

# THE SMALL HOUSE IN PRINT

## PROMOTING THE MODERN HOME TO POST-WAR CANADIANS THROUGH PATTERN BOOKS, JOURNALS, AND MAGAZINES<sup>1</sup>

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The May 1962 cover of the *Canadian Homes and Gardens* (CH&G) magazine presents an enticing image. Entitled "The Poolside Life," the cover story depicts a scene of nonchalant typicality in the West Vancouver family home of Art and Patti Philips and their four children: suburban, leisured, carefree, and completely modern (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> The ease with which the magazine presented this as a matter-of-fact, everyday occurrence signalled a cultural shift. A scant decade and a half before, Canada had been facing an unprecedented housing crisis. Returning veterans were pressing for jobs; there were severe housing shortages across the country; and the infrastructure to accommodate new communities and the anticipated population surge was non-existent. In 1946, veterans staged a peaceful but pointed occupation of the old Hotel Vancouver. Led by a Canadian Legion sergeant-at-arms and climaxing two years of public agitation over the lack of housing, that event drew national attention to the country's housing needs.<sup>3</sup> Vancouver's protesting veterans could hardly have imagined the idyllic future life, as pictured in the glossy pages of the magazine, that lay before them.

Shortly after the article appeared, the CH&G ceased publication,<sup>4</sup> but the impact of its imagery and messages was apparent everywhere. Across the country, modern, single-family homes of contemporary design had become the norm. How did this dramatic change happen so quickly? What precipitated such widespread acceptance of a new style of living? How had the unimaginable become the quotidian?

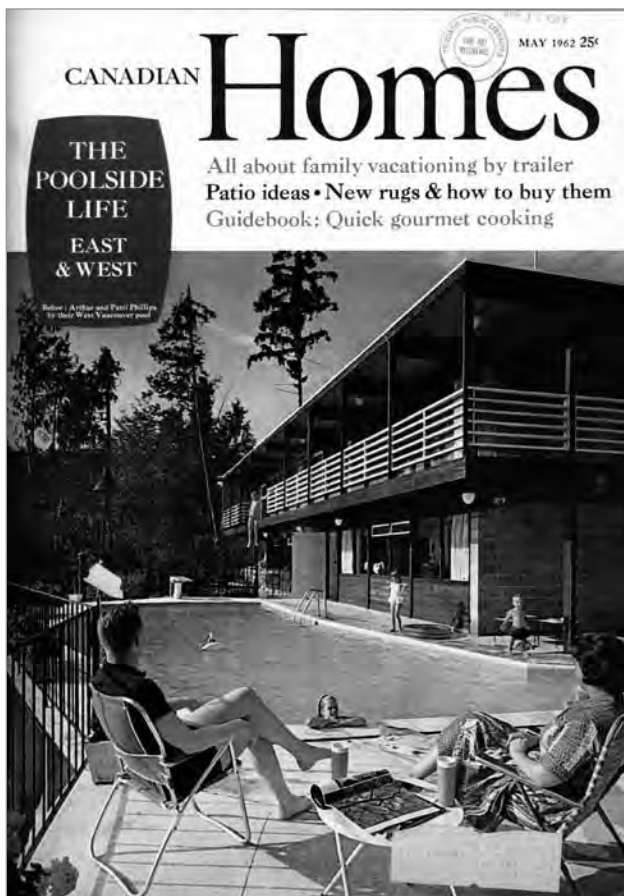


FIG. 1. "THE POOLSIDE LIFE," CH&G, MAY 1962, COVER.

This paper explores the interrelationship between Canadian housing production and architectural print media in English-language Canada in the decade following the end of the Second World War. It explores how print media and concomitant professional and government institutions operated to influence widespread consumer adoption of a modern architectural design vocabulary that became the norm for single-family housing of the late 1940s, 1950s, and beyond. The paper also describes how the professional architectural press of the 1940s promoted modernism, mostly to architects. Simultaneously, it explores how the content of shelter magazines, focusing on the home and homeowner, popularized modern housing in a way that enabled homebuyers to identify with this new architecture and feel comfortable with it.

While the interplay between popular and professional press is not uniquely Canadian, this paper contends that the strong presence of the state, in this case the Central (later Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), in the promotion and design of single-family housing is noteworthy. Through the agency of the CMHC, builders were drawn to build modern houses, and consumers were led to see these as the preferred choice for living. By operating both to guarantee financing for new housing and to produce pattern books of commissioned modern house designs that would readily be amenable to financing, the CMHC created an environment whereby this new housing mode was not only sanctioned, but became widely desirable and prevalent. But the state could not have effected this without the participation of the professions, the press, and the buying public. The convergence of professions, media, and national institution to bring about this new form of housing is an important yet unrecognized moment in Canada's architectural history.

The significant number of houses built during that period, and their continued existence, altered the Canadian housing landscape dramatically and created a new model for the ideal home. Many Canadians grew up in houses built in the period just after the Second World War when returning veterans drove the demand for affordable, first-time homes. These small modern dwellings, emblematic of a time of exponential growth and rising expectations, have a special place in the history of Canadian communities, establishing the standard for suburban living in the years following the war.

The period 1946-1956, the first ten years of the CMHC, heralded the 1957 inception of the Canadian Housing Design Council, established to give a higher profile to housing design and ultimately wresting CMHC's leadership on housing design.<sup>5</sup> In that same decade following the end of the Second World War, the CMHC made available over five hundred plans for small house types (and during that period the definition of the "small" house grew from under one thousand square feet to close to two thousand square feet). Through its regional centres and local offices, the CMHC distributed these plans as well as advice to potential homeowners and builders.

As a result, Canada's post-war suburbs are well stocked with CMHC-derived house designs. While it is difficult to know the exact number of single-family dwellings produced by this means, based on housing starts during that time period and the value of mortgages financed, an estimate of approximately one million two hundred thousand would be reasonable.<sup>6</sup> Many of these houses, albeit changed and modified over time, still serve their inhabitants and form the majority of housing stock in the older, near-in suburbs of all Canadian cities. Their continued value is further

reflected in 2002 initiatives by the CMHC to encourage the renewal of these houses through improvements, as identified in two of their reports which focus on continued rehabilitation (figs. 2-3).<sup>7</sup> In fact, these houses comprise the largest stock of architectural heritage from the post-war, modern period. They are undervalued and their conservation remains ignored and neglected.

