of social structure or social change.⁷⁹ After conducting interviews and reading McCarthy's personal correspondence, it became apparent the importance of her relationship with her husband in determining aspects of her professional and private lives. Thus, I have tried to frame McCarthy's biographical data by situating her within familial/private relations, and the broader socio-historical context in which she lived.

In trying to avoid a purely chronological account of McCarthy's life and achievements, I have relied upon the writing of feminist historian, Kathleen Barry. She argues that writing a woman's life is a twofold process. It is necessary for historians to "re-create the phenomenology of daily life, to uncover the subjectivity of the self, but also to locate the subject in her own historical context, which requires 'historical reperiodization.'" Similarly, Susan Mann Trofimenkoff states that feminist biography should include three goals: examining the life cycle of the woman, the transitions she makes in a maturing and aging process and how these transitions are mediated by the

culture; studying at close range the patterns of relationships the woman has both within the family and outside it; and, examining how she confronts the constraints placed on her by roles and rules which may be formal or informal.⁸¹

One of the feminist challenges to traditional histories is the dismantling of the idea of "objectivity." In her study of battered women, using participatory research, Patricia Maguire stresses that "the notion of 'objectivity' has not only been appropriated by an elite group of knowledge producers, but that the appropriating group is the male elite, the male circle."82 Feminists charge that a false dichotomy is constructed with "objectivity" being established as the male domain, and subjectivity representing the female domain. Men have been associated with rationality, culture, detachment, while women are depicted as irrational, natural and emotional.⁸³ Linked to their rejection of "objectivity," is the feminist challenge to the notion of the researcher as being detached. Rather, many feminists advocate breaking down the researcher-researched hierarchy. 84 By expecting the feminist researcher to distance herself from the woman/women being studied, the researcher must also distance herself from her own oppression as a woman. As Dorothy Smith reminds us, this dichotomy between knower and known is embedded in traditional research methods.⁸⁵ Sandra Harding explains that the breakdown of these hierarchies is achieved when the researcher positions herself in terms of gender, race, class and culture, and raises questions about how she suspects these factors have shaped the research project. In so doing, the researcher appears, not as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as an actual, historical individual who has shaped the results of the analyses. 86 Yet, as Ramazanoglu points out, despite the fact that feminist researchers have criticized the need to objectify the subjects of research, it is impossible to ever fully escape objectification. This mainly arises as result that most people, whose lives are being investigated, have not chosen to be the objects of research.⁸⁷ I have experienced this dilemma in my examination of Pearl McCarthy, who passed away thirty-two years ago. Had she been still living, she might not

have consented to an examination of her personal life. Despite my own personal biases and viewpoints, I have tried not to be overly harsh and judgmental in terms of the aspects of her life and work that I disagree, but have attempted to present her life and work as fairly as possible.

Research Methods

Besides Pearl McCarthy's public voice located in her weekly "Art and Artists" columns and her other newspaper reviews, there existed limited information dealing with her private life. Although personal accounts of her life were found in her Obituary, and several accounts in *Who's Who in Canada*, ⁸⁸ these were limited in scope. While her weekly columns provided ample background of her public self, I felt that it would present a fragmented and partial view of who McCarthy was. The lack of existing information about her life is not uncommon in women's history. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman explain:

Of necessity historians of women have had to tap some previously unused, even uncollected, sources. A new sensitivity, often feminist in inspiration, to the frequency with which women's lives and beliefs have been interpreted for them by men has led to a search for documents in which the historical subjects themselves describe their own experiences. 89

With little having been written about Pearl McCarthy, "detective" work was essential in order to locate friends, family and/or co-workers. These contacts served to broaden the biographical profile and personalize my investigation into McCarthy's life story.

A variety of sources and materials has been applied in this thesis in order to reconstruct various strands of McCarthy's life. In addition to more traditional archival sources, such as Canadian statistical and census records, McCarthy saved some of her papers and correspondence. Several friends and relatives recounted her regular discarding

of files and papers. According to one friend, McCarthy would often remark: "I will not have old woman's muss about me!"90 Use was also made of McCarthy's "Fan" file that contained letters written by the general public, artists, curators and art professionals, dating from 1934 to 1964.⁹¹ That McCarthy preferred co-workers and friends to know little of her private life and past in order to create a kind of legendary persona, 92 appears to be supported by the fact that she wrote her own obituary for the Globe and Mail as she felt somebody would "mix something up and not get it right." (emphasis added) Other documents that have helped in the re-construction of McCarthy's life and work include family photographs, and McCarthy's personal letters to her husband, family, and art professionals. Most importantly, these letters were never intended for a public audience. Unlike her newspaper reviews, which were carefully edited and thought out, her private letters reveal aspects of her personal and intimate life. They are also significant as they provide proof that McCarthy firmly believed in the liberal-humanist ideologies promoted by the editorial department at the Globe and Mail. Her personal correspondence will be explored in further detail in Chapter Two. As historian Lorraine McMullen argues in her discussion of women's biography, if the personal is truly political, then "personal documents, fragmentary, incomplete, elusive as they are, must be read as Texts as carefully as more crafted, conventional utterances."94

Oral History

There are many other "voices" besides mine present in this thesis. A number of people in McCarthy's life were contacted and interviewed. (See Appendices 3 and 4) In Sylvie Vandercasteele's view, it is essential to use oral sources for women's history since much less been written about women's lives. Although Hugo Slim and Paul Thompson acknowledge that this method of research has often been de-valued because it has been viewed as being anecdotal and qualitative. They maintain that oral testimony is about

collecting subjective experience, and should not be compared to quantitative information. For them, oral history and quantitative research are complementary, with the one informing and qualifying the other. In terms of McCarthy's life, oral histories have provided valuable insight into her experiences that would not have been retrieved otherwise. However, it is important to remember that oral testimonies rely upon memory. Whether short-term or long-term, the act of remembering involves a process of selection, ordering, discarding and combining. Moreover, memory combines facts, interpretation and opinion, and is often influenced by hindsight. Still, the interviews with family and friends have offered personal accounts by those who knew McCarthy best. Amongst all of this is my voice, imposing an order and organization onto McCarthy's life.

Conclusion

With a thirty-seven year career in professional journalism, twenty-eight of which were spent as art critic for Canada's only national daily newspaper, the significance of the role played by Pearl McCarthy cannot be underestimated. This thesis is the first attempt to recover the forgotten story of Pearl McCarthy, by examining both the professional and personal aspects of her life and work.

In the following chapter, the various institutional and ideological practices that have led to McCarthy's subsequent omission from the histories of journalism and Canadian art will be examined in order to contextualize the strategies employed by McCarthy in her art writing at the *Globe and Mail*. Beginning with a critical look at the patriarchal practices inherent within traditional history writing, it will explore the various factors that resulted in women's exclusion in general. This will be followed by a discussion of feminist historians and their project of reclaiming the lives of forgotten women. While they have recovered the stories of a number of important Canadian women, McCarthy's contributions in the field of art and journalism have been overlooked. It will argue that her omission from women's

history is largely due to the fact that her writing has not been recognized for its feminist content. This section will thus examine the gendered constraints experienced by McCarthy and her work in a large news firm, and the various feminist strategies that she employed in her writing as a way of addressing sexist discrimination and women's issues. After situating McCarthy within the gendered relations of the *Globe and Mail*, the discussion will turn to the hierarchies inherent within the discourses of journalism and art history, which have resulted in the marginalization of art critics such as McCarthy.

25

- Joan Holloban, "Gallery Honors Art Critic", Globe and Mail (hereafter G&M), Toronto, 26 October 1962, 38.
- 2 Jack Pollock, Dear M: Letters from a Gentleman of Excess (Toronto, 1989), 173.
- It should be noted that I have referred to McCarthy's work as art criticism and arts journalism, as both she and the Globe and Mail interchanged these terms. In discussions pertaining to academic journals and specialized arts magazines, the distinction between newspaper arts reviewing and "high" arts writers will be made clear.
- My investigation of McCarthy's writing focuses most closely upon her "Art and Artists" columns. However, I have also examined her other columns on the visual arts and those that appeared in the Women's section. In many Globe and Mail editions after 1950, very often she would have two and even three articles on the visual arts in the same edition.
- Mary O'Brien coined this term in her book *Politics of Reproduction* (Boston: Routledge, 1981), which is now widely used in feminist thought.
- Typically McCarthy's "ruptures" begin with a disclaimer, such as "while we're not feminists at the *Globe and Mail*," which were then followed by a discussion of the "forbidden" topic (areas that were political or ideological in scope). Such disclaimers created a distance between McCarthy and the idea being discussed. However, as it will be argued in Chapters One and Three, the very presence of her disclaimers drew greater attention to the topic under discussion.
- 7 Marjory Lang notes that in terms of women's achievements, the history of journalism "is strewn with firsts." In Lang, "Separate Entrances: The First Generation of Canadian Women Journalists," in Lorraine McMullen (ed.) Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers (Ottawa, 1990), 79. By the 1890s, a number of women had successfully found full-time employment as journalists, including: Elmina Elliott Atkinson ("Madge Merton"), who wrote for the Saturday departments for the Montreal Daily Star and the Toronto Daily Star; Robertine Barry who joined the editorial staff of La Patrie in Quebec; Kathleen Blake Coleman ("Kit"), who wrote for the Toronto Mail and Empire; Sara Jeannette Duncan, who first began with the Toronto Globe and later joined the editorial staff of the Washington Post, Laura Bradshaw Durand, who initiated the book review and the young people's departments at the Toronto Globe; Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon ("Lally Bernard"), who wrote a weekly column entitled "Driftwood" in the Toronto Globe; and, Katherine Hale, the book critic for the Toronto Mail and Empire.
- James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History", *Journalism History*, vol. 1 (Spring 1974): 3. Carey calls for a cultural history of journalism that would examine, what he sees as the "central story", or the history of reporting.

- 9 Dorothy Smith, The Everyday World As Problematic (Boston, 1987b), 31.
- Douglas Fetherling, *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- W.H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., the Carleton Library, no. 36, 1967).
- Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).
- 13 Andrew Osler, News: The Evolution of Journalism in Canada (Toronto, 1993), 3.
- The lives of these early Canadian women journalists have been written on by:
 Barbara Freeman, "Every Stroke Upward': Women Journalists in Canada, 18801906", Canadian Woman Studies, vol. 7, no. 3 (Fall 1986):43-46; Susan Crean,
 "Piecing the Picture Together: Women and the Media in Canada", Canadian Woman
 Studies, vol. 8, no. 1 (Spring 1987):15-21; and, Marjorie Lang, op cit.; Jill
 Downie, A Passionate Pen: The Life and Times of Faith Fenton (Harper Collins,
 1996). See Lang's bibliography for a list of other articles and books on women
 journalists in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.
- Barbara M. Freeman, Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989).
- 16 Kay Rex, No Daughter of Mine: The Women and the History of the Canadian Women's Press Club (Toronto: Cedar Cave Books, 1995).
- S. Crean, "Piecing the Picture Together: Women and the Media in Canada", Canadian Woman Studies, 8 (Spring 1987): 15.
- Carl R. Bybee, "Constructing Women as Authorities: Local Journalism and the Microphysics of Power", *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, vol. 7, no. 3 (September 1990), 201.
- A. Courtney and T. Whipple quoted in Liesbet van Zoonen, Feminist Media Studies (London, 1994), 67.
- Richard J. Doyle, Hurly-Burly: A Time at The Globe (Toronto, 1990), 89, 100, and 199-200.
- Shortly after Pearl McCarthy's death, her brother Davis McCarthy approached a long-time friend, Joan Holloban, about publishing McCarthy's weekly columns and other reviews. Worried about the magnitude of such a project while working as a full-time reporter, Holloban felt she did not have the time to commit to such an endeavor. Unfortunately, this project was never completed. In Joan Holloban and Kay Rex, personal interview, 22 November 1994.

- In their article on journalism history, Donald Lewis Shaw and Sylvia Zack note that Marion Marzolf and Garth Jowett have called for a diversification of sources that would include music, art and poetry. In Shaw and Zack, "Rethinking Journalism History: How Some Recent Studies Support One Approach", Journalism History, vol. 14, no. 4 (Winter 1987), 112.
- J. Russell Harper, Painting in Canada: A History, 1st ed. (Toronto, 1966), 392.
- Ibid., Painting in Canada: A History, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1977), 348-349. Whereas Harper includes an illustration of In Memory of Pearl McCarthy in his first edition, (but does not discuss the actual work), in the second edition, he briefly describes Dr. C.T. Currelly, the first director of the Royal Ontario Museum, and the subject of Town's painting. However, Harper does not include an illustration of Town's collage in memory of Currelly, whereas he does for McCarthy. McCarthy's "absence" from Harper's book has an added sense of irony. Three years before Harper's first edition, McCarthy wrote a letter suggesting "one or two tips" on what should be included in a good history of Canadian art. McCarthy stated: "You know your art, but for the dear love of mercy check all your generalizations so that the history of Canadian art does not go on repeating its twice-told and never questioned mistakes in social history." In National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), J. Russell Harper Papers, MG 30, D 352, vol. 42, file 17. Pearl McCarthy to J. Russell Harper, 10 October 1963.
- David Burnett, Town (Toronto, 1986), 126. Describing In Memory of Pearl McCarthy, Burnett writes: [it] is like the engraved brass plaques on medieval tombs, monuments to the corruption of the flesh and the endurance of the spirit. This duality lies in the essential contrast between negative and positive shapes and between firmness and disintegration. It is as though we are looking down on the figure; we see in part a skeletal form, the shape of ribs, and a scattering of forms of a cellular breakdown. But, on the right, are three firmly defined forms, like a head with speech balloons emerging from it."
- McCarthy herself maintained she "discovered" Harold Town in 1944 at the Ontario College of Art's annual exhibition. In Richard Doyle, personal interview, 30 October 1994. Similarly, in the "Foreword" of Burnett's book, Town also acknowledged the support he received from McCarthy, as well as from the art critic Robert Fulford. In Burnett, op. cit., 12. See Chapter One for Harold Town's recollections of Pearl McCarthy's support and encouragement.
- Joyce Zemans, et. al., New Perspectives on Modernism in Canada: Kathleen Munn, Edna Taçon (Toronto, 1988), 32.
- Maria Tippett, By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women (Toronto, 1992), 115. Tippett writes that "critics as diverse as the Toronto Star's Augustus Bridle and the Globe and Mail's Pearl McCarthy praised her [Edna Taçon]. In ibid., 115.
- Some of these artists include Paraskeva Clark, Yvonne McKague Housser, Frances Loring, Isabel McLaughlin, and Florence Wyle.

- 30 Jack Pollock, op. cit., 173-174, 175, 176, and 177.
- 31 See the second quote of this Introduction.
- 32 Ibid., 175-176.
- Ibid., 177. Pollock describes this exhibition as being "bittersweet" because the morning of its opening Loring had suffered from a stroke, and had to be taken to hospital, where she stayed until her death six months later. And Florence Wyle, who was not aware of what had happened, spent several hours, according to Pollock, "in a child-like kind of trance, one moment recognizing guests, the next perplexed and not able to grasp the occasion fully."
- These works include: Gloria Lesser, "Biography and Bibliography of the Writings of Donald William Buchanan (1908-1966), Journal of Canadian Art History, vol. 5, no. 2 (1981):129-137; Louise Dompierre, John Lyman: 1886-1967 (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1986); and, Lois Valliant, "Robert Hugh Ayre: An Introduction", in The Critic and the Collection (Montreal: Concordia University, 1992), 25-32.
- Dompierre mentions the writing of journalist Jehanne Bietry Salinger in *The Canadian Forum*, however, Dompierre's focus is on the Lyman's rejection of Bietry Salinger who supported the Group of Seven. See pages 57, 59, in Dompierre, op. cit.
- 36 Although McCarthy would not have defined herself as a feminist, it is clear from her writing, as well as many aspects of her life, that she believed in women's rights, and gendered equality. Accordingly, Caroline Ramazanoglu argues that where women are not aware of their positions if oppression and patriarchy is not part of their vocabulary, these concepts are provided by the researcher. In Caroline Ramazanoglu, Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression (London, 1989), 54. Dorothy Smith has taken a similar approach in writing on a feminist sociology: "The problematic, located by our ignorance of how our everyday worlds are shaped and determined by relation and forces external to them, must not be taken to imply that we are dopes or dupes. Within our everyday worlds, we are expert practitioners of their quiddity...But how they are knitted into the extended social relations of a contemporary capitalist economy and society is not discoverable with them...But we cannot rely on them [women] for an understanding of the relations that shape and determine the everyday. Here then is our business as social scientists for the investigation of these relations and the exploration of the ways they are present in the everyday." In Smith, op. cit. (1987b), 110.
- There exists much critical writing on the relationship between production of knowledge and the maintenance of power. See for example: Geraldine Finn, "Reason and Violence: More Than a False Antithesis A Mechanism of Patriarchal Power", Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, vol. 6, no. 3 (Fall 1982):162-168; Susan J. Hekman, Gender and Knowledge: Elements of a Postmodern Feminism (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990); Sandra

- Kirby and Kate McKenna, Experience Research, Research, Social Change: Methods From the Margins (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1989); and Dorothy Smith, op. cit. (1987b).
- 38 Kirby and McKenna, "Introduction", op. cit., 15-30.
- Gertrude Robinson, "Editor's Column", *Canadian Journal of Communication*, vol. 14 (September 1989), 111.
- Elaine Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness", in Elaine Showalter (ed.), The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory (New York, 1985), 243-247.
- 41 Dorothy Smith, op. cit. (1987b), 22-34.
- Joan Kelly, Women, History and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly (Chicago, 1984), 9.
- Elise Boulding quoted in Micheline Dumont, "The Influence of Feminist Perspectives on Historical Research Methodology", trans. Carol Cochrane, in Winnie Tomm (ed.) The Effects of Feminist Approaches on Research Methodologies (Waterloo, 1989), 119.
- Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology (London, 1989), 47-48.
- 45 Ibid., 49
- Janet Wolff, Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture (Oxford, 1990), 4-5
- Juliet Mitchell, quoted in Sandra Burt et al. (eds.) Changing Patterns: Women in Canada (Toronto, 1993), 20. For a thorough examination of the plurality of the feminist movement, see Linda Hutcheon, "Postmodernism and feminisms", The Politics of Postmodernism (London: Routledge, 1989).
- 48 Lorraine Code, "Feminist Theory", in Sandra Burt et. al. (eds.) Changing Patterns: Women in Canada. (Toronto, 1993), 36.
- 49 Ibid., 37.
- 50 Ibid., 42.
- 51 Ramazanoglu, op. cit., 63.
- 52 Ibid., 42.
- 53 Ibid., 17.

- My use of the term oppression is based on that of Caroline Ramazanoglu's, by the various ways in which men have been seen to dominate women, and in which social structural arrangements have been seen to favour men over women. In Ramazanoglu, op. cit., 21.
- Joan Kelly, Women, History and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly (Chicago, 1984), 58.
- 56 Ibid., 9.
- 57 Ramazanoglu, op. cit., 98.
- Nicholson, (ed.), "Introduction", op. cit., 1.
- 59 Ibid., 5.
- 60 Ibid., 35.
- 61 Chris Weedon, Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory (Oxford, 1989), 19.
- 62 Ibid., 21.
- 63 Ibid., 163.
- 64 Louis Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy and other essays, trans. Ben Brewster, (New York, 1971), 141-158.
- Michel Foucault defines discourses as ways knowing and a form of knowledge. The most powerful discourses in our society have firm institutional bases, that can be found in the law, medicine, social welfare, education, and in the organization of the family and work. In Weedon, op. cit., 109.
- Deborah Cherry, Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists (London, 1993), 11.
- 67 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume 1.* Trans. Robert Hurley. (New York, 1990), 95-96.
- Dorothy E. Smith, "Women's: Perspective As a Radical Critique of Sociology", in Sandra Harding (ed.) Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues. (Bloomington, IN., 1987a), 84.
- 69 Ibid., Texts, Facts, and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling (London, 1993), 92. Smith defines social relations in terms of Marx: "as the actual coordinated activities of actual people in which the phenomena of political economy arise." Ibid., 94.
- 70 Ibid., op. cit., (1987b), 157.
- 71 Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in Construction of Reality (New York,

- 1978), 1-8.
- 72 Bybee, op. cit., 200.
- Kathleen E. Ferguson, *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy* (Philadelphia, 1984), 6.
- 74 Ibid., 7.
- 75 Bybee, op cit., 199-209.
- Gerda Lerner, quoted in "Introduction", in Sara Alpern et. al. (eds.) The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women (Urbana, Ill., 1992), 5.
- Susan Ware, "Unlocking the Porter-Dewson Partnership: A Challenge for the Feminist Biographer", in Alpern et. al. (eds.), op. cit., 61.
- Joan Kelly, Women, History & Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly (Chicago, 1984), 59.
- 79 Ibid., 59.
- Kathleen Barry, "Toward a Theory of Women's Biography", in Teresa Iles (ed.), All Sides of the Subject: Women and Biography (New York, 1992), 25.
- Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, "Feminism and The New Crisis in Methodology", in Tomm (ed.) op. cit., 26.
- Patricia Maguire, Doing Participatory Research: a feminist approach (Amherst, MA., 1987), 87.
- 83 Finn, op. cit., 163.
- This is seen in the work of Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna, op. cit., Patricia Maguire, op. cit., and Dorothy Smith op. cit., (1987a and 1987b).
- 85 Smith, op. cit., (1987b), 151-152.
- Sandra Harding, "Introduction", in Harding (ed.) op. cit., 9. Harding refers to this type of relationship between the researched and researchers as the "reflexivity of social science." (9)
- 87 Ramazanoglu, op. cit., 55.
- McCarthy is included in the 1953/54 and the 1962/63 editions of Who's Who in Canada.
- 89 Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, "Introduction", in Strong-Boag

- and Fellman (eds.) Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History (Canada, 1986), 5.
- Joan Holloban, personal interview, 22 November 1994.
- Obviously these letters were important to McCarthy, otherwise she would have discarded them. All of them are highly congratulatory, which explains why she kept them.
- 92 Martin Lynch, telephone conversation, 25 September 1995.
- Dora de Pedery Hunt, personal interview, 8 March 1995.
- Lorraine McMullen (ed.) "Introduction", op. cit., 18.
- Prior to the interviews, a set of question was mailed to each of the interviewees beforehand. Interviews were semi-structured. The aim of these meetings was to let the subjects recount their experiences on their own terms and in their own words.
- 96 Sylvia Vandecasteele, "The Oral Sources for Women's History", trans. Felicia Pheasant, in Michelle Perrot (ed.) Writing Women's History (Oxford, 1992), 41-42.
- 97 Hugo Slim and Paul Thompson, Listening for a Change: oral testimony & community development (Philadelphia, 1995), 150.
- 98 Ibid., 150.
- 99 Ibid., 140-141.

Chapter One

The "Absence" of Pearl McCarthy: Re-examining the Historical Record

The business of history is to present past events with understanding. Because history must be understanding, it involves critical analysis; but it is no business of the historian (including those who present the history of art either by words or by pictures) to turn to censor and exclude what may not appeal to the taste of the historian. Pearl McCarthy, January 1945

Twenty years ago, Pearl McCarthy, then art critic of The Globe and Mail, in spite of a severe physical problem, got around Toronto to all the shows...and she responded to the enthusiasm of artists who make the job of art critic possible and to the organizers who mount exhibitions for the Toronto community...Pearl McCarthy was a real pro.²

George Loranger, art gallery owner, 1980

This chapter will examine the various reasons contributing to Pearl McCarthy's omission from histories of journalism, art and women. It will begin with a look at the patriarchal practices of history writing in general and their impact on the traditional paradigms of art history and journalism history. Following this, the discussion will address the manner in which McCarthy has been overlooked by feminist historians as a consequence of her supposedly "anti-feminist" position, and/or because feminist history writing has tended to focus on women journalists in "hard" news areas or the women's departments. The next section will look at the way art journalism has traditionally been perceived as "soft" news within the news industry, and the problematics of this classification. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of art journalism's position within the realm of mass culture. In each of these sections, McCarthy and her "Art and Artists" columns will be situated within the discourses under examination in order to understand the various ways in which she negotiated her position as a woman within the power relations at the *Globe and Mail*, as well as her role as art critic within the journalistic profession and mass culture.

After a thirty-seven year career in the newspaper industry, twenty-eight of which were spent as art critic for the *Globe and Mail*, Pearl McCarthy had earned the respect of

artists, art professionals, and the general public. In 1956 she received international recognition for her work, being the only Canadian journalist to be invited by the government of the Netherlands to join in the events celebrating Rembrandt's 350th birthday. Six years later, her life-long commitment to Canada's visual culture was officially recognized by Toronto's arts community when the Women's Committee of the Art Gallery of Toronto (AGT) organized a dinner in her honour in October 1962. The admiration that she had achieved during her career continued after her death on March 25. 1964. Shortly after she passed away, Charles Band, former president of the AGT, and his wife Helen Band, donated a painting by Richard Gorman to the gallery in McCarthy's memory. Two months later, the AGT received Harold Town's drawing, Bacchante Threatened by Panther, a gift made anonymously on behalf of McCarthy. That same year, Harold Town painted In Memory of Pearl McCarthy (Figure 2), as a personal recognition of her continual support of his work.³ In January 1965, the Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund was established by a number of her friends and acquaintances who wanted to pay tribute to her years of dedication to Canadian art. The following May, a Spring Gala was held at the Pollock Gallery in Toronto as a fundraiser for the Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund (Figure 3). (See Appendix 5)

Despite the recognition she had earned in her lifetime, and in the years immediately following her death, McCarthy's name remains largely absent from current histories of Canadian journalism and art. Although her work situated her within the public sphere, she occupied a doubly marginalized space, excluded as a consequence of her gender and departmental location (art or "soft" news). Her "absence" can be attributed to the practices of history writing in general, and more specifically, to the hierarchies inherent within the discourses of art history and journalism.

The sentiments expressed in Kathleen Coleman's obituary in the Edmonton *Journal* in 1915 are indicative of the way women journalists have been devalued historically. After a twenty-six year career in journalism, Coleman had achieved international recognition and

was known as a Women's page writer, travel journalist and war correspondent.⁶ In spite of these considerable accomplishments, the *Journal* noted shortly after her death:

It is one of the tragedies of newspaper work that a great deal that deserves to live appears in the daily press, makes a strong impression for a day or a week and then is forgotten....It isn't right that one who for more than a generation brightened and stimulated so many lives and who provided such faithful pictures of so many different phases of the Canadian life of her time should pass out of the public memory.⁷ (emphasis added)

How is it possible that someone who "brightened and stimulated" her readership for over a generation, could be erased from the public's memory so quickly and easily? If Coleman been a man, how would this have impacted upon the writer of her obituary? Likewise, had McCarthy been male, would she have been perceived differently by chroniclers of journalism, and hence be included in previous Canadian art and/or newspaper histories? Perhaps. In addition to the immense body of literature dealing with (male) newspaper editors, publishers and news reporters, several histories have recently been written on Canadian male art critics, all of whom were contemporaries of McCarthy. In 1981, Gloria Lesser published a brief biography and bibliography on Donald Buchanan. Best known for his work as co-editor of Canadian Art magazine, Buchanan also wrote for the Canadian Georgraphical Journal, The Canadian Forum, and Toronto Saturday Night. 8 Several years later, Louise Dompierre wrote the exhibition catalogue for the 1986 retrospective of Montreal artist and writer John Lyman. Although the focus is on Lyman's art, Dompierre discusses some of his writing on the visual arts for *The Montrealer*. In 1992, an exhibition was organized by Concordia Art Gallery in tribute to Montreal art critic and coeditor of Canadian Art, Robert Ayre. In a brief essay, Louis Valliant provides an examination of Ayre's art reviews for the Montreal Gazette, the Standard, and The Montreal Star. 10

It is important, however, to emphasize that these histories on art journalists are positioned within the discourse of art history. Although some writings of these male art critics' appeared in the popular press, it should be stressed that both Ayre and Buchanan

served as co-editors of the "high" arts journal Canadian Art, while Lyman worked as a "fine" artist. The focus on these writers reveals the manner in which art historians have privileged "high" arts writing over popular art criticism. Because arts journalism has traditionally been positioned in the domain of "low" culture, critical discourse on arts writing has been aimed at, and focused on, those whose work appears in scholarly journals and art historical texts, in other words, "high" art literature. A similar hierarchy has been established in the histories of journalism, which tend to focus exclusively on "hard" news reporting. Arts reviewing, categorized as "soft" news, has not merited the critical attention which has been paid to political or news writing.

While McCarthy's absence from traditional histories of art and journalism can be partially explained in terms of gender, it does not take into account her omission from Canadian women's journalism history. In the last several decades, feminist historians have begun to redress the lack of writing on women journalists by re-covering their contributions in the field. Yet, in spite of the growing body of writing on women journalists, McCarthy's name continues to remain absent from the journalistic record. Although the arts department has traditionally been perceived as a feminized area (even though both men and women have always worked as art critics), it is not strictly aimed at a feminine audience. Located in a niche of its own, most feminist historians have overlooked women journalists within arts departments, directing their attention instead to women working in "hard" news areas, or to those in women's departments.

Patriarchal practices of history writing

Describing the way in which canons of art historical discourse that are largely responsible for the omission of women artists, Joyce Zemans et. al. write:

It is axiomatic that the writing of history is a subjective endeavour. A process of selection and interpretation defines what and who will be recorded and remembered. Much more than a compilation of facts and ideas about artists, their works and their public, art history is a reflection of cultural myths and aesthetic judgment. 11

Traditionally the contributions and experiences of women have been overlooked and excluded from written history. Their absence can be understood as a symptom of a broader problem associated with the traditional practices of history writing. The power that historians have to define and name, and thus influence our perceptions of the past cannot be underestimated. Writing from a male perspective, most historians have focused on the "great deeds" of "great men, statesmen, generals and occasionally churchmen." ¹² In their critique of academic history writing, Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman argue that Canadian (male) historians have concentrated upon the men involved in the political and economic spheres of the two "founding cultures," neglecting half of the population. 13 When women have been included within these histories, their active involvement in public life has been ignored, with historians confining their examinations of women's lives to studies of the family, deviance, or the local community. 14 Consequently, women, as a group, "have been defined and delimited, not so much by any lesser capacity for work or determination or thought, but by patriarchal custom and male authority." ¹⁵ McCarthy herself acknowledged the privileged emphasis on men's lives in history writing. Recalling her condemnations of the treatment of First Nations people in Western history, she insightfully commented in an article from 1960 that historians have privileged the lives of those in power. She insisted on a populist vision of history: "You can't only discuss history in terms of potentates and patriarchs - it [history writing] must acknowledge that cultures rise from the bottom." 16

Historian Joan Scott argues that women's "absence" in history is explained by the "professionalism" of history writing, involving the gate-keeping functions that set and enforce the standards kept by members of the profession, namely historians. In her view, for professional historians in the twentieth century, history involves the gathering together of knowledge from the past through disinterested, impartial investigation, interestedness and partiality being the antithesis of professionalism. This knowledge is available only to those who have mastered the requisite scientific procedures. "Access then rests on this

mastery, the possession of which is supposed to be evident to those who are already professionals and which they alone can judge...Guardianship and mastery are then the basis for autonomy and for the power to determine what counts as knowledge and who possesses it." Similarly, Dorothy Smith criticizes the way that women have been eclipsed by history writing, which ironically is presented as universal and objective. Moreover, as women have been excluded from the making of ideology and knowledge, their interests and ways of knowing the world have not been included in institutional practices, nor in the body of knowledge (i.e. sociology, history writing) that has entered into it. Smith argues that a critique is more than a negative statement, rather, it is an attempt to define an alternative. Our social forms of consciousness have been created by men occupying positions of ruling. Discourse, methods of thinking, and theories take for granted the conditions of that ruling, but the actual practices that make these conditions possible are not visible. Historically, women have been located outside the relations of ruling. Smith thus calls for a "standpoint of women," so that we can come to know the material process of the world as they "really" are in order to effect social change.

Traditional histories of art and journalism have emulated the patriarchal practices of historical discourses. In recent years, many have begun to question the canon of "high" art, claiming that it merely reflects the interests of a privileged, elite group of white males. The result has been that the canon reproduces the shared interests of its groups' members, while works by women, homosexuals or people of colour have been excluded. Art historian Griselda Pollock, in her critical look at art and ideology, raises some important concerns about the way women have been ignored and/or subordinated by male art historians. She argues that:

To discover the history of women and art means accounting for the way art history is written. To expose its underlying assumptions, its prejudices and its silences, is to reveal that the negative way women artists are recorded or dismissed, is functional in the perpetuation of the myth of masculine creative superiority and social dominance.²²

Other feminist art historians have rightly called into question the claim that traditional histories of art present past events and names using a sense of detachment. Joanna Frueh maintains that art history and criticism are frequently divorced: you practise one or the other. Basically, the myth is that art historians aim for objectivity by gathering data that will prove the "truth." ²³

Frueh's and Pollock's observations of traditional paradigms of art history are echoed in feminist critiques of journalism history. As C.L. Covert observes, despite the increasing numbers of women entering the field of journalism since the late nineteenth century, the emphasis on the white, male experience within North American newspaper history has resulted in little of significance being written about women journalists.²⁴

Given these patriarchal practices of history writing, which have focused almost exclusively upon male journalists and editors, it is not surprising that McCarthy, along with many other women journalists, has been omitted from Canadian histories of journalism. However, this offers only a partial explanation for McCarthy's exclusion. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the practices of feminist histories.

Feminist interventions in history writing

Writing in 1986, Strong-Boag and Fellman commented that the re-construction of Canadian women's history was only beginning.²⁵ Ten years have passed since they made this statement, and while this formerly neglected area of history has been the focus of much scholarly attention, McCarthy, as yet, remains unknown within the discourses of journalism and art history. Her omission might be partially explained by situating it within the context of feminist research. According to Sandra Harding, feminist research and history have tended to look at three areas of women's experience - women who have made a great contribution to social theory, women who have stood out in traditionally studied areas, and women who have been seen as victims.²⁶ Accordingly, the logical starting point for Canadian feminist scholars when they first began the task of recovering the lives of

women, was to conduct research on the women involved in the early feminist movement, and with those women who have vocally fought for women's emancipation by breaking into areas traditionally associated with the male sphere. As a result, a great deal has been written on women suffragettes, many of whom had been active within all levels of government. Nellie McClung (1873-1951) is one woman, whose pioneering efforts in the Canadian women's movement have attracted the attention of feminist historians.

Accredited with advancing the feminist cause in her day, she was a reformer, legislator and writer. Agnes Macphail (1890-1954), another woman who has been the focus of much scholarly writing, was the only woman elected to Canada's Parliament in 1921 during the first federal election in which women had the vote. Later, in 1943, she was elected to the Ontario legislature, being one of the first two women to hold office there. Likewise, Charlotte Whitton (1896-1875) has been remembered for her early work in social reform, and as the first woman mayor of Ottawa during the 1950s and 1960s.

Similarly, feminist research in journalism history has generally been directed towards women involved in editorial and/or political writing, including Sara Jeannette Duncan, Kathleen Blake Coleman, and Cora Hind. Another logical area in the recovery of women journalists has been given to those women involved in the Canadian Women's Press Club. Although these contributions are significant, the historical record remains far from complete as little work has been done in terms of women art journalists.

Early feminist research has been focused on the recovery of exemplary women who fought for women's emancipation. However, during the last several decades, feminist historians have begun to look at the lives of women who do not represent feminist heroines. Socialist-feminist research has shown that the idea of women as a class sharing common interests in opposition to men as a class, raises problems for some feminist scholars. Discussing the difficulties faced by feminist theory, Caroline Ramanozaglu argues that "first wave" feminists attempted to see both gender and class as oppressive of women. But this model could not take into account the social, racial and/or ethnic divisions

between women.³⁰ Once the particular positions occupied by different categories of women in capitalist and other societies were identified, then the variations marking women's lives could be understood more clearly.³¹ McCarthy provides a good case in point. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, she held a number of contradictory opinions as a result of the conflicting roles in which she occupied - career woman and wife.

Although she never identified herself as a feminist, and refused to join women's organizations that she viewed as being "political," such as the Canadian Women's Press Club, the public aspects of her life indicate that she firmly believed in women's rights and gendered equality. Moreover, a critical examination of her weekly columns demonstrates that she was acutely aware of societal prejudices against women with professional careers. Writing about a woman who made a large gift to the Royal Ontario Museum in 1960, McCarthy astutely noted:

This extraordinary woman was the type of person that is described when a man of the public service is being discussed, as a 'career man', - meaning that his distinction was gained by his use of his talents. Unfortunately the expression means little when used of women but designates merely a female who engages in business or a profession.³² (emphasis added)

This statement, written towards the end of her career, indicates that McCarthy was critical of the sexist attitudes and institutional barriers women with professional careers experienced, likely as a result of having been subjected to many of them herself. It might also be read as a premonition that her contribution within art criticism would eventually be forgotten. Despite her awareness of this subject, feminist issues rarely appeared within her writing. Therefore, her position as a woman journalist within the local relations of the *Globe and Mail* deserves some consideration.

Given the sexist practices within the newspaper industry, Barbara Freeman reminds us that one cannot write critically about women journalists and their opinions on women's issues without trying to understand their role in the workplace and the constraints they had to work within.³³ Like many other women journalists of her time, McCarthy experienced

various forms of sexism and discrimination - low pay, lost salary after marriage, ghettoized within a "soft" news area, and limited opportunities for advancement. Some of these sexist attitudes were explicitly stated in the paper itself. In a 1948 editorial covering the retirement of A.A. McIntosh, the Globe and Mail's Editor-in-Chief, the author wrote that it "will be the ambition of the younger men who follow to carry forward the lamp he lighted on this page." (emphasis added) Similarly, when the paper's publisher George McCullagh died in 1952, a journalist from the Regina Leader-Post commented that "today Canada is held to be one of the last lands offering great opportunities to young men," while a reporter from the Brampton Conservator stated that "Mr. McCullagh above all was an inspiring and encouraging example of how a newsboy can climb the ladder of success." (emphasis added)

Not unexpectedly, the above quotes completely ignored women's roles within journalism. An explanation for their exclusion is offered by Martin Lynch, a former editor with *Globe and Mail* during McCarthy's time. Describing the sexist attitudes upheld by most newsmen and editors, Lynch writes:

We tended not to like having women on the desk because of the modifications thought necessary to "our culture" (if you can call it that). That is, some people weren't mad about having female deskers. The idea of female deskers didn't bother me. Generally, though, women in the newsroom covered certain things, like stories for the women's pages...I think the city editor at most dailies probably felt that he (and it would be he) had staffing problems with women reporters. It was merely part of the general culture, which has changed enormously since, say the 1930s. 36

Lynch's account demonstrates the kind of the "male" culture dominating the newsroom during McCarthy's time. Billy Rose, one of McCarthy's colleagues from the mid-1940s, provides a good example in his column of the kind of sexist language that women journalists were probably subjected to in the workplace. Discussing the world of "show-biz" in New York City, Rose commented:

for the past 20 years I've been sitting behind a desk and looking at dames. I give the 0-0 to a good percentage of the chickadees who come fluttering in to New York, looking for the Big

Break.³⁷ (emphasis added)

Later on in the article, he referred to women in general as "babes" and "canaries." No doubt this sexist "lingo" was exaggerated for reader interest. But its appearance in print points to the fact that these derogatory terms were commonly used at this time. At a broader level, such sexist language was reflective of a sexist culture. Rose's choice of adjectives that focused on women's physical appearances was not unusual, and they still carry negative meanings within our culture today. In addition to verbal forms of sexism, McCarthy was the victim of sexual harassment while working at the Montreal *Gazette*. This issue will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter. Given the various forms of discrimination that women journalists experienced in the workplace, it is not surprising that many women felt that they had to conform to gendered expectations, and to not question sexual inequalities. 40

With the exception of the women's and homemaker's sections, issues concerning women did not receive support within the *Globe and Mail*, and even then, as Freeman argues, newspaper editors in general viewed women's news as being subordinate to male concerns. Little has changed since McCarthy's time for many women journalists still complain about the patriarchal practices of newspapers. Consequently, overt feminist content rarely appeared in McCarthy's writing. In comparison to women writers working for specialized women's magazines, who had more freedom in raising feminist issues, McCarthy had to express her ideas under greater constraints. It would have been unthinkable for McCarthy to present such overt feminist criticisms as Blodwen Davies did in her 1930 *Chatelaine* article "Canadian Women of Brush and Chisel," in which she condemned the Royal Canadian Academy for its privileging of male over female artists.

A number of feminist scholars have critically examined the dilemmas that women experience in having to conform to male-defined standards. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg argues that for those in marginal or subordinate positions to assume the language of the politically and economically powerful, in other words, "for women to adopt a male

discourse, may entail the denial of a fundamental aspect of the speaker's own identity or require the careful maintenance of a dual identity." Similarly, Kathleen Ferguson describes bureaucracies, such as newspaper offices, as "political arenas" where struggles for power, status, personal values, and/or survival are endemic. Oligarchical in nature, Ferguson argues that bureaucracies are ruled by a few, and recruitment is done partly, by co-optation, or by "selection of successors by the elite." Accordingly, Margaret Gallagher argues that because most news reporters and editors are men, it is inevitable that most news selection reflects a male ordering of priorities. Gallagher correctly notes that it is overly simplistic to assume that:

an increase in the number of women gatekeepers will automatically improve gendered inequalities in the media since many factors - institutional, structural, social and professional - ensure that most women journalists, like men, will operate within an identical ideological paradigm.⁴⁷

Liesbet van Zoonen supports these observations in her critical look at the relations between gender, media and culture. Arguing that the production of news in the press and broadcasting does not leave much room for individual autonomy, she concludes that "it is tempting therefore to conceive of the organizational logic and routine as a factor inhibiting the expression and impact of women communicators."

McCarthy's Feminist Interventions

McCarthy, in fact, seldom dealt with women's issues or concerns in her writing because newspaper culture insisted that news writing, arts reviews included, should not promote any ideologies (i.e. political, feminist beliefs.) But in spite of the immense pressures to conform to these male defined standards of "objectivity," she managed to find alternative methods and strategies to address gendered inequalities, at a professional as well as a broader societal level. By introducing several types of feminist interventions into her writing, she was able to critique the social constructions of gender in a seeming non-political way.

McCarthy's most common "device" to acknowledge women's academic and professional achievements occured in her discussions of individual women. Not unexpectedly, many of these references to women were found in articles written for the women's department. However, a number of them occurred in her regular "Art and Artists" columns. An early example appeared in 1937 when she reviewed the exhibition arranged by the International Society of Women Painters and Sculptors on display at the Lyceum Club and Women's Art Association. Commenting on the show's impressiveness, McCarthy stated that "the walls do not tell the whole story." She then went on to describe Mrs. (Mary) Dignam, the current president of the International Club, who was well known in several different countries, and who could be found in the "Who's Who of Art," but whose "contribution has been much greater than such recognition repays." In McCarthy's view, not only did Dignam continue to paint, but more importantly, she had "the magnanimity to keep encouraging other women artists - [in] Toronto, Ontario, Canada, then internationally." McCarthy's support for Dignam and her fight for women's rights in the art world continued. In August 1943, McCarthy did a four-part series on the history of art in Ontario. The third article in this group, concluded with a brief discussion of the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA). Describing the OSA from the late 1890s as an organization dominated by "its exclusiveness and its good, red-blooded attitude on the part of men," McCarthy wrote that:

Mary Dignam...snapped her fingers at the O.S.A. for offering women membership without full rights, said no thank you and founded the Women's Art Association in 1890. Good for Mary Dignam! What has sex to do with whether a picture be good or bad, or what has money, or society's favor, or success, or anything to do with it? Mary Dignam was more than a feminist in art. She was years ahead of her time in courage to say that only art was a standard for art. 51

This article is important for several reasons. Firstly, it shows that McCarthy identified with the "liberal feminist" belief that women have been unfairly discriminated against by men, and that women deserve full inclusion within public life. It also reveals her interest in the

accomplishments of other women. Furthermore, directly below McCarthy's by-line was the following statement: "Third of a series of articles commenting editorially on the history of art in Ontario." Not only did this "disclaimer" point out that the ideas expressed in this article were McCarthy's, but it could be argued that McCarthy used this "editorial" column to express views not normally permitted within her regular "Art and Artists" reviews. She therefore took advantage of this temporary "freedom" by raising a feminist issue. As it will shortly be discussed, her inclusion of feminist content in this case greatly differed from other columns which relied on "points of rupture."

Public achievements of women continued to attract McCarthy's attention. For example, in a column written in 1953, McCarthy interviewed Dr. Mary Woodall, deputy director of the City Art Museum of Birmingham. As McCarthy observed: ..".when a woman holds such a post at an important gallery, there is interest in knowing how she came to carry such responsibility."⁵² Several years later, in a review of Inuit sculpture, she pointed out that an "interesting" aspect about the exhibition is that "all forceful" Inuit sculptors were women, as in the present case in Ontario.⁵³ This comment is interesting in her appropriation of an adjective normally reserved for men. As Barrie Thorn and Nancy Henley note, male dominance is strikingly apparent in the content of words, in language about women and men.⁵⁴ As such, men are generally described by positive adjectives. conveying a sense of power and prestige, whereas women are usually associated with weakness and frailty.⁵⁵ Finally, towards the end of her career, McCarthy stated that Kathleen Fenwick, curator of prints and drawings at the National Gallery of Canada, was a "great Canadian woman" who had dedicated herself to the Gallery for over thirty years. Despite her prestige, McCarthy said that it was ironic that Fenwick's name was seldom mentioned.⁵⁶ These observations are significant as they provide evidence that McCarthy was not only aware of gendered biases and discrimination experienced by professional women, but that she was sympathetic to these issues as well.

The second strategy that McCarthy used in the first half of her career to

acknowledge women's exclusion from history, is found in many of her Christmas time articles on European altarpieces depicting Madonnas. Interestingly, McCarthy was able to raise the issue of women's exclusion from history writing by focusing on the unknown women who served as models for such religious paintings. Her first article addressing this theme occurred only one month after becoming permanent art critic for the *Globe and Mail*. Discussing Sandro Botticelli's *Madonna and Child*, she commented that while "other Renaissance painters emancipated the feminine body and freed the feminine mind from fearful dogma," Botticelli "also gave woman imagination subtle but clean as an unscented sephyr." While her comments were not overtly feminist, they point to her personal interest in women's lives. The following year, however, McCarthy made explicit reference to the unacknowledged stories of women in the history of Western art. Reviewing Bernard van Orley's *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, McCarthy briefly described the painting's subject matter, providing some biographical information about the artist. From here, she focused the remainder of her review on the lives of women models from the Renaissance:

The unwritten legend which rises in our imagination as we see a Madonna picture at Christmas is about the large company of the women who posed for those famous pictures of Mary, Mother of Christ. Do you ever think of these shadowy characters who came and went as artists' models? - some of aristocratic family who came veiled to the studio - some women of the street who rose to heights of devotion...some who joined in feasts with the successful, some who starved, uncomplaining; some wives, and some not; some pious, and others not all. No one of us knows what was the countenance of the first Madonna. The faces of these women form our conception of the Mother of God. We often wonder if they feel dismayed when they see the place they have taken. Our private legend has it that Mary sends them all a present on Christmas without asking questions about their careers. So much for legendry at legend-time. ⁵⁸

Significantly, McCarthy's emphasis on the differences of women's lives (class, religious backgrounds, marital status) prefigured contemporary feminist and poststructuralist theories that have challenged the notion of the "Universal" woman. In December 1948, she dealt with the subject of the Madonna again. Tracing the developments of the nativity theme in Western art, she pointed out that:

There is one irony which leaves a romantic touch in this long tradition. Some of the Madonnas which symbolize abstruse ideas for both churchmen and artists were painted from models who are nameless in history and were probably outsiders to society in their own day.⁵⁹

This observation is doubly ironic. Acknowledging that many women from the past lived marginalized existences, and have been subsequently erased from history, she too would be excluded from journalistic and art historical records. As previously noted, McCarthy's "Madonna" articles occured only at Christmas. Judging by her other reviews at this time of year, it would appear that the *Globe and Mail's* usual emphasis on "objectivity" was relaxed somewhat, giving journalists a greater freedom in their reviews. McCarthy took advantage of this "freedom" in order to raise issues related to women that were normally beyond the scope of her department. It is also significant that she chose to focus her columns on the lives of these women instead of stressing the formal qualities of these works. The emphasis of these articles sharply contrast with the majority of her critiques of Western art, which ignored the subject matter and content and stress "Form" - colour, line, shape - instead. This issue will be examined in further detail in Chapter Three. Obviously the barriers and discrimination experienced by women were such critical issues to McCarthy, that she felt it necessary to raise them on a number of different occasions.

McCarthy's third strategy involved "points of rupture." In contrast to the former "devices," these occurred far less frequently. These "ruptures" were introduced as disclaimers, creating a distance between herself and the statement that followed.

Interestingly, McCarthy drew greater attention to such comments, as they always began by denying any affiliation to feminist causes which were then followed by a feminist critique.

Being more overt in feminist content, it appears that she experienced greater limitations in using them. Her earliest "rupture" is seen in the first paragraph of a review from 1939 covering Isabel McLaughlin's election as president to the Canadian Group of Painters (CGP):

The Feminists may feature the fact that this is the first time a woman has headed one of the major art societies in Canada. But that is not our department, nor does it interest us so much that Miss McLaughlin has always shown herself a good workman in the expression of rather clear-cut artistic ideals...If her headship of the Group is anything like her pictures, it will be forthright, clear-headed, bright and pretty forceful. 61 (emphasis added)

Although McCarthy positioned herself outside feminist discourse, her opening remarks about "feminist" issues indicate her acknowledgment that McLaughlin's presidency was a critical gain made by women in the official (male) world of art. This is further supported by McCarthy's earlier comments regarding Mary Dignam who founded the Women's Art Association. It is also worth pointing out that McCarthy was one of the few journalists to note the importance of this event. In contrast, Graham McInnes, writing for *Saturday Night*, simply listed the names of those elected as officers to the CGP. Clearly, McCarthy's comment was motivated by her awareness of the marginalization of Canadian women artists from official bodies of art. A number of years later, McCarthy used the strategy of a rupture again, this time in a review of the exhibition "Canadian Women Artists." Informing her readers that the show was now being held in the fine art galleries of Eaton's-College Street, she wrote:

No feminist prejudice need be suspected in the statement that it is one of the strongest Canadian collections ever exported...This does not infer that women painters of the moment are better than men. It does mean that this exhibition was well managed and that there were good women painters available.⁶⁴ (emphasis added)

These "points of rupture" permitted her to acknowledge the contradictions in women's lives, and the prejudices they experienced because of their sex while appearing to "play by" the rules of "objectivity" enforced by the editorial department of the *Globe and Mail*.

That McCarthy had to mask her feminist critiques within her weekly columns can be read as her way of coping as a woman in a male profession. This necessitated that she work within the news discourse, which demanded journalists be non-partisan by presenting news items in an unbiased and non-political manner. But as will be argued in Chapter Three, ideological content was acceptable when it reflected the liberal views of her

employer. Significantly, McCarthy found ways to challenge patriarchal beliefs within her writing. An explanation of her use of "subversive" devices is offered by Michel Foucault's theory of power. In his view, power should not be seen only as oppressive, but as something with the potential to enable an individual subject to resist dominant forms of oppression, especially when employed locally, such as in prisons, the workplace, or the family. McCarthy's "points of rupture" thus permitted her to explore feminist discourses and identities within the traditional practices of journalism. Her use of these strategies was similar to those found in her writing on First Nations artists. In both cases she was able to challenge the dominant power relations of her time.

McCarthy's use of veiled feminist references, however, may have impacted negatively upon the way her writing has subsequently been interpreted and/or remembered, thus resulting in her exclusion from Canadian women's histories. Because her criticisms were not overtly feminist, any feminist ideas that McCarthy articulated may have gone unrecognized. Moreover, her condemnations of most women's groups and organizations, may also have contributed to her "absence" from the historical record. However, this explanation does not entirely account for her neglect. Therefore it is necessary to examine the position of art journalism within journalistic discourse, as well as its location within mass culture.

Journalistic discourse: "hard" versus "soft" news and "objectivity" versus "subjectivity"

The lack of theoretical or historical research into arts journalism must also be framed within the discourse of journalism itself which has traditionally classified certain types of news writing as being either "hard" or "soft." Ken Metzler, in *News Gathering*, defines "hard" news as news of important public events and actions of international relations. In contrast, "soft" news is often perceived as being less important, but often more interesting, and even tantalizing in nature. These categories are both a product of, and have further reinforced the manner in which the various news genres have been

hierarchically ordered, with "hard" news taking precedence over "soft" news.⁶⁷ A direct consequence of this binary opposition has been that art journalism has not been given the critical attention received by "hard" news reporting within journalism histories. The following section will first examine the contradictions between "hard" and "soft" news, looking at the related issues of "objectivity" and "subjectivity," and will conclude with McCarthy's own conflicting feelings towards the hard/soft and objectivity/subjectivity dichotomies.

In her study on news production, Gaye Tuchman concluded that the "news net" was a hierarchical system of information gatherers. Consequently, "the status of reporters in the news net may have determined whose information was identified as news," and thus, what would be considered as more important. This hierarchical ranking of news categories in the discourse of journalism can be seen in the way that hard and soft news departments have traditionally been perceived by news workers and historians of journalism. In her research, Tuchman found that "hard" news stories took precedence over soft news stories for several reasons: in their "factuality," in their evaluation as potentially newsworthy items, and in their internal processing through a news organization. Reinforcing the importance of "hard" news departments, Globe and Mail reporter George Smith described the layout of the "hard" news areas:

Sports, financial and executive offices are situated in the front...the Editor-in-Chief's office is located in the quieter northwest corner...the main or 'universal' desk is located in a strategic centre, with staff reporters and subeditors in surrounding locations. ⁷⁰ (emphasis added)

Smith stated elsewhere in the article that the stories are "weighed" for reader interest at the Universal desk.

It can be argued from these historically mediated categories, that soft news has come to be perceived as the antithesis of hard news. ⁷¹ Undeniably there are marked differences between hard and soft news. Yet, paradoxically these binary opposing terms also share a number of similarities: both can cover news events, and both contain

subjective and objective content. Consequently, these imposed departmental classifications have irreconcilably polarized news and arts reviewing, concealing any commonalities that they might possess. Because of the prestige attached to "hard" news, and the professional gains to be made, especially with political reporting, many news journalists have sought hard to maintain these classifications of news genres.⁷²

In News as Discourse Teun van Dijk distinguishes general news features from other types of reporting, although he admits there are difficulties with such clear categorizations. Theoretically, book, art and performance reviews share a commonality with other news in the press by giving new information about current and past events. In a sense, both types of writing are recorders of current history. Furthermore, reviews can encompass information commonly associated with regular news stories, particularly when the visual arts are analyzed from a socio-political viewpoint. Likewise, cultural matters, and their relationship to the government, business and state, have entered into "hard" news genres. He concludes that reviews can be separated from news reports, but stresses "that distinction is notoriously problematic."⁷³ Examples of the way that these two areas can overlap and shift are seen in the political thrust of McCarthy's writing during World War II where "hard" news political events became the focus in many of her columns. This aspect of her writing will examined in greater detail in Chapter Three. While McCarthy was able to integrate "hard" news into her art reviews, the visual arts or "soft" news stories also made their appearance in "hard" news coverage. For example, Globe and Mail reporter James Nicol incorporated a "soft" news item into a "hard" news story in his article on Bill Yarwood's painting Bull (see Chapter Three). It is important to note, however, that prior to the 1950s, arts coverage positioned within the "hard" news section of the Globe and Mail was far more likely to be accompanied by a photograph than McCarthy's "Art and Artists" columns. 74 However, by 1953 onward, McCarthy's reviews were almost always accompanied by a photograph. This change in format was likely a result of her growing status as art critic at the Globe and Mail, as well as in the broader arts community.

Linked to the hard news/soft news dichotomy, is the belief that news reports represent an objective point of view, in contrast to art reviews which are evaluative, and therefore subjective. Many journalists have maintained that the accumulation of facts necessarily means that they can be verified. But, as van Teun argues, "genuine news articles may feature opinions, despite the ideological belief of many journalists that news only gives the facts and not opinion."

The issue of "objectivity" should be historically situated. Emerging during the period of the Enlightenment from western positivistic and empirical traditions, ⁷⁶ the notion of scientific objectivity has traditionally been privileged over the subjective viewpoint. As a philosophy of knowledge concerned with verifiable empirical facts, as opposed to metaphysical (subjective) ideas, positivism has favoured the methods and principles of the natural sciences. ⁷⁷ In contrast to objectivity, subjectivity has been based upon emotions and feelings, and has therefore been seen as being explicitly biased. Supposedly "objective" criticism has been devoid of the impulses associated with the realm of the personal. English professors Joseph Childers and Gary Hentzi point out that "subjective" criticism, when compared to "objective' thought, almost always has pejorative connotations. In its indulgence of the personal, it cannot claim the same universality that "objective" criticism can. Likewise, empirical philosophy has assumed that knowledge is acquired through direct observation and experience. Empiricists have adhered to the belief that facts precede theories and that one can be an impartial, objective observer of "facts."

John Locke's (1632-1704) metaphor of the "tabula rasa," or the blank slate, ⁷⁹ has been adapted by news discourse in its application to the "hard" news reporter who is (supposedly) completely neutral and non-partisan in his/her writing. This notion of impartiality developed in the early twentieth century when the discipline of journalism was undergoing professionalization. Rooted in the traditions of Empiricism and Positivism, the concepts of objectivity and subjectivity have been adapted and applied within the discourse of journalism. In *Making News* Tuchman drew a link between modern news work and the

tradition of positivistic thinking. She argued that the discourse of journalism employed a quasi-scientific method to attain its "objectivity." This notion of scientific discourse was upheld and promoted by news writers at the *Globe and Mail*. When the business relocated its office in 1938, reporter George Smith wrote an article alluding to the "scientific" nature of the modern newspaper office. Describing the process of "news making," Smith informed his readers that: "It all constitutes an involved and intricate machine which must 'tick' with meticulous accuracy and speed to function efficiently."

Not only was McCarthy's "Art and Artists" column classified as "soft" news, but her desk was also located in the women's department. While she admitted that her beat was not considered "hard" news. 82 McCarthy regularly commented on the need for "objectivity" and the presentation of unbiased opinions in arts journalism, especially in the first half of her career. No doubt her views towards these two genres resulted from the prestige enjoyed by "hard" news reporters. As stated earlier, not only were there greater opportunities for news journalists to advance, but "hard" news stories were located in the front section, the most important area of the newspaper. During her first few years as Globe and Mail art critic, McCarthy's columns were seldom indexed and could be found anywhere from the middle section to last page. 83 In an article written in 1937, McCarthy made an explicit reference to the issue of positioning. After opening a copy of a New York newspaper, she found two art reports on the front page, emphasizing that "it was a regular daily paper, not a special edition or a Sunday supplement."84 While she conceded that these stories were important "news" items, of even greater significance was "the fact that art should figure so prominently as rival to politics, business, human interest and sudden death."85 No doubt these comments were made to both support and promote her own weekly column which did not have a regular location, but would "jump" around the paper from week to week.86

In her acknowledgment that "hard" news carried greater status than "soft" news, McCarthy often stressed the need for "objectivity." Recalling a conversation with

McCarthy, Holloban says:

I don't know what it [the conversation] was about. I don't know the remarks she made, but I said "Pearl, that's absolutely outrageous! That's absolute prejudice and bias!" She said, "In my work I take absolute pains to be fair and objective. I'm perfectly entitled to entertain my prejudice in my private life!⁸⁷

The importance McCarthy placed upon objectivity was further reinforced in a letter she received from artist Charles Comfort congratulating her on her "fine and impartial article" from November 17, 1962. It is significant that she saved this letter, as was noted in the Introduction, she discarded many of her papers. Even more telling, is her underlining of the word "impartial." 88 Clearly Comfort's compliment meant a great deal to her. Consequently, McCarthy would regularly remind her readers that her criticisms were not motivated by personal factors or bias, but were objective in their views: "we could list our favorite pictures but we have strongest ethical, as well as, artistic scruples against doing so at an art exhibition."89 (Emphasis added) Her stress upon objectivity can also be read in terms of her condemnations of dictatorship governments who controlled artistic and cultural expression. As well, the need for "objective" art criticism was also related to the formalist aesthetic to which she closely adhered. The stress upon the formal qualities of art, as Stanely Aronowitz argues, "preserves the romantic, ideological character of the New Criticism within its apparently self-enclosed scientific shell."90 McCarthy's rejection of social and political content in Western art allowed her to mask any ideological content because universal elements were not grounded in our physical world. Along these lines, she wrote in 1956: "it would be a horrible thing to conceive such columns as a series of judgment days because for one thing, that would imply that the reviewer saw himself as a kind of god, which would be as balmy as possible." In this statement, McCarthy drew a link between herself and the scientist, who supposedly operates outside of the material world from a vantage point. In this manner, the object could be "known" unencumbered by personal bias or opinion.

Yet, like many of her views, McCarthy had conflicting opinions regarding the

objectivity/subjectivity dichotomy. While she strongly advocated the need for "objective" criticisms in her earlier writing, she occasionally remarked on how difficult it was for a critic to remain completely impartial. During the late 1950s, a change is seen in McCarthy's view on this matter. In a book review on Olin Downs, the music critic for the New York *Times*, she mentioned that the critic should be both objective and subjective. Seen to a review of John Piper's paintings during her trip to England in 1963, McCarthy questioned: "Why bother to be objective, to analyze coldly and weigh, if one has been in love with an artist's work for many years?" As will be evidenced in the subsequent two chapters, her conflicting attitudes between "objectivity" and "subjectivity" are one of the many dichotomies marking her life and work. However, her contradictory views can also be explained in terms of personal growth and transformation.

The change in McCarthy's attitude towards subjectivity and objectivity should be situated within the power relations at the *Globe and Mail*. According to Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna, "power is used to perpetuate and extend existing inequalities. Those in positions of power are able to decide what news is fit to print or air, and what parameters are available for interpreting such news." Richard (Dic) Doyle, former managing editor of the *Globe and Mail*, supports this assertion, saying that if "hard" news people "had direct control of spaces, allocation of bodies and money, soon there'd be no features [arts] news." Therefore, McCarthy's early arguments in support of impartiality were likely motivated by her need to "prove" herself within a male dominated workplace that privileged "hard news objectivity" over the subjectivity of "soft" news. McCarthy's stress upon "objectivity," and the need to conform to these male-defined standards, can therefore be read as a strategy in acquiring greater credibility, and more power in terms of her position as art critic. It may also reflect the professional requirements of being "a good reporter." Accordingly, as she gained more control and status as art critic, the need to emphasize these qualities diminished. Discussing McCarthy's position at the *Globe and Mail* towards the

end of her career, Victor Ryland writes:

She thought that what she did was not only worth-while but influential and important.....She was big time, very big time in the "Art and Artists" line. She knew her subject and she knew artists and she knew her constituency. Being reassigned to mere reportage or anonymous editing would, in my opinion, have destroyed her. She was a 'good thing' for everybody. She filled the paper when there were no man-bites-dog stories, she gave it standing in the millionaire patrons-to-arts set and galleries bought space in quantity to appear beside her columns.

Despite her continual striving for universality and objectivity in her writing, it is sadly ironic that McCarthy has been omitted from the histories of journalism and art history.

Based on exclusion and hierarchy, these modernist ideals have been largely responsible for the omission of women and newspaper criticism from the canons of art history.

The positioning of art journalism within art historical discourses

As previously discussed, given the way that historians have privileged the lives of men, it does not come as a surprise that McCarthy's writing has been ignored by Canadian art historians. However, her gender does not provide a full explanation of her omission. Thus, an examination of the position of arts journalism within the realm of "high" culture is required, as arts writing within the mass press has been virtually neglected by art historians. Commenting on the hierarchies within traditional art history, Keith Moxey rightly observes that "the notion of aesthetic quality depends on a distinction between 'high' and 'low' art, of which only the former, the art of an educated elite, is regarded as the province of disciplinary competence." While Moxey's observations are directed at the inclusion/exclusion of artworks, they can be extended to the manner in which newspaper art criticism has been ignored within "high" art discourse, in contrast to art historians and other "high" arts writers who have been permitted entry into the canon. Most histories and anthologies of art theory and writing have focused almost exclusively upon the writing of (male) artists, art historians and theoreticians, ¹⁰⁰ in other words, those involved in "high" art production. As a medium of "low" art production or popular culture, arts journalism

within the mass press has not received the official stamp of "high" culture, a privilege enjoyed by those writing for academic and scholarly art journals.

Similar to the discourse of journalism, the discipline of art history is founded upon empirical knowledge and the quasi-scientific theory of "objectivity." Tracing the developments of art history in the late-nineteenth century, Hans Belting argues that art history grew out of the aesthetics movement and came to be focused on the history of styles. In its purest form, art history rejected any historical explanation based on factors and conditions existing beyond the artwork itself. Within this empirical tradition, Alois Riegl introduced the notion of "Kunstwollen" in the late nineteenth century as a way of measuring art in its own terms. Around this time, Heinrich Wöfflin began to divorce the work of art from its social context by formulating his "principles of art" with which to visually classify artistic styles. This permitted art historians to assert their "objectivity" by divorcing art from its historical context, thereby upholding Immanuel Kant's notion of art for art's sake. Another outcome of the establishment of a history of art was art historians' claims to knowledge derived through empiricism.

While feminist and postmodern scholars have recently begun to "debunk" the myths of the excellence of the Western aesthetic canon, generally speaking, popular culture continues to occupy a position subordinate to "high" culture. As Pierre Sorlin argues, the word "mass" itself has come to have strong negative connotations. In its attempts to please the majority, it ignores the refinement of "pure" art. 104 Mass culture has traditionally been described in pejorative terms by the aristocratic elite, who felt that because it was aimed at a wide, middle-to-low brow audience, it did not merit artistically or intellectually. Since "high" art is (supposedly) self-contained, having its own specialized "language," it has therefore required a specialized knowledge to be understood. Locating "high" art criticism within the international art markets, art historian Carol Duncan attributes the differences between "high" and "low" art to class positions. By art criticism, she refers to "serious" arts writing found in the most prestigious art-world magazines, and which occasionally

appears in exhibition catalogues, anthologies, and other publications. The consumers of this form of criticism belong to the "high" art world, "an elitist enclave, a zone of personal freedom, a community of the alienated." Duncan's observations perhaps explain why the art criticism of Donald Buchanan, Robert Ayre and John Lyman have been recently examined. Undoubtedly their gender has secured these critics a place within Canadian art history. But, as already stated, in addition to their writing in the mass press, they also contributed to "high" culture.

An examination of McCarthy's columns demonstrates that not only was she aware of the hierarchies existing between "high" and "low" arts writing, but that this was a source of internal conflict for her. As it will be argued in Chapters Two and Three, her contradictory feelings can be partially attributed to her former class position. Having grown up in the ruling class, her outlook on life had been shaped by bourgeois ideals. However, during her mid-twenties, she experienced a shift to the working class as a result of her family's loss of fortune. Although she regularly included remarks made by the working class and the so-called "common" person in her columns - taxi drivers, her butcher, or "those with small purses" - McCarthy often insulted them by emphasizing her own academic training and artistic expertise. When she entered journalism in 1927, it was never with the intent of making it her life-long career. 106 After gaining as much experience in writing professionally, McCarthy probably expected to become an historian, or find some other type of "high" art writing. ¹⁰⁷ Instead, she worked as an art journalist for most of her life. In spite of the fact that she took great pride in her work and thought that it was important, it appears that she never fully reconciled her position within the mass press with her academic aspirations. Consequently, attitudes such as those expressed by Lawren Harris. Jr. in an article for The Canadian Forum in 1940, annoyed McCarthy. Discussing the writing of four Toronto art critics (McCarthy included), Harris claimed that they "offer little or no aesthetic insight." 108 While he did acknowledge that it is quite possible and even probable, that these critics were subjected to editorial restrictions and censorship, he argued

that this was no excuse. Judging by the letters of praise and admiration which McCarthy received from artists and art professionals during her career, ¹⁰⁹ Harris's remarks appear to be overly harsh, and not fully justified. The respect that McCarthy had earned can be seen in the following artists' responses. In August 1947, Ellen Simon informed McCarthy that she had "done a most gracious and understanding piece of writing 'around' me... Your perception & appreciation of my aims have served to enlarge as well as encourage them."

In 1957, Toronto painter and print maker, Harold Town, expressed sentiments similar to those of Simon. Thanking McCarthy for first encouraging him in 1944 when he was still an art student, Town wrote: "Since then you have mentioned me many times, and I wish to acknowledge the very considerable part your perceptive attention has played in the recognition I have received."

These letters, representing only two among many that McCarthy received during her career, demonstrate that her criticisms were respected by artists, and that she played an influential role in her impact upon the public's reception of contemporary art.

Arguably Harris's criticisms touched a "sore spot" with McCarthy for on various occasions she felt the need to discuss the difficulties experienced by the newspaper critic. In 1942, McCarthy criticized the shortcomings of art history writing in general, by stressing the vital nationalistic role played by the art journalist:

Writers on art, especially news writers, do not write at length on these pictures [paintings from European collections]. That is not because they fail to appreciate the quality in many of them...But, for the news writer, much of this art ranks as history. News is what is happening to our people today or likely to happen tomorrow. Canada's cultural future depends more on the art ideas which our children are receiving today...and on what our artists are doing in fine art and creative handicraft than on all the old pictures which money could hang on our walls...But we insist on remembering that our artistic welfare will be determined by what our own artists are doing at this moment in this country.

This statement suggests that McCarthy viewed her position as newspaper critic as an integral component in shaping Canada's cultural future. Moreover, it further emphasized the intermediary role that she played as an arts journalist, as the disseminator of the most

up-to-date information on contemporary art to the public at large. Unlike art historians, the focus of McCarthy's writing was not with the past, but on the "here and now." This element of her professional life was integrally linked to the "cultural project" initated by McCarthy and her husband, Colin Sabiston. Feeling that they both had they a great deal to offer their local community culturally, they devoted their spare time in helping artists in securing commissions, and in exhibiting their art. This aspect of McCarthy's life will be examined in further detail in the following chapter. And finally, her linkage of art and news served the additional purpose of maintaining her column's place within the *Globe and Mail*.

Acknowledging the subordinate position of newspaper art criticism to "high" art writing, it is not surprising that McCarthy tried to elevate her work at the *Globe and Mail*. In an article written in 1944, McCarthy discussed an "artisan" program offered by the Ecole du Meuble in Montreal which attempted to raise the position of the worker in mass production. Describing the course as "a stroke of French genius," the school initiated a course to train people in becoming artisans, as opposed to "craftsmen." According to McCarthy, this was greatly needed in Canada where industry needs "heads with taste." 113

She maintained that:

righting this situation was to bring back the word artisan to honor, and get rid of the snobbish notion that it was better to do a stupid job in a white collar than to do an artistic job in shirt sleeves.¹¹⁴

This comment can be read as a personal statement in McCarthy's attempts to enhance her own position as a newspaper critic within the realm of "high" culture. It also points to the fact that she was aware of the prestige associated with certain types of jobs. As Caroline Ramazanoglu observes, while not everyone is aware of having class interests in a Marxist sense, they are usually concsious of nuances in status and prestige, such as living in a nice neighbourhood, or in McCarthy's case, professional versus menial occupations. 115

While McCarthy's "dislike" of mass culture can be attributed to the privileging of

"high" art writing over newspaper criticism, it should also be positioned historically. In his chapter, "Mass Culture as Woman," Andreas Huyssen examines the nineteenth century notion which paired women with mass culture, and "real, authentic culture" with men. 116 Although this idea has its primary historical place in the nineteenth century, it has retained its currency until, in his view, the decline of modernism itself in the 1960s. Huyssen argues that the political, psychological, and aesthetic discourses around the turn of the century consistently and obsessively gendered mass culture and the masses as feminine, while high culture, whether traditional or modern, clearly remained the privileged realm of male activities. 118 Using the writings of Theodor Adorno on music and literature, and Clement Greenberg on painting as classical accounts of modernism, Huyssen observes that mass culture has come to be perceived as the "Other" of modernist art and literature. 119 symbolizing autonomous creations, master works, rationality, teleological progress, discipline and self-control. 120 Clement Greenberg wrote, in his now infamous essay "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," that "where there is an avant-garde [modernism], we also find a rearguard...that thing to which the Germans give the wonderful name of Kitsch: popular, commercial art and literature..."121 Greenberg went onto to argue that kitsch was the "official tendency in culture" in Germany, Italy and Russia, and its encouragement "is merely another of the inexpensive ways in which totalitarian regimes seek to ingratiate themselves with their subjects." By the 1930s, mass culture had become an effective tool of totalitarian domination in a number of countries which all banished modernism as degenerate. 123 While McCarthy might not have been aware of the comparison between mass art and women, it is reasonable to assume that she read Greenberg's article which appeared in the Partisan Review, or was at least aware of the argument equating popular forms of art and writing with totalitarian control.¹²⁴ As it will be seen in Chapter Three, McCarthy was extremely critical of dictatorships and everything that they represented - loss of freedom, individuality, censorship. Any association between her writing for a mass audience and Nazi "tactics" would have greatly disturbed her. Consequently, she often

stressed her credentials as art critic, thereby reinforcing her links with "high" culture.

Moreover, her adherence to formalist art criticism positioned her writing within "high" art discourse, and in this way, she was able to elevate her role as populist art critic.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that McCarthy's double marginalization, resulting from her gender and position as newspaper art critic, has contributed to her "absence" from the histories of art and journalism. Influenced by the patriarchal practices of traditional history writing, the discourses of art history and journalism have traditionally made claims to objectivity and rationality. Asserting that their knowledge is detached and impersonal, male historians and journalists have perpetuated the myth that their histories represent the "Truth." Access into the canon has been based on the false notion of merit and artistic excellence. But as professor of English, Michael Bérubé, reminds us, even though "neglect" may not always be conscious, it is always motivated, and is never benign. 125 Feminist historians have rightly shown that male history has exclusively served the interests of men, and is inextricably linked to issues of power and control. McCarthy's marginalization, and subsequent exclusion from traditional histories, did not evolve naturally, but were the result of the power structures within the news rooms, art historical practices and women's subordinated positions within patriarchal society. Redressing the gendered imbalance of history writing in general, feminists began the immense project of re-discovering the "lost" names of women from the past, re-inserting them into the historical record. The task of "recovery," however, has been an onerous one. Feminist history, in general, has focused most closely upon feminist heroines, and women as victims. Feminist journalism history has tended to emulate this pattern, with most attention given to women "hard" news reporters, women editors, or those working in women's departments. McCarthy's "absence" from women's journalism history can be attributed to the fact that, in a number of respects, she did not "fit" into these categories. Despite the

fact that she acknowledged gendered biases and sexist discrimination in her writing, the journalistic demand for "objectivity" required that she introduce feminist content through "ruptures." It is likely that her veiled support of women's issues has been overlooked, or has since been forgotten by feminist researchers. While this provides a partial explanation of McCarthy's neglect, it does not take into account the marginalization of newspaper art criticism within the discourses of journalism and art history. Categorized as "soft" news, arts journalism has been perceived as being less important than "hard" news genres. Based on the assumption of "objectivity" and reason, (male) historians have focused almost exclusively on the lives of male journalists, editors and publishers. Undeniably, much of her writing reflected the conservative ideologies of the Globe and Mail. This was not unusual, as the bureaucratic structures of the news profession demanded conformity from their staff. A similar hierarchy has also been firmly established within art historical discourse, which positions art criticism in the mass press as the diametric opposite to "high" art criticism. Located in the realm of popular culture, newspaper art critics have lacked the status and prestige awarded to those who write for scholarly and academic journals. Directed at a mass readership, her writing on art has been denied the legitimacy attached to "serious" art history and/or academic criticism. However, a critical reexamination of McCarthy's weekly columns strongly suggests that not only she was aware of hierarchies inherent within these various patriarchal discourses, but that she found ways of challenging them. As we saw, her inclusion of feminist issues, by way of "ruptures," represented her most "subversive" area of interventions in their condemnations of the way that men's lives and contributions have been privileged over those of women. That this area of her writing is the most critical is understandable as her work within a maledominated profession fostered an acute awareness of men's subordination over women. By criticizing patriarchal attitudes and beliefs, McCarthy had the most to gain in terms of her own life. In contrast, her comments regarding newspaper art criticism and "high" arts writing were less critical than those dealing with gender. This can be explained by her need to legitimize her position as art critic at the Globe and Mail, as well as secure a place within "high" culture.

They also point to her success in mediating her position between an elitist "high" culture and the broader popular culture. This is revealed by the fact that her writing had earned the respect of artists and art professionals, but that it was also accessible to the general public.

The following chapter will focus more specifically upon McCarthy's life and the factors surrounding her decision in becoming a professional journalist. In particular, it will examine the intersection of her personal and professional lives, and the contradictions embedded within these spheres. Beginning with her childhood, her life story will examine her relations with her family, followed by her academic experiences in Toronto and Europe. It will then look at her entry into journalism, and her work as the *Globe and Mail's* art critic. The final aspect to be examined will be her partnership with her husband, Colin Sabiston, for it is within the public and personal realms of their relationship that a number of contradictions are revealed.

1 McCarthy, "Two New Trends Puzzle Visitors," Globe and Mail (hereafter G&M), 13 January 1945, 16.

- George Loranger, "Art critics", letter to the editor, G&M, 18 June 1980, 6.
- For Harold Town's acknowledgment of McCarthy's support, see page 60 of this chapter.
- 4 The Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund was established as an annual award to a student of Trinity College, preferably a member of St. Hilda's College, who has obtained First Class Honour standing in either the Second or the Third Year of the Fine Art Course. Preference is given to a student of Second Year who plans to spend a Third Year in study abroad. Sculptor Dora de Pedery Hunt made fifteen bronze medals to be awarded to the recipients of the fund. Trinity College Archives (hereafter TCA), Pearl McCarthy papers, 990-0053/075 (03). The Pearl McCarthy Scholarship papers, November 1994. No doubt McCarthy would have approved this scholarship. The conditions of the scholarship were broadened in 1970 to include a student in Second Year whose programme included at least two course in Fine Art or to the student with highest overall standing in the Third Year Honours Fine Art Course. The following year, the scholarship was amended to: the student completing the Second or Third Year with the highest overall average in the specialist programme in Fine Art. In an article about the late artist Doris Hilditch Speirs, McCarthy described how Speirs' husband was setting up a scholarship of fifty dollars a year at the Doon School of Fine Art. In McCarthy's words: "Such a memorial really makes sense as it perpetuates in Canada what a Canadian has loved." In "The Color and Form Society Opens Show at Hart House", G&M, 16 May 1953, 12.
- Artists, art dealers, and friends contributed to the fund, and in May 1965, a Spring Gala was held at the Jack Pollock Gallery in Toronto. Paintings and sculpture, donated by artist friends of McCarthy, were sold over several days, raising more than \$4,000. Prior to the sale, the committee raised approximately \$4,000 more. In TCA, The Convocation Bulletin, vol. III, no. 1 (Autumn 1965), 2.
- 6. Barbara M. Freeman, Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman (Ottawa, 1989), 2.
- 7. Kathleen Blake Coleman's Obituary, Journal, Edmonton, 21 May 1915. Unlike McCarthy though, an article was written by Emily Weaver two years after Coleman's death: "Pioneer Canadian Women 'Kit' the Journalist", Canadian Magazine, vol. 49, no. 4 (August 1917). Following that several other works were published on Coleman, including: Mabel Burkholder wrote "Kit": Pioneer Canadian Newspaperwoman (Hamilton Women's Press Club, 1933); Ted Ferguson, Kit Coleman, Queen of Hearts (Toronto: Doubleday, 1978); Dorothy Turcotte, "Kit Coleman A Gutsy Female Pioneer Journalist", Early Canadian Life, vol. 3, no. 4 (May 1979); Barbara M. Freeman, "'An Impertinent Fly': Canadian Journalist Kathleen Blake Watkins Covers the Spanish-American War", Journalism History, vol. 15, no. 4 (Summer 1989); and Freeman, op. cit., (1989).
- Gloria Lesser, "Biography and Bibliography of the Writings of Donald William Buchanan (1908-1966)", *Journal of Canadian Art History*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1981): 129-137.

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- 9 Louise Dompierre, John Lyman: 1886-1967, (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1986). For an examination of Lyman's writing on art see Chapters IV, V and VI.
- Lois Valliant, "Robert Hugh Ayre: An Introduction," in Concordia Art Gallery. The Critic and the Collection (Montreal: Concordia University, 1992). Valliant mentions two other recent works on art criticism in her essay: Esther, Trépanier, "L'émergence d'un discours de la modernité dans la critique d'art (Montréal 1918-1938)," in L'Avènement de la Modernité Culturelle au Québec, Yvan Lamond and Esther Trépanier, Montréal: Institut québecois de recherche sur la culture, 1986:69-112; and, Hélène Sicotte, "Walter Abell, Robert Ayre, Graham McInnes: Aperçu de la perspective sociale dans la critique d'art canadienne entre 1935 et 1945, Dissertation, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1989.
- Joyce Zemans et. al., New Perspectives on Modernism in Canada: Kathleen Munn, Edna Tacon (Toronto, 1988), 40.
- Peter Burke, "Overture: The New History, its Past and its Future", in Burke (ed.) New Perspective on Historical Writing (University Park, PA, 1992), 4.
- 13 Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History (Canada, 1986), 1-2.
- Joan Scott, "Women's History", in Peter Burke (ed.) New Perspectives on Historical Writing (University Park, PA., 1994), 54.
- 15 Strong-Boag and Fellman, op. cit., 2.
- McCarthy, "Art and Artists", Globe and Mail (hereafter G&M), 4 June 1960.
- 17 Joan Scott, op. cit., 47.
- Dorothy Smith, The Everyday World As Problematic: A Feminist Sociology (Boston, 1987), 16.
- 19 Ibid., 17-18.
- 20 Ibid., 78.
- Joseph Childers and Gary Hentzi (eds.), The Columbia Dictionary of Modern Literary and Cultural Criticism (New York, 1995), 37.
- Griselda Pollock, "Women Art and Ideology: Questions for Feminist Art Historians", Woman's Art Journal, vol. 4 (Spring/Summer 1983): 40.
- Joanna Frueh, "Towards a Feminist Theory of Art Criticism", in Arlene Raven et al. (eds.) Feminist Art Criticism: An Anthology (Ann Arbor, MI., 1988), 153.
- C.L. Covert, "Journalism History and Women's Experience: A Problem in Conceptual Change", *Journalism History*, vol. 8 (Spring 1981): 4.
- 25 Strong-Boag and Fellman, op. cit., 3.

- Sandra Harding, "Introduction: Is there a feminist method?" In Sandra Harding (ed.) Feminism and Methodology (Bloomington, 1987), 5.
- Veronica Strong-Boag, "Ever a Crusader': Nellie McClung, First-Wave Feminist", in Strong-Boag and Fellman (eds.), op. cit., 178-190. Other feminist literature on Nellie McClung includes: Bette Noreen Blore, "Women's Liberation as Portrayed Through the Writings of Nellie McClung and Francis Beyon: an Agrarian Reform Perspective", M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1982; Jane Errington, "Pioneers and Suffragists", in Sandra Burt, et. al. (eds.) Changing Patterrns: Women in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993); Mary E. Hallett, Firing the Heather: the Life and Times of Nellie McClung (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1993); Carol L. Hancock, No Small Legacy (Winfield, B.C.: Wood Lake Books, 1986); and, R.R. Warne, Literature as Pulpit: The Christian Social Activism of Nellie L. McClung (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1993).
- The following includes a brief survey of writing on Charlotte Whitton, Agnes MacPhail: Elizabeth Hamlet, "Charlotte Whitton and The Growth of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, 1926-1941: A Study in the Role of Social Reformers in Social Policy Making in Canada", M.A. Research paper, Carleton University, 1979; Patricia T. Rooke, No Bleeding Heart, Charlotte Whitton: A Feminist on the Right (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987); T.A. Crowley, Agnes MacPhail and the Politics of Equality (Toronto: Lorimer, 1990); Doris Pennington, Agnes MacPhail, Reformer: Canada's First Female M.P. (Toronto: Simon, 1989); and, Margaret Stewart, Ask No Quarter: A Biography of Agnes MacPhail (Toronto: Longmans, 1959).
- Patricia T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, "'An Idiot's Flowerbed' A Study of Charlotte Whitton's Feminist Thought, 1941-1950", in Strong-Boag and Fellman (eds.) op. cit., 208-225.
- Caroline Ramanozaglu, Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression (London, 1989), 17.
- 31 Ibid., 103.
- McCarthy, "Tribute to Extraordinary Woman", G&M, 30 January 1960, 15. This article focused upon the artist and musician, Amice Mary Calverley, who was originally from Egypt, and now living in Oakville, Ontario. She was responsible for making gifts of textiles, porcelain, pottery and other archaeological objects to the Royal Ontario Museum.
- Barbara Freeman, "The Queen of 'Woman's Kingdom'" The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman ('Kit') 1889-1915", unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1988, 185.
- "A Great Editor Retires", Editorial page, G&M, 8 April 1948, 6.
- 35 "He Exemplified Mastery Over Opportunity", Editorial page, G&M, 12 August 1952, 6.
- 36 Martin Lynch, letter to the author, 24 February 1995. The desk refers to the

- editorial desk of the newsroom through which McCarthy's copies would have been handled.
- Billy Rose, "Pitching Horseshoes", G&M, 3 August 1946, 9. Rose's "Pitching Horseshoes" first appeared several months prior to this article. Positioned in the "Amusement" section, it was a daily editorial type column written in an anecdotal manner, and focusing on a variety of issues.
- 38 Ibid.
- In her examination of sexist language today, Allen Pace Nilsen observes that animal metaphors associated with men, such as studs, bucks and wolves, emphasize power and strength, whereas those referring to women reinforce feminine qualities of weakness and pacificity kitten, bunny, beaver, bird, chick and lamb. In "Sexism in English: A 1990s Update," in Evelyn Ashton-Jones and Gary A. Olson (eds.) The Gender Reader, (Boston, 1991),266.
- In her book on American women journalists, Ishbel Ross described how many news women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would never have dared to complain about sexist work conditions for fear of losing their jobs. See the first two chapters in particular: "Stepping Out" and "A Scold, a Siren and a Star", in Ross, Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936).
- 41 Freeman, op. cit., (1989), 39.
- Critically examining the media, Charlotte Ryan describes sexist discrimination that persists today within the newsroom. The turnover rate is higher for women journalists than it is for men, and women are still frequently "stuck" in ghettoized, powerless and/or token positions. Very often, women's issues are downgraded from "hard to "soft" news areas. In *Prime time Activism: media strategies for grassroots organizing* (Boston, 1991), 169.
- Blodwen Davies, "Canadian Women of Brush and Chisel", *The Chatelaine*, vol. 3, no. 2 (June 1930), 9, 43. Davies began her article with the following criticism: "Now that the Canadian Senate has been besieged and has capitulated, the next stronghold of masculine exclusiveness to feel faintly uneasy over its traditions is the Royal Canadian Academy. In fifty years of its history it has quietly excluded women from the ranks of full membership, not on standards of art but on a basis of sex." Ibid., 9. Davies' reference to the Senate was in response to Cairine Wilson, the first Canadian woman to be appointed as senator.
- Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (New York, 1985), 44.
- Kathleen E. Ferguson, *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy* (Philadelphia, 1984), 7.
- Margaret Gallagher, "A Feminist Paradigm for Communication Research", in B. Dervin et al. (eds.) *Rethinking Communication*, vol. II (Newbury Park, CA., 1989), 82.
- 47 Ibid., 82.

- 48 Liesbet van Zoonen, Feminist Media Studies (London, 1994), 64.
- 49 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 13 February 1937, 10.
- Ibid., "Art and Artists", 13 February 1937, 10. In a subsequent article, McCarthy wrote about the now late, Mary Dignam as someone who "gave such leadership to women artists as only real leaders can give all long before many of the present generation realized what a remarkable personnage she was." In "Art and Artists", 8 November 1941, 11.
- 51 Ibid., "Gay Nineties Had Artistic Virtues", 3rd in a series, 14 August 1943, 7.
- 52 Ibid., "Woman Deputy Director of Birmingham Museum", 13 November 1953, 15.
- Ibid., "Sculptors of the Arctic Send Carving Shipment", 14 November 1956, 10. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis, it should be noted that McCarthy was extremely supportive of women artists. While she regularly promoted the work of women painters, etchers/printmakers and stained glass artists, special emphasis was placed upon sculptors who worked on both small and large scale. Sculptors', whose works McCarthy often reviewed, included: Dora de Pedery Hunt, Jacobine Jones, Frances Loring, Elizabeth Wynn Wood, and Florence Wyle.
- Barrie Thome and Nancy Henley, "Difference and Dominance: An Overview of Language, Gender, and Society", in Thome and Henley (eds.) Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance (Rowley, MA., 1975), 15.
- McCarthy's description of women sculptors as "forceful" contrasts sharply with an an anonymous review of Jacobine Jones' marble relief for the Bank of Nova Scotia in Toronto: "If you saw Jacobine Jones at a tea party, and were told she earns her living as a sculpture, 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 Narciss out of a piece of purest alabaster." In "Tiny Woman Produced Heroic New Sculpture", Mayfair (May 1951), 52.
- McCarthy, "Prints Her Devoted Interest", G&M, 7 May 1960, 19. A similar example can be found in an article about Mrs. Alfred Du Pont, who was elected as an honourable fellow to the Corporation of Trinity College. McCarthy wondered why such a prominent women, "with a personal reputation respected by universities and archbishops...is in no Who's Who, no newspaper files, no picture files..." In McCarthy, "Mrs. Osler Speaker at Trintiy Graduation", 26 February 1958, 15. In a subsequent column, McCarthy pointed out that Mrs. Britton Osler was the first woman to give the graduating dinner address to men and women at Trinity College. In "Art and Artists" 29 May 1958, 14. Finally, McCarthy described Helen Gardner, the first woman to be made a Professorial Fellow at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, as another advance made by women. In "Woman Honored at Oxford", 25 November 1959, 14.
- 57 Ibid., "Art and Artists", 19 December 1936, 31.
- Ibid., "Art and Artists", 20 December 1937, 29. In December 1940, McCarthy raised the theme of Madonnas again, however, it focused on the issue of faith and spirituality in the midst of world war. In "Art and Artists", 21 December 1940, 10.