The significance of CMHC's designs is twofold: first, the emphasis on quality design, fostered by CMHC's commissioning of young architectural talent to produce plans and prototypes, and, secondly, the proliferation of new technologies and materials introduced into the housing market. Yet, while the CMHC was active in promoting the design of small, efficiently-arranged and architecturally-considered houses, it is not solely responsible for the widespread acceptance among average Canadians. Professional publications, initially the *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (JRAIC)* and latterly the fledgling *Canadian Architect (CA)* magazine, kept the idea of high design for the modern house in the eye of the architect, and the architect's client, whether a single-family homeowner or a builder-developer. Builders and manufacturers were also shaping the housing market in the post-war period, while capitalizing on the demand for housing and home equipment and furnishings. They captured consumers with an attractive and unprecedented array of materials, goods, and equipment that would be at home in these new, modern houses.<sup>8</sup>

It is the popular shelter magazine, and for readers in English-speaking Canada for the purposes of this investigation it is one magazine, the *CH&G*, which played a pivotal role in disseminating information on the new house. This publication,

unique in English Canada during the period, established norms of acceptability for these houses, provided standards for their occupancy and, most critically, promoted their comfort and liveability. Supported by a private sector anxious to meet the demands of a growing housing market, government agency, professional journal, and popular magazine came together to shape design expectations and ultimately the proliferation of a certain form of post-war single-family dwelling.

### THE 'FLOW' OF MASS CULTURE

This essay is framed by explorations of contemporary popular culture and the expression of this culture, especially through the magazine.<sup>9</sup> Maria Tippett argues that, for Canadians, particularly those in English-speaking Canada prior to 1945, the making of culture was achieved through a combination of local initiative and government intervention at the national level.<sup>10</sup> Until the 1960s and the writings of Marshall McLuhan<sup>11</sup> and other critics, popular media have not been recognized as important agents in cultural production. Addressing the question of contemporary culture, Raymond Williams identifies a 'sociology of culture,' which points to the informing spirit of a way of life, "manifest over a whole range of cultural activities."<sup>12</sup> Culture, he believes, in its broadest sense, embodies all forms of practice and production, which converge to create a "signifying system through which social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored."<sup>13</sup> The approach to culture includes not only traditional arts and forms of intellectual production such as those explored by Maria Tippett and others, but also, according to Raymond Williams, "all of the signifying practices from language through the arts and philosophy to journalism, fashion and advertising."<sup>14</sup> He offers

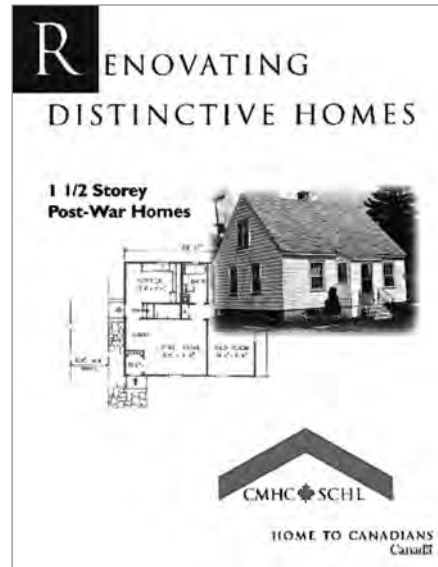


FIG. 2. Many of the houses built as a result of CMHC programs still serve their inhabitants, although with changes and modifications, and form the majority of housing stock in the older, near-in suburbs of all Canadian cities. Their continued value is further reflected in recent initiatives by the CMHC to encourage the renewal of these houses through improvements, as identified in two 2002 reports by the CMHC which focus on their continued rehabilitation and upkeep. CMHC, 2002, *RENOVATING DISTINCTIVE HOMES: 1 1/2 STOREY POST-WAR HOMES*, OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION, COVER.

cautionary advice about the effects of studying individual threads of a subject, instead of the subject in its entirety and recommends that scholars study the flow of material instead of "the discrete single work, [because scholars are] in danger of narrowing [the] notion of text too much [...] and by doing so missing the normal characteristic of mass culture [...] one of 'flow.'"<sup>15</sup> According to Raymond Williams, convergence is essential for an understanding of the 'sociology of culture.'

One important vehicle for cultural expression is the magazine, which as early as the 1890s had become the *de facto* arbiter of the evolving social order and has recently become a source for scholarly study of contemporary culture.<sup>16</sup> Valerie J. Korinek has applied Raymond Williams's notions of flow in the popular press in her investigation of

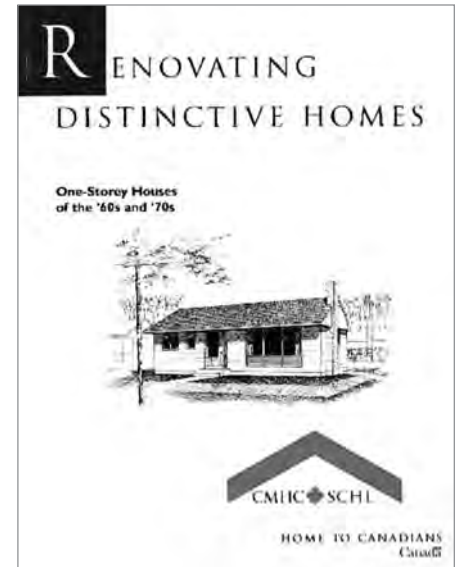


FIG. 3. CMHC, 2002, *RENOVATING DISTINCTIVE HOMES: ONE STOREY HOUSES OF THE '60S AND '70S*, OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION, COVER.

*Chatelaine* magazine and its impact on the lives of Canadian women.<sup>17</sup> Her analysis builds on that author's idea of the flow of mass culture;<sup>18</sup> she examines a twenty-year period of *Chatelaine*, systematically analyzing content to identify themes and prevalent ideas, in order to understand interrelationships and linkages.<sup>19</sup>

Utilizing that approach to explore the post-war house as an element of cultural expression and applying Raymond Williams's ideas of convergence requires a multi-faceted analysis, including an exploration of specific cultural institutions, professional journals, and popular media. As well, the analysis requires an understanding of both the material means of cultural production (architects in practice and the CMHC) and the resultant forms of culture—in this case the

post-war single-family house. By means of a close reading of two periodicals and CMHC house plan books over the period of the greatest flux in the Canadian housing marketplace, that being the decade following the close of the Second World War, we begin to comprehend how the landscape of new housing, built mostly on the edge of Canadian urban areas, can be understood and evaluated.