One other Christmas time columns which dealt with the "Madonna" theme, but did not raise feminist issues was "Madonna in Art Living Tradition", 23 December 1944, 8.

- 59 Ibid., "Church Art Popularized Christmas", 25 December 1948, 10.
- The greater freedom experienced by McCarthy at Christmas time is found in the following two articles. In her 1956 column, she provided her readers with a personalized account about the meaning of Christmas, concluding with a reminiscence of her cottage on Lake Ontario. In "And Come Memory, With Its Flowers of Faith", 22 December 1956, 7. Three years later, McCarthy wrote a playful quiz with one hundred questions relating to art, literature, cultural policy, history, philosophy, movie stars, contemporary artists and musicians. In "Art and Artists", 25 December 1959, 14.
- 61 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", 29 July 1939, 8.
- Graham McInnes, "New Lines in Art Education", Saturday Night, vol. 54, no. 41 (12 August 1939), 17.
- The Royal Canadian Academy, established in 1880, permitted only one woman, Charlotte Schreiber, among a membership of thirteen men. Although a full member, she was not allowed to attend business meetings, nor could her name be placed on the rotation list for the council. In Constitution and Laws of the Royal Canadian Acadmey of Arts, 1881, quoted in Dorothy Farr and Natalie Luckyj, From Women's Eyes: Women Painters in the Twentieth Century (Kingston, 1975), 3. It was not until 1933, that Marion Long was elected as the second full female academician to the RCA. Likewise, the constitution approved by the Ontario Society of Artists' in 1872 stated that while women could participate in all benefits, they "do not have the privilege of voting or attending meetings except [when] invited to do so." In OSA minutes, 2 July 1972, quoted in Farr and Luckyj, op. cit., 3.
- McCarthy, "Fine Show Home Again From N.Y.", G&M, 6 September 1947, 8.
- Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction* Trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1990), 92-96.
- Ken Metzler, News Gathering, Prentice-Hall, 1986, in Journalism 28.100: Introduction to Journalism Studies, Course Book #2, 1987-88, Carleton University. "Soft" news relates to gossipy items about celebreties, offbeat incidents, sensational crime cases and items noted for reader interest. The remaining categories include "straight" news, where facts are presented without analysis, and "spot" news, for example disaster stories.
- The use of the adjectives "hard" and "soft" is interesting in the gendered meanings they have acquired and their application to news categories. Generally, words traditionally associated with dominance and power (hard) have been associated with masculine traits, while those referring to passivity and weakness (soft) signify femininity. It is significant that hard news has been used to describe factual accounts of events taking place within the arena of politics, business and crime, territories traditionally associated with men and masculinity. In contrast, soft news is attributed to trivial and/or human interest stories that are usually associated with

- the arts and women's departments.
- Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality (New York, 1978), 47.
- 69 Ibid., 139.
- E. George Smith, "News Department Is The Soul of Newspaper's Organization", G&M, 7 May 1938, 59.
- 71 Tuchman, op. cit., (1978), 45.
- Ibid., 100-101. Linked to Tuchman's idea, Holloban says that since the Globe and Mail was always a "highly political newspaper", very often the people to get promoted to editorial positions were in the political line. Moreover, newsworkers generally felt that politics was the most important thing, that "Ottawa and Queen's Park were 'hot." In Holloban, personal interview, 22 November 1994.
- 73 Teun A. van Dijk, News as Discourse (Hillside, NJ., 1988), 5.
- A sample of Globe and Mail "hard" news stories on the arts accompanied by a photograph include: "Trench Art Exhibit Held by Loyalists", 8 September 1937, 16; "Fine Madonna Added To Museum Collection", 5 February 1938, 5; "Gibe on Loan Poster Added After Art Work", 27 October 1945, 4; "Courage and Pigments Mix in Veteran's Art", 14 June 1946, 4; "50 Years' Progress to Be Celebrated April 28 by Art Gallery", 22 April 1950, 17.
- 75 van Dijk, op. cit., 5.
- I am using Anthony Quinton's definitions of empiricism and positivism. In Alan Bullock et al. (eds.) The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought, 2nd. ed. (London, 1988). Empiricism is the theory that all concepts are derived from experience, and that all statements claiming to express knowledge depend for their justification on experience. (269). Positivism is the view that all true knowledge is scientific, in the sense of describing the coexistence and succession of observable phenomena. (669)
- 77 Childers and Hentzi (eds.) op. cit., 233.
- 78 Ibid., 94-95.
- John Locke is well known for his comparison of the human mind to a "tabula rasa," or a clean slate upon which the record of experiences is written as thought.
- 80 Tuchman, op. cit., 47.
- E. George Smith, "News Department Is the Soul of Newspaper's Organization", G&M, 7 May 1938, 59.
- The individual who wishes anonymity, letter to the author, 3 March 1995.
- Whereas the Globe and Mail music and drama, and the movie critics were almost always indexed and were usually located on the same pages of the daily news,

McCarthy's "Art and Artists" columns did not receive a regular location until March 2, 1951 at which time a new standing head called "Music - Drama - Art" was introduced. Her column was then indexed under "Music and Drama", and was normally found between pages seven and eleven. On Saturday July 4, 1959 a new Entertainment standing head was created. From this point on, "Art and Artists" was almost always located between pages thirteen and fifteen.

- McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 22 November 1937, 3.
- 85 Ibid.
- The fact that the above "Art and Artists" column appeared on the third page is unusual. During the late 1930s, McCarthy's reviews were usually in the middle of the paper or at the back. The Globe and Mail at this time was typically twenty to twenty-four pages in length.
- Holloban, personal interview, 22 November 1994.
- Private collection, Pearl McCarthy's personal papers, 1934-1964. Charles Comfort to McCarthy, 20 November 1962.
- McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 31 October 1954.
- 90 Stanely Aronowitz, Dead Artists Live Theories and Other Cultural Problems (New York, 1994), 45.
- 91 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 5 May 1956.
- 92 Ibid., "Art and Artists", G&M, 29 July 1939, 8.
- 93 Ibid., "Olin Downes' Opinions On Music in America", Book review, G&M, 11 May 1957, 29.
- 94 Ibid., "Academy to Include Architecture Display", 7 September 1963, 15.
- 95 Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna, Experience Research Social Change: Methods From the Margins (Toronto, 1989), 23.
- Richard Doyle, personal interview, 30 October, 1994. By Features department, Doyle is referring to the arts and women's sections.
- 97 Ryland, op. cit, 23 April 1995.
- Recently postmodern and feminist theorists have criticized "high" art, claiming that it is inaccessible and elitist. Instead they have directly engaged popular culture, examining it as a site of resistance to ideas and objects produced within mainstream culture. See for example: Stanely Aronowitz, Dead artists Live theories and Other Cultural Problems (New York: Routledge, 1994); Pierre Bourdieu, The Field of Cultural Production, ed. Randal Johson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Deborah Cherry, Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists (London: Routledge, 1993); Carol Duncan, The Aesthetics of Power: Essays in Critical Art History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Keith Moxey, op. cit.; Griselda Pollock, op. cit. (1989); and Raven, et. al. (eds.), op. cit.

- 99 Keith Moxey, op. cit, 79.
- Some typical examples of anthologies of arts writing include such texts as Joshua C. Taylor, Nineteenth Century Theories of Art (Berkeley, 1987); James M. Thompson, Twentieth Century Theories of Art (Ottawa, 1990) and, Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas (Oxford, reprinted 1994). Moreover, these anthologies almost exclusively focus upon the ideas of men. No women are present in Taylor's work, and with the exception of Julia Kristeva, Thompson only includes work by male critics and theorists. Harrison and Wood include writing by a number female artists and academics, although it is by far outweighed by men's writing. Recently feminist art historians have re-dressed the exclusion of feminist criticism within the arts. See for example, Arlene Raven, et. al. (eds.) op. cit.
- Hans Belting, *The End of the History of Art?* Trans. Christopher S. Wood, (Chicago, 1987), 15-16.
- Alois Riegl's term "Kunstwollen" is most often translated as either "will for art", or as "will to form." In Ian Chilvers, et. al., The Oxford Dictionary of Art (Oxford, 1988), 423.
- 103 Belting, op. cit., 16-17.
- 104 Pierre Sorlin, Mass Media: Key Ideas (London, 1994), 2.
- 105 Carol Duncan, op. cit., 170.
- Private collection, Pearl McCarthy's personal correspondence, 1920-1960. Pearl McCarthy to the Snyder family, 2 January 1927. The contents of this letter are examined in greater detail in Chapter Two, pages ninety-two to ninety-three.
- National Archives of Canada, J. Russell Harper Papers, MG 30, D 352, vol. 42, file 17. Pearl McCarthy to J. Russell Harper, 10 October 1963. This letter is discussed in Chapter Two, see page eighty-five.
- Lawren Harris, Jr., "Our 'Middle-Men' of the Arts", The Canadian Forum, vol. XX, no. 231 (April 1940), 18. While Harris did not identify these individuals, three were writing for daily newspapers Globe and Mail, Star, and Telegram. The other critic wrote for a weekly journal, presumably Saturday Night. or Canadian Forum. Not everyone was as critical as Harris. For example, Walter Abell, editor of Maritime Art, describes Robert Ayre's arts writing as "true criticism." Both writers have "a serious concern for his subject, that he conscientiously studies his material, and that he is offering his sincere conclusions." Abell concludes that McCarthy takes a similar approach in her writing. In Walter Abell, "Criticism", Maritime Art, vol. 2, no. 4 (April/May 1942), 111.
- 109 Private collection, McCarthy's personal papers and correspondence, 1934-1964.
- 110 Ibid. Ellen Simon to McCarthy, 6 August 1947. The article to which Simon is referring was written by McCarthy on July 19, 1947. Simon worked as an architectural stained glass artist.

- Private collection, op. cit., 1934-1964. Harold Town to McCarthy, 26 January 1957. McCarthy claimed to have "discovered" Harold Town in 1944 at the Ontario College of Art's annual exhibition. In Richard Doyle, personal interview, 30 October 1994. Writer and curator David Burnett supports McCarthy in this assertion, accrediting her as being the first critic to give Town serious attention. In David Burnett, *Town* (Toronto, 1986) 126. In the "Foreward", Town also acknowledges the support he received from McCarthy, as well as from the art critic Robert Fulford. Ibid., 12.
- McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 25 May 1942, 9. The editorial restrictions in column length were a critical issue to McCarthy. In a letter from Eric Aldwinckle he wrote: "how your verbally sort out all the parts of a complicated problem, putting them in proper order in a confined space, leaving out unessentials is as pleasing and mysterious to me as a design." In Private collection, op. cit. 1934-1964. Eric Aldwinckle to McCarthy, 23 May 1959. Not only did she save this letter, but she underlined the comment of "putting them in proper order in a confined space" and marked it with an arrow.
- 113 McCarthy, "Ecole du Meuble Joins Carpenty and Culture", G&M, 3 July 1948, 8.
- 114 Ibid.
- Ramazanoglu, op. cit., 98.
- Andreas Huyssen, After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism (Bloomington, 1986), 47.
- 117 Ibid., 62.
- 118 Ibid., 47.
- 119 Ibid., 56.
- 120 Ibid. 58.
- 121 Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch", in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (eds.) op. cit., 533.
- 122 Ibid., 539.
- 123 Huyssen, op. cit., 56.
- This observation is supported by the fact that McCarthy was well-read and up-todate on the latest artistic theory. Moreover, her husband, Colin Sabiston, was a member of the American Society of Aesthetics.
- Michael Bérubé, Marginal Forces/Cultural Centers: Tolson, Pynchon, and the Politics of the Canon (Ithaca, 1992), 13.

Chapter Two

Pearl McCarthy: Contradictions in the Self

When I grow up I am going to be a famous Canadian writer. Pearl McCarthy, as a child, early 1900s

[Pearl] was also pure theatre. Dressed like a dowager duchess, frequently nodding politely to the populace, she had cultivated the gift of timing and the grand entrance. The taxi company that she patronized on a monthly account had been trained to have the driver leave his seat, open the door for her and take her hand as she alighted. In TRONNA!? In a Ford Taxi! She never walked anywhere.²

Victor Ryland, personal friend of Pearl McCarthy, 1995

Following Anne-Katherine Broch-Due's "life course approach," this chapter will present a biographical look at Pearl McCarthy. Within this paradigm, a person's life story is interpreted as a process in a "space-time location," representing the historical context and the existing social relations. McCarthy will thus be situated within the framework of biographical time (age) and historical time (period), as well as within the smaller collectivities to which she belonged: family, peer group and workplace. The discussion will begin with her childhood, examining the impact of the attitudes and values instilled in her by her family, and how they contributed to her decision to enter journalism. It will then turn to her educational and social experiences during young adulthood, followed by her work as art critic. The final section will consist of McCarthy's partnership with her husband, Colin Sabiston. Central to this chapter will be the numerous contradictions circumscibing the public and private aspects of McCarthy's life.

The lofty ambition "to be a famous Canadian writer" was written by Pearl McCarthy as a child on a beam in the boathouse of her family's cottage near Peterborough. It is doubtful that she ever envisioned that her goal would be attained amongst the noise and "hurly-burly" of a smoke-filled newspaper department. Yet, her dream was eventually realized in a journalistic career that spanned three and a half decades. In her lifetime, Pearl

McCarthy became a nationally and internationally respected writer on the visual arts, and was referred to as the "Dean of Canadian Art Critics."

When McCarthy became a journalist in 1927, almost fifty years after women had begun to enter the profession, the news industry was still male-dominated and controlled. During the first few decades of the twentieth century most men, and some women, felt that the hectic world of daily newspapers was "no place for a lady." One young woman, applying for a job at the London (Ontario) *Free Press* in 1942, was flatly refused by the managing editor who said "I'd never let a daughter of mine become a reporter." These attitudes reflected the sexist discrimination rooted within patriarchal relations which classified certain types of work as "masculine," news reporting being one of them. Accordingly, women journalists had to overcome barriers not experienced by their male colleagues. However, by the early twentieth century, a great many women had succeeded in entering the profession.

The 1920s have been described as a decade of change and contradiction. Receiving the federal vote in 1918, this was a time of great optimism and hope for Canadian women. In contrast to their mothers and grandmothers, a greater range of life choices was available to them. Historical records show that by 1920 slightly more than twenty five per cent of post-graduate students were women, while nearly six per cent of women were enrolled in full-time undergraduate programs. In 1921, women's participation in the labour force increased by two per cent, bringing the total to fifteen and a half per cent. As historian Veronica Strong-Boag notes, feminists anticipated an even further liberation of women through the accelerated pace of modernization during the decade, and nowhere did they place greater faith than in the workplace. Advertising images in women's magazines, such as the *The Chatelaine*, helped to strengthen the ideology of the "new woman." This strain of feminist images offered white, middle class women, the main beneficiaries of the expanding opportunities of their sex, glimpses of themselves in new and exciting roles in

the public sphere (Figures 4-6).

In spite of the gains women had made outside the home, gender inequality within the labour force did not disappear. As Gwethalyn Graham noted in *The Canadian Forum* in 1936: "The whole question of what has come to be known as 'Women's Rights' appears to have been shelved for the time being." Women tended to be ghettoized in lower paying jobs with less status, and little chance of advancement. The prevailing sexist attitudes pressured many women to quit their jobs when they married, as a consequence of the belief that "a woman's place was in the home." While some married women managed to continue working full-time, most were faced with the choice of either a career or marriage, but not both. 12

Given these "competing" ideologies defining women's lives - the mother, the wife, and the working woman - it is not surprising that many working women experienced conflict in "walking the tight rope" between their professional and private lives. Mary Vipond found in her examination of magazine images of women from the 1920s that working women were not to expect any help from their husbands with domestic chores, as most men felt they were already making a large enough sacrifice in having their wives work outside the home. Consequently, many women had to become "Superwomen" by taking on the double, or even triple burden of working full-time, in addition to the responsibility of housekeeping and childrearing.

Similar to the findings of other feminist biographers, ¹⁴ my research on Pearl McCarthy has revealed a number of conflicts and contradictions marking her professional and private lives. Like other women of her era, McCarthy would not have defined herself as a feminist. ¹⁵ Yet, in many respects, she challenged the gendered stereotypes defining femininity of her era. Holding two graduate degrees, she was highly self-confident, and worked her entire life in a profession traditionally defined as a masculine occupation.

McCarthy was not unique in having to work, for in 1931 48.9 per cent of Canadian women

between the ages of 25-64 were engaged in paid work.¹⁶ However, when she is positioned amongst women of her age bracket, she does not reflect the average woman. She began her first full-time job in 1927, at the age of thirty-two, when the majority of women had by that time in their lives, married and were busy raising their children.¹⁷ Moreover, in contrast to most women, she married much later, at age forty-two,¹⁸ and made a conscious decision not to have children.¹⁹

Despite these unconventional aspects of McCarthy's life, she also fulfilled women's traditional role of "care giver." In addition to her full-time work at the *Globe and Mail*, she had the extra burden of maintaining the home and caring for her husband. She also helped put her younger brother through university by offering financial support, and later on, she took care of her elderly mother for several years.

Formative Years

Pearl McCarthy's mother, Mary Doris Davis, was one of seven children raised on a dairy farm near Jarvis, Ontario. As the farm's maintenance required a great deal of work, the family relied on their children's labour to ensure their livelihood. Mary Davis, whose marks at school were not the best, ended her formal education in the second grade, in order to help her parents at home. Although she quit school at an early age, she managed to learn how to read and write. Interested in literature, one of her favorite pastimes was reading English poetry and history books on the British royalty.²⁰

In contrast to Mary Davis, the three youngest Davis children, Annie, Esther and Claribel, were able to complete their post-secondary studies (Figure 7). Annie Davis, one of the first women in Ontario to graduate from medical college in 1906, became the second woman to work as a doctor in Hamilton.²¹ Upon graduating, she opened a practice in that city with Esther Davis, who had trained as a pharmacist. Claribel, the youngest Davis

child, taught at the Ladies College in Whitby, and later became the registrar there. Pearl McCarthy's aunts' scholastic accomplishments undoubtedly served as strong role models for her own academic pursuits (Figure 8). Of even greater significance, was Annie and Esther Davis's decision to enter into careers traditionally outside the domain for women.²² Clearly, their lives were demonstrations that women could be independent, could live their lives on their terms, and could overcome conventional barriers.

In 1892, Mary Davis married Jesse Overn McCarthy, a school teacher-turned-insurance agent, at which time they moved to Toronto (Figure 9). On March 1, 1895 they had their first child, Lillian Pearl, ²³ followed by two more children, Vourneen in 1904, and Davis in 1907 (Figure 10). Around this period, they also adopted Will Frost, Mary McCarthy's nephew, whose mother had died. ²⁴

After teaching public school in Haldimand County, Jesse McCarthy changed vocations, becoming an agent and superintendent for the Temperance and General Life Insurance Company in Toronto from 1892 until 1900. He then assumed a number of managerial positions with various insurance companies until 1915, when he took over as vice-president and general manager of the Security Life Insurance Company of Canada. In addition to his professional work, he was actively involved in municipal politics where he served as an alderman for the city of Toronto from 1910 to 1911, and later as controller from 1912 to 1914. Motivated by a sense of goodwill and justice, he was active in the Temperance Union Movement, and dedicated himself to Social Service and Welfare Work. He was accredited for the establishment of Toronto's Juvenile Court, the first in Canada.

As his insurance business was extremely lucrative, Jesse McCarthy was able to provide his family with many luxuries. Residing in Toronto's fashionable district of Parkdale,²⁷ the McCarthys led a privileged life, with servants, a cook and a seamstress. Even their cottage on Stoney Lake had a small room partitioned off in order to accommodate a servant²⁸ (Figure 11). An early photograph of a fur-clad Pearl McCarthy,

at age two or three, attests to her family's affluence (Figure 12). Recalling her grandparents' indulgences, McCarthy's neice Cecily Morrow describes their European shopping sprees and how they would bring antiques they purchased back to Canada to furnish their home.²⁹ Likewise, in the late 1940s, Pearl McCarthy wrote how her father would jest about their family extravagances.³⁰ Having the most up—to—date appliances, the McCarthys were the first family in the neighbourhood to have an electric toaster, and were always among the first to buy the newest model of car each year.³¹

The McCarthy's prosperity, however, ended abruptly in the mid-1920s. Besides his work at the life insurance company, Jesse McCarthy had become involved in real estate ventures, eventually losing most of his money in an unsuccessful land deal. After this disastrous event, the McCarthys bought a 365 acre farm in Hespeler, near Chatham, Ontario, for their retirement. At this time, Jesse McCarthy also started an oil business. But when this project collapsed with the onset of the Depression, they retired to the farm. After her husband's death on September 18, 1937, Mary McCarthy continued to live in Hespeler until the end of the war.

Both McCarthy parents were devoted to their children, and exceedingly proud of their achievements.³² Mary McCarthy, in particular, valued the ability to accomplish "something" in the "real" world, encouraging her children to be "a cut above" everyone else. In Cecily Morrow's words, her grandmother felt that: "you define yourself by *doing* certain things that were considered *outstanding*, different, up on the scale of human values." Although Mary McCarthy wished for her children's financial security in adulthood, more importantly, she did not want them to be merely "ordinary" or "common." Jesse McCarthy's interest in his children took a slightly different form, as he felt that academic achievement mattered most. Like his wife, he read a great deal, focusing his attention on religions of other cultures, in particular Buddhism. His interest in Eastern religions may have influenced Pearl McCarthy's later outlook as art critic, for she often

stressed the dualistic nature of art. In her view, an artwork was successful when it integrated the cosmos and the natural world.³⁵

A conscientious and good student, it is not surprising that Pearl McCarthy's scholastic achievements were rewarded by her parents.³⁶ Of her siblings, she was considered the intellectual one, and thus became her father's favorite.³⁷ Vourneen McCarthy, resentful of the special relationship between Jesse and Pearl McCarthy, referred to her sister as a "blue stocking," and a "squinty-eyed intellectual." Vourneen McCarthy's critical attitude towards her sister's academic interests was rooted within societal values that perpetuated the myth that: "intellectual women are seldom beautiful, their features, and particularly their foreheads, are more or less masculine." In spite of her outward self confidence and assurance, it appears that Pearl McCarthy internalized this derogatory attitude defining ideal feminine beauty.⁴¹

A photograph of Pearl McCarthy taken around the age of four, reinforces the image of an academically inclined child (Figure 13). She is presented leaning over a chair on which an open book is placed. Clearly the image is a theatrical construct, arranged perhaps at the whim of her parents, or more specifically, her father. Judging from her small size and appearance, she is probably too young to be reading. But the use of the book, as a prop, links her directly to the educational pursuits and cultivated interests desired by her parents. Such reinforcement may well have motivated Pearl McCarthy in furthering her education, and in turn, enabling her father to vicariously live out his own academic dreams. It is tempting to speculate that Pearl McCarthy was also "groomed" to fulfill her mother's own yearnings for academic recognition. While Mary McCarthy's three youngest sisters were able to continue with their post-secondary studies, and thus, "make something" of themselves, she was left behind on the farm because she was a poorer student. As Morrow stresses, Mary McCarthy's sense of pride coupled with Jesse McCarthy's interest in their daughter's intellectual accomplishments, demanded that she continue with her academic

studies.42

Obviously McCarthy's family greatly supported and encouraged her in continuing her education at university. While her aunts' academic work provided a private role model, there existed a number of other Canadian women who served as public role models during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These women, many of whom had accessed the public domain by entering into careers traditionally outside the parameters of femininity, may have served as an inspiration to young women, like McCarthy, interested in pursuing their post-secondary education. (Appendix 6) Asserting their independence, they challenged sexist stereotypes and the narrowly prescribed roles of their gender.

Arguably, these women would have impressed McCarthy with their intellectual and artistic capabilities, and may even have encouraged her to carry on with post-secondary education.

43

Young Adulthood

In 1913, Pearl McCarthy graduated with honours from Parkdale Collegiate

Institute, at which time she entered St. Hilda's College of the University of Toronto with two matriculation scholarships in the classics. Her decision to attend St. Hilda's most likely met her parents' approval as it had the reputation of being more academic in comparison to other local women's universities. Little is known about McCarthy's experiences during this period. However, S. Hilda's Chronicle and other documents from Trinity College provide some general information. Her transcripts indicate that as an undergraduate she majored in English and History, providing her with a strong background in the humanities. (Appendix 7) As will be discussed more fully in the next chapter, her course work in History and Philosophy would prove beneficial to her subsequent career as art critic. Although McCarthy did not reside in the college's dormitories, the

Torontonensis, the University of Toronto's year book, stated that she "was keenly interested in college institutions and an especially helpful member of the Lit." During her graduate degree, she participated in other extra-curricular activities, by being elected to the executive committee of the Alumnae Association in 1918. 47

Upon receiving her B.A. in 1917 (Figure 14), McCarthy immediately began her M.A. at the University of Toronto, graduating two years later. Although records do not specify which department this degree was in, presumably she majored in History, as she later referred to herself as an historian.⁴⁸ Her thesis, entitled "Patronage in Canadian Politics," examined the abuse of patronage and political favouritism in the government beginning in the mid-eighteenth century until the 1910s. Interested in issues involving the government and the state, McCarthy often dealt with these themes and their relation to the visual arts in her writing as art critic.⁴⁹

On August 31, 1920, Pearl McCarthy and her father sailed to England where she was to begin post-graduate studies on a scholarship at St. Hilda's College in Oxford. Again, little is known about her experiences at this time, but it is evident that events did not go quite as smoothly as she might have expected. McCarthy's circumstances were dramatically altered part way through her degree when her family lost its fortune. As her parents were unable to offer her financial support, she found it necessary to seek employment in order to finish her studies. Instead of completing her degree in two years as planned, she would graduate six and a half years later, in the spring of 1927.

McCarthy's initial few years in England offered her the opportunity to live with an upper class English family, and have her name included on a list with other young socialites awaiting introduction to King George. Between 1921 and 1924, she went to Paris on at least two occasions to conduct thesis research on the French Revolution. Her first period of study in France most likely began in October 1921, when she took a temporary three month leave from St. Hilda's. Dissatisfied with the results from her

research, she returned to Paris at least once more in pursuit of a critical piece of information for her thesis.

In a letter written to art historian J. Russell Harper in 1963, McCarthy described how she used "a big chunk" of her father's money while she was in Europe, most likely trying to complete her thesis research. Her tenacious desire to "know" the facts led to a skepticism of historians and history writing in general. As she said:

There was a tiny point in the September Massacres in the French Revolution that puzzled me; I could not find all the documents. Why worry — EVERY GREAT HISTORIAN FOR OVER 100 YEARS HAD AGREED. Still it annoyed me. Back to France I went, and after nearly giving myself a breakdown, found the wee piece of paper that proved my man had not been in Paris at that time at all!!!!!! Ah well, you can't trust ANY former historian.....but just one old historian's warning NEVER TRUST WHAT HAS BEEN SAID before you. They all make things add up to the sum of their notions.⁵³ (McCarthy's emphasis)

This quote is significant in terms of McCarthy's subsequent entry into journalism as it emphasizes her persevering nature and determination in researching information and fact finding, qualities required in the newspaper business. Offering advice to women interested in a career in journalism in 1945, Lillian D. Millar stated that "you must have a sleepless curiosity," in addition to "plenty of perseverance and determination and unlimited enthusiasm." Likewise, Joan Holloban, former medical reporter for the *Globe and Mail*, stresses these characteristics as being essential to journalists, who have "to be inquisitive, to the point of being curious about everything." Furthermore, McCarthy's skepticism of historians provides an insight into her later writing on First Nations people in Canada. Critical of the way history has been recorded, she used several articles to address the issue of negative stereotyping of the Native population as "savage," demanding in one column that a government pamphlet be re-written. This issue will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Three.

McCarthy's time in France was not all hard work and frustration for she was able to

visit art galleries and artists' studios. It was there that a number of her subsequent ideas concerning modernist art and formalist theory matured. As the "capital" of Western art, Paris in the 1920s would have been an exciting place for a young woman studying abroad. In subsequent writings about her experiences in Europe, McCarthy mentioned her visits to the studios of Braque and Picasso, and showed that she was knowledgeable of the non-objective painting of Wassily Kandinsky, whose work she would have seen in Paris. Her time spent in Paris would also have exposed her to Dadaism (1916-1923), as well as Surrealism (1924-1945). André Breton, "leader" of the surrealist movement in Paris, published the "Manifesto of Surrealism" (Manifeste du surrealisme) in 1924 which likely coincided with McCarthy's research in France.

It is not surprising that McCarthy sought out artistic circles during her studies abroad, for her interest in art and cultural issues had developed during childhood. In a review of the 1959 Canadian National Exhibition, she joked that "as a child, we remember thinking the CNE art gallery was the next best attraction after the dog show." In the same article, she said that her family possessed only two paintings, but that "visits to houses of people who owned paintings were a thrill." She recalled being in her teens when the furor over the Group of Seven broke out. Recounting an early exhibition of the group during her university studies in Toronto, McCarthy wrote in 1952: "...some of us got our first sight of Group of Seven sketches at a little exhibition held by the University Women's Club, an event which started us on our way with such excitement as present-day people will hardly realize." Her enthusiasm and support for the original members of the Group of Seven continued her entire life. Despite the fact that she regularly discarded her papers and correspondence, she kept the catalogue from the Group's 1925 exhibition in Wembley, England.

It will be argued in the following chapter that McCarthy was attracted to the formal qualities (line, colour, form) conveyed by the members of the Group of Seven in their work.

However, the Group also appealed to her on a more intimate level, as their rugged landscapes brought back memories of her childhood at the family cottage:

To thousands of us, some place on an island of granite rock was 'home.' We might not know the map of our city, but we knew every crevice in those rocks. There we adventured. We 'discovered' and, while knee-high to a grasshopper, drew our canoes on rocks in the centre of lakes and called them our continents. 65

McCarthy's early support of the Group of Seven, Canada's vanguard during the 1920s, demonstrates her willingness to embrace new forms of artistic expression, including cubism and non-representational work. However, she was candid in her negative feelings towards Dadaism and Surrealism. 66 While she admitted that it was "entirely personal matter of taste," everything about surrealism "is distasteful to us" because "anything allowed to run its course without the control of deliberate reason displeases us heartily."⁶⁷ She even refused to acknowledge it as an official movement, and in one review from 1937, referred to it as a "fad" (even though it had been around for thirteen years.)⁶⁸ Her dislike of Surrealism might be attributed to the importance she placed upon the intellect, the earth and nature, or perhaps to her fear of what her own psychological introspection would reveal. She was, therefore, unable to accept surrealist artists' stress upon irrational forces, and the subconscious. Instead of emphasizing the psychological qualities of artistic content, McCarthy believed that art should combine spiritual ideas with elements from everyday reality.⁶⁹ But the fact that she was willing to ignore surrealism is highly contradictory, especially when it is positioned within her condemnation of censorship. As it will be seen in the next chapter, she was extremely critical of dictatorship governments that controlled intellectual and artistic expression through censorship. In McCarthy's opinion, this was unexcuseable as artists and the intelligentsia should be allowed to express themselves freely. Her criticisms of censorship were also linked to her views regarding "objectivity" and impartiality in newspaper writing.

Yet, in spite of the importance she placed upon the presentation of non-biased views, as well as her denouncements of censorship, McCarthy seldom discussed artistic styles or movements that she found distasteful, such as Dadaism or Surrealism. Unconsciously, she was guilty of her own form of "censorship," as she tended to review only those exhibitions and works of art that fit within her formalist aesthetic. As it will be seen in the Chapter Three, other contradictions are revealed in her columns during wartime, and in her critical approach to Western and non-Western art.

The effects of her family's financial misfortune during her Oxford studies resulted in a considerable loss of status for McCarthy among the British elite. An immediate consequence was the removal of her name from the King's list. In order to complete her degree, she moved into a fourth floor room,⁷¹ and worked as the housekeeper, most likely for the British family with whom she was living.⁷² Besides her paid domestic work, she also tutored a girl while conducting her research in France.⁷³

Interestingly, a tension runs throughout the body of McCarthy's public writing in terms of class issues. Until her mid-twenties, while her parents were still financially well off, she belonged to the ruling class. However, her family's loss of fortune immediately shifted her from the upper to the working class as she found it necessary to take up domestic work to complete her degree. It is apparent within her writing that she struggled with issues involving class identity, and in a sense she "straddled" both spheres. While her lack of money and need to work for a living located her in a subordinate position in relation to class, McCarthy's education and "bourgeois" upbringing ideologically aligned her with society's elite. Despite her own loss of financial status, she accepted the hierarchical class structure within Western capitalist society, and did not challenge the status quo. Completing her degree under these circumstances is yet another demonstration of her tenacious and persevering nature.

Though McCarthy may have been embarrassed by her change in fortune, she had a

life-long love of everything British.⁷⁶ Moreover, the fact that she could become a housekeeper, yet continue to support an elitist class system, suggests that she could "move" between classes quite comfortably. Evidence of this is found in several letters written to her husband during a trip to England in 1960. Dismayed by the political and social changes to the former "economic order," she felt that a "good thing" had been lost.⁷⁷ Bemoaning the fact that Britain is now "paying for her liberalism," she wrote:

You would be even more skeptical of the welfare state and socialism if you saw what has been done in impoverishing the middle class and giving power to the former lower class. It is enough to make anybody wonder whether the poor of Portugal are not better off. At least the educated Portuguese hasn't that battered, buffeting look of the old English middle class....I'm still no partisan of old U.S. Steel attitude to Labor...nobody in the world is still kinder than the battered, tax-paying English...I'm coming home more conservative than I was!⁷⁸ (McCarthy's emphasis)

In spite of her disappointment with England in general, she was offered some consolement at Brighton where everyone, rich and poor, could exist "side-by-side":

...each individual went his own way in dress, and nobody batted an eyelash whether his neighbor [sic] wore posh cricket flannels or overalls or full dress. Each did as he damn well pleased... You just couldn't have that in Nassau or any American resort... You can call that individualism or the opposite, but by Heck! it's freedom, freedom as our children can't learn it, for it seems to have just one rule - moderate all you do so as not to interfere with anybody. (McCarthy's emphasis)

As her remarks indicate, she was a strong advocate of the liberal-democratic ideology. A cornerstone of liberalist thinking is the idea of individualism, which was very important to McCarthy on both a personal, as well as an ideological level. This issue frequently emerges in her approach to art criticism. It could also reflect her determination in entering into journalism, especially when women received little encouragement in entering maledefined careers.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic capital" offers a helpful

way of understanding the problematics of McCarthy's class positioning. According to him, "symbolic capital" is not reducible to economic capital, but rather, finds its power in formal education, and is measurable by degrees or diplomas. Representing the level of accumulated prestige, celebrity, or honour, it is founded on a dialectic of knowledge and recognition. On his discussion of intellectuals and artists, Bourdieu argues that they occupy a position subordinate to the ruling class because they lack economic capital. Yet, at the same time, they possess a high degree of "symbolic forms of capital": academic and/or cultural capital. Identifying herself as part of the intelligentsia, McCarthy acknowledged the contradictory aspect of her dual positioning. In a 1952 review of Nicholas Hornyansky's work, she wrote that although scholars might not die rich, "they contribute a precious element." Here is yet another example of the polarities marking McCarthy's life.

McCarthy's views on class issues embodied the contradictions of her own class position, as well as the contrasting experiences she must have had as an educated woman doing domestic work for pay. Writing for a mass readership, she perceived herself as the "defender" of the "common person," and regularly included comments made by the uneducated and working classes in her weekly columns. Usually her support for the general public was voiced through discussions pertaining to the role of public art galleries. For instance, in 1947 she wrote: ."..let galleries and institutions buy and let (*or force*) them to welcome the humblest visitor, for their duty is to all men regardless of purse." (emphasis added) A number of years later, she raised this issue again. Acknowledging that museums and galleries have become almost the exclusive domain of the cultivated (elite) class, she argued that "too many galleries today are run for cliques."

However, perceiving herself as a member of the intelligentsia, McCarthy's views were often paternalistic, and at times, even insulting. A good example of this occurs in 1956 when she reminisced about an incident at an exhibition:

...a very crumpled, ordinary woman appealed to us because we seemed to be following a catalogue, which would have meant nothing to her: 'Can you tell me if that picture is by some great artist? - I do hope so, because I love it and it is the nicest in the gallery'...her 'nicest' picture was listed as the School of Leonardo. She represented that popular vote which goes along with the scholar's vote...⁸⁶ (emphasis added)

Her elitist attitudes were revealed again the following year in an article about the rumour that the West Block of the Parliament Buildings was going to be torn down. Following the stylistic format of a news report, she included sample reactions of three "types" of people: Alan Jarvis, "the brilliant young director of the National Gallery"; a "nationally-known financier" who wished to remain anonymous; and, "a cleaning woman." In McCarthy's view, the woman expressed "the most clear-cut psychological reaction: 'Makes you frightened, all the talk about tearing down, don't it? Makes you feel as if it's the end of the world or something." (emphasis added) Giving the woman the most space in her column, suggests that McCarthy identified with her straightforward and emotional response. However, attention was drawn to the woman's improper use of grammar as her statement was placed between quotation marks, whereas those of Alan Jarvis and the financier were paraphrased. In so doing, McCarthy distanced herself from the cleaning woman's class position, and also reinforced the negative stereotyping of the working class as being less articulate and less educated.

McCarthy was granted the degree of B.Litt. (Oxon) in March 1927 (Figure 15). 88

Holding two graduate degrees was not only uncommon for a woman of her era, but was rare among the Canadian population in general. In 1920, only 48 women and 170 men were granted Master's degrees. By 1930, the numbers of men and women graduating from Masters programs had increased respectively to 100 and 358. 89 For the next several decades, McCarthy would have more education than many women from the following generations, as the numbers of women entering post-secondary education sharply declined

with the onset of the Depression. ⁹⁰ It is clear from her writing that McCarthy herself acknowledged the difficulties women faced in attaining higher education. In an article from 1956, McCarthy did a story on Sister Christabel [Lily Bourchier Emery] of the Anglican Order, the first woman in Canada to receive an honorary degree of doctor of divinity. The rest of the article dealt with the barriers Sister Christabel experienced as a woman in entering university, as well as the gains she had achieved after she matriculated and entered St. Hilda's college in 1894. ⁹¹

McCarthy's Entry into Journalism

Whereas middle class women were urged to obtain a good education in order to secure a better job before they married, ⁹² McCarthy's family's class and wealth afforded her the freedom to continue her academic pursuits at Oxford for their own sake. ⁹³ But as she could no longer rely on the financial support of her parents, finding full-time employment after she finished university became a central concern. In a letter to her aunt and uncle, written in January 1927, only several months before graduation, she complained that:

The one fly in the ointment is that despite the fact that I've tried very hard I haven't found any work. In every case they want a permanent person and of course I would be only temporary. I return to London Tuesday and am determined to find something. Ouite frankly I shall feel much ashamed until I have. 94

McCarthy's unsuccessful attempts in securing temporary work in England, might also be attributed to social constraints affecting outlooks on class. Although economic circumstances necessitated that she seek domestic employment in order to complete her degree at Oxford, after the completion of her second graduate degree, such menial work would have been unthinkable for someone of McCarthy's educational standing and social upbringing. Moreover, she had the additional burden of fulfilling the expectations of her parents who placed great emphasis upon their children's personal accomplishments. This

parental pressure was made clear in the same letter to her aunt and uncle, for she confided that: "I only hope I can make something worth while of myself so as to be some credit to you [the family]." 95

During McCarthy's final year at Oxford she began to seriously consider her career options. By January 1927 she had narrowed her choices down to two areas:

At present I am absolutely perplexed as to whether I should head for University work (tutoring) or journalism. If I decide on entering journalism it won't be with the idea of staying always in newspaper work but rather of obtaining practice in writing on everything and anything. But it seems rather unlikely that I shall be able to get my temporary post in that line. I shall write after I get back to town [London, England] and discuss all this matter of a profession. I intend to go to see two editors this coming week.⁹⁶

Eventually, McCarthy decided to enter journalism instead of university work. Upon graduating from Oxford, she returned to Canada, and immediately began working at the Montreal *Gazette*. But, as the above quote makes clear, she never expected to make it her life-time career. As she later recalled, "my father lost his money and I fell into journalism, writing criticism for newspapers, and so never published my find." Under more favourable circumstances, McCarthy would probably have chosen another sort of literary career, such as history writing. In 1944, she stated: "...competent journalism (even when put between hard covers and called a book) can never take the place of literature." Her attitude reflected that of many women journalists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Marjorie Lang's research on women in the news industry has found that a number of women had "higher" literary ambitions extending beyond the newspaper, usually in the realm of fiction writing and poetry. Moreover, this statement also suggests that McCarthy was aware that art criticism within the mass press lacked the prestige and status accorded to "high" culture. Yet, as we saw in Chapter One, she firmly believed that her work as art critic was important and vital to Canadian culture.

There are several other factors that may have influenced McCarthy's decision in

becoming a journalist. In 1919, during the final year of her M.A., St. Hilda's College organized its first Vocational Conference for the purpose of providing practical advice to women in the choice of a career. Among the representatives invited to speak on "appropriate" careers for educated women, was journalist Mona Cleaner from the Toronto Globe's Homemaker department. Of the types of work identified as suitable to "gentlewomen," journalism probably presented one of the more attractive options to McCarthy. Portrayed as an exciting career, journalism would provide the opportunity to "use her head," as well as write for a living. Later on, during her final term at Oxford, her interest in journalism was further piqued. Writing home in 1927, she confided to her family about two of her "very best new friends." Both married to London newspaper editors, she told her family: "you can imagine how interesting they are." 103

Although women journalists had made tremendous advancements within the news industry by the late 1920s, journalism was still viewed by many as a masculine profession. Perhaps the challenge of proving that she could compete with men on "equal" terms also appealed to McCarthy. Despite her denial of supporting women's issues, her entry into journalism suggests that she did, in fact, support ideas that have since been identified with liberal feminism. The proponents of this strand of feminist thought have argued for women's right to free and individual choice, and self-determination, as well as for equality with men and the eradication of the sexual division of labour. ¹⁰⁴ Likewise, McCarthy did not believe in gender segregation. She told Victor Ryland that while women had their own colleges, it was "not necessarily a good thing." ¹⁰⁵ In a 1955 review of an amateur men's and women's exhibition, McCarthy commented that, whereas in the past the sexes were shown separately, this year they would be exhibited together. In her view, that "made sense." ¹⁰⁶ She even joked once to a colleague that she was "the best man to do the job in the M&D department."

It is not exactly clear in which department McCarthy was working when she joined

the *Gazette* but one could assume that the she entered as a "cub" reporter. She stated in her obituary that while she was working as a reporter, she covered robberies and fires, ¹⁰⁸ quite likely referring to her work in Montreal. This information is difficult to verify because most news articles and arts columns were not given by-lines at the *Gazette* during this period, and personnel records prior to 1930 are incomplete.

In 1929, McCarthy became the target of sexual attention by a male colleague, who wielded a certain amount of power at the *Gazette*. Following this, she left her job and was fortunate to immediately secure work at Toronto's *Mail and Empire*. That she left the *Gazette* is significant, for it demonstrates her unwillingness to compromise her professional and personal integrity. However, seeking other employment reflects the way that most women have historically dealt with sexual harassment in the workplace. Research has shown that this issue was not a new phenomenon during McCarthy's time, there was little recourse for her during the late 1920s - either stay and "put up with it," or leave.

There is some uncertainty surrounding McCarthy's departmental location when she first began working at the *Mail and Empire*. Joan Holloban, a close friend, recalls McCarthy being hired as women's editor, replacing Anne Merrill, ¹¹³ but this has not been corroborated. However, it is known that McCarthy began covering the visual and performing arts shortly after she was hired at the *Mail and Empire*. One of her earliest signed art reviews, dated January 3, 1931, dealt with an exhibition of "old masters" at the Art Gallery of Toronto. ¹¹⁴ It was common practice for reporters with specialized knowledge to be assigned to certain areas of news or features. Lillian D. Millar stressed the importance of specialization in her article for women interested in a career in journalism:

...practical experience or special knowledge of one subject is often the stepping stone to success. If you are a specialist in some one thing you may become indispensable to the publisher who employs you. 115

Arguably, McCarthy's ability to write on the visual and performing arts secured her

position at the *Mail and Empire*. It might also have helped her to keep her job during the Depression when large numbers of journalists found themselves without work. While prejudices against married women working outside the home escalated with the onset of the Depression, many people began to question the right of single women to work for wages. ¹¹⁶

Pearl McCarthy's career as art critic

In 1936, when the *Globe* amalgamated with the *Mail and Empire*, McCarthy officially became the art critic, taking over the former paper's weekly feature "Art and Artists." Her first regular column made its debut on Saturday, November 28, 1936 (Figure 16). She would continue in this position until her death in March 1964. While she did regular book and music reviews for most of her career, what she is most remembered for is her writing on the visual arts. 118

In the 1930s and early 1940s, most of McCarthy's writing focused on Toronto exhibitions and artists, most likely because travelling was made difficult during the Depression and World War II. However, towards the late 1940s, she increasingly began to cover out-of-town exhibitions, usually travelling by train to Ottawa, Kitchener, Hamilton, St. Catherines, Guelph and London. By the 1950s she continued to review art shows in south–eastern and south–western Ontario, but also as far away as Montreal, Buffalo, Detroit and New York City. In addition to these reviews, she was often invited to present lectures on art and aesthetics, or to participate as a juror for exhibitions.

McCarthy's increased popularity was evidenced in 1956, when she was the only Canadian journalist among twenty-five art critics world wide to be invited by the Netherlands' government to attend ceremonies celebrating the 350th anniversary of Rembrandt's birth. This invitation not only brought great honour to her, but also to the Globe and Mail, who could boast that their art critic was chosen to attend this prestigious

occasion. 119

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, McCarthy also traveled to the Bahamas, England, Ireland, Jamaica, Portugal and the Canadian Arctic. While these visits were personal in the sense that she went on her own initiative, much of her time was devoted to the preparation of material for "Art and Artists." McCarthy's letters to her husband during her 1960 tour of England testify to her heavy itinerary of events, which included interviews, exhibition reviews, as well as special interest stories of historical sites. What is significant about these trips is the international scope that McCarthy was able to bring to the *Globe and Mail*, in addition to bringing a certain amount of standing to the arts department. Correspondence from her audience and praise from the art community clearly indicate that her columns were enjoyed by a wide readership, including artists, art professionals, and the general public. 122

In spite of the prestige that she brought to the arts department, the *Globe and Mail* did not front McCarthy's trips abroad.¹²³ Her friend Dora de Pedery Hunt states that McCarthy practically starved on what the paper was paying her, even though:

[the editors] knew what she was doing was good. And she was able...in one night to write up three concerts and two exhibitions. I'm sure she did, she had to. She never had a Saturday, she never had a Sunday [off]...[she] worked all the time. And I found it really very very sad that was the way they [McCarthy and her husband] had to live.¹²⁴

Badly in need of money, McCarthy applied for a Canada Council Research Grant in 1958. 125 Without her knowledge, Harold C. Walker, former President of the Art Gallery of Toronto, lobbied the Council on her behalf, and encouraged E.P. Taylor, the current President, to do so as well. 126 To her misfortune, she was refused, possibly because art criticism within the mass press was seen as less scholarly, and therefore, lacked the status awarded to academic research for journals or books. It seems that only those closest to McCarthy were aware of her failure in attaining a research grant. However, in two of her

columns she openly criticized the Canada Council for its unfair practices in grant applications, which can be read on a personal level. In 1961, discussing the possibility of First Nations' communities operating their own museums, McCarthy bluntly stated that the Canada Council had never helped Native artists by offering financial assistance with programs in their own communities. Taking a sarcastic approach in her Obituary, she asked how Shakespeare made a living and retired at age fifty "without screaming to the Canada Council for a grant?" Arguably, McCarthy "got her revenge" by having the "final word" on this matter.

Volunteer Work and Professional Interests

In addition to her professional work, McCarthy dedicated her free time to several local organizations. A key to understanding the motivations behind her choice in joining some groups and not others, can perhaps be explained by her rhetorical question: "what is the point of a hobby if not to employ one's time intelligently?" Consequently, she was very selective about which kinds of organizations she would participate in. Immensely proud of being a "St. Hildan," she was an active member of the St. Hilda's College Council, and the Corporation of Trinity College, beginning in May 1950 and May 1954 respectively, until her death.

Although McCarthy worked as a journalist for thirty seven years, she never joined the Canadian Women's Press Club (CWPC). Most likely her reasons were predicated on her refusal to join women's and "political" groups in general. By becoming a member of the CWPC, she might have worried about being further isolated within the workplace as her desk was already located in the Women's department. Or perhaps she was concerned with being labeled a feminist. Initially the Club was formed as a way of providing a network of moral and emotional support to women journalists, most of whom received lower pay than their male colleagues, were ghettoized departmentally, and had fewer

opportunities for advancement. Even though McCarthy herself was aware of the gender inequalities within the news room, and had been the target of unwanted sexual attention, she never joined the CWPC. Successful in her career as art critic, McCarthy had proven to herself and others that she could compete, or at least cope, on men's terms within the news industry. Her refusal to join the CPWC raises yet another contradiction within McCarthy's life. Viewing herself as "independent", she preferred to not become involved in women's collective struggle for equality within the newsroom.

In spite of her repudiation of women's organizations, McCarthy became a member of the Toronto Heliconian Club, ¹³⁴ an exclusive group organized in 1908 by women employed professionally in art, music, literature and drama. While her involvement may appear highly inconsistent, she could justify her membership because the Club "did not sponsor [political] causes." 136 It is not clear when she joined; however, by 1947 she was an official member, as there is a signed article by her in the April issue of *The Heliconian*, the monthly newsletter. 137 Inclusion remained restricted. One could only become a member if one were invited by the membership, and such invitations were only extended to women who had achieved some level of distinction in the arts and letters. In many ways, McCarthy's participation within this organization contradicted her commitment to her populist ideal, particularly when it is positioned within her views on democracy and her "cultural" project (to be discussed in the following section). Acknowledging the exclusivity of the Heliconian Club, she stated in one review from 1956: "this column" seldom reviews art shown at the Club because it is "under private auspices and where the public is not generally admitted." 138 But, as already seen, McCarthy harboured a number of elitist attitudes. Records indicate that she was never elected to the Club's Executive committee, and that her involvement seems to have been limited to attending general meetings and special functions, as well as writing several articles for The Heliconian. These factors thus suggest that her reasons for participating were largely based upon the

prestige and status gained from belonging to such an exclusive club for cultivated and learned women.

Marriage and Partnership

In the early 1930s, while working at the *Mail and Empire*, McCarthy met Colin Sabiston (1893–1961), whom she would eventually marry (Figure 17). After the *Globe and Mail* was founded, Sabiston became the editorial writer on world affairs. McCarthy probably "became involved" with Sabiston in the mid–1930s, but they could not marry until he received his divorce. On April 24, 1937 they were married at the McCarthy's farm in Hespeler.

Obviously her career as art critic was very important to McCarthy, as she continued to work full-time after her marriage. Her decision to keep working was probably also motivated by economic factors as they married in the midst of the Depression.

Furthermore, upon her marriage, McCarthy experienced a decline in income. Continuing the sexist practice of its two founding papers, the *Globe and Mail* enforced the rule which stipulated that only one member in a marriage could be on salary. As men were paid more than women, they kept their salaries, while their wives received a weekly retainer.

Consequently, Sabiston remained on salary, and McCarthy took a decrease in pay.

Women journalists experienced another form of sexual discrimination within the newsroom during the early twentieth century as many of them were fired if they married their co-workers. This practice was not new within journalism. In 1912, Katherine Hale, book critic for the *Mail and Empire*, had to resign from her position when she married the editor and publisher, John Garvin. Describing the gendered biases at the *Globe and Mail* around the time of McCarthy's marriage, former managing editor Richard Doyle, recalls an incident involving two news reporters that occurred several months after McCarthy was married. When the managing editor found out about Jack Fleming's marriage to Iris Naish

in August 1937, Naish was fired. In fact, they had been married for five weeks, but had to keep it a secret because of old rule that wives could not work at the paper if their husbands were on staff. It is not clear whether McCarthy and Sabiston had to keep their marriage a secret from their colleagues. However, given the discriminatory practices that persisted in the late 1930s, one can imagine that they were at least "discreet" about their relationship.

The patriarchal practices perpetuated by the news industry during the Depression era were not unique. Married women in general were pressured to quit their jobs. ¹⁴² In 1930, Judge Helen Gregory MacGill made the observation that "the suggestion that married women be not permitted to work, or vice versa, can be guaranteed at any time to enliven either a private conversation or public discussion." ¹⁴³ As her remark suggests, there was a great deal of controversy surrounding this issue. While working women found some media support, ¹⁴⁴ a number of Canadians agreed with the attitude of C.L. Burton, president of the Robert Simpson Company of Toronto, who commented in a 1937 interview for *The Chatelaine*: "the man must be the financial mainstay of the family. It's all right for the wife to use any special talents she has. But her role of homemaker must come first. It's her greatest contribution to her husband's job - and life." ¹⁴⁵ Even the National Council of Women of Canada took the position that women should not compete with men for jobs. ¹⁴⁶

Writing in 1936, Gwethalyn Graham acknowledged the difficulties faced by women who chose to pursue careers, many of whom were regarded as being eccentric. 147 McCarthy herself had personally experienced the biases against women who chose to attend university before entering the workforce. In a conversation with Ryland, she stated that "the implication was that we were wasting time and resources which would be lost when we went off and got married." 148

Equally significant was McCarthy's and Sabiston's conscious decision not to have children. McCarthy, now aged forty-two, and Sabiston, aged forty-five, may well have decided they were too old to begin raising a family at this stage in their careers. It would

also have proved difficult given their hectic schedule, and "odd" hours of work. As one of their *Mail and Empire* female colleagues remembers:

It wasn't an easy life. Morning newspaper hours all but cut us off from the rest of the world when we weren't working. Afternoons up to midnight, six or seven days a week. Going home in the cold darkness of Toronto!! Sleeping when "normal" people as we called them were getting ready to begin a day's work. We loved our jobs! 150

During the first few years of their marriage, McCarthy and Sabiston lived in Weston, a small community north—west of Toronto. Sometime shortly after World War Two began they moved to the farm house in Hespeler to live with McCarthy's mother, most likely prompted by their lack of money. McCarthy continued to submit weekly reviews for "Art and Artists" while she was living on the Hespeler farm. Some were thematic in content, focusing upon the international political situation of the war, as well as issues pertaining to democracy and nationalism. But many involved reviews of art exhibitions in Toronto. The difficulties in constantly travelling back and forth between Toronto and Hespeler on a weekly basis were resolved in the summer of 1945 when McCarthy and Sabiston decided to re–locate in Toronto, convincing her mother to sell the farm, and move in with them.

The "Cultural Mission"

By the late 1930s, McCarthy's writing indicates that she was aware of her prominent role in helping shape Canadian visual culture. As art critic of Canada's only national newspaper, her reviews were read by a vast number of people from "all walks of life." Increasingly, she began to deal with issues concerning the vital role that individuals and communities play in fostering a national culture. One column from 1945 provides a good summary of her feelings on this subject:

Many people, including some conservative Old Countrymen and brilliantly creative people from totalitarian background, seem to pit

their faith largely on having things done from the top down, by the Government. Others, including many from old Canadian stock, are bent on making sure that we do not get the Governmental or national organization at the expense of individual initiative. They stem from the pioneer stock, which, in any community, set about getting books and hiring a teacher, then 'sold' the idea to the Government. In short, the socialization thus achieved was based on spunky, individualistic 'go-ahead-and-do-it'. 151

As this statement reveals, her drive and will power in the establishment of a national culture had an intensely personal side. In a sense, McCarthy viewed her efforts as a continuation of those of her pioneer relatives, who laid the cultural foundations in Canada. Her criticism of State controlled arts, as it will be seen in the following chapter, reflected her antitotalitarian and anti-communist sentiments rooted in her liberal-humanist world view.

McCarthy's partnership with Sabiston played a powerful role in helping her attain her sense of "cultural mission," both personally and professionally. Although Sabiston's position at the paper involved world affairs and international politics, he shared McCarthy's enthusiasm towards the visual and performing arts, serving as the music and drama critic for several years. Never going beyond secondary school, he lacked the academic background that McCarthy herself possessed. Yet, he was extremely well-read, being self-educated on a variety of scholarly topics, including art, music, philosophy, physics, politics and economics. According to Morrow, McCarthy "was looking for something from him that she didn't have...She wanted what he had intellectually, from...educating himself, that was fresh and new to her, and valuable to her."

Believing that professionals have "some heavy work to do" for the improvement of Canadian artistic standards, ¹⁵⁵ McCarthy and Sabiston embarked on their "cultural mission." Eventually, the pursuit of art and beauty became the pivot around which they structured their lives. In Morrow's words:

they were living art in many ways...their whole life was like that, their arrangement of their belongings, their books, their possessions, the way Pearl would serve dinner - the whole way

that they lived was an art form. And quite self-conscious in it. That is to say they were aware that they were doing this...they did it on purpose. 156

During the period that they lived in Hespeler, they began to organize a series of soirées. "Cut-off" from Toronto's art galleries, theatres and symphonies, and feeling that they had much to offer, both intellectually and culturally, they invited local area residents to their home for evenings of music, theatrical performances, and poetry readings. At one event, Sabiston wrote a musical depicting the political situation in Yugoslavia, and as Morrow recalls, "everybody sang and danced and carried on stage. And here we were in Hespeler!" 157

These evenings of culture and socializing were important to McCarthy on a personal, as well as a broader political level. ¹⁵⁸ In a letter from artist André Bieler, concerning the Kingston Conference of Canadian Artists in 1941, he expressed his interest in her "experiment in Wellington County," summarizing that:

[this] is the kind of thing that if carried on more extensively, would increase the demand of knowledge so much that there would be too few instead of too many in the 'fine art profession'. 159

Years later, in a discussion of organizing the arts in smaller towns, she described their Hespeler project as:

The organic growth is possible, with thought. We once had something to do with a cultural project where we lived on a back concession. The house where it was to take place had a couple of rather grand eighteenth century chairs beside one fireplace. Several said: 'If this is to be democratic, those [chairs] must be moved back'. Our answer was 'Nonsense'. They found two people who could tend the fire to sit in these chairs, one was a farmer, the other a senator. "On our recounting the contribution made by these country people, we were asked by one city educationist: 'What can we do for these people?'...Our answer...'They can do something for you'. 150

McCarthy viewed her cultural mission in a reciprocal way. Impelled by her "democratic" desire of bringing art and beauty to the lives of "ordinary" people, she also she felt that

these people enriched her life in return. As she believed, "it is possible that slowly and sympathetically they [rural citizens] may be helping prepare a new entirely natural and self-confident Canadian artistic approach." It is evident from her writing that McCarthy also identified with the farming communities in rural Ontario. In a number of her columns, she proudly referred to her ancestors who helped create a distinct Canadian culture. Her desire in enriching people's lives culturally can also be traced back to her father's sense of social obligation and her mother's encouragement of "making something of oneself." It is important to note that McCarthy's fulfillment of her family's expectations and demands was accomplished through both egalitarian and elitist ways. While her "cultural project" represented a democratic (public) vision, her membership with the Heliconian Club offered her the status as a result of belonging to such an exclusive (private) organization.

Although McCarthy's and Sabiston's "cultural project" fulfilled a personal need, it also should be situated within the socio-historical context, as it reflected the concerns of a number of other Canadians involved in cultural production. Aware of the Mexican and American governments' official support of public art projects, many artists in Canada began to seriously re-examine their own position and role in society during the 1930s. ¹⁶³

The culmination of this occurred in June 1941 when André Bieler organized the Kingston Artists' Conference at Queen's University. The purpose of the gathering was to provide a forum for art professionals to examine the artist's relation to society, as well as the technique of the painter. Other critical themes addressed at this event included regionalism, de-centralization and democracy. ¹⁶⁴ Representing the *Globe and Mail's* art department, Pearl McCarthy was one of several art critics in attendance. ¹⁶⁵ While she and Sabiston had initiated their "cultural project" prior to the conference, it seems to have strengthened her personal commitment to nationalism through building local culture. Consequently, ideas surrounding "indigenous" artistic expression, de-centralization, and democracy assumed a centrality within her weekly art columns, which continued for the remainder of her career.

This topic will be examined in further detail in the following chapter.

After the war had ended, and McCarthy and Sabiston had moved back to Toronto, their "Hespeler project" found a wider and more diverse audience, and was thus transformed into a broader cultural endeavor. The years immediately following the second World War witnessed a huge influx of European immigrants to Canada. A sizable proportion of these new Canadians were British immigrants, many of whom were highly educated professionals and people involved in the arts or skilled workers. However, a large number of Eastern European artists and writers also emigrated to Canada. While the issue of nationalism had occupied the artistic community in English speaking Canada since the turn of the century, it took on a re-newed vigour during the post-war period of reconstruction.

Following the war, McCarthy often argued for the necessity of cultural diversity. ¹⁶⁷ Many newcomers to Toronto soon found their way to McCarthy and Sabiston who recognized the intellectual and artistic potential of these new Canadians. Shortly after emigrating from England in early 1950, Ryland met McCarthy and Sabiston. Recalling the strong impression they made upon him, he writes:

It became evident that Pearl and Sab were gathering a salon of 'New Canadians' whom they thought should be properly instructed about Canada and who, with appropriate direction, had a contribution to make. These were the heady days of post—war optimism here... [they] had a vision of a Canada that was a literal repository of brains, creativity and common sense...they thought of it as egalitarian, but it was elitist as hell...Pearl in particular was anxious to seek out and encourage 'the right stuff'...[they were] intensely Canadian and sure that culture was more important than natural resources, 'world—class' corporations and patriotism. 'If we lose culture, we lose the country'. 168

Their friendship proved invaluable to many new Canadians, as McCarthy and Sabiston devoted their time to writing recommendations and lobbying to get people jobs. ¹⁶⁹

Moreover, they offered material support to a number of artists, by organizing exhibitions of

their work, as well as by offering commissions, despite the fact that they had very little money themselves. For years, McCarthy and Sabiston commissioned their friend Dora de Pedery Hunt, who emigrated from Hungary in 1948, to design Christmas cards (Figures 18-19). Sometimes this required doing with fewer luxuries, ¹⁷⁰ but as already mentioned, McCarthy was willing to sell her family's heirlooms in order to support her cultural interests. McCarthy also used her weekly columns to promote the work of individual artists, encouraging her readership, even those with small incomes, to buy original Canadian art. Another popular topic in her writing was directed at small business owners, whom she felt should be employing local artists in the production of "tourist" art, such as calendars and post cards. ¹⁷¹

The "public" aspects of McCarthy's relationship to Colin Sabiston can best be described as a collaboration. Beginning with their Hespeler "project," and their subsequent "recruitment" of new Canadians, the two played equally important roles. She did not watch from the "sidelines," but fully participated in the formulation of their cultural work. Although McCarthy and Sabiston created a liberating "professional" partnership in terms of gendered roles, within their private life they did not escape the social stereotypes about masculinity and femininity. 172

Contradictions in Private Life

In many respects, Pearl McCarthy did not represent the stereotypical woman of her era. However, despite the unconventional qualities marking her public life, in other ways she conformed unquestioningly to societal expectations foisted upon women. As such, a tension existed between her professional life as art critic, and her private life with her husband.

Describing the binary oppositions circumscribing women's experiences in journalism, American reporter, Ishbel Ross, wrote in 1936:

The woman reporter really has to be a paradox. She must be ruthless at work...gentle in private life...not too beguiling to dazzle the men and disrupt the work...comradely with male reporters...able to take the noise and pressure and rough language of the city room without showing disapproval or breaking into tears under the strain of rough criticism. She must do her own work, asking no help or pampering, and make no excuses. 173

Ross's observation reflects McCarthy's own contradictory experiences. Professionally, McCarthy was self assured and confident. Joan Holloban recalls the "presence" of McCarthy shortly after she was hired at the Globe and Mail: "I would never have dared to approach Pearl, I mean *Pearl made friends with me*. I was very much in awe." ¹⁷⁴ In contrast to the authority she commanded professionally and within the public sphere, McCarthy assumed a passive role in her personal relationship with her husband, which Morrow describes as being "obsequious." Within the privacy of their home, McCarthy always deferred to Sabiston, and would never openly disagree or argue with him. 176 Their private relationship reflects that of many couples during this era. As historian Joan Kelly argues, most men viewed the home as a refuge, expecting emotional support from their wives, as well as a compliant relationship. 177 While Sabiston was deeply devoted to McCarthy, he would "put her down" verbally, and at times, even ridicule her ideas. Perhaps this occurred because of his own insecurity, for as Morrow speculates, he was likely resentful of her formal education that he himself lacked. 178 Furthermore, it is possible that Sabiston needed the legitimation her academic "credentials" gave him, yet begrudged her for them. Sabiston may also have resented McCarthy for the "fame" she achieved within her lifetime. Because he did mainly editorial writing for most of his career, Sabiston remained largely anonymous as by-lines seldom appeared on the editorial page. Not only was McCarthy's by-line located directly beneath the "Art and Artists" standing head, but she kept her name after marriage. 179 Names are powerful symbols of identity in society. But as Casey Miller and Kate Swift argue, women's names carry less importance

than men's, so much so that women routinely surrender them when they marry. The amount of status that McCarthy's name held both at the paper and the larger community, is stressed by Holloban: "Pearl was known throughout a very influential section of society...Pearl McCarthy was a name!" Although McCarthy kept her name in her work at the *Globe and Mail*, within her private life she identified herself as Mrs. Colin Sabiston (Figures 18-19).

Such resentment existing between McCarthy and Sabiston might be explained by looking at other partnerships involving couples whose work was located within the cultural production. As Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron point out, other artists and writers have experienced similar sorts of conflict within their lives as a result of the myths about creativity and partnership. These myths maintain the idea that if there can only be one Genius, which in Western society is usually assigned to men, then "all attempts at competition (actual or imagined) by women deferminize her and are considered potential threats to 'his' productivity." Thus, Sabiston's critical feelings toward McCarthy were most likely a result of issues arising from his lack of formal education and gendered expectations ascribed to femininity and masculinity.

In addition to her full-time work at the *Globe and Mail*, McCarthy was also responsible for taking care of her husband, as well as cooking, cleaning and maintaining their home. Morrow, who stayed with her aunt and uncle for several months in 1951, says that McCarthy was like a servant, ¹⁸³ and "kept house beautifully." Some women, like McCarthy, were able to "juggle" their full-time careers and domestic responsibilities. But as Mary Vipond argues, magazine articles from that period always stressed the exceptional qualities of the "Superwoman." The "average" woman was warned of the impossibility of trying to combine a career and housekeeping. Receiving little or no help from Sabiston in the maintenance of their home, McCarthy felt it necessary to hire a housekeeper, Mrs.

Wassun, to help with housework and cooking.¹⁸⁶ According to historian Joan Kelly, such has been the institutionally determined role of the family under capitalism. Women of both the upper and working classes have had their outer and inner lives shaped by the structure of its social relations.¹⁸⁷ In short, patriarchy "is at home at home." ¹⁸⁸

Socialist-feminist research has revealed how women are divided by class, and that some women benefit both directly and indirectly from the exploitation of other women. 189 Describing the paradoxical nature of women's educational and occupational successes, Caroline Ramzanoglu argues that a result of this "parity" has enabled a growing minority of successful women to buy cheap domestic services from more disadvantaged women. 190 Most likely McCarthy viewed her employment of Mrs. Wassun as a humanitarian act for she was providing paid work for a woman badly in need of work. 191 But, as has already been seen, her reasons for having a maid were probably also predicated upon notions of class and prestige after having grown up with maids and cooks. In addition to day-to-day housekeeping, 192 Mrs. Wassun was also required to work when guests were invited for informal and formal dinner parties, in which she would cook, wait the table, and clean up. Emulating her parents' bourgeois attitudes, McCarthy even enlisted Mrs. Wassun's services at their cottage, as "rudimentary" as it was. 193 As Ryland recalls, there existed a definite division in attitude between McCarthy and Sabiston. Having Mrs. Wassun was more likely McCarthy's idea because it was more important to her than Sabiston to "keep up" appearances. 194 But in McCarthy's defense, receiving little support from her husband in the maintenance of the home, she was left with limited options.

The final years

In September 1961 Sabiston died after suffering for many years from cancer. While McCarthy's income had been substantially lower than her husband's, his poor

wages did not allow them to save for retirement.¹⁹⁵ At the age of sixty-six, she had next to nothing in savings. Had things been different financially, she probably would have retired. Instead, it was necessary for McCarthy to continue writing "Art and Artists," in addition to reviewing books and/or other events each week up until her death. That she was working after the age of 65 was quite uncommon for women in 1961; records indicate that only 6.1% of women were in the labour force, in contrast to 30.6% of the male population over age 65.¹⁹⁶

According to her friends and family, McCarthy became depressed after the loss of Sabiston. This is hardly surprising, for their relationship "had an intensity that cannot be overstressed." ¹⁹⁷ Intellectually, the two were inseparable, and as Ryland emphasizes Sabiston's ideas often appeared in McCarthy's columns, as much as her dogma and phrases found their way into his editorials. ¹⁹⁸ For Morrow, it was impossible to imagine one without the other. ¹⁹⁹ They shared a great deal in terms of their professional lives, as well as their cultural interests.

McCarthy passed away on March 25, 1964 while reading in bed. Her last article, written just before her death, appeared on March 28, 1964. Kay Kritzwiser, the art critic who would take over for McCarthy, recalls the moving sight of roses laid across McCarthy's typewriter in her memory. While McCarthy's death marked the end of a legacy in Canadian art criticism, her "Art and Artists" column also ended. It was replaced with Kritzwiser's weekly column "At The Galleries."

Conclusion

As her life testifies, McCarthy's personal and professional lives positioned her within a number of contradictory positions. Having grown up within an upper class family, her circumstances dramatically changed in young adulthood when her parents lost their fortune, thus shifting her to the working class. Her work in the journalism industry

for thirty-seven years enabled her to sympathize with the working classes. Very badly paid and unable to retire, McCarthy was well aware of the economic hardships facing workers, and more specifically women. Although her material/physical reality positioned within the working class, her family upbringing and her academic training resulted in her conflicting opinions. While she could identify with the working class on the issues of democracy and equality, she clearly saw herself as belonging, at least ideologically, with the ruling class. She also held some contradictory views towards gendered relations. Despite her own academic and professional accomplishments in the public sphere, in many respects she fulfilled societal expectations of femininity. This conflict is clearly revealed in her relationship with her husband, Colin Sabiston. Whereas McCarthy participated on an equal level with Sabiston in their "cultural" projects, she unquestioningly assumed a subservient role to him within the home. Feminist scholars have rightly argued that as subjects, we occupy a number of concurrent categories which overlap, and are often contradictory in nature - professional, wife, mother. 203 Describing the inherent contradictions of the "self," Teresa de Lauretis views it as "a multiple, shifting, and often self-contradictory identity...an identity made up of heterogeneous and heteronomous representations of gender, race, and class."204

The paradoxes marking McCarthy's private and professional lives were also revealed in her writing. The next chapter will examine three dominant areas of her weekly columns that reflect both her conservative and progressive ideas. These themes include nationalism, modernism, and non-western art. As we shall see, many of the ideas she expressed towards nationalism were ideologically aligned with the ruling class, while her modernist (formalist) art criticism positioned her within the intelligentsia. In contrast, her attitudes towards Inuit and First Nations artists were extremely progressive in their outlooks as she used her writing as way of challenging the unfair power relations between White society and non-Western groups.

- I Cecily Morrow, telephone interview, 14 March, 1995.
- 2 Victor Ryland, letter to the author, 23 April 1995.
- Anne-Kathrine Broch-Due, "Reflections on Subjectivism in Biographical Interviewing: A Process of Change", in Teresa Iles (ed.) All Sides of the Subject: Women and Biography (New York, 1992), 97.
- National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), H.O. McCurry Papers, MG 30, D186, vol. 3. McCurry's retirement dinner address, 19 May 1955. In his welcoming speech, C.P. Fell, president of the Art Gallery of Toronto, introduced McCarthy as "The Dean of Canadian Art Critics."
- Kay Rex, No Daughter of Mine: The Women and History of the Canadian Women's Press Club 1904–1971, Toronto, 1995, x. After being turned down for a job with the Free Press, Rex began working for the Canadian Press.
- F.H. Leacy (ed.) "Education", Historical Statistics of Canada (Ottawa 1983), W340-357. It is worthy to note that Ceta Ramkhalawansingh cites a higher enrolment for women undergraduates in 1921. Using a combination of statistical records, she claims that women accounted for sixteen percent of the total enrolment. In Ramkhalawansingh, "Women during the Great War", in Janice Acton et al., Women at Work: Ontario 1850-1930 (Toronto, 1974), 295.
- 7 Census of Canada, 1921, quoted in Ceta Ramkhalawansingh, op. cit., 268.
- 8 Veronica Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920s", *Labour/Le Travailleur*, vol. 4 (1979), 131.
- It is important to remember that the women's movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was largely a struggle of upper-class and middle class women to break out of the limits imposed by marriage and the mothering role.
- 10 Gwethalyn Graham, "Women, Are They Human?", *The Canadian Forum*, vol. XVI, no. 19 (December 1936), 21.
- It should be stressed that this was reality for most middle class women, and not the working class who had to work out of economic necessity.
- Mary Vipond, "The Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulation Magazines in the 1920s", *Modernist Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1974-1975), 7.
- 13 Ibid.
- A small sample of this literature includes: Sara Alpern, et al. (eds.) The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Kathleen Barry, "Toward a Theory of

Women's Biography: From the Life of Susan B. Anthony", and Miriam Kalman Harris, "The Pressure of the Choices", in Teresa Iles (ed.) All Sides of the Subject: Women and Biography (New York: Teachers College Press, 1992); Dea Birkett and Julie Wheelwright, "'How could she?' Unpalatable Facts and Feminists' Heroines", Gender & History, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1990):49-57; and Barbara Freeman, Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Black Coleman. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989).

- Historians Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell describe Charlotte Whitton, a professional social worker and Ottawa's first woman mayor, in a similar manner. In their view, Whitton's feminism was something that she "lived, rather than spoke or wrote or agitated about." In Rooke and Schnell, "An Idiot's Flowerbed' A Study of Charlotte Whitton's Feminist Thought, 1941-1950", in Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman (eds.) Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History (Canada, 1986), 208.
- "Occupation Trends, 1891-1931", The Canada Year Book, 1932 (Ottawa, 1932), 130.
- When McCarthy was age thirty-six, only twelve per cent of the total female population between 25-64 years old were in the labour force. In "Occupation Trends, 1891-1931", op. cit., 131.
- The average age of marriage for Canadian women in 1929 was 24.9 years "Marriages and Divorces", *The Canada Year Book*, op. cit., 125.
- 19 Cecily Morrow, personal interview, 21 July 1995, tape 3.
- Morrow, personal interview, 21 July 1995, tape 2. Mary Davis's love of poetry is evidenced in one letter to her niece, Ruth Snyder, in which she ended it with a poem. Private collection, Mary Davis McCarthy's personal correspondence, 1920-1948. Mary McCarthy to Ruth Snyder, 6 January 1948.
- Beginning her career as a teacher, Annie Davis helped put her two younger sisters through high school. Following this, she enrolled in medicine at Trinity College in Toronto. Ruth Snyder, telephone conversation, 16 April 1996. Cecily Morrow remembers her great aunt, Annie Davis, saying that during her medical studies, she had to leave the class room when sexual organs were being discussed. In Morrow, op. cit., tape 3.
- In 1891, the number of Canadians enroled in Medicine totalled 1,239, only 40 were women, and by 1901, the number of women had dropped to 25, whereas, men's enrolment increased to 1,788. The number of women studying pharmacy is even less. In 1891, no women are listed, and in 1901, only 3 women are included among 123 men. In F.H. Leacy, (ed.) op cit, "Education", W439-455.
- I was unable to locate Pearl McCarthy's official birth records. However, her cousin Ruth Snyder recalls her birthday being on March 1.
- Morrow, op. cit., tape 2. The McCarthys regularly took in destitute relatives.

- Jesse McCarthy's work in the insurance business required a great deal of travelling. It seems that Pearl McCarthy's love of travelling, especially by train, dates back to her childhood when she would often accompany her father on his business trips across Canada. McCarthy revealed this aspect of her personal life in a number of her columns: "Art and Artists", Globe and Mail (hereafter G&M), 2 November 1940, 9; "Great Moments of Painters In Buffalo Gallery"s Show", 17 April 1954, 10; and, "Pearl McCarthy: Art Critic for Globe and Mail", Obituary, G&M, 27 March 1964, 15.
- 26 Who's Who in Canada, B.M. Greene (ed.), (Toronto, 1923-24), 401.
- During McCarthy's childhood, Parkdale was a residential suburb of Toronto. Her memories of it recall a time of prestige: "the big houses with gardens running down to the shore of Lake Ontario...had coach houses and boathouses; there were band concerts in the gardens on summer nights." In "New Paintings of Old Landmarks", G&M, 16 May 1959, 15.
- The McCarthy family cottage on Stony Lake figured in McCarthy's Globe and Mail writing quite regularly, usually by way of her love of canoeing: "Northern Holidays Played Art Role", 28 August 1948, 8; "Northern Holidays Played Art Role", 28 August 1943, 8; "Indian Crafts at Museum Feature Belt of Woven Porcupine Quills", 6 December 1947, 24; and, "Beauty In Craftmanship Whether Painting or Canoeing", 25 July 1953, 12; "Soaring Sculpture Is Promise Sustained", 1 September 1962, 15.
- 29 Morrow, op. cit., 14 March 1995.
- 30 Edward P. Taylor Research Library and Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario, C.S. Band Papers, Miscellaneous Correspondence. Pearl McCarthy to Charles Band, 13 January 1949.
- 31 Morrow, op. cit., tape 2.
- An incident demonstrating how devoted Jesse McCarthy was to his children, occurred shortly after Vourneen McCarthy began finishing school in Switzerland. Feeling homesick, she sent a telegram home complaining of her loneliness. Jesse McCarthy caught the first available ship, arriving five days later. After spending a day commiserating with his daughter and feeding her strawberries and cream, he caught a return ship back to Canada. Morrow, op cit., tape 2.
- 33 Ibid., op cit., tape 3. I have italized these words as Morrow emphasized them in our interview.
- 34 Ibid.
- One review in particular specifically makes a link between art and Eastern philosophy. Discussing Kazuo Nakamura's work, McCarthy wrote that "Oriental" people "are never foolish enough to despise the elements wind and snow and storm and quiet weather which are such factors in our view of form in nature."

- (McCarthy's underlining) In "Professionals Over-Fussy About Amateur Scene", G&M, 15 May 1954, 12. A review of Henry Moore, dating several years before, also made a similar connection between the weather, the cosmos and the earth. In "The Camera Men of Canada Do Well by Weather and Sky", 29 March 1952, 8. In a number of other articles written after the 1950s, she raised the general issue of the earth and the cosmos: "Season of Autumn Sketching Brings More Than Fine Color", 6 October 1951, 8; "Expressionism in American Painting", 17 May 1952, 8; "Architecture Thinks Again of the Earth", 24 May 1952, 12; "The Guggenheim Exhibition Comes In Surpassing Quality", 3 April 1954, 12; "Professionals Over-Fussy About Amateur Scene", 15 May 1954, 12; and, "Allward, Creator of Vimy, In a Memorial Exhibition", 3 December 1955, 28.
- Morrow, op. cit., tape 2. Pearl McCcarthy saw herself in this role as well, writing: "In my conscientious youth I would never have used a dollar of my father's money by fooling around at Brighton...while there were studies to be followed in libraries and galleries or distinguished people to know. Now I am making up for it." In McCarthy, "We Need Our Follies; Whether In Brighton or Muskoka", G&M, 15 July 1960, 15.
- 37 Morrow, 21 July 1995, tape 1.
- Ibid. The term "Blue stockings" was used in a derogatory manner during the early twentieth century to describe women in academic life. While Vourneen McCarthy may have envied her sister's relationship with their father, Cecily Morrow remembers her as being very proud of Pearl McCarthy's academic and professional achievements.
- 39 Ibid., op cit, tape 2.
- 40 Christian Guardian Observed, 30 October 1872, 346. In Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson (eds.) The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place In Canadian Society (Toronto, 1976), 6. Likewise, this attitude was directed towards women in the labour force. Writing around 1890, Minnie Phelps was critical of the prevailing attitude that a woman with paid employment "may lose her womanliness and aspire to the other sex." In Minnie Phelps, "Women as Wage Earners", in Benjamin Fish Austin (ed.) Woman: Her Character, Culture and Calling (Brantford, 1890), 54.
- In a 1960 letter to her husband, McCarthy made several references to being "homely". Private collection, Pearl McCarthy's personal correspondence, 1960-1964. McCarthy to Colin Sabiston, 5 July 1960. Likewise, Jack Pollock, with whom McCarthy developed a close friendship in later life, wrote: "We talked of her early life with a mother who rejected her and told her constantly that she was ugly". Jack Pollock, Dear M: Letters from a Gentleman of Excess (Toronto, 1989), 174. Pollock and McCarthy struck a friendship after she covered the very first exhibition in his new gallery, the 10th Street Scene. Even though Mary McCarthy was very proud of Pearl McCarthy's accomplishments, there seemed to be some unresolved tension between the two. As Cecily Morrow recalls Davis McCarthy was his mother's favorite child. In Morrow, op cit, tape 1. Dora de Pedery Hunt, a long time friend of Pearl McCarthy's, also remembers McCathy talking about her strained relationship with her mother. In Dora de Pedery Hunt, personal interview,

21 November 1994.

- Morrow, op. cit., tape 3. The emphasis placed upon education and intelligence greatly impacted upon McCarthy's attitude later in life, for the worst thing she could say about anybody was that they were "lightweight intellectually."
- The issue of women in academic life was very important to McCarthy. As a result, she would often make references to women's gains in education. For example, in a general article, McCarthy covered the story of Katherine Darroch, the new principle of S. Hilda's College. Paraphrasing Darroch, McCarthy writes: "she expressed the opinion that a really well-educated woman has more enjoyment in life than is likely to be the lot of a woman without educational advantages." In "New St. Hilda's Principal Scottish-Born Scholar", G&M, 10 September 1953, 13.
- In 1879, a woman from Hamilton Collegiate Institute had won a moderns scholarship, but could not use it at the University of Toronto. The following year, despite the University's decree that women should be given the money attached to scholarships, as well as be enrolled on class lists, they still could not attend classes. In 1884, a motion to admit women was finally passed in the legislation, and by 1885 Trinity College, University of Toronto, started to grant degrees to women in all faculties on equal terms with men. St. Hilda's College was added to Trinity College in 1889. But in order to gain admission, women had to pass a matriculation exam. In Charles E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto, 1957), 375-76. By 1893 seven women had obtained B.A.s from St. Hilda's, and fourteen were presently enrolled in coursework. In Trinity College Archives (hereafter TCA), St. Hilda's College, *The Calendar of St. Hilda's College in Toronto* (Toronto, 1893), 15.
- In his history of St. Hilda's College, T.A. Reed provides a specific example of the way St. Hilda's "academic" image was manifested. During convocation ceremonies, graduates from St. Hilda's would form a procession with women from other colleges. However, the St. Hildan's were often met with sympathetic glances from onlookers because they never carried flowers whereas other women graduates did. According to Reed, it was rumoured that their lack of flowers was a sign of unpopularity or disregard. But instead, the "Saints" were "secretly proud of their school's distinction in being strictly academic," and "jealously guarded" this custom. In T.A. Reed (ed.), A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto, 1852-1952 (Toronto, 1952), 197.
- TCA, Box 20. "St. Hilda's", *Torontonensis*, The Year Book of the Graduates of the University of Toronto (1917), 63. The "Lit" (debating) society began in 1895 for the purpose of instructing and entertaining. Members of this group participated in debates, as well as mixed programmes with music, charades and readings. T.A. Reed, op cit., 202-03. McCarthy is listed among those who participated in the college's "Literary Society Evenings". TCA, S. Hilda's Chronicle, vol. 7, no. 17 (Summer 1914), 18, and vol. 7, no. 21 (Lent 1916), 28. Records also show that on several different occasions, she was on the winning side of St. Hilda's debating team. Ibid., vol. 7, no. 21 (Lent 1916), 28, 29; and, vol. 8, no. 23 (Easter 1917), 26.

- 47 TCA, Ibid., vol. 9, no. 27 (Easter 1919), 15.
- NAC, J. Russell Harper Papers, MG 30, D 352, vol. 42, file 17. Pearl McCarthy to J. Russell Harper, 10 October 1963.
- A sample of McCarthy's articles dealing with government include: "Art and Artists", 14 March 1938, 23; "Art and Artists", 30 November 1940, 9; "Art and Artists", 14 June 1941, 25; "Art and Artists", 20 June 1942, 19; "The National Gallery's High Code: Tactics, Strategy, but Citizen's Rights", 28 May 28 1955, 12; and, "Gallery Brouhaha Can Be Most Edifying", 19 September 1959, 15.
- According to Morrow, her grandfather said that he had always dreamed of going to Oxford to study. In Morrow, op. cit., tape 1. Statistics indicate that the BLitt (Bachelor of Letters) was a popular degree, especially among women. Created in 1895, the degree became open to all persons in 1914 who had either passed the examination for Bachelor of Arts, or could otherwise prove to have had "a good general education", and "was being awarded for a suitable dissertation on a subject approved by a board and investigated during 'a course of special study or research". In Brian Harrison (ed.), The History of the University of Oxford, vol. VIII (Oxford, 1994), 124.
- Dora de Pedery Hunt, personal interview, 8 March 1995. The family to whom Dora is referring is most likely Sir Richard and Lady Winseey as Toronto's Mail and Empire reported (12 December 1920) that Pearl McCarthy spent her first Christmas vacation in England with them at Castor House near Peterborough, England. In University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA), Pearl McCarthy papers. Accession number A 73-0026, box 252, file 60, press clippings, 1920-1964.
- Society page, Globe, Toronto, 27 October 1921. The article reported that McCarthy would be staying c/o Mme. du Bled, 53 Rue Claude Bernard, Paris. In UTA, Pearl McCarthy papers, press clippings, 1920-1964.
- NAC, J. Russell Harper Papers, MG 30, D 352, vol. 42, file 17. Pearl McCarthy to J. Russell Harper, 10 October 1963. Years later when Pearl was able to re-visit France, she fondly recalled her "old haunts" in "Art and Artists", where she lived in Paris' student quarter, eating in the cheaper cafes. In "Personal Contacts in Europe Better Than Souvenirs", G&M, 18 August 1956, 17. This particular column, appearing shortly after McCarthy's trip to Europe in 1956, was followed by: "Miss McCarthy is the distinguished art critic of the Globe and Mail. She returned recently from an assignment to France and Holland."
- Lillian D. Millar, "Careers: Various Are the Paths to the Field of Journalism", vol. 60, no. 47 (28 July 1945), 22.
- Joan Holloban, personal interview, 22 November 1994.
- 56 McCarthy, "Remember Iroquois Our Valuable Allies", G&M, 20 August 1960, 15.
- 57 In a letter to her Aunt Claribel Davis in 1921, McCarthy described an upcoming trip

- to Devonshire: "The whole Devonshire business is quite an adventure as I'm going alone." Private collection, op. cit., 1921-1960. McCarthy to Claribel Davis, 28 March 1921.
- "Pearl McCarthy: Art Critic for Globe and Mail", Obituary, G&M, 27 March 1964, 15. Describing her background in art as formidable, McCarthy stated that she knew Braque, and "had watched Picasso mold his many styles."
- McCarthy, "Picasso Show and Aid to Understand the Shocks and Thrills", G&M, 11 January 1964, 15.
- 60 Ibid., "A Success In Esteem Now For Attendance", 22 August 1959, 17.
- 61 Ibid., "Art and Artists", 15 March 1937, 12.
- McCarthy, "Bourses for Two St. Hildans: Fine Arts in Academic Field", 10 May 1952, 8.
- 63 Ibid., "Art and Artists", 15 March 1941, 10.
- 64 "Pearl McCarthy: Art Critic for Globe and Mail", Obituary, G&M, 27 March 1964, 15.
- 65 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", 15 March 1941, 10.
- In a Christmas review from 1936, McCarthy revealed her dislike of Dadaism and Surrealism: "At some times of the year it may be argued that a street-car transfer is as interesting as an angel as subject of a picture. But at Christmas time we will have none of such Dada-ism and surrealism. This is the season for vision that comprehends a star, for imagination that wings beyond skyscrapers to skies..." In "Art and Artists", 19 December 1936, 31.
- 67 Ibid., "Art and Artists", 1 August 1938, 31.
- 68 Ibid., "Art and Artists", 17 May 1937, 8.
- McCarthy often used A.Y. Jackson as an artist who successfully integrated spirituality with nature. Two examples include: "Art Policies Reach Makers and Users", 27 May 1944, 16; and, "Orozco Taxes Gallery's Space: Events Fill January Calendar", 17 January 1953, 10.
- In McCarthy's view, "successful" art epxressed beauty and harmony through "form." This will be discussed more thorough in Chapter Three.
- 71 Morrow, op. cit., 14 March 1995.
- 72 Dora de Pedery Hunt, op. cit., 8 March 1995.
- 73 McCarthy, "An Interview With Louis XIV", G&M, 10 February 1962, 13.