Before addressing the dialectic of the modern house as an instrument of social change and as an aesthetic ideal, we must first understand the interplay among Canada's pre-eminent agent of housing production: the CMHC, the agents and institutions of architectural design, notably the architectural profession represented through the pages of the *JRAIC*, the agents of popular taste and consumption, as depicted in the popular shelter press, especially the *CH&G* magazine, the most widely read and popular English-language publication of its kind during the period,<sup>20</sup> and the consumer, whose predilections and inclinations had been pent up during years of economic depression and the ensuing war. We must also understand how the shelter magazine and its readers (mostly female) moderated the dialectic of the modern house, making it palatable for mass consumption. In addition, the CMHC's model house plans, initially selected by means of a competitive process, gained widespread acceptance through their regular publication in pattern books. By examining the English-language Canadian professional press and how it viewed and promoted the small, modern, single-family house, particularly through publishing the work of young Canadian architects, we can explore the interpretation and adaptation of the modern single-family home by the public. In particular, the *CH&G* was a primary source of informa-

tion on housing and popular culture for the period of the magazine's life, from 1924 to 1962.<sup>21</sup> Throughout that period of social-aesthetic transformation, the consumer remains a constant, both as target and participant.<sup>22</sup>

While the CMHC was the engine that produced house designs and financed their construction through mortgage support, the architectural profession readily engaged with the CMHC, creating high-level design output. However, it was the magazine and the way it was conceived, read, and interpreted that became the vehicle of normalization and cultural acceptance for the new modern small house, legitimizing it, moderating and tempering its impact, providing information on its liveability, and showing the way for its acceptance by the post-war consumer. It is the flow of these forces and the convergence of disparate components into the form of contemporary, modern houses that created the dominant fabric of the post-war Canadian suburban landscape and material culture, which persist today.<sup>23</sup>

### THE MODERN SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSE: THE "QUIET REVOLUTION" IN RESIDENTIAL DESIGN

In 1934, following an extensive tour of new European housing, Catherine Bauer presented a summary of what she called "modern housing" across the continent. In her opinion, "'modern housing' [...] has certain qualities and embodies certain method and purposes, which distinguish it sharply from the typical residential environment of the past century."<sup>24</sup> A number of case studies detailed the basic principles or "vital standards" of European housing, which she listed. Measured against these standards, she was impressed by what she identified as "not reform, but new form"

signified by a "really positive and creative effort toward modern architecture."<sup>25</sup> She was unequivocal in her advocacy for this new form: "One of the most hopeful facts about both modern housing and modern architecture is that they are not a separate subject."<sup>26</sup>

Catherine Bauer was predominantly preoccupied with multiple housing, which she believed would be the best way of providing housing in contemporary society; however, she did believe that the single-family dwelling would persist as a type. Turn-of-the-century progressivism, she conceded, "can be found in the typical suburban house of a progressive and fairly wealthy American of the period." Such houses reflected the "vague idea that good taste had something to do with simplicity" and that there was "a snobbism in favour of sunlight and against useless objects."<sup>27</sup>

Catherine Bauer's advocacy of modern housing rested on social and technical reform and her energies were focused at the level of policy and government agency. Others took a different tack, primarily through the agency of the press, to engender positive popular feelings about the new forms of architecture. English architect and critic Francis Reginald Stevens Yorke became a champion of modernism and brought its message to a wider audience of architects and patrons in Britain in the 1930s and 1940s. As the author of *The Modern House*, first published in London in 1934, and the founding secretary of the Modern Architecture Research Group (MARS) in Britain, he popularized modernity in the United Kingdom, particularly its appropriateness for the villa, or single-family house. Yorke continued to write about the house, updating it for post-war readers.<sup>28</sup> Francis R.S. Yorke's writings for a number of British architectural



journals in the 1930s and 1940s brought him into close contact with practising architects. He understood that architects who wished to explore new forms of architecture could not use large commissions as the focus for experimentation: "Since the architect can gain real experience of new construction only in actually building work, he is most likely to find in the villa the most easily accessible unit for research."<sup>29</sup>

Born into the British upper class, but not into wealth, and trained in architecture, Francis R.S. Yorke turned to writing as a means of economic survival and "proving his credentials as a modernist."<sup>30</sup> Serving for many as the first introduction to European Modernism, *The Modern House* was drawn from his contributions to the leading magazines and reviews of the day, including *The Architectural Record*, *Architecture Design and Construction*, *Building*, *The Master Builder*, and *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*.<sup>31</sup> *The Modern House* was so easily written and laid out, as Jeremy Melvin stated, that "an impoverished, inexperienced architect could turn to *The Modern House* as a source book, almost a religious text."<sup>32</sup> Throughout the 1930s Yorke continued as the advocate of modernity through his own columns in periodicals such as *Architects' Journal* and *Architectural Review*.

Catherine Bauer and Francis R.S. Yorke represented the two poles within which the debate on modernism was framed: the progressive and populist sentiment, which argued for modern housing as a social necessity, and the aesthetic experiment, which saw it as a design expression of the *zeitgeist* [spirit of the age]. Translated into the North American context, this dialectic was labelled as revolutionary in both spatial and social terms. Typical is the 1951 introduction to *The Mod-*

*ern House Today*, written for American readers by Katherine Morrow Ford and Thomas H. Creighton:

A quiet revolution has taken place in residential design in the last decade (which deserved to be documented rather fully; revolution, not evolution, because the wrench has been violent, if usually polite) [...] The revolt has done this: it has swept away the need for thinking in static terms of tightly enclosed, inward looking rooms; and it has substituted the privilege of using free, open, outward-looking space. This has implied both a technical and an emotional readjustment.<sup>33</sup>

Through the designs of architects practising in the USA, such as Hugh Stubbins, Marcel Breuer, and Philip Johnson, Katherine Morrow Ford and Thomas H. Creighton detailed that revolution with ample evidence, depicting eighty-five residential designs of the period. The houses were comfortable, spacious, open, light-filled, and clearly contemporary in approach and appearance. Nevertheless, even though well underway, the revolution remained to them incomprehensible. "The odd thing about this revolution," they mused, "is that it has not been widely or generally understood, despite increasing attention to its results on the part of the consumer press and [...] the professional journals."<sup>34</sup>

Their views were typical of post-war writings on the architecture of domestic space. They exuberantly promoted a new form of housing that was taking hold in the post-war marketplace in North America in a long-anticipated revolution. Nevertheless, in spite of their acknowledgement of the role mass media was playing in popularizing this new form of design, they did not see how the popular press was interpreting and shaping public acceptance.