- Caroline Ramazanoglu reminds us that both Marxist class analysis and other social theories of social and occupational stratification have conventionally left women out. In Ramazanoglu, op. cit., 98. Accordingly, prior to her paid employment at the Globe and Mail, McCarthy's class position was identified with her father's position and interests with the ruling class.
- This attitude was clearly stated in a 1952 review of a European design exhibition. McCarthy was critical of Canadians, who, in general, always try "to move from the bottom to the top" because it inevitably leads "to imitations or self-conscious artiness in the intellectual, social and financial climb." As exemplary models, she used the "self- respecting" German middle-class, who have "long demanded amenities which are particularly suited to their own use," and the Dutch, who "show respect for the comfortable, average home, with no aping of mansions." In "German, Japanese Teach Trade Fair Lessons", G&M, 14 June 1952, 10.
- During one trip to England, McCarthy wrote to Sabiston describing how civilized the English are. Private collection, op cit, 1960-1964. McCarthy to Sabiston, 23 June 1960. In another letter she wrote that Eaton Square in London is "the centre of the centre of all civilization," and that "the humanity still has its capitol in England." (McCarthy's underling) In op. cit., 28 June 1960. In one column she stated that she hoped to be able to stand at attention to "God Save the Queen" until her dying day. In "All Who Back Show Not Ban The Bombers", G&M, 9 February 1963, 15. Moreover, in 1963, McCarthy stipulated in her Will that if she were to die while travelling abroad, her wish was to be buried on the nearest British soil. Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), MS 584, Reel 1522, Cabinet 15, Lillian Pearl McCarthy, "Last Will and Testament".
- Private collection, op. cit., 1960-1964. McCarthy to Sabiston, 28 June 1960.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Ibid., McCarthy to Sabiston, 23 June 1960.
- Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York, 1993), 75.
- 81 Ibid., 41.
- McCarthy, "Ivories From 14th Century Symbolize History-Old Talent", G&M, 19 April 1952, 16.
- Positive references to the working class appeared regularly in McCarthy's writing. A few articles include: "An Exhibition's Test: To See It Daily and Not Grow Tired", 28 February 1953, 12; "OSA Features a Panton Memorial", 4 December 1954, 14; "The Public As Well As the Experts Cares [sic] For, and Chooses [sic] Values", 18 June 1955, 10; "Personal Contacts in Europe Better Than Souvenirs", 18 August 1956, 17; "Escape To Peaceful Jamaica", 25 December 1957, 18.
- McCarthy, "Paintings Less Seen In Homes", G&M, 9 August 1947, 9. This theme also appears in "Silver Exhibit Inspires Design", 28 July 1945, 8.

- McCarthy, "Tailor Arts Centres To Cash Available", 23 March 1963, 18.

 McCarthy had a general rule of writing only on shows that were open to the public, considering this fairer to both the public and the artists. In "Woodsworth House Exhibits Opened Daily To The Public", 27 March 1954, 14.
- Ibid., "Western to Hold Sixth Exhibition of Top Paintings", 8 March 1956, 29. It is evident that McCarthy enjoyed this anecdote as she referred to this incident in two other versions. The earliest one reads: "We remember standing in a gallery at a world's fair, looking at a Madonna of the school of Leonardo, when a rumpled and most uninformed woman edged up to us and said: 'Say, is that supposed to be a good picture? I hope it is, because I think it's awfully nice". In "Madonna in Art Living Tradition", 23 December 1944, 8. Sixteen years later, she wrote: "In some ways they are not as well off as the crumpled, ordinary woman who sidled up to me in a famous gallery once and whispered: 'Is that picture by somebody good? I hope it is because I think it's so nice". In "In Search of Visual Thrills", 25 June 1960, 15.
- Bid., "Weathered By Years And Rumours, West Block Razing Talked Again In Ottawa", 8 April 1957, 7. In a slightly later article, McCarthy included four "stereotypes" who liked Karl May's work: 1) an intellectual who usually hated abstraction as philosophical dualism; 2) a very sophisticated man who was familiar with modern matters; 3) a housekeeper employed by the day to clean; and, 4) a taxi driver. In "It's Great To Be A Young Painter With Long, Creative Life", 4 January 1958, 15. Arguably, the first two people represented her husband and a friend, while the third was her housekeeper, Mrs. Wassun. This is supported by other articles in which McCarthy included those involved in her private life: "14 Professions Represented In Art Show", 9 January 1951, 5; "Parade Of Abstract Talent With Hodgson In The Lead", 17 October 1953, 14; "Exciting Season Ends With A Bang", 21 May 1960, 15; and, "Buy Pictures To Suit Taste", 31 March 1961, 28.
- In 1913/14 eight persons graduated from this program, and by 1923/24 the number had increased to thirty-two. Between the wars, almost half of the successful candidates for the BLitt were women. In Brian Harrison (ed.) op. cit., 124.
- 89 F.H. Leacy (ed.), op. cit., "Education", W504-512. In 1921-1931, the population of Canada was 10,376,786.
- 90 Ramkhalawansingh, op. cit., 295. The statistical records she refers to in her essay show a sharp decline in the number of women enrolled in graduate programs, which peaked to 26% in 1930-31 and steadily fell to 15% by 1950-51. After 1962, the number of women entering graduate studies slowly began to rise, reaching 19% in 1967-68. However, undergraduate women witnessed a marked increase; in 1950-51 they accounted for approximately 22%, and by 1967-68, their numbers had risen to 34%. Original source: M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley, (eds.), Historical Statistics of Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1965).
- 91 McCarthy, "D.D. Degree For First Time Honors Anglican Sister," G&M, 6 September 1956, 1. This article is significant in that it was one of the few articles

- written by McCarthy located on page one. It is also important to note that this column was placed in the prestigious place of the upper left-hand corner. According to former *Globe and Mail* journalist, Joan Holloban, the front page was an important location, but to be positioned above the "fold" added even greater prominence. In Holloban, personal interview, 9 January 1996. See end note 121 in this chapter for a list of her other articles positioned on this page.
- Vipond, op. cit., (1974-1975), 6. According to Vipond, Household Science was a popular area of study amongst middle class girls, which gave them a "scientific" career, as well as prepared them to be housewives and mothers. (6-7)
- Discussing this period of her life, McCarthy once told her friend Victor Ryland that: "Men and women at Oxford had a commonality; we were not there for job training. The university was not an employment agency." In Ryland, op. cit., 23 April 1995.
- 94 Private collection, op. cit., 1920-1960. McCarthy to Claribel, Ed and Ruth Snyder, 2 January 1927.
- 95 Ibid., McCarthy to the Snyder family, 2 January 1927.
- Ibid. For unknown reasons McCarthy's idea of university work involved "tutoring" instead of teaching. Perhaps she did not feel prepared, either mentally or emotionally, to seek a faculty position at that time in her life.
- 97 NAC, J. Russell Harper papers, McCarthy to Harper, 10 October 1963.

 McCarthy's "find" refers to the historical discovery she made while researching in Paris during the 1920s.
- McCarthy, "Artist's Talent Better Exercised", G&M, 11 November 1944, 10. McCarthy's literary desire was realized in the mid-1950s when she was asked by the widow of Leo Smith, former music critic at the Globe and Mail, to write a book about his life. Upon the completion of Leo Smith: a Biographical Sketch in 1955, Pearl McCarthy confided in a letter to her brother Davis McCarthy that she was not remunerated for her work. But as she said, she had the personal satisfaction of having "cleared some land" in writing "a kind of first Domesday Book for one branch of culture in Canada." In Private collection, personal papers of Davis McCarthy, Pearl McCarthy to Davis McCarthy, 12 April 1955.
- Marjory Lang, "Separate Entrances: The First Generation of Canadian Women Journalists", in Lorraine McMullen (ed.) Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers (Ottawa, 1990), 84-85.
- TCA, "The Vocational Conference", S. Hilda's Chronicle, vol. 9, no. 27 (Easter 1919), 14. The article stated that this conference was organized for the benefit of undergraduate women students. It is not clear whether McCarthy attended as she was just completing her M.A. However, university enrolment in 1919 was still quite small, especially for women. Therefore, if she did not participate, she was probably aware of the topics discussed.

- S. Hilda's Chronicle listed her as Mona Cleaner, while Bessie Ferguson, a writer in the Globe and Mail's Women's department referred to Mona Cleaver (Purser), who wrote under the pen name of "Polly Peel" for the Globe's Homemaker section. In Bessie Ferguson, "'Homemaker' Writers Good Newspaperwomen", The Inside Story, vol. 3, no. 32 (December 1959), 14). Despite the slight discrepency in spelling, these two articles are likely referring to the same individual.
- Besides journalism, other vocations discussed at this conference included: "library work," "academic work," "general business," "employment bureaux," and "administration work for college women in nursing." The author of this article stated that the most popular vocation appeared to be "business openings." In TCA, "The Vocational Conference", S. Hilda's Chronicle, vol. 9, no. 27 (Easter 1919), 14.
- Private collection, op. cit., 1920-1960. McCarthy to the Snyder family, 2 January 1927.
- 104 Corrine Corry, Girls: feminist handbook (Montreal, 1983), F-8.
- 105 Ryland, op. cit., 23 April 1995.
- McCarthy, "Paint For Fun Is Slogan Behind Amateur Show", G&M, 12 January 1955, 8.
- Martin Lynch, letter to the author, 24 Febraury 1995. The "Music and Drama" department was commonly referred to as the "M&D" department. McCarthy's "Art and Artist's" columns generally appeared in this section from 1947 until 1957.
- "Art Critic for Globe and Mail", Obituary, the Globe and Mail, 27 March 1964, 15.
- Morrow, 22 July 1995, tape 4. McCarthy would not have defined her experiences as "sexual harassment", for this term only became popular within the women's movement after 1975 after the Working Women's Institute, an American group, coined the term.
- Several years later, she began dating a colleague at the *Mail and Empire*, suggesting that she was not opposed to having a relationship with a male coworker. It seems that she left her job at the *Gazette* because she lacked any control of the situation. Clearly, there was abuse of power on her colleague's part.
- Nathalie Hadjifotiou, Women and harassment at Work (London, 1983), 21.
- Ibid., 7. Hadjifotiou cites several early examples of harassment in factories. Responding to the 1832-34 Poor Law Commission in England, Frederick Engels' stressed that "The threat of discharge suffices to overcome all resistance in nine cases out of ten." This meant that the (female) "victims" seldom, if ever, brought charges against their perpetrators. Likewise, similar incidents were recorded in the United States. In 1907, a young woman who had lost her job because she refused the foreman's advances, wrote that her co-workers were afraid to testify against their supervisor for fear of losing their jobs.

- Joan Holloban, personal interview, 7 March 1995. Anne Merrill eventually began writing "Wings in the Wind", a regular feature about birds, after the *Mail and Empire* and the *Globe* amalgamated. Similar to her work in Montreal, many questions remain unanswered as McCarthy rarely discussed her past, and the *Globe and Mail* does not have employee records dating prior to its formation.
- McCarthy, "Collection of Old Masters at Art Gallery", *Mail and Empire*, 3 January 1931, 10. This article is located on the Women's page.
- Millar, op. cit., 22. Joan Holloban, former medical reporter of the *Globe and Mail* supports Millar's argument. Holloban, op. cit., 22 November 1994.
- 116 Prentice et al., op. cit., 233-34.
- The Globe periodically featured an unsigned "Art and Artists" feature in the Women's Section. The earliest one I have been able to locate was printed in the Saturday, October 19, 1912 edition on page 8, which resembleed a calendar of events.
- In addition to her permanent arts column, McCarthy occassionally wrote articles for the women's section. She also did regular music reviews from the early 1930s until May, 1957, and book critiques mainly from the late 1930s until the early 1960s. Because she was progressively becoming deaf as a result of a childhood operation, eventually she had to stop reviewing musical and theatrical performances. Dora de Pedery Hunt, op. cit., 21 November 1994.
- The significance of this event is also marked by fact that five of the articles written by McCarthy while in Europe were printed on the front page of the Globe and Mail, one of the few times in her career that any of her reviews made this prestigious location. These articles include: "Holland Welcomes Visitors Celebrating Rembrandt's Birth", Amsterdam, 23 May 1956; "Great Cities Reflect A Nation's Vitality", Amsterdam, 24 May 1956; "Old, New Contrast In Modern Holland", Rotterdam, 25 May 1956; "Culture Replaces Arnheim Rubble", Arnheim, 28 May 1956; and, "Nuffield Group Provides Funds for Art Centre", London, 5 June 1956. In a subsequent review after her return, McCarthy used her column to promote Dutch artists, asking if the Canadian Arts Council would establish exchange exhibitions with foreign countries like Holland. In "Etching Or Print, Cottage, Wooden Wall", G&M, 30 June 1956, 16.
- McCarthy revealed the personal nature of her trips abroad in one article, stating that for adults "knowing that time is short, will go tearing round the globe after a sight of some codex...I, myself have been badly bitten for years..." In "Illuminated Missal of 1375 Brings Blaze of Glory to Cleveland Museum", 10 August 1963, 13.
- Private collection, op. cit., 1960-1964. McCarthy to Sabiston, 23 June 1960. During her 1960 trip to England and Portugual, McCarthy stated that her "holiday" could finally begin as she had completed a number of articles dealing with her experiences in Portugual, Brighton and London.

- Private collection, 1934-1964, Pearl McCarthy's personal papers and correspondence. This collection includes a file labled by McCarthy as "Fans", containing letters of admiration and support from artists, art gallery directors and instructors, and the general public from 1940 to 1964. While most of them were written by people residing in Ontario, some are from Buffalo, New York and Florida. In one review, McCarthy maade a comment that she had even received letters from Europeans. In "Doubtful Pedigress Are Nothing", 27 October 1962, 19.
- Presumably, McCarthy's invitation to Rembrandt's 350th anniversary was covered by the Dutch government who helped organize the celebration. However, McCarthy's subsequent trips to Europe and the Arctic were on her own initiative. It is not clear if she was ever fully compensated for these tours. For example, when the Globe and Mail would not front Pearl the expenses to travel to Baffin Island, she sold her mother's Victorian silver tea service to cover her costs. In Morrow, op. cit., tape 3. Likewise, in his memoirs, Jack Pollock wrote: "Few knew, as I did, that she [McCarthy] was selling off the family silver and crystal in order to live." In J. Pollock, op. cit., 174.
- Dora de Pedery Hunt, op. cit., 21 November 1994.
- McCarthy's personnel records indicate that in March 1963 she earned two weekly retainers of \$30 and \$135, totalling \$165 per month. In the Globe and Mail Archives, Pearl McCarthy's Employee File, 5 March 1963. Compared to the average earnings in 1963 for female salaried employees, which totalled \$257 per month, McCarthy's pay was extremely low. In F.H. Leacy, (ed.), op. cit., "Wages and Working Conditions", E69-85.
- Private collection, op. cit., 1934-1964. Harold C. Walker to the Canada Council, December 1958, and letter from Walker to E.P. Taylor, 2 December 1958. In his letter to the Council, Walker wrote: "...in spite of her broad and deep knowledge of her subjects, she should have such an experience in order to maintain the vitality which has made her articles so readable. We, in the Art Gallery of Toronto, long ago realized that if anyone is to remain able to speak and write not only with authority but so as to command the interest and respect of his audience he cannot indefinitely give inspiration without occasionally receiving it."
- McCarthy, "White Canada's View: Conform Or You're Ignoramus", G&M, 2 September 1961, 13.
- 128 "Pearl McCarthy: Art Critic for Globe and Mail", Obituary, G&M, 27 March 1964, 15.
- 129 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", *G&M*, 16 May 1953.
- According to Joan Holloban, McCarthy was very proud that she was one of the earliest women to graduated from Trinity College. In Holloban, op. cit., 22 November 1994. St. Hilda's Council was formed in 1921. Its various duties included: the consideration of the general policy of the college; promoting its

- interests and dealing with any special needs; acting as an advisory committee on plans for the proposed new building and furnishings; advising on expenditures apart from routines; and rasing funds for any specific purpose. In T.A. Reed (ed.), op. cit., 210.
- Never a passive participant, she was remembered for her contributions to the advancement of the College's best interests. TCA, Lillian Pearl McCarthy Papers, Accession Number 986–0001/020, folio 254 C. Corporation Minutes 23 November 1961 12 April 1973.
- In McCarthy's view, she "championed high professional standards for journalism, and...avoided whenever possible those events referred to as press parties or receptions on the grounds that they implied that some consideration other than information could quicken the reporter's interest." In "Pearl McCarthy: Art Critic for Globe and Mail", Obitiuary, G&M, 27 March 1964, 15.
- A number of the CWPC's earliest members were well known in the women's movement: Kathleen Coleman, Cora Hind, Nellie McClung, Violet McNaughton, and Emily Murphy.
- Ironically, the name of the club was suggested by Goldwin Smith, well known for his misogynist attitudes who did not support post-secondary education for women. Heliconian refers to Mount Helicon in Greek mythology, the resting place of the muses, and source of all inspiration. Among its members, were a number of journalists and visual artists living in the Toronto area. AO, MU 8092, F 1182, Series A, Toronto Heliconian Club Papers, "Inventory of the Toronto Heliconian Club Papers".
- On 26 March 1943, the by-laws concerning the qualifications for membership in the Literature Section were amended to read as: "Eligible for this Section are women doing work of considerable distinction as Authors, Journalists, Magazine Writers, Playwrights, Radio Writers, and women occupying an editorial or executive post of definitely literary character. Qualifying work must be paid work and must be of sufficient output to warrant professional standing in any of the above literary fields. Voluntary or privately published work does not constitute eligibility..." AO, MU 8096, Series D, File 7, Toronto Heliconian Papers, minutes from Executive meeting, 26 March 1943.
- 136 "Pearl McCarthy: Art Critic for Globe and Mail", Obituary, G&M, 27 March 1964, 15.
- AO, MU 8091, F 1182, File 1, Toronto Heliconian Club papers, McCarthy, "Dorothy Goulding Director", *The Heliconian* (April 1947), 7.
- 138 McCarthy, "Gift of Contact With Fellow Men", G&M, 14 April 1956, 12.
- Senator Richard Doyle, personal interview, 30 October 1994. In Doyle's time as editor of the *Globe and Mail*, McCarthy was classified as a free lance writer. Her arts reviews guaranteed her a regular income; however, she earned slightly more when she did book and music reviews. Within this context, it makes sense that

- McCarthy covered book and music reviews for most of her career.
- The Media Club of Canada, Canadian Women of Note, vol. I (Toronto, 1994), 373.
- 141 Richard J. Doyle, *Hurly-Burly: A Time at The Globe* (Toronto, 1990), 21. The managing editor at this time was George Smith. According to Doyle, he protested the fact that Naish should not keep her job because of: "The old rule had been in place for years. What's more, the Flemings worked in the same department." (21) Upon hearing the news of Naish's firing, publisher George McCullagh over-ruled Smith's decision by re-instating her at once. When Naish returned to her job, she was "compensated" by receiving a five dollar salary increase.
- In 1931, 80.7 per cent of women who had paid work were single, in contrast to 10.0 per cent of married women. By 1941, the number of married increased slightly to 12.9 per cent, which can be attributed to increased employment opportunities during the Second World II. In Ramkhalawansingh, op. cit., 294.
- Helen Gregory MacGill, "What of the Wage-earning Wife?", *The Chalelaine*, vol. III, no. 3 (March 1930), 8. Interestingly, Helen Gregory was the first woman to apply for admission as a student at Trinity College. Entering in 1884, she received a Mus. Bac. in 1886, followed by a B.A. in 1889, and an M.A. in 1890. She later became Judge at British Columbia's Juvenile Court, as well as a member of British Columbia's Minimum Wage Board. In T.A. Reed (ed.), op. cit., 188.
- Some articles supporting women's right to work after marriage include: Helen Gregory MacGill, op. cit.; "Persecution of Married Women", *The Canadian Forum*, vol. XII, no. 137 (February 1932), 164; Gwethalyn Graham, "Women, Are They Human", *The Canadian Forum*, vol. XVI, no. 191 (December 1936), 21-23; and "Jobs for Married Women", letter to "The Homemaker", Toronto, G&M, 22 June 1946, 11.
- Allison Richards, "Are You Spoiling His Chances?", *The Chatelaine*, vol. VI, no. 7 (July 1937), 13.
- 146 Prentice et al., op. cit., 266.
- 147 Gwethalyn Graham, op. cit, 23.
- 148 Ryland, op. cit, 23 March 1995.
- Morrow, op. cit., tape 3. McCarthy and Sabiston worked evenings, beginning around 4 p.m. and finishing around midnight. Usually they would eat their dinner at 3 p.m., and after midnight, McCarthy would fix another meal. In Morrow, op. cit., 14 March 1995.
- Journalist who wishes to remain anonymous, op. cit., 3 March 1995.
- 151 McCarthy, "Initiative in Art Suits Canadians", G&M, 11 August 1945, 16.

- Trained in music and voice, Colin Sabiston was an amateur painter and wood carver. Besides his editorial writing, he wrote poetry and numerous articles, and had a published novel, Zoya. He was also the member of the Arts and Letters Club, the American Society for Aesthetics and, shortly before his death in 1961, the Canadian representative of the magazine, Musical America. From September 1946 until August 1948, he took over the Saturday Music and Drama column, reviewing performing arts events through the week. After retiring from his position on the Globe and Mail's editorial board in 1959, he periodically covered the visuals arts from November 1960 until June 1961.
- In this respect, Sabiston resembled McCarthy's father, Jesse McCarthy, who was also self-educated on a variety of scholarly topics. As Pearl McCarthy left no journals or diaries, this is only speculation. However, she told her friend, Dora de Pedery Hunt, that her father was a very interesting person, and that she adored him. In de Pedery Hunt, op. cit., 21 November 1994.
- Morrow, op. cit, tape 3.
- 155 McCarthy, "Initiative in Art Suits Canadians", G&M, 11 August 1945, 16.
- 156 Morrow, op. cit, tape 3.
- 157 Ibid., op. cit, tape 2. It is important to note that these were participatory events, involving the local towns people in the musical ensembles, theatrical performances and readings. Moreover, these evenings were seen as important affairs. Even Mary (Davis) McCarthy would "dress" for the occasion by wearing her choker and diamond pin.
- While it is not explicitly stated, McCarthy's comments on town projects in general described the motivation behind the soirces in Hespeler: "professionals and art lovers [who] collaborate are the very genius of a free country's development, where local intiative prevents national art from losing sincerity and character." In "The Watercolorsits Exihibit Here, And Later Join a Commercial Tour", G&M, 30 April 1955, 10.
- Private collection, op. cit.,1934-1964. Letter from André Bieler to McCarthy, 2 June 1941.
- McCarthy, "Small Local Museums Need Homes, Vision", G&M, 7 March 1959, 22.
- 161 Ibid., "She Found Young Eyes Again In A New World", 18 August 1956, 22.
- Ibid., "Art and Artists", 16 August 1937, 22; "Gallery's Exhibition Sale Helps Build a Public Habit", 7 November 1953, 16; "Political History Class and Period All Marked In Early Ontario Crafts", 6 August 1955, 7; "Art and Artists", 1 February 1958.
- During the 1920s the Mexican president began commissioning artists to depict the

Mexican revolution in public murals, who were praised for having successfully realized a strong national art. In Christine Boyanoski, *The 1940s: A Decade of Painting in Ontario* (Toronto, 1984), 11. Influenced by the initiatives undertaken by Mexico's government, the United States government organized the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project and the Treasury Board's Public Works of art Project, which transformed the relationship of art and the artist to society. In Michael Bell (ed.) "The Welfare of Art in Canada", *The Kingston Conference Proceedings*, (Kingston, 1991), vii. Under the mandate of the Federal Art Project, one per cent of the budget of every new building was directed towards mural decorations for the purpose of providing artists with jobs, as well as a useful role in society.

- 164 The Kingston Conference Proceedings, op. cit., 1991. American regionalist painter, Thomas Hart Benton, gave a radio interview prior to the official conference opening, and delivered a lecture at the Friday evening session. Edward Rowan, Chief of the Fine Arts Section, Public Building Administration, spoke to the conference delegates on the following evening.
- Several other art critics and writers/editors for art journals attended the Kingston Conference, including: Walter Abell, editor of *Maritime Art*; Robert Ayre, journalist and art critic for the Toronto *Telegram*, Winnipeg *Free Press* and Montreal *Gazette*; and, Donald Buchanan, founder of national film Board of Canada in 1935. The descriptions listed here refer to their work in 1941, the time of the conference.
- 166 George Woodcock, A Social History of Canada (Toronto, 1989), 350.
- Admitting that artistic backgrounds may differ, McCarthy believed that the individual contributions of each artist were realized "as a component part of the whole." In "It is Zadkin's Time At Toronto", G&M, 17 November 1956, 20; "Our Newcomers Reinforcing Culture's Consumer Market", 19 December 1953, 12.
- 168 Ryland, op. cit, 23 April 1995. Colin Sabiston was called Sab by his friends and relatives.
- Ibid. In one particular article, McCarthy focused upon Paavo Airola, a Finnish artist who came to Canada in 1952. She concluded that he was selling too few canvases, but that there were some 300 still available which were affordable by people with small incomes. In "Quest for Lemon Painter Leads to Paavo Airola", G&M, 8 May 1954, 12.
- 170 McCarthy, "Destitution is High for Art Today", 7 January 1961, 13.
- Columns in which McCarthy addressed the issue of supporting commercial artists include: "Art and Artists", 8 April 1939, 8; "Art and Artists", 30 December 1939, 8; "Nonymous Designers Merit Honor", 27 December 1947, 8; "Making A Christmas Card Is A Study In Talents", 25 December 1954, 7; "Local Art Should Be Used To Attract Tourists", 13 August 1955, 10; "Of Postcards and Burglars: It's Time We Used Our Eyes, Wits", 3 September 1960, 13; and, "Hark, Ye

- Grousers, To Tale of Cards", 24 December 1960, 13.
- For an interesting look at other partnerships between writers and artists, see Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron (eds.) Significant Others: Creativity & Intimate Partnership (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993).
- 173 Ishbel Ross, Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider (New York, 1936), 46-47. Ross was a cityside reporter for the New York Herald Tribune. Ross also states that the woman journalist was to be neither a "hard-boiled gal" nor a "cutie."
- Holloban, op. cit., 22 November 1994. I have italicized these words because Joan Holloban stressed them during our interview.
- 175 Morrow, op. cit., tape 2.
- 176 Ibid., op. cit., tape 3.
- Joan Kelly, Women, History & Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly (Chicago, 1984), 130-131.
- Morrow, op. cit., tape 2. As Morrow recalls, McCarthy seldom asserted herself with her husband. Most often it involved some topic that she would discuss in an intellectual manner that he did not want to hear about. He usually dismissed her by replying in a condescending manner: "why don't you write a book about it." Ibid., op. cit., tape 4.
- By the time that McCarthy had entered journalism, it appears that the former practice of pseudonymns or anonymity for women writers had largely disappeared. However, there were some exceptions. For example, during the 1930s Mary White wrote under the pen-name Bride Broder for the column "Women's Point of View" in the Globe and Mail.
- Casey Miller and Kate Swift, "Women and Names," in Evelyn Ashton-Jones and Gary A. Olson (eds.) *The Gender Reader* (Boston, 1991), 276.
- Holloban, op. cit., 22 November 1994.
- 182 Chadwick and de Courtivron, op. cit., "Introduction", 10.
- 183 Morrow, op. cit., tape 1.
- 184 Ibid., op. cit., 14 March 1995.
- Vipond, op. cit., (1974-1975), 7. Other women found it difficult to reconcile the contradictions between the public and private spheres. For example, Charlotte Whitton, social worker and mayor of Ottawa during the 1950s and 1960s, felt that women could not have both a career and a family, that they had to make a sacrifice. In Rooke and Schnell, op. cit., 208.

- In a review of Japanese prints, McCarthy drew a link between women's lives from the East and West. Despite the differences between the two societies, she argued that women from both cultures shared the responsibility of maintaining the home. Thus, she stated that a Japanese print depicting "a thoroughly bedgraggled and bored woman busy at spring cleaning" recall the images found in "the Western housekeeping of Mrs. Beeton's Cook Book days." In "Jap Prints Show Women in East, West Much Alike", 15 May 1954, 17.
- 189 Joan Kelly, op. cit., 14-15.
- 190 Ibid., 13.
- 189 Ramazanoglu, op. cit., 20.
- 190 Ibid., 107.
- Others during the 1930s supported working women who hired maids, basing their arguments around the notion of providing two women paid employment. Thus, the employed wife could keep her job outside the home, by hiring another women as a maid. See for example, MacGill, op. cit., and "The Persecution of Married Women", The Canadian Forum, vol. XII, no. 137 (February 1932), 164.
- 192 Morrow, op. cit., tape 2.
- 193 Around 1953 or 1954 McCarthy and Sabiston bought a cottage on Lake Ontario, near Thickson's Point not far from Oshawa.
- 194 Ryland, personal interview, 12 August 1995.
- Ryland estimates that towards the end of their careers, McCarthy and Sabiston made approximately \$5,000 a year between them. In op. cit., 12 August 1995. Compared to the average annual income for men working between 1956 to 1959, their combined salaries was much lower. Statistics Canada provides the following average incomes for men: 1956 \$4,918; 1957 \$5,205; 1958 \$5,549; and 1959 \$5,817. In F.H. Leacy (ed.), op. cit., "The Labour Force", E69-77.
- 196 F.H. Leacy (ed.), op. cit., "The Labour Force", D107-123.
- 197 Ryland, op. cit., 23 April 1995.
- 198 Ibid. In one column, McCarthy included a direct quote by Sabiston: "Gentlemen by standard of values must take the place of gentlemen by inheritance." In "Canadian Painters Who Cherich Belief in Dignity of Man", G&M, 2 August 1952, 7.
- 199 Morrow, op. cit., tape 4.
- 200 McCarthy, "A Colonel's Delicate Use of Colors", G&M, 28 March 1964, 32.
- 201 Kay Kritzwiser, personal interview, 21 November 1994.

- "At the Galleries" made its first appearance on March 10, 1962 and was written by McCarthy (page 13). This column dealt with exhibitions taking place at various art galleries, whereas "Art and Artists" tended to focus more closely upon a single exhibition, artist, or issue.
- Wendy Slatkin, The Voice of Women Artists (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1993), xi.
- 204 Teresa de Lauretis, quoted in Slatkin, ibid., xi.

Chapter Three

Art and Artists: The Public Voice of Pearl McCarthy

Pearl's writings were read by and popular with an unusual number of subscribers. When her work did not appear for a time (holidays) there were many inquiries. The rest of us could take a year off and no one would notice!

Mail and Empire colleague of Pearl McCarthy, March 1995

Pearl McCarthy of the Globe and Mail, is the dean of Canadian art critics, whose knowledge and experience are a constant source of inspiration and pleasure (or wrath as the case may be.) We covet her many recollections of Canadian art and artists and her majesty of the written word.² C.P. Fell, chair of the board of trustees of the National Gallery of Canada, May 1955

This chapter begins with a discussion of nationalism and the related issues of patronage, decentralization, democracy and propaganda. In the section following, an examination of McCarthy's attitudes towards modernist art will be positioned within the formalist and liberal-democratic discourses. In the final section, her treatment of non-Western artists will be assessed with a critical look at the "points of rupture" and her use of language. Where possible, McCarthy's ideas will be contrasted with contemporary writers on the visual arts, at the *Globe and Mail* and other publications to determine the reflection or divergence from the general values and attitudes of the period in her art writing.

Pearl McCarthy's professional life spanned several decades during the first half of the twentieth century, an era marked by great social and political upheavals. Her career, beginning in 1927 and ending in 1964, encompassed three major episodes in Canadian and world history: the Depression, World War II and the period of Reconstruction during the post-war era. McCarthy's "Art and Artists" columns, and the ideas expressed therein, provide a historical record of the events and changes affecting the visual arts in Canada, with a particular focus on Toronto. However, her reviews are more than the weekly documentation of art exhibitions and artists' lives. They are her "public voice," the final product of her personal views, shaped by and filtered through the dominant ideologies and

societal values, as well as being situated within the policies and rules of the Globe and Mail.

Theorizing on the relational complexities within our everyday realities, Joan Borsa argues that:

where we live, how we live, our relation to the social systems and structures that surround us are deeply embedded parts of everything we do and remain integral both to our identity or sense of self and to our position or status within a larger cultural and representational field...Part of our struggle is to be able to name our location, to politicize our space and to question where our particular experiences and practice fit within the articulations and representations that surround us.³

Borsa makes explicit the external forces impacting upon our daily lives, and how these relations shape our beliefs and attitudes within the socio-historical contexts in which we exist. Taking a slightly different approach by way of metaphor, sociologist Dorothy Smith offers the analogy of the road map to illustrate how ideological apparatuses shape our social relations. For her, streets and roadways represent the official and bureaucratic structures of our lives, while the rules, signs and laws signify the ideologies of a particular historical period. As "drivers," our routes are regulated by the geographical layout of the roads - we cannot simply drive where they do not exist - and, as law-abiding citizens, we are obligated to obey the rules, by not speeding, or stopping when signs or traffic lights instruct us to. But, as conscious and thinking subjects with various pursuits and goals, we are not confined to follow one path, nor are we all headed for the same final destination. We experience some freedom enabling us to make choices, for example by turning left instead of right.⁴

The theoretical approaches of Borsa and Smith provide useful frameworks in which to examine McCarthy's position within the hierarchically organized and complex structure of the news industry. As art critic, her writing was circumscribed by her departmental location, and the *Globe and Mail's* editorial policies governing journalistic rules and

conventions, such as "objectivity," the presentation of news items, and what constituted art "news." Grace Glueck, a New York Times arts columnist, stresses the precarious role of a journalist who is "faced with the prospect of expressing not only her own but the 'voice' of an authoritative newspaper. The influence and consequences of such a role are unquestioningly enormous."6 However, McCarthy's work within the arts department extended beyond the confines of journalistic practices, by locating her within the broader context of artists, private and public galleries, and other professionals involved in cultural production. As such, she occupied a space that intersected the boundaries of "high" and popular culture. That she was employed in the same position for almost thirty consecutive years, indicates that she was successful at combining the news discourse with the practices of art criticism and art history. As Smith argues, all professional discourses have a momentum of their own that require criteria and standards of proper professional performance. Being a professional necessitates a knowledge of "how to produce work that conforms to these standards, addressing these topics, and following these methodologies." As we shall see, McCarthy "played" by journalistic rules and practices, but successfully found strategies to challenge some of the dominant beliefs of her time.

A number of themes consistently run, implicitly and explicitly, throughout the body of McCarthy's writing that reflected both her personal beliefs and attitudes, and the ideas and events marking the first half of the twentieth century. Complex and inextricably linked, these themes are not easily compartmentalized. However, it is possible to identify three which predominate: nationalism, modernism, and non-Western art. Non-Western art is used as an umbrella term referring to her writing on First Nations and Inuit art.

Generally, McCarthy's views on nationalism and modernism reflected the liberal-humanist ideologies that were socially dominant during her lifetime. However, some ideas she expressed with regards to modernist art present a progressive viewpoint, one that encouraged her readers to "open" themselves to non-objective art. Her attitudes towards

non-Western groups, written in the latter half of her career, were even more progressive for her time as she challenged the racist beliefs and negative stereotypes perpetuated within (White) Western society.

Although these themes run consistently through the body of her writing, many of her views, and even her ideological approach to art criticism, were inherently contradictory and problematic. As the deconstructive theories of Jacques Derrida have shown, meaning is never "fixed" in language. Historically mediated and produced, words, ideas and concepts are unfixed and are subject to fluctuation. A conscious and thinking subject, with her own set of values and opinions, McCarthy must have experienced some difficulties in reconciling her viewpoint to the policies of the paper, or with the dominant ideologies of the era, especially with those values which she herself did not embrace. Although she produced a regular weekly column for twenty-eight years, her reviews were written separately, and do not constitute a seamless body of work. Finally, many of her ideas and attitudes reflected the rapidly changing social and political events marking the first half of the twentieth century. These contradictions, implicit in her work, do not constitute a separate theme, and will be examined within the context of the main themes of nationalism, modernism and non-Western art.

Nationalism

Issues of patronage - private versus public

As it was argued in Chapter Two, McCarthy had very strong ideas regarding nationalism and Canadian cultural identity. An ardent champion of Canadian artists, she thought that a strong national culture was absolutely vital to the general well being of society. In her view, the most effective way of building and strengthening a sense of national identity, was through the direct support of "indigenous" artistic expression, involving both moral and material assistance. According to McCarthy, a fundamental

aspect of human nature was the need for "beauty" in our everyday lives. Therefore, she regularly encouraged her readership to purchase contemporary art. In so doing, she argued the patron's own life would be enriched, the artist would receive financial support, and it would help stimulate Canadian economic growth. Maintaining that the future of Canada depended upon its artists, the issues of private patronage and public (government) funding, came to occupy a dominant position within McCarthy's writing beginning in the 1930s, and lasting the remainder of her career. A comment from September 1947, made in response to some local exhibitions of private collections, provides a good summation of her feelings towards the "dual" nature of collecting:

Everybody seems to feel that it's time for stress on the layman's place in art as a private buyer. So it is - not merely from the point of view of how he can help, but even more from the angle of the longterm pleasure he can get.⁸

Moreover, the arts should be financially supported by a combination of public and private commissions for, in her words: "It is a matter of both-and, not either-or."

In spite of this last statement, McCarthy had some reservations when it came to government funding of the arts, stemming from her condemnations of countries whose artists are controlled by dictatorships. In the same review from September 1947, she sarcastically observed that:

Since public art belongs to all the people, public institutions must heed and help; but it would be a drab day if all art were limited to public display; all pet dogs state owned, all books publicly read by officials, all music played to bureaucratic prescription, all cultural opinions streamlined.¹⁰

As McCarthy's observation reveals, she had some fundamental problems with state funding. She, therefore, tended to favour individual initiative and private patronage, of which her own "cultural project" was an example.

Not surprisingly, the issue of private patronage became a central theme in McCarthy's columns during the Depression years. In 1937, the National Gallery's annual

budget, just over twenty-thousand dollars, had to cover everything from acquisitions and exhibition expenses, to salaries and building maintenance. 11 Art sales were a rare occurrence during the 1930s, 12 as sculpture was extremely expensive, and paintings for many people seemed like an unnecessary indulgence. Many artists, faced with the scarcity of commissions, were forced to seek employment in the commercial sector and teaching profession. 13 Acknowledging that artists deserve to make a decent living, McCarthy argued that all Canadians, regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds, should purchase art, especially contemporary work. Within Western democratic society, McCarthy believed there is a place for fine art collectors from every social and economic class. As was already mentioned in Chapter Two, in spite of her own lack of money, McCarthy would do without "luxuries" in order to offer financial assistance to local artists by way of funding and organizing exhibitions, or through private commissions, such as Christmas cards.

Seeing herself as an exemplary "private patron," McCarthy regularly advised her readers on the most affordable and/or best types of art to invest in. Linked to her inclusion of the working class and "common" people, McCarthy typically directed her articles on private patronage towards those with "small purses." Consequently, exhibitions and sales featuring small paintings and sculpture, or prints and etchings were greatly promoted. For example, in April 1937 she stated that: "a good print can be bought for less than the shoddiest picture of other types, this exhibit is not to be missed by those of us who are poor in the purse." Perhaps she included herself amongst those who lacked money by writing in the third person. In another article, written ten years later, McCarthy continued to stress the importance of private ownership:

...while thousands attend Canadian exhibitions, there are few private sales from these events as compared with a generation ago...a good picture has pleasure and benefit to give. It does extend the intellectual and emotional bounds within a room, is something to turn to for stimulation and contemplation. No

country's art can fill its possible full function in the hours which people spend in public buildings. ¹⁷

McCarthy was not alone in her insistence for the need to support the artist in contemporary society, as other critics in English Canada focus on this issue. Art historian William Colgate puts forth a similarly nationalistic argument. In his view, contemporary artists need the support of a public to survive and improve professionally: "when we as picture buyers...turn our eyes from the past to the present and the future...The more we support our living artists the more alive will our national art become."

McCarthy's encouragement of private patronage can also be understood within the context of Western capitalist society, where production for profit, as David Harvey argues, is the basic organizing principle of economic life. 20 Acknowledging the need for profit to sustain a capitalist economy, McCarthy wrote in 1937: "this space deals with art, which is our main study and interest, but we come [f]brom [sic] business stock, and are inclined to give the industrialist and the business man at least as much credit for highmindedness as the artist when it comes to matters of money and profit." Subsequently, she began one column in November 1939 by describing some "news that makes us exceedingly happy," in response to the possibility of a group of art dealers who are organizing themselves under the auspices of the Toronto Better Business Bureau. Most importantly, in her view, independent commercial galleries "contribute to the spread of art" by making "a necessary link in the connection between artists and public, and their prosperity means more prosperity for artists." 23

Such consistent encouragement of the consumption of art may also have been a justification of her role as art critic. For within the arts department, her work as a journalist was positioned amidst the relations of the news industry, artistic production, the private and public gallery system, and the consumer public - all of which, in some measure, were

participants in the art world as producers, consumers, patrons, and dealers. Her duty as critic required her to disseminate the information to the general public, the potential consumers of art in order to maintain and perpetuate this economic cycle. As a result, much of her language was clothed in economic terms as a way of reinforcing the consumer/producer relationship. This economic link was made explicit in an undated essay by McCarthy, entitled "The Critic as Consumer." Discussing the role of the newspaper art critic, McCarthy stressed that the "journalist should think as a consumer, whose duty it is "to relate the day's actualities to the permanent interests of consumers." McCarthy would eventually present individual initiative and private patronage as a means of supporting the struggle of democratic freedom under threat from totalitarian dictatorships, such as that happening in Spain during the decade of the 1930s.

Decentralization and the Role of the State

Given her "bourgeois" upbringing, and her father's entrepreneurial interests, it is not surprising that McCarthy saw total government control of the arts as representing the eradication of artistic freedom and the loss of individuality. She maintained that state-controlled arts programs, such as those under dictatorships, inevitably lead to the censorship of ideas, as artists could not express their own feelings freely. Her apprehension seems quite natural given the state control exerted over artists and the cultural policies in the USSR and Germany. In 1925, the Communist Party Central Committee in the USSR attacked abstraction, followed by the declaration in 1934 designating Social Realism as the official artistic style of the Soviet Union under Stalin. In the same manner, one of Hitler's first actions, after becoming Chancellor in 1933, was to suppress modernist, or so-called "degenerate art," Similarly in 1935, Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi minister of propaganda, ordered artists to produce "racially conscious" art that glorified Nazi ideals. Two years later, the Nazi Party organized two major exhibitions in Munich:

one of Nazi (official) art, and the other of degenerate (modern) art. Fearing that such extreme cultural control might be enforced in Canada, McCarthy argued in 1941 that artists living under dictatorships were reduced to "something between a pet and a parasite."²⁷

Strongly believing in the fundamental premises of liberalism and individualism, McCarthy was skeptical of centralized government control which she equated with communism and socialism. As such, her ideological position could not be reconciled to these perspectives because, in her view, they would entail the loss of private ownership, as well as the loss of personal freedom.²⁸ Rather, she believed that a democratic government represents the "people," and should, therefore, listen to its constituents' voices before implementing or funding any sort of cultural programs or art galleries. Thus, in a year-end assessment of 1942, McCarthy criticized professional art groups who usually approached the Government first for financial support, instead of relying upon private patrons. As she argued, "to proceed otherwise is to envy the ways of dictatorships." In spite of her arguments for decentralization, McCarthy often urged the public to accept financial responsibility of under-funded public galleries, namely the National Gallery of Canada. However, her arguments stemmed from the need to prevent total Government control of arts and culture.³⁰

McCarthy's fear of state-controlled arts programs was shared by others involved in the Canadian art industry. In 1939, Graham McInnes observed that "to art lovers, government interest in art is usually suspect. An institution like WPA [the Federal Works Project of the United States] may be productive of some fine art, but is bound to produce much mediocre work. Picasso to the Soviets was first a leader of revolt, then a bourgeois monstrosity."³¹

While McCarthy's negative reaction to state-funding of the arts can be partly attributed to the political gains made by dictatorships and communist governments and their subsequent control over artistic expression, such as in the U.S.S. R. and Germany, it

should also be historically situated within the context of Canadian politics, as well as the policies promulgated by the Globe and Mail's managerial department. The decade of the 1930s in Canada, as described by historian Carl Berger, was a period marked by a greater centralization of power. The federal government's increase in economic control during this era can be attributed to two main factors: the need to secure financial resources for the war, and the recommendations made by the Rowell-Sirois Commission in 1940.³² Following these events, George McCullagh, publisher of the Globe and Mail, publicly accused the Mackenzie King government of its centralism. Denouncing the notion of the Prime Minister's absolute necessity, McCullagh argued that: "for the dictatorship fashioned to the whims and passions of one man, the dictator may be indispensable in the sense that his loss would bring the whole structure down. But in a democracy, where the Government is the creation of the people, indispensability does not exist."33 Several years later, the Globe and Mail's editorial department rose to the defense of Ontario's Conservative Premier, George Drew, and his tax proposals which challenged the centralized authority of the Federal Government by giving the provinces greater local autonomy.³⁴ McCarthy was clearly supportive of her employer's mandate on decentralization, and the frequency that this topic appears in her columns indicates that she felt that the subject was crucial.³⁵ Moreover, it is within this political context that the "cultural project," initiated by McCarthy and Colin Sabiston in Hespeler, Ontario, was conceived. By focusing on "grassroots" cultural organizing, McCarthy and Sabiston created an alternative that relied upon local communities and individuals for financial and moral support, instead of State intervention.³⁶

Another important factor which served to strengthen McCarthy's views towards the role of art in Canadian society and decentralized cultural initiatives, was her attendance at the Kingston Artists' Conference at Queen's University in June 1941. Here ideas concerning the role of the artist, the critic and art were hotly debated and addressed in a

public forum by artists and writers.³⁷ After the conference, Maritime Art editor Walter Abell argued that the Kingston Conference had "brought...a new consciousness of the 'ideas of their time,' and in doing so could only have an enriching effect upon them [artists and art critics) when they returned to their individual labors."³⁸ McCarthy's analysis of the conference clearly indicates how it served to strengthen her views on the democratic function of art, the integral role of the artist in contemporary society, and the need for decentralized cultural projects. Her initial reports of the conference provided little commentary and analysis. Positioned within the "news" section of the paper, they were mainly a mixture of quotes and paraphrases of speeches from the conference.³⁹ Following her "news" reports, she devoted several "Art and Artists" columns to the subject. In a critical look at the proceedings of the conference, she congratulated the participants in their fight for democratic freedom, reminding her readers of the crucial role of the artist in contemporary society. 40 Although many of the issues examined at the Kingston Conference were a regular part of McCarthy's writing beforehand, her participation reaffirmed her commitment to these themes which would remain constant throughout the rest of her career.