## THE MAGAZINE, THE (FEMALE) READER, AND THE ADVANCE OF THE MODERN AGENDA: MODERNITY OR 'MODIFIED' MODERN?

The late nineteenth century witnessed the publication of an unprecedented number of mass-circulation titles in the English-speaking world, which included magazines whose primary concern and focus was domesticity.<sup>35</sup> While the relationship of the popular press to modernity in general goes beyond the scope of this investigation, certain aspects of the topic are relevant here. Several genres of magazines intersected in the domain of interior design, including women's consumer titles, professional art and architecture journals, and trade journals for the building and furniture industries.<sup>36</sup> In the first half of the twentieth century, a specific kind of journal evolved, which mediated between the architectural profession, predominantly male, and a clientele, which was understood to be largely female and credited with "the active role in 'producing' the domestic interior as a complex designed project."<sup>37</sup>

Throughout the twentieth century and on national and international scales, the magazine brought the representation of designed objects into the reader's physical environment. Indeed, the popular magazine became not only the means for readers to engage with contemporary ideas, but also the embodiment of modernity, "a complex object, in many respects the epitome of Baudelairean modernity: ephemeral, fleeting and contingent."<sup>38</sup> Through reading about the modern in architecture and design, the consumer was primed and predisposed to new modes of form and design. During periods when resources were few, magazines suggested that actual consumption may not be necessary: modernity could

be performed simply by reading about that consumption.<sup>39</sup>

Canada was no exception. In 1958, in a brief from the CMHC to the United Nations on the state of housing in Canada, an anonymous writer described the relationship between the female consumer, the magazine, and norms and attitudes toward housing design in Canada:

[A]s hired domestic help is more expensive and less tractable than mechanical aids in household operation, housewives are left alone to manage their domains with machines and their infant children with difficulty [...] Norms of taste and behaviour in Canadian residential areas, certainly in suburban areas, are heavily influenced by Canadian and American advertisers of consumer goods and the leadership given editorially in the weekly and monthly magazines of this Continent.<sup>40</sup>

A number of critics have extensively re-evaluated these norms of taste and behaviour, which are integral to the creation of the domestic realm, and have placed a particular focus on the post-war suburb, the interrelationship of media and magazine reader, and the roles played by each to shape the post-war suburban environment. Men and women played multiple roles in this world; the dynamics between media images and reality as it was lived were complex; and the impact on post-war culture, although profound, was neither straightforward nor predictable. Recent scholarship has focused on the interrelationship between designer, typically the male architect, and his androgynous, hermaphrodite client: the male husband-client (wage earner and *de facto* mortgage-reducer), and the female wife-client (homemaker and *de facto* domestic stabilizer). Feminist research has focused on the latter: the woman as reader, client, and consumer. A summary of this research

follows, to shed light on the complexities and nuances in the creation of the modern, domestic realm.

Modernism anticipated an increased participation of women in the design of the modern home. The MARS group, for example, included the appointment of Elizabeth Denby as a housing consultant, whose role was to effect the improvement of domestic facilities. Her focus, however, remained on spaces identified traditionally as the domain of the female, most notably the kitchen.<sup>41</sup> Rhodri Windsor Liscombe suggests that such spaces were a "'fe-maled' surrogate to male agency and preference," as kitchen designs were instigated predominantly by male architects who mobilized a knowledge base derived primarily from male performance in industry and the military.<sup>42</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag confirms the gendered realm of the suburb, which, she believes, supported the notion that "women's basic satisfactions came through service to others in the domestic sphere."<sup>43</sup>

But did women accept what the designers were bringing upon them, and did they act with one accord? Not necessarily. Joy Parr's study of Canadian homemakers, designers, and manufacturers exposes the struggle between designer and client in the first two decades after the Second World War.<sup>44</sup> The domestic ideal envisioned by the designer did not always reflect the realm of the housewife. Post-war women did not blindly embrace modern tenets of purity of form, functionalism, and machine aesthetic, especially as they impacted the kitchen, living room, and other spaces of the domestic interior. Joy Parr suggests that many women read the small scale and practical plainness of modern, post-war housing as cottage-like rather than contemporary. Women, she contends, subverted the modern ideal, and created their own interpretation of modernity.

Throughout that period, the magazine played an important and consistent role in the life of the homemaker<sup>45</sup> and in the establishment of norms and behaviours.<sup>46</sup> Valerie J. Korinek's close reading of *Chatelaine*, a publication of the Maclean Hunter group that also produced the *CH&G*, reveals that the magazine provided many women an opportunity to challenge prevalent assumptions about the home, their roles in the family, and expected norms of appropriate behaviour.<sup>47</sup> Rhodri Windsor Liscombe's analysis of *Western Homes and Living (WH&L)*, a popular shelter magazine published in Vancouver for a western Canadian audience, explores paternalistic attitudes and the modernist domestic agenda which he contends entrapped women.<sup>48</sup> Valerie J. Korinek does not focus in any detail on the relationship between reader and specifics of the domestic interior. Rather, her discussion centres on the magazine's social realm, its profound influence on readers, and its importance in shaping the feminist agenda of the 1950s and 1960s. Women readers, she reveals, were not mute or passive in their acceptance of views presented by the magazine. *Chatelaine* was widely and continuously read, even when readers disagreed with editorial stances, and its pages provided a forum not only for information but also as a basis for communication among women across Canada. Women were active participants in the shaping and reshaping of the modernist agenda to fit their own particular conditions.

The modernity of the house, anticipated by Francis R.S. Yorke, advocated by Catherine Bauer, and promoted by magazine editors, did not go unchallenged and, more importantly, was often transgressed to suit the circumstances of the homebuyer and homemaker. Joy Parr's presentation of the transgressive reading of modernity takes shape in her discussion of the furniture industry. In the chapter entitled

“Maple as Modern,” she contends that modernism was not an aesthetic project, but one of reconciliation and accommodation, between the forces of the world of the 1950s and the needs to address the diverse pulls of family, financial exigency, and comfort. By example, the restyling of maple furniture in the late 1940s and 1950s was a response to the conditions of the modern home and family. It was “readily recognizable, relatively invulnerable, and inherently companionable.”<sup>49</sup> Rather than being simply about change, modernism was about making change amenable.

That kind of re-adaptation of modernity is given a specific definition by David Smiley in his exploration of the interrelationship between ideas of the home and the cultural apparatus through which the home was represented. He identifies an ambiguous relationship between popular magazines and architectural journals in their representation of modernity.<sup>50</sup> In his survey of New York’s domestic culture in the period immediately following the Second World War, like Joy Parr, he identifies two overlapping views of domestic modernism, one based on aesthetic production and the other socially driven. The former, which he calls “production-based modernism,” looked to technology to solve the housing problem. The latter, or “socially-derived modernism,” believed that modern living could be achieved in a house of either traditional or modern appearance. Socially-derived modernism, David Smiley contends, stressed a life of convenience and flexibility that was freed of the aesthetic rigors of high modernism. He labels that approach “modified modernism” or “a new style from which bits and pieces could be selected and combined with other styles.”<sup>51</sup> Images of new ways of living circulated by both popular and professional magazine resulted in a reformulation of the idea of the modern house as “a sum of attributes and experi-

ences—a flexible space, a view through an expanse of glass, efficient storage.” Spurred by the domestic consumption industry, the resulting “modified modern” created “an elastic conception of modernity that made it the functional equivalent of a process of selection.”<sup>52</sup>

In effect, the housing consumer was allowed to choose aspects of modernity, without necessarily having to ascribe to the entire ideal. These “modernisms” propelled the single-family home to the centre of a post-war cultural debate, rendering moot any single idea of how the house should look. At the same time, the potential for a multiplicity of forms and ideas to coexist within the idea of the modern house provided unprecedented opportunities for architects and housing providers to develop houses in a myriad of forms and functional arrangements to satisfy the growing demands of first-time homebuyers. It is in this milieu that the activities of the CMHC can best be explored and understood.

### THE STATE AND HOUSING PRODUCTION IN CANADA AFTER 1945<sup>53</sup>

With the end of the Second World War, attention focused on the urgent issue of housing. In 1947 the Canadian Welfare Council summarized the situation:

The future health, vigour and stability of the nation will depend greatly upon the housing conditions under which the people live and raise their children [...] The opportunity for every Canadian family to enjoy a decent house and a healthy neighbourhood environment should be a primary objective of national policy.<sup>54</sup>

The government acted quickly to address the anticipated demands of Canadians for new housing. In 1946 the CMHC was

established and charged with a number of responsibilities including the administration of the *National Housing Act 1944*, whose mandate was both monetary and social.<sup>55</sup> The CMHC enabled financing of housing, including loans to prospective homeowners and builders, and guarantees to institutions and local governments to support housing initiatives. A small component focused on housing research and community planning.<sup>56</sup>

The subsequent impact of government-sponsored CMHC activity on the Canadian housing industry has been well documented.<sup>57</sup> Its influence on the architectural profession and design community was to encourage design innovation to facilitate housing production and provide cost-saving opportunities in new housing.<sup>58</sup> While scant attention has yet to be paid to the cultural value of the CMHC’s activities on the design professions and to Canadian design culture in general,<sup>59</sup> the breadth of the CMHC’s agenda, embracing design, pragmatic and socially idealistic (and echoing the dialectic posed by Bauer and Yorke), is suggested by David Mansur, first president of the CMHC, in his introduction to the CMHC’s first national design competition: “Home building signifies many things—a lasting source of happiness, a kindly environment in which to raise children, a closer tie with community life, a new stake in the land.”<sup>60</sup>

Almost immediately after its formation, the CMHC expanded one aspect of its mandate to embrace the promotion of contemporary housing design with an emphasis on the single-family home, a specific activity that continued to the early 1970s. The CMHC’s organizational model, supporting that mandate, consisted of a centralized administration with decentralized regional offices and local branch offices. The latter served local and regional constituencies, providing information for prospective



FIG. 4. CMHC, 1947, 67 HOMES FOR CANADIANS: ATTRACTIVE HOUSE PLANS DESIGNED ESPECIALLY FOR CANADIAN REQUIREMENTS INCLUDING PRIZE WINNERS OF THE CANADIAN SMALL HOUSE COMPETITION, OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION, FEBRUARY, COVER.

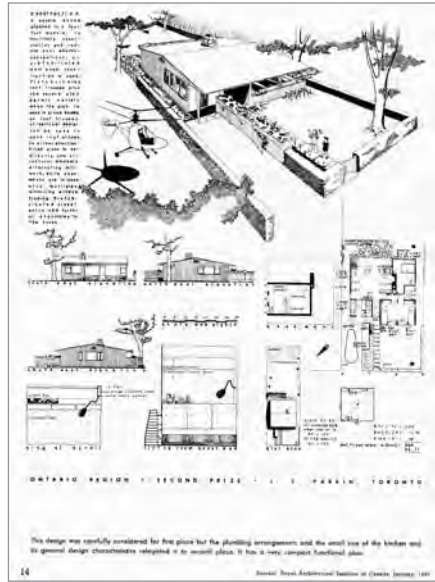


FIG. 5. Canadian Small House Competition, Ontario Region, second prize, J.C. Parkin, Toronto. The comment reads "This design was carefully considered for first place but the plumbing arrangements and the small size of the kitchen and its general design characteristics relegated it to second place. It has a very compact and functional plan." RESULTS OF THE 1946 SMALL HOUSE DESIGN COMPETITION, PUBLISHED IN JRAIC, JANUARY 1947, P. 14.

work with community media and builders to spread the word to consumers, suppliers, and homebuilders.