Democratic Freedom

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, there are some significant changes in terms of McCarthy's attitude concerning the "objectivity" of the writer and the scope of the articles in "Art and Artists." Prior to the war, McCarthy commented on several occasions about the importance of neutrality for art critics. She argued that "Canadian art needs impartial criticism," and "clear, objective thinking, with no very long holidays for the brain...if one would keep his or her balance." (emphasis added) Clearly McCarthy's statements related to the "canon of objectivity" as described by journalism professor

Andrew Osler, which sought to rigidly separate fact from value.⁴³ Although normally the application of such a canon is directed towards regular news columns, rather than editorials or personal columns which espouse individual commentary, McCarthy extended the idea of "objectivity" to her writing on the visual arts. Her incorporation of "hard" news "objectivity" into a "soft" news area can be read as one of the strategies McCarthy used to re-position the art column and herself within the traditional news world, and thereby giving her writing added credibility.

But, as the political turmoil in Europe intensified, and the possibility of war loomed nearer, McCarthy abandoned any attempt at "objectivity." Consequently, her ideas regarding nationalism and patriotism took on a greater sense of urgency, and were often passionately expressed. Anticipating the worst possible outcome in late 1937, McCarthy made a plea for individual freedom and democracy:

We do not think we could ever be converted to communism. We are too pig-headed for one thing, and would rather struggle and go down to defeat on our own than feel that we were being helped collectively...we would rather plunge ahead, stumbling and getting up, than be state-organized or give up one atom of our individual right to struggle for survival.⁴⁴

The following year, McCarthy's writing became even more emotional and subjective:

This [Canada], if anywhere in the world, will be civilization's last grand and determined stand against the hideous forces of darkness whose ideal is a dive-bomber attacking helpless children.⁴⁵

The subjective quality characterizing much of McCarthy's writing during wartime was sanctioned by the Globe and Mail's ownership. In an impassioned radio address, the publisher George McCullagh stressed that "the truth is that had not Britain fought off the Hun in the great air battles of 1900, Christian civilization would have perished and we today would have been the slaves of black tyranny." (emphasis added)

The late 1930s signalled the second transformation in McCarthy's writing. In addition to the conflicts arising from the objective/subjective dichotomy, the scope of her

columns greatly expanded with the onset of World War II. Prior to and following the war, McCarthy made a distinction between the type of subjects suitable for an art column, as well as the appropriate analytical method to be applied by an art critic. In her first review for "Art and Artists" in November 1936, she set out the problem. Covering a student exhibition of sculpture at the Royal Winter Fair, McCarthy stated: "at the risk of making it seem that this column had wandered into the Livestock Department...," and by doing so emphasized her need to define the limitations placed on her column. Following the war, in June 1952, McCarthy clarified once again the "boundaries" of her column:

This is strictly an art column. But because the art world is so often muddled by national and racial propaganda on one side or the other, we wish to make...a statement of which side we are on. We are on the side of human survival.⁴⁹

"Human survival" for her was to ignore social and political injustices by concentrating on the positive aspects of life instead. Several years before her death, in an exhibition review of books from China, she specified what topics do not belong in the arts department: "part of the display, having to do with political or sociological matters, is *conveniently outside* the province of the art critic." (emphasis added) This comment is particularly interesting when it is positioned within the sociological approach she took in discussing Inuit and First Nations art during the final years of her life. Other critics at the *Globe and Mail* also commented on the limitations they experienced in writing their columns. Rowland (Roly) Young, the movie critic, made the observation that "since my own department is a specialized one, the subject matter is restricted." 51

Anticipating the content changes to affect "Art and Artists" during the war, McCarthy remarked in September 1938 that "the voice of art is temporarily drowned by the war noises." Immediately after the Canadian government's official announcement that Canada had joined the war, McCarthy abandoned any attempt of "staying within" the boundaries of art criticism. Approaching the subject with a sense of irony, she wrote:

This art department declares war. If we enjoy a chuckle out of our comic impudence and so add to the gaiety of grim days, all the better. We are at war all the same, and our declaration is based on artistic grounds alone, politics and State affairs being no business of ours in our capacity as art critic.⁵³

Despite any previous disclaimers that political issues were beyond the scope of her department, politics became a central issue in her columns for the duration of the war because she argued that the fundamental concept of freedom of expression within Western democratic societies was being attacked. The final sentence in the above quotation also reveals a "rupture" point. While she adamantly states that political and State affairs are "no business of ours," she used the necessity of artistic freedom in general to condemn the actions of Hitler and Nazism for the rest of the column.

In 1940, McCarthy made a direct connection between her own writing and the future of artistic freedom in general:

Art as a liberal pleasure and culture is at stake on the European battlefields...There is no art life, as we value it, under the dictatorships. Every art column, however humble in itself, is a symbol of our freedom of thought. Every original work of art is a symbol of it, too. 54

The political tone of her writing during wartime was acceptable as patriotic duty demanded that every Canadian citizen do his/her part in the war effort. Consequently, art reviews, or "soft news," could justifiably deal with war related happenings as they received the stamp of "hard" news. This statement could also be read in terms of freedom of the press, and more specifically the critic, whose freedom to express his/her personal views would be curtailed under totalitarian regimes.

During the war era, McCarthy typically used the art in question to launch into a discussion of world politics. For example, her decision to write an article on Arthur Szyk, the Polish artist whose illuminated manuscript, the *Statute of Kaslisz*, that celebrated the Polish guarantee of the rights of Jews in the thirteenth century, provided her a proactive

strategy permitting the integration of social, political and artistic content. McCarthy introduced Szyk and his manuscript, and then went on to compare present-day Nazi Germany to the thirteenth century: "if you check back on your history, you will find that, just prior to this great charter, the country now known as Germany had carried on hideous pogroms against the Jews...The persecuted ones fled to Poland." Obviously the history behind the manuscript easily lent itself to critical commentary upon the present political situation in Nazi Germany. From this point onward, the linkage between the art and politics was a focus of her war time columns, a point she reflected upon in 1943: "you could guess some of the international trends [war related events] even if your news were confined to the doings of art galleries."

There are some articles in which McCarthy went even further and focused almost exclusively on news from the war. One of the strongest examples occurred in November 1940 when she examined the political situation of Greece for almost two-thirds of the article.⁵⁷ Arguing that "Greece is at stake again - their Greece and ours," she remarked on the importance of remembering our cultural debt to Pericles, and how "our politics" could be traced back to Aristotelian doctrines. Moreover, she reminded her readers that modern Greeks "may still contribute to civilization," but concluded that "we are in a hard spot to know how to help Greece without dissipating our own essential strength in the Near East campaign."58 If not for the standing head of "Art and Artists," a reader might have assumed s/he had accidentally opened the editorial page rather than the entertainment section. The referencing to Classical Greece as the "birthplace" of modern democracy is critical for several reasons. Pericles' Athens has come to symbolize Democracy, individual liberty and freedom, the qualities most valued under Western capitalism. In addition, for centuries, the Western canon of art has been based upon Classical Greek sculpture and architecture, which represented the epitome of ideal beauty. As we shall see, McCarthy often evaluated a work of art as "successful" in terms of its "beauty."59

McCarthy was not isolated in her attention to the war as other critics in the mass press and art journals also focused on international political events. Motivated by a sense of patriotic duty, journalists outside the domain of hard news reporting wanted to do their part in the War effort, therefore used their columns as vehicles to "defend democracy." For instance, McCarthy's colleague, William Arthur Deacon, used his book reviews and editorial column, "The Fly Leaf," to inform his readers on the most recent political events in Europe, as well as soliciting other writers to do their part for the War effort. Likewise, Augustus Bridle, art and music critic for the Toronto *Star*, incorporated some of the latest war related news into his writing. For example, in June 1940 Bridle wrote: "In this unmusical war, it's time to revert to great music as a stimulus." The headline of Bridle's column in the week following blatantly reveals the political focus of his review:

Italy's Music More To Us Than Mussolini's Politics Two Italian Maestros Openly Fascist, But Zealous for Good Music - Antipathy Toward German Artists During Last War Recalled⁶²

This article addressed the issue involving the banning of Italian music from a Toronto program in aid of war funds. Likewise, Walter Abell, editor of *Maritime Art*, emphasized the role that the cultural industry in Canada could play in the struggle to win the war. Discussing the "culture front," he argued that ."..the arts have rendered these services, not to further war as an end in itself, but to promote the cause of human freedom and happiness...Military victory is essential as a foundation for subsequent effort, but in itself it can make no direct contribution to democratic cultural progress."

Propagandistic Art

Intertwined with themes of nationalism and democratic freedom were McCarthy's condemnations of socially inspired or propagandistic art. Believing that art and politics were incompatible, she objected to any alliance between the two, even with issues she

endorsed.⁶⁴ This attitude appears highly contradictory and even ironic, given the political thrust of her writing just prior to and during the war. Therefore, some explanation is required. Admittedly, McCarthy's wartime articles were immersed in current political debates, but she used the art in general, and not the specific subject matter, as a way of addressing these social concerns. With few exceptions during her career, McCarthy rarely discussed artistic content. When she did, it usually arose from her dislike of a propagandistic message expressed in a particular work of art. Towards the end of the 1930s, the issue of propaganda came to occupy a central position, both implicitly and explicitly, within her writing, and continued until the end of her career.⁶⁵

An indicator of how strongly McCarthy felt about the subject of propaganda and state control of artistic expression, is shown by the subjective quality of some of her columns. One of the most extreme examples is seen in the following excerpt from her 1951 review of Ernst Barlach's paintings at the Royal Ontario Museum. Describing the "evils" of propaganda, she wrote:

...the most hideous monster which ever attacks art, had stretched out to squeeze his [Ernst Barlach's] great talent into its coils, with the man dead and unable to defend himself except by such art as survived by the Nazi regime.⁶⁶ (emphasis added)

As this quotation reveals, her hostility towards the suppression of art by the Nazis, and other totalitarian regimes, acquired an intensity beyond personal dislike. As John Charles Risk commented in a 1938 article on Nazi Germany in *The Canadian Forum*: "very few topics of conversation generate so much heat and so little light as fascism. Among people of progressive or democratic inclinations, the mere mention of the word is usually enough to arouse a feeling of hatred."

It is clear from McCarthy's writing that she associated most types of "social" art with Nazi and Fascist tactics, for:

Every time you use art for propaganda of your political or social

theories, you are countenancing the sort of thing which Hitler and Mussolini are doing. Of course, you are doing it likely for the opposite ideal - for democracy instead of tyranny. But you are setting a precedent for the use of art as a servant to one political theory. A servant taking the dictates of his master cannot be a free thinker, helping other men to think and understand.⁶⁸

Consequently, she argued that "we are going to have to watch it [propaganda] in Canada. The best way to offset the danger is to attend to the ivory tower." Like a number of other Canadian artists and writers, McCarthy was generally successful at remaining within her "ivory tower," particularly when dealing with Western art. By focusing upon an art work's formal properties, she was able to deny and/or reject any form of political message. Of course, her views on this subject were not always consistent. As such, she could accept overt propagandistic content when Canada's role within the war was promoted. For example, in a discussion of the Victory Loan Campaign, she described a billboard by D. Stapleton as "invigorating." Stapleton depicted a farmer, who was hurriedly finishing his work under a cloud with a swastika symbol, to represent the threat of Nazism. She might also have been able to accept the political message conveyed by Stapleton's billboard because it was popular, and not "high" (universal) art.

While McCarthy's rejection of "socialist" art can be read as a political statement against dictatorships, it was also fueled by on-going debates within arts communities across Canada. After reviewing Bertram Brooker's *Yearbook of the Arts in Canada*, Frank Underhill "sparked a lively and seminal controversy" in late 1936.⁷¹ In contrast to the dilemma of European artists, forced to choose between fascism and communism, Underhill felt that Canadian artists in general had not been "moved by the phenomenon of a civilization dissolving before their eyes." The sculptor Elizabeth Wyn Wood responded to Underhill's criticisms, rejecting any form of propagandistic content in art. Contending that the social function of art should enrich everyone's life, instead of propagating an ideology, Wood claimed that "wars, depressions, peace and social security influence the

arts, but art does not necessarily document these events."⁷³ Two months later, the painter Paraskeva Clark joined in the debate, taking a view opposite to that of Wood. Instead, Clark urged artists "to come down from your ivory tower, to come out from behind your pre-Cambrian Shield and dirty your gown in the mud and sweat of conflict...think of the human being, take actual part in your own times, find their expression and translate it..."⁷⁴ While McCarthy did not play a direct role in this debate, her views expressed in "Art and Artists" clearly supported Wood and her stress upon the formal properties of art. This was made evident in a 1944 review of the contemporary art scene in Vancouver. In a discussion of "political" art in general, McCarthy condemned "so-called 'proletarian' art" which she associated with the "cafe society," in other words, "subversive" groups of the "underground." According to her:

...in their [political artists] interest to drive home the point they often have lost universality. It is doubtful...that a work-sodden, cake-eating female hulk from the slums indicates a full concept of the common people. 75

Her use of "universality" is important as it relates to "beauty" and positive human qualities that transcend the conflict and strife of our everyday lives. It also positions her critical approach within formalist theory dominating Western art criticism and modernist thought after World War II which will shortly be examined.

Believing that the universal qualities in art were fundamental to its enjoyment, McCarthy downplayed any form of social commentary, especially those works by "political" artists. This was clearly articulated in an article promoting the upcoming 1943 exhibition "Mexican Art Today." Daring her readers to enjoy the paintings for anything more than their "artistic value," she argued that "nobody with a *grain of feeling for form* could fail in appreciation there." (emphasis added) McCarthy's "polite" insult inferred that anyone who looked for social commentary was obtuse, and was therefore lacking in aesthetic sensibilities. It also reinforced her position as "the expert," as someone who

possessed the skill to enjoy "art for art's sake," and who could educate others on what to look for in a work of art. As argued in Chapter Two, McCarthy held a number of elitist attitudes. Despite her inclusion of the "common" individual, whose "views" she often incorporated into her writing, she did not let her readers forget that she possessed the authority on art and culture. When this exhibition opened at the AGT several weeks later. McCarthy described the paintings as being "completely free from propaganda of a political or economic sort," being a "field day for professors of aesthetics." In her view, Diego Rivera was "not a preacher of a system," but rather, "the draughtsman of Mexican genius." Hence she described one of his portraits in purely formal terms: "a young dark skinned girl in a lemon-colored dress with greenish shadows, against a blue background."⁷⁸ McCarthy's willingness to ignore the overt social content of Rivera's work was ironic, especially when other contemporary critics emphasized its "revolutionary" message. One reviewer who did not adhere to McCarthy's strict formal analysis was Harry Mayerovitch whose article on "Mexican Art Today" appeared in Canadian Art. Mayerovitch agreed with McCarthy's observation that the Mexican paintings were quite unfamiliar to those painted by Canadian artists. He also mentioned the stylistic impacts of cubism, abstraction, surrealism, and academism. Yet, he diverged from her formalist critique by recognizing that their paintings were personal expressions of "a cruelly oppressed and long frustrated people."⁷⁹ Moreover, according to Mayerovitch, Rivera "glorified the history and meaning of the revolution," while José Clemente Orozco "depicted in mural and lithograph the more tragic and dramatic aspects of the great upheaval."80

McCarthy maintained her formalist perspective when she examined other politically motivated art by denying the social message, and reinforcing the elements of line and colour instead. In a review of Francisco de Goya's *Disasters of War*, 1810-1814, McCarthy noted that while the series was suggestive of the artist's intent "on preaching a sermon or indulging in a nationalist's diatribe against Napoleon," she encouraged her

readers to look for the aesthetic value. In her view, Goya was able to transcend the horrors of war, finding "subjects of super-animation...in which exciting shapes and patches of contrasting dark and light could be used with great dynamic force."81 Similarly, she deemphasized the social commentary in German expressionist Käthe Kollwitz's etchings. Remarking that "even beginners will recognize the superlative technique and composition," McCarthy went on to say that she would not discuss Kollwitz's "sense of humanitarianism" because she had previously addressed that issue in her column. 82 McCarthy ended her review by suggesting that rather than only portraying human suffering, Kollwitz might have "depicted the triumph of the human spirit" in her portrayal of "common people." And finally, in a review of contemporary "narrative" drawings by Ronald Searleo of European Refugee Camps, McCarthy congratulated him because they "stand as art, on its aesthetic merits, not submerged by propaganda." She concluded that art transcends national bias or hatred. These reviews represent only a small sample of her views towards "propagandistic" art, but as they clearly reveal, she could focus exclusively on the formal qualities of the art, despite her own awareness that these artists were primarily concerned with social and political injustices of their respective eras, and countries. By adhering to a formalist viewpoint, she disguised the problematic (political) nature of these works. Arguing that conflict exists in every historical period, she stated that the "great" artist was someone who was able to rise above it and reach for greatness, "even if they do not grasp it."84

Obviously, McCarthy's rejection of social and political art is inconsistent when compared to the "propagandistic" content characterizing many of her own articles written during World War II, although it is unlikely that she would have perceived any internal contradictions. Writing in defense of Western democracy and individual freedom, McCarthy would have argued that any other political system, such as fascism or communism, were aberrations from the "natural order of things." Her inability to

recognize the subjective quality of her work relates to Joanne Kates' notion of "invisible ideology" in journalism. ⁸⁵ In Kates' opinion, most editors with whom she has worked have taken the "liberal Gospel" to be the Truth, upholding the liberal tenet that says journalists are objective and without ideology. But as Kates wryly observes, it is "funny how ideology becomes invisible when it meshes with your own!" Consequently, others' viewpoints, if they do not reflect one's own position, are defined or criticized as being "ideological," while one's own perspective is never identified or questioned.

McCarthy's denouncements of propaganda and dictatorships can also be read in terms of her professional life as art critic. In May 1940, she wrote about the importance of freedom of thought: "insignificant as you and I may seem, our will to develop our personalities by thought, as shown by our independent love of free art in everything from our house adornment to our opinions, makes us villainous in a dictator's eyes."87 Maintaining this view sixteen years later, she stated: "There's something about propaganda which recalls a goose having food driven down its neck so as to make more paté de fois gras. Being nobody's paté de fois gras, I flapped for the galleries."88 McCarthy made it clear that her ideas and opinions were her own, that she was not the mouthpiece for anybody else's thoughts. While these statements strongly suggest her personal autonomy and independent nature, her political beliefs were in fact very much in line with the liberal ideologies of the Globe and Mail. In a critical examination of the mass media, Pierre Sorlin, French professor of sociology and audio-visual communications, draws on Emile Durkheim's theories of occupational groups and the significance of shared values. Sorlin has shown that in the general structure of most corporate bodies, the consciousness of belonging to a social entity is central in the self-esteem of all the members who abide by the established rules for the benefits they derive from them. 89 Given Sorlin's findings, it is not particularly surprising that McCarthy's ideological outlook in terms of politics reflected that of her employer. In a special editorial celebrating the Globe and Mail's 100th anniversary

in 1944, George McCullagh emphasized his pride as publisher that the paper had maintained the ideals upon which it was founded:

the liberal ideas and traditions of the British race are an even more invigorating force for the betterment of mankind than they are today...Just as George Brown [the founder] believed in religious and political freedom, in parliamentary democracy, in individual liberty and in social justice, so do I. For such causes *The Globe and Mail* will always battle as long as I hold the trust of guiding its fortunes.⁹⁰

These liberal ideals were repeatedly promoted by McCarthy in her art columns. Had she not believed in them so strongly, she would likely not have worked at the *Globe and Mail* for twenty-eight years because, as Kates says, "the system trains you both in terms of skills and politics as you go along, and if it can't train you, it spits you out."⁹¹

Antonio Gramsci's theoretical concept of hegemony is also helpful in positioning McCarthy within the social relations of her time. In his *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci used this concept to refer to relationships between classes, in particular the control that the bourgeoisie exerted over the working classes. In his view, hegemonic control was maintained by force or the threat of force, but by consent as well:

If the relationship between intellectuals and people-nation, between the leaders and the led, the rulers and the ruled, is provided by an organic cohesion in which feeling-passion becomes understanding and thence knowledge...then and only then is the relationship one of representation. Only then can there take place an exchange of individual elements between the rulers and ruled, leaders...and led, and can the shared life be realised which alone is a social force...⁹²

Successful hegemony not only operates in the interests of the dominant class, but members of subordinated classes come to see these interests as "natural" and "common sense." For Gramsci, this attitude of consent was manifested in all aspects of social existence - institutions, relationships, ideas, morals. Within this analysis, intellectuals, of which journalists could be said to belong, are "the dominant group's 'deputies'" who exercise the hegemony of the State. And as he explained, intellectuals consent to this role because of

the prestige attached to such positions. As McCarthy's writing demonstrated, she unquestioningly supported the liberal principles of Western capitalism by encouraging the consumption of art, and by defending the importance of the individual freedom and democratic rights.

Modernism

McCarthy's theoretical approach to art criticism was positioned within the discourse of formalism, which was also closely associated with liberal-humanist principles. Developing her interest in art as a child, McCarthy's ideas reflected the aesthetic philosophies circulating in Canada during the early twentieth century, as well as the formalist writing that emerged in Britain in the 1910s and 1920s. For the most part, McCarthy closely adhered to a formalist perspective, which rejected any utilitarian or moralistic ends to art, by concentrating upon a visual analysis of form instead. Yet, as we have seen with her wartime writing, she was not always consistent in her approach. Whereas McCarthy's reviews of Western art focused almost exclusively on the formal elements of the work, her writing on non-Western art differed as she usually situated it within a socio-economic context. This incongruity will be discussed further following an examination of her ideas regarding modernism of a formalist theory.

Earlier in this chapter, it was argued that McCarthy is positioned alongside those of her contemporaries, like Elizabeth Wyn Wood, who believed that the formal aspects of an artwork should be stressed at the expense of the subject and meaning. In 1944, McCarthy provided her audience with a personal glimpse of her formalist views of art, perhaps as a justification of her desire to remain in her "ivory tower." Supportive of artists, she said that they should be allowed to express themselves freely. However, she qualified this by stating that there were "limits." Coming from a generation which "is not ashamed to be happy," she argued that "sordidness is not the aim of life." Artists, in her view, should

not "despise" the public's "basic cravings" to enjoy beauty in art as a temporary way of forgetting social and political problems. Her article concluded with some highly personal remarks:

too many sociological pictures...drive me scampering to look at my Chinese water color of a duck...[it] satisfies, not because it is...a pretty duck. The whole duck business is irrelevant. The shapes and the lines, abetted by the color do interesting and goodly things to my brain. That is the link between most modern modernism and anything that has been good, from early geometric Greek sculpture to 18th century lace.

McCarthy believed that universality was the common denominator uniting every form of creative expression irrespective of historical period, culture or the intended function of the artist. Her description of "basic cravings" is important in its implication that the desire and capacity to enjoy art's aesthetic qualities are completely natural instincts, aspects of human nature which cannot be suppressed or denied. Commenting on this instinctive quality in another review, she asserted that "no matter how erudite the aesthetic qualities" of an art work, it can be appreciated by those lacking in academic artistic knowledge and background. 100 In her view, "there is nothing occult about the fascination which forms have on the senses. If you are sensitive, you feel the pull of it even in a handsome boulder of rock," 101 As human beings, we all possess the capacity to appreciate the formal qualities in a work of art. But while individuals have the capacity to enjoy "art for art's sake," McCarthy stressed that it also "necessitates learning to read the language of form, and that is done by looking with an open, hopeful mind and a brain stepping lively." 102 Emphasizing the mind and the brain, she made aesthetic enjoyment an intellectual pursuit. However, aesthetic competence was not only attributed to a natural or universal ability, since it involved prolonged exposure to "high" art achieved through education and/or leisure time. Her attitude should thus be positioned within the discourse of professionalism, or what Burton Bledstein has termed the "symbols of professional

authority." He maintains that professionalism emphasizes:

...the complexity of a subject, its forbidding nature to the layman, the uninitiated, and even the inexperienced practitioner.....The more elaborate the rituals of a profession, the more esoteric its theoretical knowledge, the more imposing its symbols of authority, the more respectable its demeanor, the more vivid its service to society - the more prestige and status the public was willing to bestow upon its representatives. 103

By reinforcing the intellectual capacity required to fully enjoy aesthetic qualities of art, McCarthy revealed her own academic training and background. In so doing, she reaffirmed her position as expert, as one who had "earned" the necessary credentials in writing about art. McCarthy was not alone in her views towards formalism and aesthetics as they reflected those of art historians and art critics during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Formalist analysis was popularized in the early twentieth century by the German art historian Heinrich Wöfflin (1864-1945), who is attributed as being one of the first individuals to analyse paintings and sculpture from a purely formal perspective. He is most remembered for his "principles" of art, or "objective" criteria, which were supposed to enable the viewer to apprehend form over content. Similarly, Alois Riegl (1858-1905), an Austrian art historian, developed the concept of "style." In his view, style was divorced from all other factors that condition a work art which would lead the abstract notion of an "art pur."

Around this time the British critics Clive Bell (1881-1964) and Roger Fry (1866-1934) began developing a quasi-scientific method based upon the visual analysis of an artwork's formal qualities as a response to the avant garde's move towards abstraction, most notably post-impressionism. The Bell/Fry school of formalism permitted the cross-cultural applications to art produced outside of Western culture - in particular Japanese prints and African sculpture. Arguably, Bell's notion of "significant form" 108

impacted upon McCarthy's application of "the language of form" which she later used to describe the successful unification of formal elements in abstract and representational art. ¹⁰⁹ Moreover, while conducting her research in Paris she was able to visit the studios of Braque and Picasso, giving her a first-hand introduction to cubism and abstraction, and their theoretical concerns. Reviewing a retrospective of Picasso's work towards the end of her life, McCarthy reflected back on her "initiation" to European modernism: "In the 1920s non-objective art was coming strong; we knew Kandinsky if we were up on things...We felt we had to learn to disembody art to immaterial esthetics if we were to grow..." No doubt much of McCarthy's knowledge of aestheticism was gained during her studies in Europe, acquainting her with the theories of Bell and Fry, and perhaps even with those of Wöfflin and Riegl. However, her columns suggest that her formalist concerns began prior to this period while she was still living in Toronto.

Having expressed an early interest in the Group of Seven, Canada's avant-garde, McCarthy was drawn to the newest and most "daring" developments in contemporary Canadian art. Like most people, she conceded that the Group of Seven made an important contribution in expanding Canadian subject matter. But, of even greater significance for her were the formal elements in their paintings. Recalling her reaction to the Group's first exhibition in 1920, she said: "the excitement of those Northern lands we had known had been the shapes, rhythms of line, contours of things. We were prime ready to be talked to by art about Form, and Group of Seven pictures talked."

In addition to the knowledge she gained from contemporary Canadian art, McCarthy's academic training at St. Hilda's College in Toronto provided her with a background in philosophical discourses. (See Appendix 7) Although art history had not yet become a part of the curriculum at St. Hilda's, McCarthy studied the history of philosophy in 1916 and 1917 during the final two years of her B.A. This course work most likely acquainted her with the aesthetic theories of The Third Earl of Shaftesbury

(1631-1713) who defined the aesthetic attitude as "disinterested attention," and the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), who coined the definition of art as "purposiveness without a purpose." These ideas greatly influenced subsequent writers on aestheticism, including: the English art critic Walter Pater (1839-94) and his student Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)¹¹³; James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) who widely disseminated the notion of "art for art's sake" and, art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) for his contributions to the study of iconography. 115

By the late nineteenth century, a number of Canadian artists, influenced by Whistler's aesthetic theory of "art for art's sake" began to rely on their own sensibilities rather than making art to please public opinion. ¹¹⁶ An early proponent of aestheticism in Canada was James Mavor, a professor in political economy, who emigrated to Toronto in 1892 to teach at the University of Toronto. Although Mavor remains an obscure figure within Canadian art history, he was well known within Toronto's cultural community during the early twentieth century. Influenced by Whistler's philosophies on art, Mavor was an avid collector of contemporary Canadian art, devoting much of his spare time to writing and lecturing on aesthetics in the city. ¹¹⁷ Although there exists no conclusive evidence, it is tempting to speculate that McCarthy attended one of Mavor's lectures on "art for art's sake," as he was teaching at the University of Toronto while McCarthy was doing her B.A. and M.A. there.

McCarthy's husband, Colin Sabiston, shared her enthusiasm for aesthetic theory and formalist art criticism. A member of the American Society of Aesthetics, he was well informed on the latest theories involving aesthetics and philosophy. His favorite topics of discussion were those dealing with "form" and the "Platonic Ideal." Cecily Morrow recalls the lively conversations and theoretical debates that ensued after each meal in the McCarthy/Sabiston household where issues dealing with art, aesthetics, philosophy,

politics and religion were regularly debated. McCarthy once described how she mentally prepared herself before reviewing an exhibition:

At home at night, before a day's fast evaluating, a good setting-up exercise for the head is a bout of family discussion on some academic chestnut such as the Greek concepts of 'To kalon' and 'To beltion'. The only discernible results may be thirst and a call for sandwiches and coffee. But it is limbering.

According to Morrow, everything McCarthy and Sabiston talked about "was analysed from the point of view of its possibility of universality. In other words, the cat wasn't just a pretty creature...it was a dancer, or it was an art form. Everything was [framed] that way." Clearly these family discussions were important to McCarthy, providing her with the opportunity to debate and "test" the latest theories on art and philosophy with her husband. A photograph, taken sometime during the mid-1950s, likely shows McCarthy and Sabiston during one of their after dinner family discussions (Figure 20).

By the time McCarthy had become permanent art critic for the *Globe and Mail*, she had a thorough knowledge of non-objective art. Although modernism had been flourishing in Europe since the beginning of the First World War, it was not until the early 1920s, during McCarthy's studies at Oxford, that the general public in Toronto was first introduced to it. While she was abroad, several Canadian artists had begun exploring new stylistic expressions associated with cubism and abstraction. One of the most early proponents of modernism in Toronto was Kathleen Munn, who first started experimenting with cubism in the early 1920s. Munn's interest in modernism subsequently influenced Bertram Brooker, Who began exploring abstraction later that decade. In 1927, Brooker mounted the first exhibition of non-objective art at the Arts and Letters Club. That same year, Lawren S. Harris persuaded the Art Gallery of Toronto to sponsor the "Exhibition of Modern Art" from the collection of the Société Anonyme, New York. But despite some artists' interest in international modernism, representational work continued to predominate

in Canadian art for a number of years. 125

Consequently, upon her return to Canada, McCarthy was often more sympathetic to modernist art as compared to a number of her contemporaries, and especially the public at large. ¹²⁶ Many of her articles indicate that she experienced a great deal of frustration with those who ridiculed or discredited non-objective painting, for she often defended artists who explored abstract methods of expression. Describing the general hostility towards modern art in the early twentieth century, Suzi Gablik makes the following observation:

To the public at large, modern art has always implied a loss of craft, a fall from grace, a fraud, or a hoax...in the case of art it is more likely, as Roger Fry once pointed out, that people will think, when confronted with a work they do not like and cannot understand, that is was done especially to insult them. It remains one of the more disturbing facts about modernism that a sense of fraudulence has, from the start, hung round its neck like an albatross. ¹²⁷

Moreover, there was the general sense that non-objective artists were making a lot of money in return for little artistic talent. Given these negative feelings towards non-representational art, it is therefore not surprising that McCarthy's writing was often structured around its justification. While she openly admitted that "this column" did not pretend to like all modern art, she appealed to her viewers' sense of nationalism by framing the issues of "taste" and modernism within the political situation of Nazi Germany: "it is pertinent to recall that Hitler, from the very first, proscribed all progressive, radical art as degenerate." As shown by her wartime articles, censorship and the right to freedom of thought were extremely important issues to her. As such, a number of her reviews on non-objective art were quite blunt and direct in their criticisms of those who rejected it.

Reviewing an exhibition of "progressive" paintings from Ontario and Quebec in 1944, McCarthy argued:

There is no use running away to a haven with old art because one does not like all he sees which is contemporary, for it is to be remembered that what we think of today as old art is what was

winnowed out for survival...While following each new fashion may lead to artistic lunacy, bigotry and attack on what one dislikes can have worse results. It can kill off a potentially fine artist and render the bigot stupid. (emphasis added)

McCarthy's writing on non-representational art likely took the form it did because her columns were directed at a mass audience, one that did not necessarily have the knowledge of the rapidly changing artistic styles after World War II. Moreover, given that the visual arts have occupied a marginal position within the daily news in their categorization as "soft" news, McCarthy's remarks could also have been aimed at some of her colleagues from the news department who mocked art. A telling example of the general "ignorance" of McCarthy's co-workers with regards to modern art is seen in a "hard" news item by James Nicol that discussed W.H. Yarwood's prize winning painting, *Bull*, in the 1948 OSA annual exhibition. Nicol's lack of understanding and sympathy for contemporary art is revealed in the condescending and sarcastic tone he takes in his article:

...what is Bull doing with those awful glazier points for ears? Has he just stuck his ugly head through a cellar window and ripped the glazier points out from the putty in the frame?..."Oh dear no," the artist sighed. "Those triangular points are not the ears. They are the horns." Quibble then about the shape of the bull's horns...As for the ear, it is just a square blob since the ear on a bull is incidental...And the pine stump at the opposite end, yonder, that's not the tail. That stump is the hip bone with the hide pulled taut. Every sitting bull wears his hip hide snug, doesn't he? 130 (emphasis added)

In contrast, McCarthy noted that viewers would decry the artistic virtues of Yarwood's *Bull*. In what seems a direct criticism of Nicol's "obtuseness," she wrote: "While it is to be hoped that men may forever debate what is art, no artist should have to suffer from the public's ignorance of his very language, his grammar and syntax of composition." 131

Abstract art, however, not only confused the "uninitiated." Critics writing for "high" art journals were sometimes asked to explain new stylistic trends in art that catered to a readership with a (supposedly) greater knowledge of art. Responding to public interest,

the editors of Canadian Art magazine published two articles in 1944 on art appreciation for the layman. As late as 1956, long after many Canadian artists had rejected conventional methods of representation in favour of abstraction, there were still some art critics who continued to view the latter type as an aberration. For instance, McInnes described abstraction and non-objective art as "artistic heresy." 133

McCarthy's support of abstract and non-objective art suggests several conclusions. It clearly demonstrates her willingness and ability to accept new and different ideas. It is also likely that she was trying to elevate her writing within mainstream culture by dealing with theoretical discourses associated with "high" art journals. In 1948, she published "Canada's Art Ferment," a brief essay in which she complained about artistic theory, or the lack thereof, in Canada. According to her, "cultural appraisal on the level of aesthetic judgment is, as yet, hardly even vestigial. And since, after all, philosophy is inherent in art, philosophically informed standards are essential." This statement can thus be read as a criticism of writers for specialized art journals whose critical approach to art did not reflect modernist art theory. Furthermore, it assured her position within the *Globe and Mail's* art department by establishing her right to write about these topics. And, as we have seen, she created a certain amount of controversy within her columns which would help maintain a steady readership, as well as ensure more space for subsequent articles.

Most importantly, McCarthy's emphasis upon the universal qualities of art enabled her to embrace new forms of artistic expression, namely abstract and non-representational art, but to continue to support those artists working within the artistic mainstream. That there existed abstraction and representational art was irrelevant to McCarthy. Instead, she advocated a "whole art for a whole man," for:

all this dividing up of the subjective and the objective, the real and the imaginative, the body and the spirit, may win admiration but leave the observer unsatisfied though stimulated. We feel less satisfaction from it than we did years ago, but then we happen to be very conscious of being part of this cosmos and part of the

earth and its creatures, very conscious of the fact that if we snubbed the earth and tried to exist apart from it, we'd not be here at all to be conscious of art of any kind. 135

While this may appear contradictory when positioned within her formalist aesthetic, her belief that artistic expression should reflect the "here and now" was bound to her ideas on universality. As she explained: "it always sounds simple, but the balance of objective and subjective in art is the vital question when a picture is to transcend its time and circumstance." In other words, she was able to abstract from the subjective (emotions) and the objective (the physical world), universal qualities that bind us together as human beings. It could also be argued that her acceptance of abstract and representational art met with the "objectivity" promoted within the discourse of journalism.

Non-Western art: First Nations and Inuit art reviews

By comparison, McCarthy's writing on non-Western art was theoretically different from the majority of her writing on Western art. While she occasionally analysed work by non-Western artists from a formalist perspective, more often she took a sociological approach by situating the work within its cultural and economic contexts. In several articles McCarthy used "points of rupture" which enabled her to present a direct challenge to the dominant ideologies that have justified and perpetuated Western societies' abuse of power over "Other" cultures. Although these "ruptures" only occurred within her writing on First Nations people, she raised some serious questions surrounding issues of assimilation and the economic problems experienced by Inuit artists. She reviewed other non-Western exhibitions, such as Mayan and African sculpture, however, the majority of her writing in this area centred on Aboriginal art in Canada. Therefore, the final section will be limited to a discussion of the latter group, examining how she reflected the racial prejudices of her culture, but more importantly, how she rejected them by presenting an alternative, and far more progressive point of view.

McCarthy's interest in other cultures can perhaps be partially attributed to Jesse McCarthy's influence. His interest in world religions, and his encouragement for his daughter to accept different view points and new ways of thinking, quite likely fostered a receptiveness to different cultures on McCarthy's part. Moreover, as a child, McCarthy had the benefit of interacting with local Native groups living near their family cottage. In one review she recalled how "Indians" would arrive at their cottage with a canoeful of wares to sell, sometimes bringing curios for the children, or at other times baskets were bought or exchanged for some other commodity, such as clothing. 140

In spite of her attraction to non-Western art, McCarthy's first reviews on First Nations and Inuit did not appear in "Art and Artists" until 1947 and 1951, respectively. These dates may appear rather late in her career; however, an explanation is offered by briefly examining broader historical and personal factors. Even though a number of White artists and anthropologists had expressed interest in Native artists and their culture before 1945, 141 wartime gasoline rations and, in McCarthy's case, lack of money, made travelling to more remote northern communities or Reservations difficult, if not almost impossible. And despite the fact that the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) had featured exhibitions of aboriginal art before 1947, McCarthy's earlier reviews were strictly limited to public and private art galleries which typically featured work by artists of European descent. By confining her work to "high" art galleries, McCarthy followed the practices of Western scholarship. From the beginnings of modernism and cultural anthropology, anthropologist James Clifford argues that objects produced outside of Western culture have been adopted by either the discourses of art or anthropology. Traditionally, "primitive" art has belonged to museum collections, and been classified as "artifacts," the domain of anthropology. 142

But when the ROM organized an exhibition of contemporary Native art in December 1947, McCarthy devoted an entire column to the show, revealing her great

admiration of the artistic skill, but also her awareness of the art/artifact debate:

Anybody who has knowledge of weaving knows how difficult it would be to use short quills instead of long wool on a loom. The article in question is beautiful but should be very expensive...such work is as valuable as it is expensive of labor; and as some might say, it is only quills, not gold or diamonds. The artist community and the philosophically minded, not being given much to diamonds and gold...will argue that such work is 'worth its weight in gold'. 143

McCarthy's stress upon the value of this weaving is significant, demonstrating her acknowledgment of its artistic worth within a capitalist economy. Following this exhibition, McCarthy was able to visit the Six Nations Reserve on two separate occasions, and the Ohsweken community at least once. 144

In contrast to First Nations art, the vogue for Inuit sculpture occurred later. It was not "officially" introduced into Western society until the late 1940s, at which time James A. Houston, an artist from Toronto, began working with Inuit communities from Baffin Island. McCarthy's first article on Inuit art appeared in August 1951 in response to an exhibition sale, one of the first arranged by Houston through the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in Toronto. Overall, her remarks were positive in her emphasis on the high quality of workmanship. For her, the most gratifying aspect was that the creative act involved in carving a piece of sculpture allowed "the Arctic people to follow their own bent, using their own time-honored techniques and materials." She did raise a few criticisms, but these mainly involve technical problems. For instance, she suggested that they use more durable materials for inlay work, and wondered whether they could the tan the skin so it does not smell later on. While this last observation revealed a Eurocentric "palette," this review nevertheless marked the beginning of her avid support which lasted until the end of her career.

Despite her admiration of the skill and technical ability of the Inuit artists, McCarthy fell victim to Western racial biases which have historically classified non-White societies as

"primitive." While she occasionally applied this term to First Nations art, she was more apt to stress their "civilized" qualities instead. A good example is found in her 1960 exhibition review of North West Coast Indian art and work by Emily Carr. Rejecting the notion of "primitivism," she wrote:

a lover of sculpture will question [whether] the old Indian civilization was primitive; in terms of Carr's work - "it is better not to think of Carr being influenced by primitivism because it was evident that she thought of her Indian friends as having a developed culture.¹⁵⁰

It seems that McCarthy was more comfortable with discussing the "primitive" qualities of Inuit art (produced for Southern markets) because it lacked the artistic tradition of North West Coast people. 151 In a review of Inuit sculpture written around the same time, McCarthy stated: "this art first ranked as primitive art or fine craft only." 152 It would seem that she did not use "primitive" in a consciously derogatory sense, but equated the term with technical progress. Yet, in classifying non-White culture as primitive, and White culture as civilized, McCarthy typified the double standard described by Emma Laroque, professor of Native Studies, as the "civ/sav" paradigm, that positions white "civilization" as a diametric opposite to Indian "savagery," or in this case, Inuit "primitivism." Native life could thus be judged from the position of a "civilized" individual because it was scaled according to the "civ/sav" stratification. As Laroque argues, primitivism was seen as a psycho-societal, static condition, the antithesis of the highest human condition, civilization. 153 While "primitive" has since been exposed as a racist term, in McCarthy's defense, its usage was common during the first half of the twentieth century. 154 Many people, unaware of its racial prejudices, used it to define people living in non-industrialized societies. 155

As one of the last cultural groups in Canada to be colonized and to feel the onslaught of Western "civilization," ¹⁵⁶ Inuit society was caught somewhere between the

past traditions and the present situation of coping with White intervention. Like many others, McCarthy had some difficulty in dealing with an Inuit culture that was quickly adapting to, as well as adopting artistic traditions of Western society. While supportive of the assimilation of White "inventions" to ensure survival, such as plastic, non-drip igloos and portable low-cost shelter. 157 she had more difficulty with technical changes in their art. For example, in 1961 she questioned new prints being made by plastic casts, acknowledging that "although it is easier, it is not a noble medium." ¹⁵⁸ Despite these Eurocentric biases, McCarthy was able to challenge other racial prejudices commonly held by art historians of the time by bestowing the "honour" of individuality, enjoyed by Western artists, onto Inuit artists. This is made clear in her 1956 review of another exhibition sponsored by the Canadian Guild of Handicrafts. Congratulating the organizers for giving the names of individual artists, she stated that the Guild had thereby accorded "them the recognition any artist of similar quality in Southern Canada would expect." 159 While McCarthy's acknowledgment of individual artists' names might not seem particularly significant today, when positioned among the general attitudes of her era, it was advanced. Twenty years after McCarthy's death, Nelson Graburn writing on non-Western art, bemoaned the fact that many people were still treating "folk" and "primitive" art anonymously. 160 Thus, the names of great individual artists have been recorded and treasured, whereas the creators of "primitive" art, craft and the decorative arts have largely been omitted from the historical record.

McCarthy's Arctic trip in August 1961 was largely responsible for affecting a substantive change in attitude. As her writing indicated, the grandeur of the Arctic landscape, the people and their art made a tremendous impact upon her. Her admiration was conveyed by the following quote: "I am still haunted by the strange majesty of the setting, the deepest impression is the difference between the way culture is regarded in the South and the concept held in the Eskimo community." Similarly, she described Cape

Dorset as "the most thrilling land I have ever seen." Prior to her tour, she was sometimes critical towards those Inuit artists who assimilated Western artistic standards and tastes into their work, arguing that they would lose their artistic integrity. But after witnessing first hand the day-to-day struggle for survival, McCarthy could better appreciate their dilemma in depending upon commercial art markets for self preservation. This attitude was clearly articulated in the following quote:

I've impatience for those too ready to charge some less fortunate Eskimo communities with commercialism when they cater a little to ready markets...before I will look down my nose at his [Father Steinmann's] frantic interest in income for his flock, I will spend a winter on that bit of tundra trying to keep my family and myself alive. 164

In the same review, she admitted that while she might deplore the fact that exquisite basket handles have been replaced by cheaper ones, she recognized that she would "not be the one to go hungry next winter if the better basket has not sold." Several days later, in an "Art and Artists" review, McCarthy turned her criticisms to her audience, stressing that while "Eskimos" needed money for survival, it was equally important for patrons to educate themselves in issues of prints and sculpture, for it was unlikely that these artists could survive by serving the demands of "allegedly better educated whites for picturesque realism." The attitude expressed in this statement recalls her arguments supporting White artists who should be allowed to express themselves freely, and should not be dictated to by the whims of the public. When compared to some of her contemporaries, McCarthy's views were quite forward-looking for their time. For instance, Alvin Hilts, President of the Sculptors' Society of Canada, commented only several years earlier: "left to his own genius, the Eskimo is one of the greatest sculptors of our day; influenced or commercialized, his art ceases to have value." While many emphasized the Inuits' "primitivity," others like Edmund Carpenter, whose article appeared in Canadian Art in 1958, emphasized how Inuit sculptors' conception of sculpture is different from that of the

West's. On the surface, Carpenter seemed to be presenting a sympathetic view of Inuit artists. But in his attempt to understand how the "Inuit mind works," he conducted an "experiment with a number of Eskimo of various ages," to determine their ability to ascertain pictorial representations on paper. He concluded that "some, but little, effort was made in vertical rendering, and the overall result is haphazard." Compared to McCarthy, who situated the artists and their work within a socio-economic context, Carpenter perpetuated the sense of "otherness" of the Inuit.