### The 1946 Canadian Small House Competition

In 1946, in response to the pressing need for post-war single-family housing, the CMHC together with the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC) developed an innovative program: the first "small house competition [...] to obtain housing plans suitable to the varying needs of Canada's major regions."<sup>63</sup> In addition to the central problem stated by the competition brief, the design of an affordable house for a veteran and his family as well as criteria of professionalism and cost, the competition addressed geographic variations, with prizes awarded to entries on a regional basis. The program for this house was not new, following that of the 'Type C' house promoted by Wartime Housing Limited (WHL), established to meet wartime housing needs.<sup>64</sup>

The importance both the CMHC and the RAIC placed on that competition is reflected in the composition of the competition jury, which included individuals prominent in Canadian architectural circles. Professional advisor Harold Lawson (Montreal) guided a jury consisting of Humphrey Carver (Toronto), Ernest Cormier (Montreal), L.R. Fairn (Nova Scotia), William Gardiner (Vancouver), L.J. Green (Winnipeg), Monica McQueen (Winnipeg), and Bruce Riddell (Hamilton), as well as Ernest Ingles (London, Ontario), representing the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The judges expressed the desire to promote "novel and interesting designs for future house construction."<sup>65</sup> An astonishing three hundred and thirty-one entries were received and thirty-seven prizes awarded. The winning entries supported

homebuyers, builders, and lending institutions. The central administration, located in Ottawa, had among its many responsibilities the Housing Research and Community Planning Group (HR&CPG), which was charged with technical investigations, planning research grants, educational grants, and housing design.

Two architects figured prominently in that group at its inception: Frank Nicolls (until 1946) and Sam Gitterman, who became chief architect of the CMHC in 1946 and continued on as senior advisor until 1965. Sam Gitterman had graduated from the McGill School of Architecture in 1935 and had worked in the offices of Max Kalman in Montreal before joining the Dominion Housing Administration in the late 1930s. Frank Nicolls was an American-trained architect who had previously worked for the US Federal Housing Administration. Both came to their job primed with

ambitions to meet the new agendas of housing. According to Gitterman, Nicolls "was enthusiastic about house design, and some of the designs [they] worked on in those days were the genesis of the CMHC house-design program."<sup>61</sup>

The CMHC's organizational structure paralleled the development and promotion of contemporary housing design at both national and local levels. In Ottawa, at the centralized national office, the idea of promoting high standards of housing design took shape. In 1948 approximately seventy-seven thousand dollars were devoted to "architectural investigations." By 1965 the CMHC was spending approximately one and a half million dollars for similar work, this time under the rubric of "housing research and community planning."<sup>62</sup> While the central administration addressed housing at a conceptual level, it was left to the local agencies to



novelty and the jury report commented: "it is apparent that we are moving away from what is generally considered to be a house of orthodox appearance."<sup>66</sup> In their choice of winning schemes, the jury made it clear that the design of the small house in the post-war years was clearly the responsibility of the architect. The jury believed that, given this competition, "it would be possible to draw in the practising architectural firms in greater numbers."<sup>67</sup> With regard to affordability and build-ability, the jury reassured the CMHC that "few of the best designs would require careful supervision and skilful craftsmanship for execution."<sup>68</sup>

The CMHC published the results of the competition in early 1947, along with the jury report and thirty other house plans, in *67 Homes for Canadians* (fig. 4). The media was quick to report on the competition. The January 1947 *JRAIC* published the results, including the jury report and images of all houses, nineteen pages of house descriptions, and drawings and *verbatim* texts of competition entries (fig. 5). In February 1947, the *CH&G* similarly featured the housing competition. "Canada's Prize-winning Houses" was the lead on a six-page spread that featured one house from each region (fig. 6).

While the housing competition clearly generated considerable response from the design community and design press, the level of media reportage was, at best, cut-and-paste. Nonetheless, the report signalled the emerging synergy between the official agency for housing in Canada and housing's unofficial promoters, the professional journals and glossy magazines, that would continue well into the next decade. The national housing body and popular press came to rely upon each other, working together to make the idea of the affordable, straightforward modern house a practical reality for Canadians.



FIG. 6. Pictured here is the first prize for the Maritimes region by architects G. Burniston and J. Storey, Toronto. The editors wrote: "Whether you plan to build soon or not, you as a homeowner will be interested in the results of Canada's first postwar architectural competition [...] The plans make interesting study as they represent [...] current thinking on better small house design." The article also featured a number of prize-winning designs and reproduced verbatim from the competition results. "CANADA'S PRIZE-WINNING HOUSES," *CH&G*, FEBRUARY 1947.

### CMHC Pattern Books and Guides to Housing Design

With the success of the first housing design competition, the CMHC turned to the production of pattern books, an established format for the rapid dissemination of architectural ideas, in order to place house designs in the hands of builders and prospective home owners.<sup>69</sup> As with earlier books of house designs, the CMHC produced a series of booklets illustrating houses for which working drawings would be available, in a service made "through the co-operation of Canadian architects."<sup>70</sup> Produced on a regular basis in English and French, these books were distributed free of charge through CMHC regional offices. The range of house designs all conformed to building standards for houses financed under the *National Housing Act 1944*. To ensure quality control, the Corporation

made working drawings available for purchase to builders and prospective homebuyers.

To keep up with the demand for new house designs and to continue to expand the availability of house plans and styles, the CMHC invited architects to participate in the project. From designs submitted by architects, the Corporation selected those it considered most suitable and paid a fee of one thousand dollars to the architect for a complete set of working drawings developed from an accepted design. For that sum, the Corporation purchased rights to the use of the drawing with the architect's name remaining on all published forms of the drawings. Further, the architect retained ownership of the copyright of each design sold publicly and received a royalty of three dollars from the Corporation for each set of working drawings sold (fig. 7).

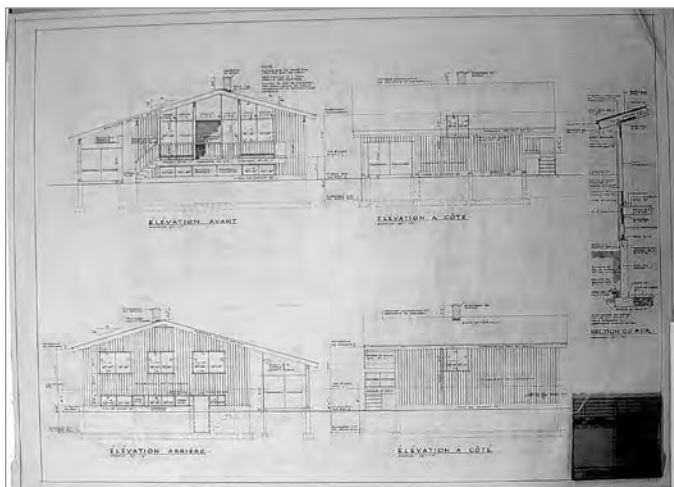


FIG. 7. Original working drawings, ink on vellum, house 294, designed by Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold, Michaud and Sise (Montreal), 1958, as sold to builders and homebuyers by CMHC. This is a typical example of the architectural plans prepared in English and French and sold to builders and prospective home owners for \$10 per set. GITTERMAN, S.A., 1986, "AN OLD CHALLENGE" IN HOUSING A NATION..., OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION.



FIG. 8. This publication was the first of many regular pattern books produced by the CMHC from the late 1940s into the 1970s. CMHC, 1949, *SMALL HOUSE DESIGNS: BUNGALOWS*, OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION, COVER

To assess designs submitted, the CMHC established a selection committee, comprised of a representative of the RAIC as well as the CMHC chief architect, members of the Advisory Group, and two other persons from the CMHC's Housing Design and Information divisions. Architects were required to present their sketch designs on standard letter-size paper, including plans and elevations, and, to ensure anonymity and permit a blind review, the name of the design firm was omitted from submissions, except for cover documentation.

Each design presented in the housing books usually showed plans, elevations, and a perspective drawing. Other information included CMHC designation number, name and locale of architect, house type, and square footage. Booklets of house plans were published regularly as follows (fig. 8):<sup>71</sup>

- 1947 *67 Homes for Canadians*;
- 1949 *Small House Designs – Bungalows*;
- 1949 *West Coast Designs*;<sup>72</sup>

- 1952 *Small House Designs: Bungalows, 1 ½ Storey, 2 Storey*;
- 1954 *Small House Designs*;
- 1954 *DND [Department of National Defence] Small House Designs*;
- 1957 *Small House Designs*;
- 1958 *Small House Designs*;
- 1965 *Small House Designs*;
- 1971 *House Designs*.

The CMHC also produced a range of supportive material, aimed at the architect, planner, builder, developer, and client, as well as a series of technical papers they had presented at conferences and forums on housing in Canada. Technical papers included:<sup>73</sup>

- 1954 *Principles of Small House Grouping*;
- 1964 *Choosing a House Design* (updated in 1972).

Other publications available offered information directed at the consumer on

how to read house plans, and considerations for prospective homeowners on selecting the house design best suited to their needs (fig. 9).

It is estimated that from its inception until the program was discontinued in the 1970s, the CMHC House Plan Division provided Canadian first-time homebuyers with approximately five hundred different house designs to choose from, all of which met national housing standards and were therefore eligible for low-interest, low-cost financing. While new plans were continually being added, the majority of plans were based on designs produced in the initial decade of the program.

The process of soliciting designs from architects was a major boon to the profession, particularly for young architects, as the commissioning and royalty process provided both one-time and ongoing income, as well as the opportunity to have commissioned work built and an exposure to a national audience. A review of names of those involved in the pro-

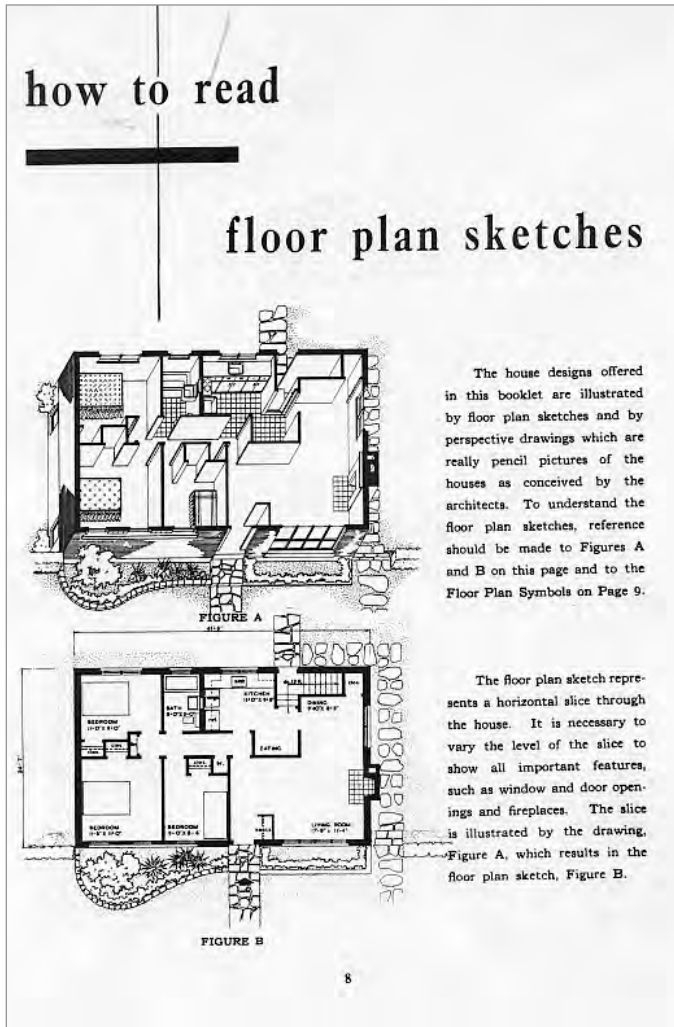


FIG. 9. The CMHC regularly issued publications offering assistance to the consumer on considerations for selecting the house design best suited to their needs. CMHC, 1954, "HOW TO READ FLOOR PLAN SKETCHES," *CHOOSING A HOUSE DESIGN*, OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION, P. 8.