Another change that happened as a result of McCarthy's Arctic tour was her acknowledgment of the use of "primitive." Two years after her trip, she stated: "it's a mistake to take for granted that men and women of any race are necessarily primitive, even though...they care deeply enough to keep their heritage of tradition." Clearly, McCarthy was now challenging the way the West has promoted and rewarded change in its own arts and sciences, yet criticized "evolution" in non-Western societies. As art historian Thomas McEvilley observes, modern art, which has traditionally been built upon the notion of formal evolution, has "provided an exemplary array of evolution-like developments that were taken to guarantee that history was indeed engaged, under Western leadership, in an adventure of progress." Inuit culture, expected to stay "frozen" in its "primitivity," was criticized for any changes. Despite her re-evaluation of long-held aesthetic beliefs, McCarthy still advocated a paternalistic approach to the "Eskimo problem," describing the Cape Dorset community as "comfortably under the Canadian flag of the North."

McCarthy's critical analysis of First Nations art differed from her writing on Inuit prints and sculpture, primarily because they experienced the detrimental effects of colonization much earlier (i.e. mass genocide, the reservation system and residential schools). Acknowledging this factor, she observed: "Our attitudes of the Indians over the last 100 years, especially in the twentieth century, has been that the Indian might stagnate in his primitive antiquity, or if he wants to move forward, be totally assimilated into white

culture." 173 Critical of the abuse of power White society had exercised over the aboriginal population, many of McCarthy's articles on First Nations artists focused on Western practices of history writing, rather than specific discussions of their art.

A good example demonstrating McCarthy's challenge to the practices of history writing, is found in a 1951 review of an archaeological exhibit of Iroquois objects at the ROM. Astutely noting the sub-text of the exhibition, she wrote: "[it] takes a smart whack at the white man for tolerating such incorrect notions of Indian character as are found in the main sources of popular information, including some children's books and movies" which have shown the Indian as "cruel and foolish." Her acknowledgment that White European attitudes were greatly responsible for scalping and other "cruel Iroquois habits" was quite radical for the period. Likewise, in an article written in 1960, her readers were urged to "avoid any Wild West' or sad-Pagan ideas" when visiting an exhibition of West Coast Indian Art. Such insightful criticisms were much ahead of their time, for the issue of representation still remains a critical, and contentious, issue for scholars today. 177

A closer reading of one review from 1960, allows us to examine a specific point of "rupture" used by McCarthy to attack the abuse of power and control within Western culture. She began the article by raising questions concerning the sensitive museological issue of de-accessioning the liturgical silver given to the Mohawk community in Brantford by Queen Anne. The silver, previously on loan at the ROM, was now in the Mohawks' parish. While some professionals felt that the objects should be under the care of the museum since the Mohawks lacked "proper" facilities, McCarthy strongly disagreed:

There should be much less reason for removing it than for taking a teapot out of my house. It would be reason for spending public money to help them as we would for any other group. What is wanted is not a sentimental attitude to the Indian, but the avoidance of a double standard. ¹⁷⁸

From here she launched into an attack of a brochure produced by the Niagara Parks Commission which:

has perpetrated a lamentable semblance of double standard...with the best of good sense, in dealing with monuments of old warfare, the brochure speaks with respect for our one-time enemies, the French and the Americans...But of the Iroquois Indians, there is just the epithet 'fearful'.¹⁷⁹

McCarthy noted that this "sort of casual attitude" is common amongst historians, but she reminded her readers that if it were not for the Iroquois who died for our cause and fed settlers when they were starving, European culture in North America would not exist as it does today. Then in a direct challenge to Western patriarchal society, she asked: "Can it be that we are fair in dealing with people who have the power of votes or bombs?" 180 Obviously McCarthy had overstepped the boundaries of art criticism, for she answered her question by saying "the relevance of this to an art column" is that "we would despise anybody who appraised a culture according to the present power it represented."181 (emphasis added) This article can be read not only in terms of McCarthy's objections to the abuse and atrocities committed by Europeans upon First Nations, but also on both personal and ideological levels. Drawing links between the way history has been conceived and the suffering of Native people, she forcefully argued that history's biases are inextricably linked to issues of power and control. Ironically, little was McCarthy aware, this statement would soon reflect her own situation, as she too would be written out of the historical record. As such, she used her weekly columns to put forward, using Gramsci's concept, "counter-hegemonic" ideas - in other words, presenting a direct challenge to the hegemony of dominant society.

McCarthy's decision to visit the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford in September 1961, was influenced by the International Conference on Iroquoian Studies being held at McMaster University. Raising questions about what kind of impact the conference

would have upon the people from the Six Nations Reserve, she decided to visit them and listen to their hopes. Again she took issue with White society's treatment of Aboriginal people, creating a "point of rupture" in the process. Taking a critical position against "assimilation," McCarthy argued that "it is that very same anti-intellectual attitude that is the bane of our self-conscious culture in white Canada: conform or be considered an ignoramus." Continuing, she conceded that while exhibitions of Indian culture in museums might enlighten the white race, aboriginal people do not see them. She could therefore understand why some Six Nations persons have misgivings about museums for they seldom contribute to "Indian's self-realization." She went onto to argue that a number of Mohawks had attained higher education if they left the reserve, making the critical comment that the Canada Council had never given First Nations any grants or other fellowship money to assist them in carrying out a program in their community. Creating a rupture, she says:

Since this is an art column, we do not deal with the fact that the Iroquois had a League of Peace centuries before we tried it. Nor is there space to stress here that, whether or not we Anglo-Saxons have any right in Ontario, our Upper Canada might not have existed if these Iroquois allies had not fought for us, helped us settle, and so gained the epithet, vicious, from our erstwhile enemies. (emphasis added)

Once again McCarthy was ahead of her times, pre-figuring the findings of Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt. Their research in 1974 on history texts used in Ontario demonstrated that First Nations people emerged as the least favoured of all racial groups - Europeans, Africans, Asians - being portrayed as unskilled, half-dressed, aggressive, and hostile. Most importantly, McCarthy's use of the disclaimer "this is an art column," was a tactic which allowed her to challenge racial prejudices in a seemingly non-political manner.

McCarthy's writing on this subject also demonstrated the amount of control she had

gained by this time in her career. In Victor Ryland's opinion, "she filled a revenue earning page every week and had carte blanche to write on subjects." Joan Holloban supports this claim. By the time she met McCarthy in 1956, McCarthy clearly held a great deal of power in terms of her weekly column and the views she expressed therein. In Holloban's words: ."..God help the person who changed Pearl's story...they'd get an earfull [when McCarthy would find out about it.]" Consequently, McCarthy was provided a powerful vehicle of legitimization and authority by which to articulate her concerns for social change. Her discussions of non-Western art prefigured the new art history of today which has turned the lens back onto itself in its critique of the discourses of art. Her writing on First Nations art also provided powerful critiques of the traditional (patriarchal) paradigms of history. Paradoxically, her arguments against the way that history has traditionally been recorded did not ensure her place within the canon.

Conclusion

An examination of McCarthy's writing reveals that she held strong opinions concerning nationalism, modernism and non-Western art. Her views towards Canada's cultural identity were conservative in nature, reflecting the liberal-humanist ideologies promoted by the *Globe and Mail*, as well as that of the dominant class. Early on in her career, McCarthy's approach to art was informed by the formalist aesthetic which emphasized the universal qualities of art rather than content. Her emphasis on an artwork's form was important as she eagerly supported those artists exploring non-objective styles during the 1930s and 1940s when abstraction for many in Canada was still suspect. In her attitudes towards Inuit and First Nations artists, McCarthy was very progressive, especially in her challenges to negative stereotyping of Native people within the dominant discourse. However, there were also many inconsistencies and contradictions expressed within her columns, in particular her arguments between universality and the social uses of art.

Another contradiction is seen in her own approach to art criticism. Where she would analyse Western art in strictly formal terms, she tended to situate non-Western art within its socio-historical context. McCarthy's contradictory outlook can be partially explained by the fact that after working for thirty seven years, she altered some of her earlier opinions on certain matters as she matured, questioning and transforming a number of previously held attitudes of her youth. Moreover, as a historically-grounded subject, McCarthy also had to mediate her personal values within a complex set of relations within the *Globe and* Mail, as well as within the broader context of society. Many of her ideas, especially those regarding nationalism and modernism, thus reflected the rapidly changing period in which she lived.

- 1 Journalist who wishes to remain anonymous, letter to the author, 3 March 1995.
- National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), H.O. McCurry Papers, MG 30, D186, vol. 3. C.P. Fell's speech at a dinner in Honour of Dr. H.O. McCurry, 19 May 1955. Also representing the Canadian Press was Robert Ayre, art critic and contributor to the *Canadian Art Magazine*.
- Joan Borsa, "Towards a Politics of Location: Rethinking Marginality", Canadian Woman Studies, vol. 11 (Spring 1990), 36.
- Dorothy Smith, The Everyday World As Problematic: A Feminist Sociology (Boston, 1987b), 73.
- Joan Holloban describes the lines of power during McCarthy's time as follows: the Publisher/President; the Managing Editor; the Editor-in-Chief; the Financial, Telegraph, City, Features, Women's and Sports Editors; and finally, the journalists working within the various departments (the level in which McCarthy was located). Personal Interview, 9 January 1995.
- Grace Glueck quoted in Judy Collischan Van Wagner, Women Shaping Art: Profiles of Power (New York, 1984), 127.
- 7 Smith, op. cit., (1987b), 60.
- 8 McCarthy, "New Season To Feature Private Art", G&M, 13 September 1947, 11.
- Ibid., "Paintings Less Seen In Homes, 9 August 1947, 9. Some earlier columns address the need for individuals to assume financial support of the public galleries. For instance, on May 24, 1937, McCarthy wrote: "as custodians of art, tax-payers taking over the burdens once the monopoly of plutocrats and princes, we shall have to think about them [financial support of the arts]." In "Art and Artists", 12. On the week following, she urged that as "voters and tax-payers, we shall all be shareholders in the museum business." In "Art and Artists", 31 May 1937, 9.
- 10 Ibid., "New Season To Feature Private Art", 13 September 1947, 11.
- 11 Ibid., "Art and Artists", 2 January 1937, 10.
- Art curator Charles Hill observes that the Ontario Society of Artists made \$923 in sales at their 1929 Spring Exhibition, but failed to sell any works at their annual show in 1932. In 1940, the society finally sold two pictures in their annual exhibition. Charles Hill, Canadian Painting in the Thirties (Ottawa, 1975), 13.
- Natalie Luckyj, Visions and Victories: 10 Canadian Women Artists 1914-1945 (London, 1983), 15.
- Despite her "business" interests, McCarthy's use of "invest" was not used in an

economic or profit sense. Discussing the issue of purchasing art, she reminded her readers not buy a work of art simply because it is in vogue; it should be bought because of how much an individual likes it. In "Art and Artists", 9 January 1937, 28. Six years later she took a similar approach: "We have never had the instinct which seems to make that very interesting type of human being, the collector...We buy - or covet - only because we like the thing or have a use for it." In "Canadian's Work Bought in U.S.A.", G&M, 27 March 1943, 8.

- The following examples represent some of McCarthy's columns that encouraged the average person to purchase artists' work: "Art and Artists", 19 April 1937, 10; "Art and Artists", 13 February 1937, 10; "Art and Artists" 2 March 1937, 3; "Interest in Arts On Increases Now", 29 April 1944, 18; "Flag Design Requires Art", 15 December 1945, 10; "New Season to Feature Private Art", 13 September 1947, 11; "Women Start Buying Fund For Gallery", 25 October 1947, 8; "However Small the Sculptured Creation, It Must Come From Great Resources", 14 November 1953, 14; "Art and Artists", 4 June 1956; "Art and Artists", 24 August 1957; and, "Timely Exhibition: Garden Sculpture", 20 May 1961, 16; "Exhibit of Abstracts Attracts Business Men", 3 February 1962, 13.
- 16 Ibid., "Art and Artists", 5 April 1937, 10.
- 17 Ibid., "Paintings Less Seen In Homes", 9 August 1947, 9.
- It should be noted that while English speaking art critics strongly encouraged and supported a national cultural identity, most Francophone critics, including Montreal writer and painter, John Lyman, advocated an internationalist perspective by turning to European modernism as a model. For an in depth examination of Lyman's life and work, see Louise Dompierre, John Lyman: 1886-1967 (Kingston, 1986), 65.
- William Colgate, "The Dead Hand In Art", *The Canadian Forum*, vol. XVIII, November 1938, 247. During the early 1930s, Colgate briefly served as editor of the weekly feature *Furniture*, *Antiques & Decorations* in the *Mail and Empire*, coinciding with McCarthy's time at this paper.
- David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity (Cambridge, 1990), 121.
- 21 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 7 February 1938, 24.
- Ibid., "Art and Artists", 11 November 1939, 9.
- 23 Ibid.
- Private collection, Pearl McCarthy's personal papers and correspondence, 1934-1964. McCarthy, "The Critic As Consumer", 5. This brief two page essay was published, however, the date of publication and journal information are now missing. It is likely that it was published in a literary journal because McCarthy's essay is followed by two poems by Jay MacPherson.

- McCarthy used the OSA exhibition in March 1952, as a "good anti-dote [sic] to censorship," by giving the public a chance to see a range of styles. "Art can be bought from \$10 for an original print to tens of thousands for good sculpture. That leaves a democratic place for us all." In "Let Buying Replace Bossing, Then Leave It to the Painters", 22 March 1952, 10.
- Robert Atkins, Art Spoke: A Guide to Modern Ideas, Movements, and Buzzwords, 1848-1944, (New York, 1993), 146.
- 27 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", *G&M*, 14 June 1941, 25.
- McCarthy's liberal-humanist beliefs recall those of Canadian historian O.D. Skelton, who published his doctoral dissertation, Socialism: A Critical Appraisal, in 1911. As historian Carl Berger observes, Skelton's rejection of socialism was grounded in "his belief in the primacy of the self-interest and individual initiative, of private property and open competition, as the sources of economic and social progress." In Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of Canadian-English: 1900-1970 (Toronto, 1976), 48.
- 29 McCarthy, "Old Year Leaves New Aims in Art", G&M, 26 December 1942, 18.
- There exist many articles where McCarthy stressed the need for the public to accept financial responsibility for the National Gallery of Canada. A sample of these include: "Art and Artists", 2 January 1937, 10; "Art and Artists", 24 May 1937, 12; "Art and Artists", 31 May 1937, 9; "National Gallery Takes War Role", 21 November 1942, 8; "Gallery Policies Typical of Times", 3 July 1943, 8; "One-quarter Cent is Gallery Cost", 17 July 1943, 17; "National Gallery Work Increased", 10 August 1946, 8; "Great Work By National Gallery", 17 July 1948, 8; "People Weave the Pattern It's Not Imposed From Above", 2 January 1954, 9; "The National Gallery's High Code: Tactics, Strategy, but Citizens' Rights", 28 May 1955, 12; and "Ireland, U.K. Compromise on Lane Paintings", 28 July 1962, 15.
- Graham McInnes, "New Lines in Art Education", Saturday Night, vol. 54, no. 41, 12 August 1939, 17. These criticisms also reached an international level, as artists from Western democratic countries viewed complete state-control as a form of censorship in artistic expression. In a speech at the International Conference of Artists in 1952, the British sculptor, Henry Moore, opposed the attitude that the artist should have only one patron the state arguing that if artists were not allowed to develop on their own, they would be required to conform to an orthodoxy. In McCarthy, "Moore and Rouault Give Lead At the UNESCO Conference", G&M, 11 October 1952, 10. Like McCarthy, Moore conceded that official commissions were indispensable. His view was no doubt partially motivated by the fact that few individuals could afford large-scale public sculpture.
- Carl Berger, op. cit., 100-101. Two years after his return to power in 1935, William Lyon Mackenzie King established a Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, later known as the Rowell-Sirois Commission, to study Canadian fiscal and constitutional problems. The Commission's recommendations in 1940 "came down heavily in favour of centralization." Ibid., 101.

- "Canada Can 'Dispense' With Mr. King, Globe and Mail Publisher Says", G&M, 9 June 1945, 5. Likewise, A. A. McIntosh, the Editor-in-Chief, aligned himself with McCullagh's "liberal" outlook. An editorial described McIntosh as being "certain of the meaning of the ideal of individual liberty and of the responsibility of the press for its preservation...defending those principles on which true freedom is founded." In "A Great Editor Retires", Editorial section, G&M, 8 April 1948, 6.
- "Why Not Now?", G&M, 25 September 1948, 6. The author of this editorial was in favour of regionalism, arguing that: "Canada is a federation. It is too big physically and too variegated in culture and economic interests to be a unitary state."
- Some of McCarthy's articles that dealt either explicitly or implicitly with the issue of decentralization include: "Nation-Wide Plan By New President", 6 May 1944, 16; "Doon Valley Still Rich In Art Life", 7 August 1948, 8; "Group Show Provocative Of Thought", 25 September 1948, 19; "Sudbury Typifies New Trend", 2 July 1949, 8; "McMaster Gallery Sets a Pace; AGT Catches Life at the Fair", 15 December 1951, 8; "The Three Main Lines of 1952 In Canada's Peculiar Progress", 27 December 1952, 8; "Smaller Cities Set Example Both in Lectures and Shows", 9 May 1953, 14; "Art and Artists", 2 April 1954; "In Germany, as Ontario, Decentralization Goes On", 7 January 1956, 8; "She Found Eyes Again in a New World", 18 August 1956, 22; "The National Sets an Example on Calendars", 8 December 1956, 8; "An Idea for Some Private Galleries", 3 May 1958, 15.
- McCarthy used the term "grassroots" in an article dealing with the newly formed Canada Council. She argued that the Council should not interfere with "grassroots developments", meaning community and individual cultural initiatives. In "The National Sets an Example on Calendars", G&M, 8 December 1956, 8.
- André Bieler, the organizing force behind the conference, stated in his welcoming speech that the gathering's purpose was threefold. It was organized to bring artists to together, providing them with the opportunity of becoming acquainted with one another. It also offered a forum in which the role of art in a democratic society could be critically discussed. Finally, artists were provided with practical demonstrations on artistic techniques. In Michael Bell (ed.) The Kingston Conference Proceedings (Kingston, 1991), 4-5.
- Walter Abell, "Conference of Canadian Artists: An Editorial", *Maritime Art*, vol. II, (October-November 1941), 4.
- McCarthy's preliminary articles on the Kingston Conference that resembled "news" reports include "Canadian Artists Urged To Be True Democrats", 27 June 1941, 8, and, "Sees Canada Judged By Progress in Arts", 28 June 1941, 2.
- The following represent McCarthy's "Art and Artist's" columns that covered the Kingston Artists' Conference: 5 July 1941, 22; 12 July 1941, 22; and, 9 August 1941, 8. In her first article in January 1942, McCarthy mentioned the Conference once again as a "highlight" of 1941, commenting that, for her, "their most inspiring sessions were those in which they discussed and discussed really brilliantly the

- place which art might take in a good society." In "Art and Artists", 3 January 1942, 10.
- 41 Ibid., "Art and Artists", G&M, 12 April 1937, 10.
- 42 Ibid., 12 September 1938, 27.
- 43 Andrew M. Osler, News: the Evolution of Journalism in Canada (Toronto, 1993), 90-91.
- McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 25 October 1937, 30. Examples of other "emotional" "Art and Artists" columns by McCarthy in reaction to totalitarian governments are found on: 16 September 1939, 10; 23 September 1939, 9; 1 June 1940, 22; 8 June 1940, 24; 28 September 1940, 15; 5 October 1940, 18; and, 2 November 1940, 9; 13 December 1941, 11; 18 July 1942, 7; and, 14 October 1944, 18.
- Ibid., "Art and Artists", G&M, 7 May 1938, 20. McCarthy's emotionalism was echoed in the following excerpt from an O'Keefe beer company advertisement rallying support for the war effort: "...No country in the world is happier than ours, or more free.....But now the Huns propose to teach us how to live....Children that run gaily along our streets will be spattered like red paint against house walls...The bodies we hold precious and noble...they will blast like so much meat...It took two thousand years of Christian teaching to achieve the tolerance and kind neighbourliness that characterize our national life. And these things can be seen in the smiling face of a Canadian child a face that would be made hideous under a Nazi fist..." (emphasis added) In G&M, 14 June 1941, 13.
- Excerpts from this speech were published in "Canada Can 'Dispense' With Mr. King, Globe and Mail Publisher Says", G&M, 9 June 1945, 5.
- 47 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 28 November 1936, 22.
- It is not exactly clear what types of restrictions were imposed upon the scope of McCarthy's art reviews, and whether they were self-imposed or limitations enforced by the *Globe and Mail's* management. As it was argued in Chapter One, it was probably a combination of both.
- McCarthy, "German, Japanese Creations Teach Trade Fair Lessons", G&M, 14 June 1952, 10.
- 50 Ibid., "Auna Still Producing Rich Design in Books", 24 March 1962, 15.
- Rowland Young, "Beware Germany in Post-War Period", G&M, 28 November 1942, 6. It should be noted that this article is not a movie review, but was positioned on the editorial page in response to an insulting comment made by a reader in reference to Young's reviews.
- McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 19 September 1938, 8.

- 53 Ibid., 16 September 1939, 10.
- 54 Ibid., 25 May 1940, 15.
- Ibid., 14 September 1940, 11. Szyk's manuscript was on exhibition at the Mellors-Laing Gallery in Toronto.
- 56 Ibid., "Notable Belgian Shows Art Here", G&M, 9 October 1943, 8.
- 57 Ibid., "Art and Artists", G&M, 2 November 1940, 9. Several months prior to this article, Greece had surrendered to the Germans after many months of resistance. No doubt this event incited McCarthy's response.
- Ibid. A large part of this article focused upon Greeks from the lower-income class, "who have been our immigrants, [and] have shown their mettle." Demonstrating the "worthiness" of these new Canadians, McCarthy recounted a story of how a restaurant owner asked some boys for their high school texts after they matriculated. The restaurant owner eventually went on to university "making a name for himself in higher mathematics." McCarthy's support of new European immigrants, and the importance she placed upon education prompted as a means to success in Canada was clearly articulated.
- In the visual arts, the term "Renaissance" is generally used to imply a conscious return to Classical Greek standards of value. It is therefore not surprising that McCarthy upheld the Italian Renaissance as an era in which intellectual freedom was admired. In "Art and Artists", G&M, 20 July 1940, 7. Discussing the "democratic" appeal of the Renaissance eight years later, she wrote: "they [artists] come from a day when art counted as power and when both the princes and the common people took an almost fierce national or local pride in saying "ours" or "mine" when one of their fellow-citizens rose tops in art." In "Masterpieces Reach City Under Guard", 3 January 1948, 9.
- Likewise, the majority of books critiqued by Deacon and other book reviewers during the war generally focused on political issues. Some typical books and their accompanying captions included: "Lyric Lighthearted Laughter", Adolf in Blunderland; "Stalin's Russia", Toward an Understanding of the U.S.S.R.; and "Candid Hitler Interviews", Hitler Speaks. This particular week even included two satirical cartoons depicting Stalin and Hitler as children. In "Saturday Book Review", G&M, 10 February 1940, 11.
- Augustus Bridle, "Music and Art", Toronto, Star, 15 June 1940, 15.
- 62 Ibid., "Music and Art", Toronto, Star, 22 June 1940, 9.
- Walter Abell, "The Culture Front", Editorial comment, *Maritime Art*, vol. III, no. 5 (July-August 1943), 135.
- 64 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 19 July 1937, 24.
- 65 Some examples of McCarthy's anti-propagandistic statements are located in the

following "Art and Artists" reviews: on July 19, 1937 she "sustained" her objection between art and propaganda, describing it as "deliberate skullduggery to spread an idea," 19; and, in a review of Philip Smith's water colours at the Picture Loan Society, she said they were "too subjective, too near propaganda for our taste", concluding that "they are primarily arguments rather than pieces of art." In 29 January 1938, 26; discussing contemporary American art, she stated that "undesirable propaganda art, with its tiresome stress on the class struggle, has been put in its place - a less conspicuous place." In 13 January 1940, 12. Following the war, in a summary of Canadian art, she stated that "propaganda to bring about a different artistic point of view is still propaganda, not art, and does not take the place of art." In "Year 1946 Gave Mixed Blessings", 28 December 1946, 8. And towards the end of her life, in a discussion of art in general, she wrote "art for art's sake, and the man who treats it only as a convenient tool to preach something higher seldom ends up at something higher." In "Rouault Miserere has Genius" 6 February 1960, 15.

- Ibid., "Work by Canadian Reveals Truth About Great German", G&M, 31 March 1951, 10. Ernst Barlach was a German dramatist, sculptor and painter. McCarthy congratulated Naomi Jackson, who curated this show, for not stressing the propagandistic and social elements as "everybody with a social or political creed was beginning to claim that Barlach was their man."
- John Charles Risk, "Nazi Germany Dissected", *The Canadian Forum*, vol. XVIII, no. 204 (January 1938), 356.
- McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 30 January 1939, 11.
- 69 Ibid., 30 May 1938, 12. She concluded this quote with "some of the up-and-coming may tell us we are sissies. But that is not the worst thing that can happen to a person", suggesting her awareness of the current debates taking place within the art world between formalism and socially inspired art.
- 70 Ibid., "Abstract Art In New Exhibit", 31 October 1942, 24.
- 71 Luckyj, op. cit., 16.
- Frank Underhill, "The Season's New Books", Yearbook of the Arts in Canada 1936, Book Review in The Canadian Forum, vol. XVI, no. 191 (December 1936), 28. No doubt Underhill was aware of an article published in The Canadian Forum several months earlier by John Fairfax, who argued that while the content of "proletarian" art is "gloomy and depressing", it is time for artists and writers "to face the facts of our times, even if it destroys our peace of mind a little." In "Art For Man's Sake", The Canadian Forum, vol. XVI, no. 187 (August 1936), 24.
- Flizabeth Wyn Wood, "Art and the Pre-Cambrian Shield", *The Canadian Forum*, vol. XVI, no. 193 (February 1937), 14-15. It is clear that McCarthy respected Wood's views on art and cultural policies, for she made the comment that Wood was a wise choice as the Canadian representative at the International Association of Plastic Arts. In McCarthy, "Sculptor Excels at Congress", *G&M*, 15 October 1960, 15.

- Paraskeva Clarke [sic] as told to Graham Campbell McInnes, "Come Out From Behind the Pre-Cambrian Shield", New Frontier, vol. I, no. 12 (April 1937), 17.
- McCarthy, "Vancouver Shows Artistic Virility", G&M, 29 January 1944, 7. In the previous year, McCarthy made a similar observation, this time in relation to the American artist Ivan de Lorraine Albright: "with virtuosity of technique, [he] paints a woman of lumpy, unhealthy fat before a dressing table of squalid luxury, whereon there is a dollar bill, our objection is certainly not to the implications of her behavior, but to the reveling in physical and spiritual sickness." In "Realist Exhibit Is Controversial", 13 November 1943, 20.
- 76 Ibid., "Mexican Painting Coming to City", G&M, 2 October 1943, 8.
- 77 Ibid., "Latin Americans Give New Thrills", 16 October 1943, 11. The critic, G. Campbell McInnes, agreed with McCarthy's formalist position. In a review of contemporary Soviet art, he wrote that it was a folly in "trying to judge...art by any other than aesthetic standards." In G. Campbell McInnes, "Art Under the Soviets", The Canadian Forum, vol. XVI, no. 190 (November 1936), 24.
- McCarthy, "Latin Americans Give New Thrills", G&M, 16 October 1943, 11. McCarthy maintained the same position towards Mexican art almost twenty years later. She described the exhibition, "4,000 Years of Mexican Architecture", organized to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Mexican Revolution, as "admirably free from irrelevant politics." In "Mexican Architecture Never Flat in Flavor", 10 December 1960, 15.
- Harry Mayerovitch, "Mexican Art Today", Canadian Art, vol. I, no. 1 (October-November 1943), 5. Perhaps Mayerovitch's ability to accept the "revolutionary" aspects of the show of contemporary Mexican art occurred because of his personal experiences of painting in Mexico. A brief mention of his painting of a Mexican child in the Royal Canadian Academy exhibition was made by Robert Ayre in "Our Academy Has Turned Sixty", Saturday Night, vol. 55, no. 4 (25 November 1939), 7.
- Mayerovitch, op. cit., 9.
- McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 10 January 1938, 26.
- Ibid., "Kollwitz Collection on View Here", 8 November 1958, 16. McCarthy's earlier "discussion" of Käthe Kollwitz's social content was limited. Because of Kollwitz's sympathy for the poor, McCarthy stated that she had been charged with or congratulated for her propagandistic messages. However, McCarthy argued that this issue was "shockingly irrelevant", and urged her readers to take Kollwitz's "art as art." In "Breathtaking Scope of Kollwitz Ranks Her With Great Masters", 27 July 1957, 20.
- 83 Ibid., "Ronald Searle Drawings Dignify Propaganda", 16 April 1960, 13.

- 84 Ibid., "Senor Silva's Secret Disciplined Idealism", 3 December 1960, 15.
- Joanne Kates, "'Be Taller, Be Thinner...' The Perils of a Feminist Journalist", Canadian Woman Studies, vol. 8, no. 1 (Spring 1987), 67-68.
- 86 Ibid., 67.
- 87 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 25 May 1940, 15.
- 88 Ibid., "For Poetic Watercolors English Have Not Peers", 23 June 1956, 20.
- Pierre Sorlin, Mass Media: Key Ideas (London, 1994), 133. Sorlin goes on to argue that with media organizations where the team spirit is reinforced by the pursuit of important, socially valued aims, people are not merely content with providing good, accurate information, but also with using it to be given promotion. However, this factor probably did not apply to McCarthy. As a woman, there was little chance of upward mobility. Moreover, feeling that her work as art critic was important, she probably would not have wanted a managerial position. See Chapter One.
- George McCullagh, "Salute", G&M, 4 March 1944, 1.
- 91 Kates, op. cit., 68.
- Antonio Gramsci, quoted in Anne Showstack Sassoon, *Gramsci's Politics* (Minneapolis, 1987), 124.
- 93 Showstack Sassoon, op. cit., 134-139.
- Gramsci's definition of intellectuals was "not [as] those strata commonly described by this term, but in general the entire social stratum which exercises an organisational function in the wide sense, whether in the field of production, or in that of culture, or in that of political administration." Quoted in Showstack Sassoon, op. cit., 134.
- 95 Ibid., 136.
- The following G&M columns include examples in which McCarthy emphasized the socio-historical aspects of Western art: "Art and Artists", 12 October 1937, 9; "Daring-Do Found in Canadian Art", 1st in a series, 31 July 1943, 10; "Canadian Talents Not All Recorded", 2nd in a series, 7 August 1943, 17; "Gay Nineties Had Artistic Virtues", 3rd in a series, 14 August 1943, 7; "If Records Baffle Historians Let Them Consult Paintings", 5 September 1953, 10; "Art and Artists", 14 January 1958; and, "Jeronimo Pillars Rise Lone and Austere", 2 July 1960, 15. In particular, one 1954 review of Japanese prints is worthy of note. McCarthy argued that in addition to their artistic value, "these prints have social interest as showing how women of various times have managed to use their talents, though these may vary from scholarship to glamor." By de-emphasizing the aesthetic value at the

- expense of social commentary, McCarthy was able to raise issues of concern to women. In "Jap Prints Show Women in East, West Much Alike", 15 May 1954, 17.
- In art history, the term Modernism generally refers to the second half of the nineteenth in France, usually beginning with Edouard Manet, until the 1970s. Underpinning the emergence of modernism, was the breakdown of traditional sources of financial support from the church, the state and the aristocracy. Unlike the former style of patronage, artists were no longer required to cater to the tastes of their patrons. Hence, they were freed to explore new artistic styles and subject matter. Liberated from its previous moral and social obligations, art could now be produced and enjoyed on its own terms. In Robert Atkins, Art Speak: A Guide to Contemporary Ideas, Movements, and Buzzwords (New York, 1990), 102-104.
- McCarthy, "Notable Exhibition at Eaton Gallery", G&M, 8 April 1944, 16. R.S. Lambert expressed a view similar to McCarthy's in a radio broadcast during wartime: "Art is one of the most important of 'morale-builders'. For beauty in the form of paintings and sculpture helps to restore the mind to health by giving us a sense of poise, proportion and serenity...Art is a wellspring of spiritual health...we are taken out of ourselves, away from all the petty worries and strains of life. We are helped to look beyond present distresses, and to grasp eternal values." Excerpts of his speech were printed in "Art in Wartime", Maritime Art, vol. 3, no. 1 (October-November 1942), 10.
- 99 McCarthy, "Notable Exhibition at Eaton Gallery," 8 April 1944, G&M, 16.
- 100 Ibid., "Madonna in Art Living Tradition, 23 December 1944, 8.
- 101 Ibid., "Art and Artists", 29 November 1937, 8.
- 102 Ibid., "Notable Exhibition at Eaton Gallery," 8 April 1944, 16.
- Burton J. Bledstein, quoted in Michael Bérubé, Marginal Forces/Cultural Centres: Tolson, Pynchon, and the Politics of the Canon (Ithaca, 1992), 21. The original source for this quote can be found in Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America (New York: Norton, 1976).
- Hans Belting, The End of the History of Art? Trans. Christopher S. Wood, (Chicago, 1987), 13-14. The set of "objective" criteria devised by Wöfflin for the comparison of Renaissance and Baroque art, included: the linear vs. the painterly, plane vs. recession, closed vs. open form, multiplicity vs. unity, and clearness vs. unclearness. These "tools" were most fully developed in The Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art, seventh ed., trans. M.D. Hottinger (New York, 1950). This book was first published in German in 1929, and was translated into English in 1932.
- 105 Belting, op. cit., 13.
- 106 The term Post-impressionism was formulated in 1910 by Roger Fry for the first of

two exhibitions of contemporary French painting in London. In 1910 and 1912, Fry organized two London exhibitions of post-impressionist artists, and in 1913 Bell published his influential book of essays, entitled Art, in which he put forth his term "significant form" as a way to distinguish artistic from natural beauty. While these events occurred almost a decade before McCarthy's arrival, no doubt they were still popular topics within art circles. Moreover, Fry's 1909 essay "An Essay in Aesthetics" was re-published in *Vision and Design* in 1920, only one year before McCarthy entered St. Hilda's at Oxford.

- By concentrating upon the universal elements of form, the artist's intentions and social context became irrelevant, providing a "cross-cultural evaluation of art from any place or time." Atkins, op. cit. (1990), 107.
- Significant form, according to Clive Bell, referred to certain combinations of lines and colours which "stir our aesthetic emotions", and was the one quality shared by all visual works of art. Clive Bell, "The Aesthetic Hypothesis", in James M. Thompson (ed.), 20th Century Theories of Art (Ottawa, 1990), 81.
- 109 McCarthy, "Art and Artists", G&M, 22 August 1941, 22.
- 110 Ibid., "Picasso Show an Aid to Understand the Shocks and Thrills", 11 January 1964, 15. Russian-born Wassily Kandinsky has been identified as one of the pioneers of abstract painting between the years 1910 and 1913. The other two painters closely associated with the movement were Frantisek Kupka from Czechoslovakia and Robert Delaunay from France. In Atkins, op. cit. (1990), 35. McCarthy referred to Kandinsky's abstract paintings as "subjective re-creations from visual experience." In "And Then the Landscape Exploded", G&M, 25 April 1959, 15.
- McCarthy, "Northern Holidays Played Art Role", G&M, 28 August 1943, 8.
- McCarthy's desire for beauty and rejection of life's "sordid" aspects sound familiar to central themes in Shaftesbury's writing on how Harmony in the natural world was created by God, whereas Beauty could be manifested in works of art. In Monroe C. Beardsley, Aesthetics from Classical Greece to the Present: A Short History (Tuscaloosa, AL., 1975), 179.
- Oscar Wilde conducted a North American speaking tour in 1882. During his visit to Toronto, Wilde was invited to a show by the Ontario Society of Artists. In "Oscar at the Art Gallery", Evening Telegram, Toronto, 25 May 1882, in Douglas Fetherling, (ed.), Documents in Canadian Art (Peterborough), 1987), 29-30.
- 114 Beardsley, op. cit., 287-88.
- Iconography refers to the branch of art history dealing with the identification, description, classification and interpretation of the subject matter of the visual arts.
- Russell J. Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1977), 226. James Wilson Morrice and Maurice Cullen were two of these artists attracted to aestheticism.

- Beth Greenhorn, "The Aesthetic Theories of James Mavor", unpublished research essay, Carleton University, 1994. One of Mavor's lectures was entitled "The Seeing of Art and the Art of Seeing", where he explored concepts of beauty and pleasure in art. He also conducted an "aesthetic" experiment involving eighteen men and women in order to measure an individual's ability to enjoy "art for art's sake."
- 118 Morrow, op. cit., tape 1.
- McCarthy, "The Critic As Consumer", op. cit., 5. In one of her art reviews, McCarthy referred to one of these family debates around the design of a plastic butter knife. The discussion eventually led to "design" in general, and subsequently became the focus of her column. In "New Materials Need Designers", 8 July 1944, 8.
- Morrow, op. cit., tape 1. Note how Morrow's recollection echoes McCarthy's description of her Chinese water colour of the duck on page 157.
- The first exhibition to include several paintings in the Cubist style took place at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1921, but these were unsympathetically received by the local press. In Sandra Shaul, *The Modern Image: Cubism and the Realist Tradition* (Edmonton, 1982), 8.
- In 1923, one reviewer stated that as far as local exhibitions are concerned, her work represented "the first Canadian attempt...at futuristic painting with a cubist suggestion." This review was in response to the 1923 Royal Canadian Academy exhibition. In *Mail and Empire*, 26 December 1923, quoted in Zemans et al., op. cit., 20.
- Munn shared many similarities with McCarthy, for she too remains an obscure figure within Canadian art history as a result of being "written out" of the historical record. This omission has been further reinforced after reading general histories of Canadian art. For example, ignoring Munn's influence on Brooker, Dennis Reid attributes Brooker's interest in modernism instead to Lawren Harris who introduced him to the writings of Kandinsky. In Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Toronto, 1973), 183.
- The exhibition included work by Piet Mondrian and the de Stijl painters, Russian Constructivists, Fernand Léger, Giorgio de Chirico, and the following American moderns John Covert, Stuart Davis, Katherine Dreier, Louis Lozowick and Joseph Stella.
- It should be stressed that, like any history, artistic events did not occur in an even and smooth transition. Although representational art reflected the mainstream in Canadian art, there were individual artists and several groups devoted to the Modernist ideal. For a examination of artists, who blended the cubist aesthetic with realism, see Sandra Shaul, op. cit. She looks at the work of Lawren Harris, Lionel LeMoine Fitzgerald, Charles Comfort, Marian Scott and John Vanderpant. Later in January 1939, the Contemporary Arts Society was formed in Montreal with a

mandate to "promote living modern art." In Reid, op. cit., 205. Following this, the Montreal based group Les Automatistes held their first exhibition in 1946, featuring only abstract paintings. One year later, the group published its scandalous manifesto, *Refus Global*, which "shook" the art establishment. Frustrated by the lack of attention abstraction was receiving in Toronto, a group of artists formed the Painters Eleven in 1953.

- Montreal artist and writer John Lyman also greatly promoted non-representational after his studies in art in France. See Dompierre, op. cit.
- 127 Suzi Gablik, Has Modernism Failed? (New York, 1984), 13.
- 128 McCarthy, "New Global Idea Is Exciting Art", G&M, 14 October 1944, 18.
- 129 Ibid., "Good Meets Bad In Radical Show", 7 October 1944, 10.
- James Nicol, "Bull really Pays Off For Fair-Headed Artist", G&M, 6 March 1948, 5.
- McCarthy, "Portrait of Bull Wins First Award at OSA's Show; Reveal Art Grammar", G&M, 6 March 1948, 10. It should be noted that both McCarthy's and Nicol's articles appeared on the same day. Nicol's, which is classified as "hard" (serious) news, was positioned on page 5. In contrast, even though McCarthy's review was by more serious, it was placed further back in the paper because it was classified as "entertainment" or "soft" news.
- "The Problem of Distortion", vol. I, no. 4. (April-May 1944): 148-150, 171, and "Are The Modern 'Isms' Art?", vol. I, no. 5. (June-July 1944): 197-98, 223.
- Graham McInnes, "Has the Emperor Clothes?", Canadian Art, vol. XIV, no. 1 (Autumn 1956), 11. While McInnes did not represent the majority of art critics and professionals, he was not isolated in his views towards abstraction. His article triggered the following response from Colin Graham, the Director of the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria: "Is Non-Objective Art Non-Objectionable?", Canadian Art, vol. XIV, no. 3 (Spring 1957):92-97. Graham questioned the fate of non-representational forms of art, asking if it was simply a phase that many artists go through.
- 134 McCarthy, "Canada's Art Ferment", Culture, vol. IX (1948), 396.
- 135 Ibid., "The Guggenheim Exhibition Comes In Surpassing Quality", G&M, 3 April 1954, 12. The ideas expressed in this quotation perhaps echo Jesse McCarthy's interest in Buddhism.
- 136 Ibid., "Began Painting at Fifty-Two, She Left a World Enriched", 20 June 1953, 10. One artist, whose work she felt bridged the gap between idealism and reality, was A.Y. Jackson. For McCarthy, his work in general provided an example of "how feeling for the real earth is combined with aesthetic theory. In "Art and Artists", 29 June 1940, 22.

- 137 McCarthy would not have employed the term "Inuit", as people living in Arctic regions during her era were referred to as Eskimos. "Eskimo" has acquired a pejorative meaning. Therefore, I will refer to this cultural group as Inuit with the exception of direct quotes. Similarly, while McCarthy referred to First Nations people as "Indian", in the last few decades this term has been criticized for its racist underpinnings. As Emma Laroque argues, "Indian" has been used as "whiteman's" myth from which has developed negative stereotypes, such as savage and barbarian. Emma Laroque, Three Conventional Approaches to Native People in Society and in Literature (Regina, 1984), 2.
- An example of a formalist critique of non-Western art is found in an exhibition review of African masks at the Royal Ontario Museum. Acknowledging that the masks served a utilitarian function, McCarthy stated that her concern was aesthetic. In "Buy Sculpture In Memory of Canadian Archaeologist", G&M, 26 June 1952, 5.
- 139 Morrow, op. cit., tape 2.
- McCarthy, "Indian Crafts at Museum Feature Belt of Woven Porcupine Quills", G&M, 6 December 1947, 24.
- In the early 1900s, Emily Carr began visiting remote Native villages along the Pacific coast. As a result, these subjects came to dominate her painting. North-West coast Native culture also attracted other artists including W. Langdon Kihn and Edwin Holgate. Beginning in the 1930s, Kathleen Daly had been painting Native people. And in a letter to André Bieler, Lawren Harris recommended that Sis-uh-ulk, a North-West Coast artist be granted a travelling fellowship to attend the Kingston Artists' Conference. In Michael Bell (ed.), "Introduction", op. cit., xxiii. Likewise, the anthropological community became fascinated by the "disappearing" Native culture of the Pacific North West. Consequently, many Canadians, including Marius Barbeau, devoted a great deal of time and energy in collecting North-West coast art and artifacts, and recording the various languages.
- James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art (Cambridge, 1988), 202.
- McCarthy, "Indian Crafts at Museum Feature Belt of Woven Porcupine Quills", G&M, 6 December 1947, 24. This particular article is significant in that it is accompanied by a large photograph of a basket and a mitten on display at the ROM, a rare occurrence prior to the 1950s. It should also be noted that this was one of the few articles on First Nations' art that focused on the art itself and not the sociopolitical issues as seen in her later writing in this area.
- These visits were described by McCarthy in the following "Art and Artists" reviews: "Remember Iroquois Our Valuable Allies", 20 August 1960, 15; "White Canada's View: Conform or You're Ignoramus", 2 September 1961, 13; and, "Stones Become Gift Ideas", 9 November 1963, 15.
- In an effort to "solve" the Inuits' economic problems, Houston encouraged Inuit carvers to use their "natural" talents by creating sculpture for Southern markets. In

George Swinton, "Inuit Art", The Canadian Encyclopedia, vol. II, 1086.

- 146 McCarthy, "Handicrafts Guild Sponors Varied Collection at CNE", G&M, 25 August 1951, 8.
- 147 Ibid.
- These tensions also exist within her writing on Mexican art. As discussed earlier, she described the paintings in the 1943 exhibition "Mexican Art Today" as she did White art, by focusing strictly upon Form (see pages 151-152). However, in a review of the Canadian artist Leonard Brooks, who worked in Mexico, she referred to the Mexican people as being "simple", and their cultural environment as being "half-civilized." In "Leonard Brooks Works Bring Praise In Mexico, 10 September 1949, 10. Likewise, in 1959 she described paintings from Ethiopia and Australian aboriginal people as being "primitive". In "Primitive Experience Startling", G&M, 17 January 1959, 15. Yet, two years later discussing black African art, she argued that this culture had its own traditions and values, and "jumps from the old attitude that any art not related to Europe or the Far east is childish." In "Sculpture of Africa Most Dramatic Show", G&M, 23 September 1961, 15.
- After visiting a Reservation north of Toronto, McCarthy describes it as "such a nice place...like suddenly dropping into civilization." In "Local Art Should Be Used To Attract Tourists", G&M, 13 August 1955, 10.
- 150 Ibid., "Sense of Quality in Stratford Designs", 30 July 1960, 13.
- This statement should be qualified as it is not intended to suggest that the Inuit did not experience the negative effects of Western "contact." The main difference between these two groups, in terms of art produced for the West, is that Western society created a commercial (tourist) market for North West Coast art much earlier (1870s-1880s) than it did for the Inuit. In the late nineteenth century North West Coast artists were exposed to, and assimilated Western technology, such as metal tools, into their art production. In contrast, many Inuit artists in the mid-1900s were still reliant upon traditional methods of carving, which most people in Western societies viewed as "primitive."
- 152 McCarthy, "Eskimo Carving Developing", G&M, 29 October 1957, 13.
- Emma Laroque, "On the Ethics of Publishing Historical Documents", in Jennifer Brown and Robert Brightman (eds.), *The Orders of the Dreamed* (Winnipeg, 1988), 200.
- It is significant that after McCarthy's trip to the Arctic in 1961 she began questioning the use of "primitive", viewing it as a pejorative term. In contrast, James Houston, the artist who worked closely with Inuit sculptors from West Baffin Island, continued to describe their art as "primitive." James Houston, "In Search of Contemporary Eskimo Art", in Fetherling (ed.), op. cit., 164.
- For example, one writer described the Tsimyan totem poles from the North-West coast as "masterpieces of primitive art." In "Indian Art In Contemporary Painting",

- Canadian Art, vol. I, no. 5 (June-July 1944), 203.
- In contrast to other aboriginal groups, the Inuit and their culture remained relatively "untouched" by White society until after World War II with the launching of the DEW Line (Distant Early Warning system). A joint project by Canada and the United States, this radar system was built along the Arctic coast from Alaska to Baffin Island to prevent a Soviet attack. In Stephen Harris, "Early-Warning Radar", The Canadian Encyclopedia, vol. I, 639.
- McCarthy, "Eskimos Risk Lives In Search of Stones For Sculpture", G&M, Prints", 2nd in a four-part series, 8 August 1961, 3. It is worthy to note that the articles from this series were positioned on page three, the "hard" news area of the Globe and Mail, rather than in the arts ("soft" news) section. Obviously McCarthy's trip to the Arctic was viewed by the editors as being "newsworthy", and thus merited a more prestigious location within the paper.
- 158 Ibid., "His Costume Said Welcome", 12 August 1961, 15.
- "Art and Artists", 4 November 1956. Several years later when McCarthy visited the Arctic, she stated that she finally had the honour of meeting Charlie Leequafik, the first Inuit artist elected to the membership of the Sculptors' Society of Canada. She also pointed out that his work was not craft. In "His Costume Said Welcome", 12 August 1961, 15.
- Nelson Graburn, Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World (Berkeley, 1976), 21.
- McCarthy, "Different Concepts: Eskimo Art Is Reflection of Fight to Live", 3rd in a four part series, G&M, 9 August 1961, 3.
- 162 Ibid., "Arctic Journey: Tundra of the North is Like Landscape Gone Mad", 4th in a four part series, 10 August 1961, 3.
- 163 Ibid., "Sculptors' Group Honors Eskimo", G&M, 5 May 1958, 19.
- 164 Ibid., "Different Concepts: Eskimo Art is Reflection of Fight to Live", 3rd in the series, 9 August 1961, 3. Father Steinmann was a priest living in Povungnituk who appears to have been influential in guiding policy in relation to the community's artistic production.
- 165 Ibid.
- 166 Ibid., "His Costume Said Welcome", 12 August 1961, 15.
- 167 Ibid. "Sculptors' Group Honors Eskimo", 5 May 1958, 19.
- Edmund Carpenter, "Ivory Carvings of the Hudson Bay Eskimo", Canadian Art, vol. XV, no. 3 (August 1958), 215.
- 169 Ibid.

- 170 McCarthy, "Stones Become Gift Ideas", G&M, 9 November 1963, 15.
- 171 Thomas McEvilley, Art and Otherness: Crisis in Cultural Identity (New York, 1992), 86.
- McCarthy, "Cape Dorset Is First to Employ White Advisor", 1st in a four part series, 7 August 1961, 13. The "Eskimo problem" to which McCarthy was referring was directed to economic and political difficulties.
- 173 Ibid., "White Canada's View: Conform or Be Ignoramus", 2 September 1961, 13.
- This exhibition appears to be a prototype of the one organized by Deborah Doxtator, entitled "Fluffs and Feathers", at the Woodland Cultural Centre in 1988. For subsequent critiques of the negative stereotyping of Native people in Western mass media, see: Raymond William Stedman, Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982); Deborah Doxtator, Fluffs and Feathers (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1988); Allan J. Ryan, The cowboy/Indian Show (McMichael Canadian Art Collection, 1991); and, Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1993).
- 175 McCarthy, "White Faces Red: Museum Iroquois Show Bares Many False Ideas", G&M, 1 November 1951, 10.
- 176 Ibid., "Sense of Quality in Stratford Displays", 30 July 1960, 13.
- For critical writing on this subject, see: Robert F. Berkhofer, *The Whiteman's Indian* (New York, 1979); James W. St. G. Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing, 1972-1982", in Ian Getty and Antoine Lussier (eds.) *As Long As the Sun Shines and the Water Flows* (Vancouver, 1983); Emma Laroque, op. cit., (1984); and, Bruce Trigger, *The Indian Image in Canadian History* (Kingston, 1985).
- 178 McCarthy, "Remember Iroquois Our Valuable Allies", G&M, 20 August 1960, 15.
- 179 Ibid. McCarthy urged the Niagara Park Commission to omit these three lines and reprint it because "it is every citizen's fault" and "there is nothing like a touch on the pocket book to teach people to be careful next time."
- Ibid. While it is only speculative, this statement seems to be a direct criticism of the abuse of political and cultural power exerted by the United States globally. This suggestion is supported by a comment made by McCarthy in the previous year. Describing many Americans' attitudes about culture as being "unduly sanctimonious", McCarthy provided an excerpt from a letter in a New York newspaper: "Just as the mantle of leadership has fallen to the U.S. in world affairs, the world is looking toward the U.S. for cultural and artistic leadership." She responded with "Is that so?" She then went on to criticize Imperialism of the past, concluding that "at least the conquerors did not pretend to be helping out the other cultures. It is time for Canada to stop worrying about what kind of figure she cuts culturally on the international scene." In "Art and Artists", 11 July 1959, 15.

- Ibid. McCarthy also listed significant aspects of Iroquois culture that school children and Government officials should note: the Iroquois had a League of Nations that not only combined politics and ritual, but it "worked"; they had developed abstract symbolism centuries before the Europeans; their "healing" cures for ailments produce amazing results; and, Indian metaphysics compare well with other non-Christian cultures.
- 182 Ibid., "White Canada's View: Conform or Be Ignoramus", 2 September 1961, 13. Presumably McCarthy did not attend the International Conference on Iroquoian Studies in October because her columns from that month made no mention of it.
- 183 Ibid. As she correctly predicted, while the "Indian question" will ultimately be a cultural question, she felt that "they may find it as useless as the Irish to complain about land's stolen during conquest." This is an interesting comment, especially in light of her love of England and its customs. However, later in the article she wrote: "it is our loss, not theirs, to forget that white people in Europe were committing worse atrocities in the name of religion."
- 184 Ibid.
- 185 Ibid.
- 186 Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario (Toronto, 1974), 51.
- 187 Ryland, op. cit., 23 April 1995.
- 188 Holloban, op. cit., 22 November 1994.
- There exist numerous texts that challenge the Eurocentric and patriarchal discourses of art history. See for example: Hans Belting, The End of the History of Art? Trans. Christopher S. Wood, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987); Nancy Broude and Mary Garrard (eds.) Feminism and Art History (New York: Harper & Row, 1982); Douglas Crimp, On the Museum's Ruins (Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press, 1993); Hal Foster (ed.) The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983); Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology (London: Pandora, 1989); Griselda Pollock, Vision & Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art, (London: Routledge, 1989); and, Arlene Raven et al. (eds.) Feminist Art Criticism: An Anthology, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988).

Conclusion

A Critic at the Ringside

An exhibition...is a kind of market-place, a fixed centre to which artists and art consumers make their way from the heights (or bogs) of aesthetics, from the even more mysterious purlieus of culturally fashionable society, and occasionally from some neck of the philosopher's woods. It would seem that a reasonable function for the journalistic critic is to give to the interested reader some notion of whether, in the wares to be seen that day, he may find play for his philosophy, his emotions, or his gambling instinct. Such a critic is an experienced consumer reporting - but reporting in a field where not only facts but a critical awareness of their import is required....[the art journalist] should think as a consumer. However much he may know of the breeding grounds and training grounds of the circus, his place is out front in a ring-side seat. He belongs to, and writes for, the public, careful not to block the public's view of the show because if he does, he is a censor, not a critic.1

Pearl McCarthy, "The Critic As Consumer", undated essay

My decision to focus on Pearl McCarthy's story was motivated by the lack of existing literature on Canadian art criticism, as well as by my interest in women's history. As has been demonstrated in this thesis, art criticism in the mass press has been largely untouched in the scholarship of both histories of art and journalism. Categorized as "soft" news, populist art criticism has been perceived as less important than "hard" news genres in journalism. A similar hierarchy has been firmly established within art historical discourse. Here art criticism in the mass press has been positioned in diametric opposition to the "high" art criticism of academic and art periodicals. Women's contributions within the histories of Canadian art and journalism have also been marginalized by neglect. By focusing on the lives of (male) editors and "hard" news writers, traditional historians of journalism have claimed to present an "all-encompassing" and "objective" account of the past. But as feminist historians have rightly argued, these histories present a fragmented narrative that excludes women's voices and experiences. Pearl McCarthy's writings present a case in point. Although it is clear that her weekly columns made a significant impact upon art journalism, the lives of artists, as well as the views of the general public in Canada, there has been no attempt to examine her life or practice until now.

McCarthy's name and her contributions have almost completely disappeared from the histories of Canadian art and journalism. As a result, it has been necessary to utilize alternative methods of research and analysis. Feminist theory and research methods have been the most helpful in my investigation, offering a critical framework in which to examine issues of gender and social relations in patriarchal society. A feminist perspective has provided me with the analytical tools to better understand the various constraints and barriers that McCarthy experienced in her work as art critic at the *Globe and Mail*.

Although other Canadian women art journalists were working in the early twentieth century, such as Irene Hare, Blodwen Davies, and Jehanne Bietry Salinger, McCarthy's weekly "Art and Artists" columns captured my attention for a number of reasons. Not only because they provided a consecutive record of Canadian art writing for twenty-eight years, but also because McCarthy skillfully combined an in-depth knowledge of art history with insightful critical evaluations of artists' work. In addition, the fact that she held the same position for almost thirty years as the Globe and Mail's art critic demonstrates her successful creation of what would become a prime position amidst the complex worlds of the newspaper, artists, art professionals, and the general public. On first reading, many of her views may seem only to express ideas sympathetic to liberal-humanism, the ideological position of the Globe and Mail. However, further examination of McCarthy's writing reveals just how well she challenged many of the stereotypes of womanhood, and the dominant racial prejudices towards First Nations and Inuit cultures through the strategy of "ruptures." Her use of "subversive" techniques not only intrigued me, but also raised a number of issues: how she negotiated/mediated her position as a woman art critic in a male dominated profession, and how she insinuated her personal (subjective) views within the demand for journalistic "objectivity" and impartiality.

Focusing on McCarthy's life story, Chapter Two examined more closely the intersection of the public and the private. My discovery of significant biographical points served to set the context for McCarthy's writings. From an early age, McCarthy was

greatly encouraged by her parents to continue on with her academic training in order to "make something of herself." In addition to her parents' support, the scholastic accomplishments of her three aunts (doctor, pharmacist and teacher) provided McCarthy with positive female role models. Their lives clearly demonstrated that women could be free and autonomous individuals, and that women could enjoy professional careers. McCarthy's decision to enter a journalistic career was never intended to be a life-long profession. Badly in need of work, she was originally drawn to newspaper work as a way of acquiring and improving her skills at writing. While her literary aspirations were aimed at history writing, due to various economic and personal factors, she continued to work in journalism until her death. As her friend Jack Pollock noted, McCarthy established the art page of the Globe and Mail.² In addition to her regular coverage of the visual arts in and around Toronto, she brought a great amount of standing to the paper through her international arts reviews.

As it was described in Chapter Two, McCarthy's husband, Colin Sabiston, shared her enthusiasm for the arts and culture. Within the "public" aspect of their relationship, they developed, what I have described as, their "cultural project." Committed to democratic ideals, and believing that culture and art should be created at the local community level, McCarthy and Sabiston dedicated much of their lives to establishing a "grassroots" cultural movement. Yet, in spite of her populist ideals in making the arts accessible to everyone, regardless of their education or social class, McCarthy also harboured a number of elitist notions. This was evidenced in her membership to the Toronto Women's Heliconian Club, an exclusive organization for professional women involved in the arts and culture. Moreover, her relationship with her husband revealed another contradiction within her life. While she enjoyed an equal partnership with Sabiston publicly, she assumed a passive and submissive role within their private lives, subscribing to the gendered expectations defining femininity and womanhood.

Building upon the contradictory, but complimentary aspects defining McCarthy's

public and private lives, Chapter Three mapped the themes predominating her weekly "Art and Artists" columns. Having grown up in a great deal of privilege, many of McCarthy's opinions concerning nationalism reflected the dominant ideologies of her era. A strong advocate of individualism, freedom and free enterprise, McCarthy was a staunch supporter of the liberal-humanist world view. As art critic just prior to the outbreak of World War II, many of the topics addressed in her writing reflected the international political upheavalsdemocracy, censorship, propaganda, decentralization - and these subjects would continue to be explored for the rest of her career. As I have argued, her condemnations of the propagandistic art enforced by fascist regimes, was linked to her support of modernist art and the formalist aesthetic. Formalist theory, with its stress upon the universal qualities of art, enabled McCarthy to negate the social and/or political messages of some artists. Its emphasis upon Form allowed her to critique representational and abstract art on "equal" terms, and thus submit to the journalistic claim to "objectivity." However, as we have seen, she adhered to formalist critique only when reviewing Western art. Her writing on non-Western art, particularly Inuit and First Nations, presented a socio-historical analysis, which allowed for more critical readings. It could be argued that her different approach was rooted in her recognition that non-Western culture was irreconcilably different from White society. But this explanation does not seem entirely adequate, especially when her views on racial discrimination are positioned within the "points of rupture" she employed as a way of addressing gendered inequalities. Instead, her challenges to the power exerted by White society over non-White people should be seen in terms of her own experiences as a woman in patriarchal culture. As examined in Chapter One, having been subjected to institutional barriers and gendered discrimination in the workplace, McCarthy could identify with the unfair power relations and racism experienced by aboriginal people. Most significantly, this thesis argues that many of her views towards First Nations groups and her inclusion of women's issues pre-figured the feminist and post-colonial theories of today.

Occupying a intermediary position, one of the greatest challenges that McCarthy faced in her work in the mass press was in the presentation of reviews that could be enjoyed by artists and other art professionals, but also by the general public. Her success in serving these diverse groups is evidenced in a letter written to her in 1959 by Robert Porter, one of her readers:

You have won enviable distinction in the rather thorn-ridden field of art criticism...you write with perception and no little understanding, yet in a way that can be understood by those who have never looked inside a copy of <u>Canadian Art</u> or <u>Art News</u>, or who have little opportunity to see exhibits.³

Moreover, other letters from her readers testify that her columns were not only respected by artists, but that they encouraged audience participation. For example, following her review of Franz Johnston's exhibition at Eaton's College Street Galleries in March 1943, Johnston sent McCarthy a reply thanking her for her "splendid 'critique'":

you could not be but pleased to know that thousands, actually thousands during the month's showing told me they came to see the paintings because of your article. The afternoon of the morning of its appearance some three thousand crowded the galleries and attendance has been heavy throughout creating a record for any Canadian painter in the history of the gallery.⁴

Only one month before McCarthy's death, W.J. Withrow, director of the Art Gallery of Toronto, acknowledged the impact of her review of the "Picasso and Man" exhibition. Commenting on exhibition attendance, he states: "As you know, when we closed the doors of the Gallery on Picasso...on Sunday, 106,243 people had seen the exhibition. This figure is, I feel, in very large part due to the support of writers such as yourself." These letters attest to McCarthy's popularity as an art critic, showing that her weekly columns were read by many. Again, they reveal her success in providing reviews that could be enjoyed by artists, art professionals and the general public.

Paradoxically, even though McCarthy played a prominent public role during most of her journalistic career, she simultaneously occupied a peripheral site, being located at the "edge" of the artistic "performance." The recovery of McCarthy's life story has been a

difficult and lengthy process. While her "Art and Artists" reviews provided an extensive record of her public voice, besides her "Obituary", and the occasional reference to her in memoirs by friends and colleagues, very little information existed in terms of her personal life. Even Charles Band, former president of the Board of the Art Gallery of Toronto and long-time friend of McCarthy's, had difficulty in gathering information about her for his speech during the dinner held in her honour at the Art Gallery of Toronto in October 1962.⁶ (And this was while she was still living!) Highly conscious of her prominent role, McCarthy controlled her public image by discarding most of her papers and correspondence, and by writing her own "Obituary." Feeling that the private story of McCarthy would help in understanding and locating her within her work at the Globe and Mail, as well as in the broader social relations, I searched for family members and friends. Their recollections and memories of McCarthy have been helpful in re-constructing many aspects of McCarthy's of personal life, enabling me to better understand her relationship with her husband and family members, as well as their impact upon her professional life. Of even greater significance, because a number of McCarthy's letters have been saved by friends and family, I have been able to include McCarthy's personal "voice" in her biography.

In a brief but telling essay, McCarthy once wrote that however much an art critic "may know of the breeding grounds and training grounds of the circus, his place is out front in a ring-side seat." Her analogy of the circus is interesting as it reveals a great deal about the way in which McCarthy located herself professionally, and also about her attitudes towards art criticism. As an arts reviewer, her work situated her within the public realm, entailing regular visits to art galleries, artists' studios and various artists' organizations. Furthermore, her weekly by-line guaranteed a certain amount of public recognition and acknowledgment. Comparing the events occurring within the art world to a circus is interesting in terms of the thematic content expressed in her weekly columns. Primarily a place of entertainment, the circus is characterized by its noise, confusion and

excitement. The circus' simultaneous "acts" can also be read as the philosophical and stylistic debates involving realism and abstraction occupying a central place in modern art discourse during the first half of the twentieth century.

Even though her work as art critic positioned her within the public sphere,

McCarthy located herself outside the "ring," at the edge of the spotlight. Yet, the ringside
is the best seat in the house, and is usually reserved for the privileged and the elite. The
ringside also suggests a reference to boxing matches, and is the place where judges and
time keepers are positioned to ensure that the participants (in this case the artists and art
professionals) abide by the rules of the game. It is also occupied by those who provide a
commentary and analysis of the "game" to the audience. Moreover, her position on the
periphery raises the issue of being closest to, but excluded from the "performance." As a
consequence, the dualities of spectator/performer and artist/critic that circumscribe the
public and private aspects of McCarthy's role as art critic are made clear. It is tempting to
speculate that in drawing this analogy, McCarthy was anticipating that the "peripheral" role
she played did not guarantee her a place within the histories of art and journalism in
Canada.

This thesis has examined the life of one woman art critic, Pearl McCarthy. Because very little research has been done in the area of newspaper art criticism, I have narrowed my discussion to three aspects of her life: her "absence" from the historical record, the recovery of her biography, and the general themes in her weekly columns. In so doing, I have attempted to lay the groundwork for others interested in this field of study. The priortization of certain aspects of McCarthy's life and work over others, has meant that a number of areas have been excluded. Besides the letters that McCarthy saved in her "Fan" file, it has been difficult to measure the full impact of her writing upon Canadian art criticism and her audience reception. An interesting area of future study could entail a comparative analysis of the positioning of her columns to those of her *Globe and Mail* colleagues, their "standing heads" and by-lines, their photo coverage, and their column's

relation to advertisements. A more in-depth comparison between her writing and those of her contemporaries in French and English Canada is also necessary, as the history of art criticism in Canada is by far incomplete. This thesis has focused on a mapping of the general themes in McCarthy's weekly columns, and has situated her views within the broader social-historical relations. Therefore, another aspect of McCarthy's writing that deserves further investigation is a closer reading of her reviews of individual artists' work. More specifically, a gendered critique of her writing on male and female artists, and how it compares to other art critics of the time is important.

Becoming permanent art critic for the *Globe and Mail* in 1936, McCarthy's career spanned an exciting time in the development of the visual arts in Canada. Knowledgeable of, and influenced by, the theoretical debates taking place in the "high" art world, McCarthy brought a formalist perspective to her art reviews. In so doing, she accomplished two things. Her emphasis on Form (of Western artists) offered a great deal of support and encouragement to those Canadian artists who had begun exploring new methods of representation, namely abstract and non-objective art. Equally significant, she introduced the Canadian general public to the latest artistic theories in an accessible and non-threatening manner via the daily newspaper.

Aware of her legacy in shaping Canadian culture, McCarthy consciously created an image for the public that exuded an air of mystery. "Censoring" aspects of her life, she left the public with an image she had complete control over. Strands of McCarthy's personal and public lives have been filtered through the memories and interpretations of her friends, family and co-workers, and ultimately edited through the biases inherent in my own personal perspective. The recovery of McCarthy's life story and professional practice offers new ways of examining the position of female art critics and populist art criticism in Canada.

- Private collection, Pearl McCarthy's personal papers and correspondence, 1934-1964. Pearl McCarthy, "The Critic As Consumer", 5. This brief essay was published, however, the title of the journal is missing from this collection. It is likely a literary magazine for it is followed by two poems by Jay MacPherson.
- 2 Jack Pollock, Dear M: Letters from a Gentleman of Excess (Toronto, 1989), 173.
- Private collection, op. cit., 1934-1964. Robert Porter to McCarthy, 19 November 1959. This letter belongs to a collection of correspondence dating from 1934 to 1964 written by the general public, artists, and art gallery directors. The fact that she kept them is important, as she regularly discarded her papers. Saved in a file folder labeled "Fan Mail", these letters obviously meant a great deal to McCarthy.
- Private collection, op. cit., 1934-1964. Franz Johnston to McCarthy, 2 April 1943. The review that Johnston is referring to was written on March 13, 1943. Not only did Johnston make the "Art and Artists" headline, but his exhibition received the "lion's share" of McCarthy's attention. In McCarthy, "Franz Johnston Virtuoso in Art", Globe and Mail, 13 March 1943, 19.
- Private collection, op. cit. 1934-1964. W.J. Withrow to McCarthy, 19 February 1964. McCarthy's review of this exhibition was called "Picasso Show an Aid to Understand the Shocks and Thrills", G&M, 11 January 1964, 15.
- Martin Lynch, telephone conversation, 13 February 1995. McCarthy's friendship with Charles Band and his wife, Helen, extended beyond a professional relationship. Letters from McCarthy to the Bands indicate that their friendship was quite personal in nature, especially after the death of McCarthy's husband. In Edward P. Taylor Research Library and Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario, Charles Band Papers. Miscellaneous correspondence. For example, in one letter to the Bands, McCarthy thanks them for the "hospitable evening" at their place, adding that "there's only pleasure and relaxation with people one trusts entirely which means very few houses at all!" (McCarthy's underlining) In ibid., 15 August 1963.
- Private collection, op. cit., 1934-1964. McCarthy, "The Critic As Consumer", 5.
- McCarthy's public role was quite prominent within the community. Recalling her "presence" within the community, curator Jack Pollock remarked that "Pearl walked more on her weekly rounds of galleries than many sportif types today." In Pollock, op. cit., 174. Likewise, in a letter to the Globe and Mail sixteen years after McCarthy's death, George Loranger remembered her for her "public" presence. In George Loranger, "Art critics", letter to the editor, G&M, 18 June 1980, 6.
- 9 In contrast, editorial columns and many "hard" news reports did not carry by-lines.

Appendix 1

Chronology

(Note: out-of-town reviews in other Ontario cities are not included)

March 1, 1895

Lillian Pearl McCarthy was born to Mary (Davis) and Jesse Overn McCarthy, Toronto

Between 1907-1909

Visitor to the Chicago World's Fair

1910s

Student at Parkdale Collegiate, Toronto

1913-1917

B.A., St. Hilda's College, University of Toronto

1917-1919

M.A., University of Toronto

August 1920

Begins a post-secondary degree at St. Hilda's College, Oxford

June 1921

McCarthy family visit Pearl McCarthy in England

July 1921

Returns to Toronto with her family during summer vacation

October 1921

Begins three months of thesis research in Paris

Mid-1920s

Pearl McCarthy's parents lose their money in an unsuccessful land deal; following this, Mary (Davis) and Jesse McCarthy purchase a farm near Hespeler, Ontario for their retirement

Christmas holidays 1926

Guest of the Bishop of Sheffield and Mrs. Burrows in Sheffield, England

March 1927

Receives B.Litt. (Oxon.), St. Hilda's College, Oxford

1927-1929

Journalist for the Montreal Gazette

1929-November 1936

Journalist for the Toronto Mail and Empire, begins doing art and music reviews

January 3, 1931

First signed art review appears in the Mail and Empire

November 1936-March 1964 Art critic for the Toronto Globe and Mail

April 24, 1937 Marries Colin Sabiston

September 18, 1937 Her father, Jesse Overn McCarthy dies

January 1941 Lectures at the Women's Canadian Club, Hamilton

June 1941 Attends the Kingston Artists' Conference, Kingston

Early 1940s to Summer 1945 Pearl McCarthy and Colin Sabiston living in Hespeler, Ontario

November 1943 Lectures at the Kiwanis Ladies Luncheon, Hamilton

March 1945 In New York to review the Kandinsky Memorial Exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum of Non-Objective Painting

August 1948
In Hanover, New Hampshire to review exhibition of Thibetan paintings

May 1950 to March 1964 Member of the St. Hilda's College Council

April 30, 1952 Her mother, Mary (Davis) McCarthy dies

May 1952

In Buffalo, New York to cover the American Expressionism exhibition at the Albright Gallery

May 1954 to March 1964 Member of the Corporation of Trinity College

Mid-1950s to March 1964 Member of the Toronto Heliconian Club

1956

McCarthy's book Leo Smith: A Biographical Sketch is published. It receives an award in the Sixth National Book League Book Design Exhibition, London, England

May 1956

Only Canadian art journalist invited by the Netherlands' government to attend Rembrandt's 350th anniversary; visits Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Arnheim; writes four "Art and Artist" reviews during her stay in Holland

June 1956

Travels to France and England; writes four "Art and Artists" reviews

October 10, 1956

Lectures at the annual Autumn luncheon of the Lyceum Club and Women's Art Association on the topic of government funding and private patronage

November 1956

Lectures at the Art Society, Stratford, Ontario

April 1958

Visits New York City as part of tour organized by the Art Gallery of Toronto's Women's Committee

October 1958

Travels to Buffalo, New York to review Charles and Helen Band's collection on view at the Albright Knox Gallery

October 1958

Delivers opening lecture at the eighth annual Art Exhibit, Barrie, Ontario

November 7, 1958

Delivers the opening address at the Eighth Annual Art Exhibit of Simcoe County Arts and Crafts Association

February 1960

Opens Annual Exhibition of Peel County's Painters, Port Credit, Ontario

May 1960

Sole judge for the exhibition of the Kingston Art Association

July 1960

Travels to Lisbon, Portugal; visits the Jeronimos Church and the Museum of Ancient Art which become focus of "Art and Artists' column

July 1960

Travels to England; writing topics include the National Gallery in London, the Pavilion at Brighton, the Magdalen College Chapel in Oxford, Prior Park in Bath

August 1960

Travels to the Mohawk community on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario; topic of de-accessioning of Native objects at the Royal Ontario Museum is focus of the "Art and Artists" review August 20, 1960

October 1960

Travels to Detroit, Michigan to review the fifteenth century Flemish exhibition at the Detroit Institute of Arts

December 1961

Receives certificate of merit from the Art Gallery of Hamilton

June to July 1961

Travels to England; visits London and Stamford; three "Art and Artists" reviews

August 1961

Travels to Baffin Island, North West Territories; visits the Inuit communities at Cape Dorset and Povungituk; four "Art and Artists" reviews

September 1961

Husband, Colin Sabiston dies

July to August 1962

Travels to Dublin, Ireland; four "Art and Artists" reviews

October 1962

Honorary dinner organized by the Art Gallery of Toronto

June 1963

Travels to Holland; attends the international exhibition of medal artists

June 1963 to July 1963

Travels to England; attends Canada's 5th Biennial Art Exhibition at the Commonwealth Institution

July 1963

Canadian artist, Stephen Andrews, who lives in London England, paints McCarthy's portrait

July 1963

Interviews Sir Kenneth Clarke at his home in London; the focus for an "Art and Artists" article July 20, 1963

August 1963

Visits Cleveland, Ohio to review the Gotha Missal, fourteenth century illuminated manuscript on exhibition at the Cleveland Museum of Art

October 5 1963

Opens the retrospective of André Bieler's work at the new Agnes Etherington Art Gallery, Kingston

March 25, 1964

Dies at age 69 at home in Toronto

March 28, 1964

"Art and Artists" appears for the last time in the Globe and Mail

May 1964

Charles and Helen Band donate a painting by Richard Gorman to the Art Gallery of Toronto in Pearl McCarthy's memory.

July 1964

In memory of Pearl McCarthy, an anonymous donation of Harold Town's drawing Bacchante Threatened by Panther is made to the Art Gallery of Toronto

1964

Harold Town paints In Memory of Pearl McCarthy

January 1965

The Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund is established by friends and artists for a student in Fine Arts at St. Hilda's College or Trinity College, University of Toronto

May 11-13, 1965

The Pollock Gallery in Toronto presents a Spring Gala to raise money for the Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund

From 1966 to 1985 twelve students from Trinity College received the Pearl McCarthy Scholarship

Appendix 2

The positioning of women in the histories of Canadian journalism

A survey of indexes in journalism histories reveals the marginalization of women. Choosing three popular histories of Canadian newspaper industry, I counted the number of pages where men's and women's contributions and ideas are discussed. In comparison to the references to men, the positions of women are narrowly defined, primarily representing journalists and authors/novelists from the past. Contrasted to this, the men indexed range from a diverse group of historical figures and contemporary scholars: publishers, managing editors, journalists, politicians, businessmen, bankers, historians, authors, novelists, religious leaders, and political scientists. While these historians might argue that very few women were involved in the field during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they did not adequately address the issues surrounding the physical and attitudinal barriers experienced by women. Following are the number of times, and their percentages, that men and women are included on specific pages in the index. It is clear from these results that men have been given the "lion's share" of attention.

```
W.H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada (Toronto, 1967):

men - 1,959

women - 58

men - 97%

women - 3%

Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority (Toronto, 1982):

men - 793

women - 28

men - 96.5%

women - 3.5%

Douglas Fetherling, The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper (Toronto, 1990):

men - 404

women - 13

men - 97.5%
```

women - 2.5%

Names regularly cited and their relationship to Pearl McCarthy

Family:

Mary Davis McCarthy - mother
Annie Davis - aunt
Esther Davis - aunt
Claribel Davis - aunt
Jesse Overn McCarthy - father
Vourneen McCarthy Hogg - sister
Davis McCarthy - brother
Cecily Hogg Morrow - niece, Vourneen McCarthy Hogg's daughter
Ruth Snider - cousin, Claribel Davis Snyder's daughter
Colin Sabiston - husband, Globe and Mail editor on world affairs and international politics

Friends:

Dora de Pedery Hunt - sculptor
Victor Ryland - executor of her Will
Joan Holloban - Globe and Mail journalist and medical correspondent, and executor of her Will
Jack Pollock - art gallery owner
Charles S. Band - president of Art Gallery of Toronto
J. Russell Harper - Curator of Canadian art, National Gallery of Canada

Globe and Mail colleagues and management:

Iris Naish - reporter, began at the Mail and Empire
William Colgate - furniture, antiques and decoration editor
Rowland (Roly) Young - movie critic
George McCullagh - president and publisher
William Arthur Deacon - book critic
Martin Lynch - editor
Richard Doyle - began as city editor, later became editor-in-chief
Kay Kritzwiser - journalist, art critic
Kay Rex - journalist

General questions asked during interviews to family, friends and co-

In what capacity did you know Pearl McCarthy, and how long did you know her?

Did she ever discuss her experiences at university in Toronto or in England?

How did she gain so much knowledge about painting, sculpture and architecture? Did she learn about them in school, or was she self-educated?

Did she ever mention anyone who was a great source of inspiration to her? If so, who were they, and how did they influence her?

Did she have a favourite artist or stylistic period?

Did she ever talk about the influences in her decision to become a journalist?

What was it like for a woman to work in a newspaper firm during the first half of the twentieth century?

How were women journalists regarded by male reporters?

What were salaries like for women writers in comparison to men, and for feature writers in comparison to news reporters?

How did Pearl McCarthy feel about women's rights and feminist issues?

Did management require any specific qualifications for art journalists?

Did she ever discuss her work at the newspaper? Did she have any complaints? Did she ever feel restricted by editorial policy, or was she able to express her viewpoints and opinions quite freely?

What were the criteria or conditions for the inclusion of photographs in art reviews?

How was writing about the arts and culture perceived by the editorial staff and by news reporters?

Was there any relation between arts reporting and advertisements?

Did she feel that her column was not taken seriously because of its positioning within the realm of "soft" news?

How do you think Pearl McCarthy and her weekly column were perceived by the arts community?

What impact do you think she made upon art criticism in Toronto, and more generally, within Canada?

General questions asked during interviews to family, friends and coworkers

What types of advice did she offer you in terms of reviewing and critiquing art exhibitions?

How would you describe Pearl McCarthy?

What were her interests outside of her professional life?

Did she ever talk about her "cultural project" in Hespeler?

Was Colin Sabiston supportive of Pearl McCarthy's work?

Can you elaborate upon the Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund? Did she personally know the many artists who contributed works of art to raise money for this fund?

Contributing Artists to the Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund

Pictures:

John Bennett A. Collier E.B. Cox Louis de Niverille Olga? Douglas Yosef? Drenter LeMoine Fitzgerald Gerald Gladstone Tom Hodgson Mercedes Horner Iskoortz - Gershon Iskowitz? William Kurelek Grant Macdonald Gerald McAdam Duncan MacLaren David Milne Kazuo Nakamura Jack Nichols

Sculpture:

Andreas*
Ron Baird

15 Medals to be awarded to the recipients:

Dora de Pedery Hunt

Goodridge Roberts Claire Marie? Shoniker

Harold Town
Tony Urquhart

*this artist was simply listed as Andreas

Source: Trinity College Archives, 990-0053, file 075 (03), Pearl McCarthy Papers. Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund.

Canadian Women's Entry into the Public Sphere prior to, and during, Pearl McCarthy's formative years - late 1800s to early 1900s

1888

Sara Jeannette Duncan, the first woman to be employed by the Globe, embarked on a round-the-world tour with Lily Lewis, who wrote for the Montreal Star and The Week, to do travel articles.

1897

Clara Brett Martin was the first woman admitted to the bar in Ontario.

1898

Kathleen Coleman, from the *Mail and Empire*, was the first female war correspondent from Canada to cover the Spanish American war on her own initiative.

1904

Emily Carr began painting remote Native villages along the North West Coast. In 1927, her work was featured among the National Gallery of Canada's exhibition, "West Coast Indian Art" which McCarthy may have seen upon her return to Canada.

1904

E. Cora Hind, agricultural editor for the Winnipeg *Free Press*, shocked experts and financiers each year after she began doing her own crop inspections which continually proved to be accurate for the annual yield.

1914

Emily Coonan was the first recipient of the annual \$1,000 National Gallery Travel Grant to study in Europe. (However, she had to wait until 1920 after conditions had stabilized in Europe,

1918

Mary Ellen Smith was the first woman elected to the British Columbia Legislature.

1919-1922

Artist Mary Riter Hamilton documented events from the battlefields in the First World War.

1921

Agnes MacPhail was the first woman elected as a member of the Dominion Parliament, being re-elected four times thereafter.

1930

Cairine Mackay Wilson was the first woman to be appointed to the Senate of Canada, the year after Judge Emily Murphy successfully led court case in securing women's eligibility for this appointment.

Courses Pearl McCarthy took during her B.A., St. Hilda's College

1914

Latin

English

Greek

German

French

Religious Knowledge

Biology

Classics

English and History

A. H.*

supplemental - Trigonometry

1915

Geology

French

Economics

Religious Knowledge

English and History

Greek

Latin

A. H.*

1916

History of Philosophy

Religious Knowledge

English and History

Greek

Greek and History

Modern History

Modern English

Latin and History

1917

History of Philosophy

Religious Knowledge

English and History

Modern English

Greek and History

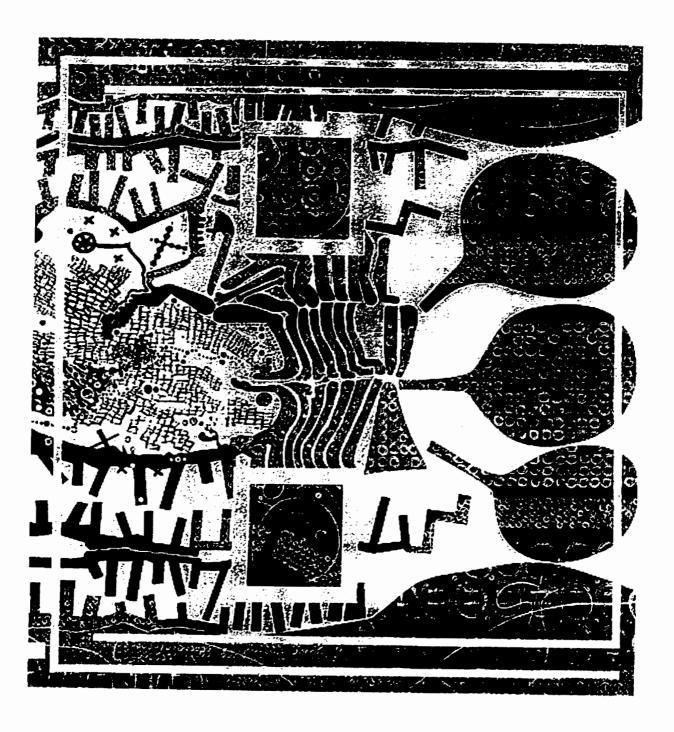
Source: Trinity College Archives, Lillian Pearl McCarthy Papers. Accession Number 990, box 0053, file 075 (03). The Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund.

^{*}A.H. most likely refers to Ancient History.

Figure 1



Figure 2





May 11th, 12th & 13th, 12 noon to 10 p.m.
Admission \$2.00 per person
Cheese and wine will be served
Exhibition and sale of
contemporary Canadian paintings at
The Pollock Gallery, 599 Markham St. 532-5992
Spontaneous entertainment and 'happenings'
All proceeds to the
Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund

Sponsored by St. Hilda's & Trinity Colleges

Facil McCarthy, who died a year are, was are act cut ulous perception, courage and integrity contributed to measurably to the increasing suraroness of art is Canac during the past 40 years. It is control during the past 40 years. It is control during the past 40 years. It is control at the action of televalution of t

SPRING GALA

Enclosed find cheque for___tickets at \$2.00 each or \$__as donation to Fund.

Make all cheques payable to The Pearl McCarthy Scholarship Fund and mail to Post Office Box 232, Postal Station Q, Toronto 7. Please enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

ORDER FORM

Figure 4

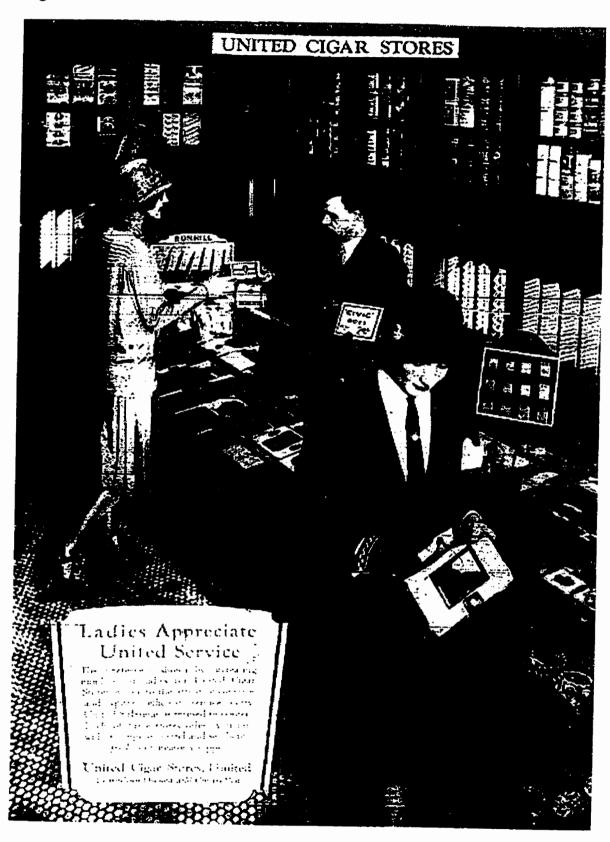


Figure 5

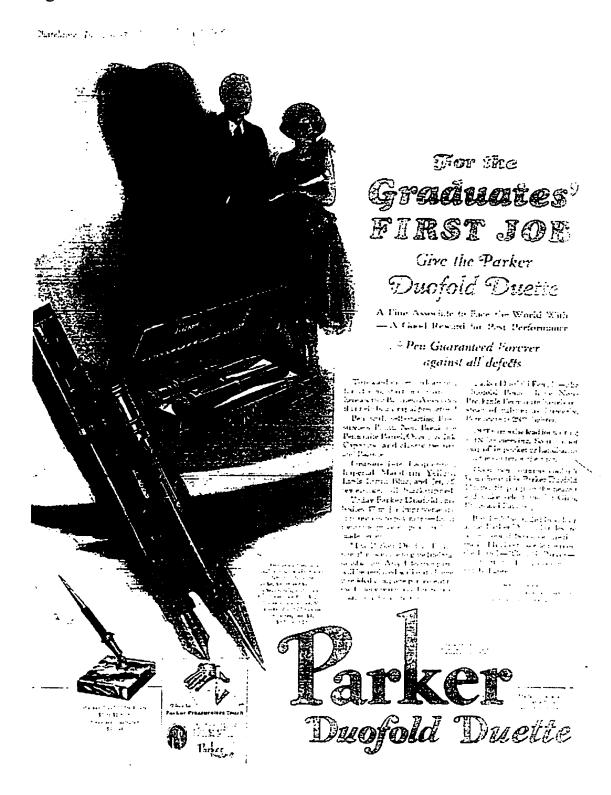


Figure 6

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STATES IN CARREST

KOTEX

Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Miss Pearl McCarthy, B.A., daughter of ex-Alderman J. O. McCarthy, chaduate of Trimity College, Toronto, in 1917, who has just received the deprice of bachelor of letters from Oxford. She attended St. Hilda's College in the English university. Photo by Mr. Lyonde.

TORONTO, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1936. ART AND ARTISTS Section 1 In the later of Tables | Section 1 | Section 2 | Section 3 | Sectio New Books! Settered 1 the the theres Tables

Figure 17



Figure 18



CREETINGS FROM THE COLIN SABISTONS

1955

Figure 19



Figure 20



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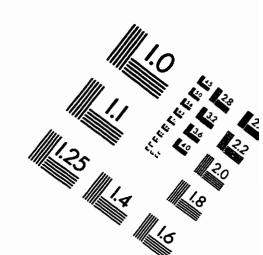
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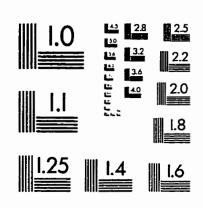
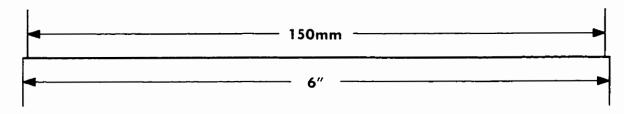
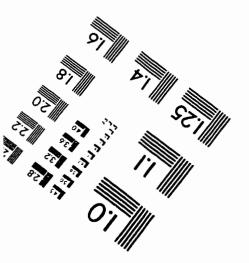


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