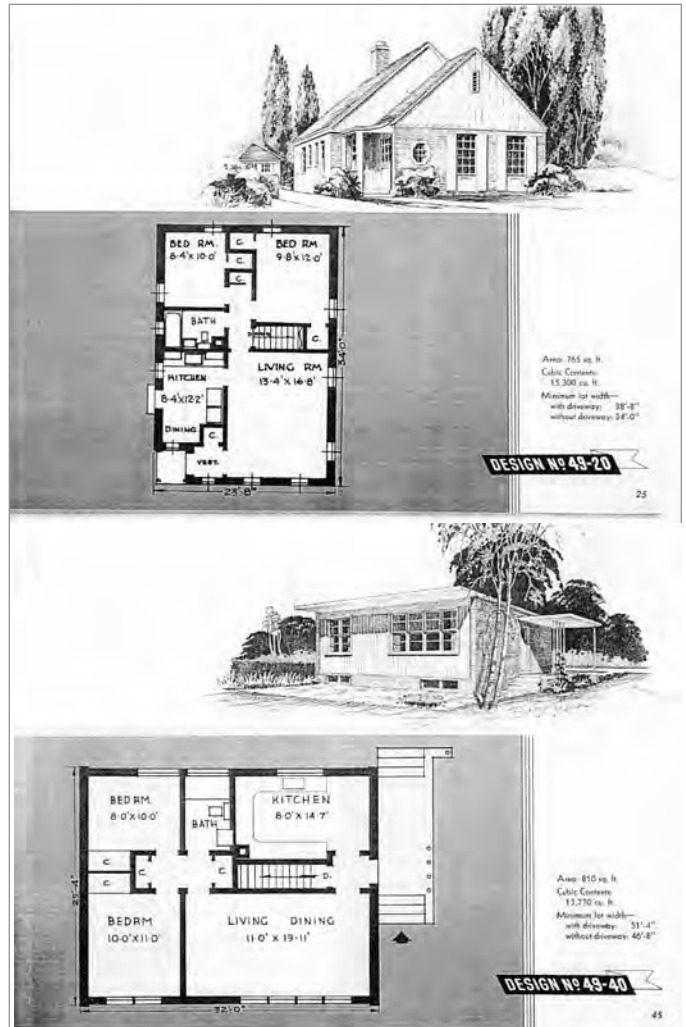


FIG. 10. Designs 49-20 and 49-40. House forms continued in a mix of traditional and contemporary. CMHC designs 1949-20 and 1949-40 demonstrate a marked contrast. While both are one-storey two-bedroom bungalows, design 1949-20 shows a gable-roofed massing, with traditional vertical openings and an octagonal window lighting the vestibule. Design 1949-40, by contrast, is much bolder with flat roof, horizontal windows, and large overhanging eaves. CMHC, 1949, *SMALL HOUSE DESIGNS – BUNGALOWS*, OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION.

cess reveals a roster of architects whose careers would flourish into the later decades of the twentieth century. According to Sam Gitterman, "architects were commissioned to prepare plans, which sold for ten dollars each in those days, mainly to people who wanted to build their own small houses. Sales were so brisk some of the architects made a substantial amount of money from their modest royalties."<sup>74</sup>

**The CMHC: Setting a 'Modern' Agenda**

The CMHC's praise of contemporary design, as voiced by the first design jury, resulted in a shift from traditional to non-traditional designs for housing. In keeping with David Smiley's proposition of a 'modified modern,' house forms continued in a mix of traditional and contemporary. CMHC designs 1949-20

and 1949-40 demonstrate a marked contrast (fig. 10). While both are one-storey two-bedroom bungalows, design 1949-20 shows a gable-roofed massing, with traditional vertical openings and an octagonal window lighting the vestibule. Design 1949-40, by contrast, is much bolder with flat roof, horizontal windows, and large overhanging eaves. Traditional designs persisted, and were



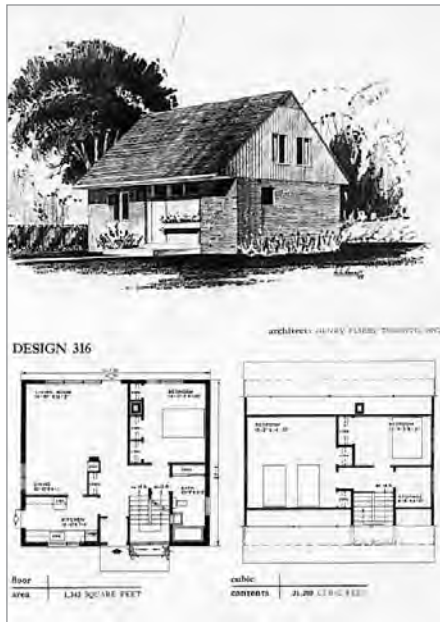


FIG. 11. Design 54-316, Henry Fliess, architect, Toronto, 1345 square feet. CMHC, 1954, *SMALL HOUSE DESIGNS / TWO-STORY AND 1½-STORY HOUSES*, OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION, P. 34.

always popular in the marketplace, but contemporary designs continued to make inroads.

While the CMHC actively promoted modernity, the homebuilding industry took a more conservative approach. Established in 1943, the National Home Builders Association (NHBA), in questions of style and the appropriateness of the modern for their anticipated post-war clientele, professed the belief that average Canadians wanted traditional materials and forms for their housing. Modernity, they believed, was relegated to the equipment and technology of the home, which included labour-saving devices and new materials.<sup>75</sup> Although that attitude persisted, as the demand for housing continued to grow, experimentation occurred. New developments such as Wildwood in Winnipeg, Applewood Acres west of Metropolitan Toronto, and Don Mills in Toronto, comprised a number of dwelling types,



FIG. 12. CMHC, 1949, *WEST COAST DESIGNS*, OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION, COVER.



FIG. 13. Bird's eye view. House BC-1, Fred Brodie, architect, Vancouver, 1178 square feet. CMHC, 1949, *WEST COAST DESIGNS*, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION, OTTAWA.



FIG. 14. Design 58-294, Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold, Michaud and Sise (Montreal), 870 square feet. CMHC, 1958, *SMALL HOUSE DESIGNS*, OTTAWA, CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION.

responding to the new design model.<sup>76</sup> By 1954, in CMHC literature, the traditional house remained only in form. Design 54-316, by architect Henry Fliess (Toronto), presents a one-and-a-half-storey three-bedroom house, with a modest free plan of space flowing between living-dining room and kitchen (fig. 11).

Also influential was the CMHC's consideration of regionalism in housing design, with a particular emphasis on contemporary, modern forms. In 1949 the CMHC produced *West Coast House Designs* (fig. 12). Prepared by Zoltan Kiss in consultation

with Fred Lasserre, director of the School of Architecture at the University of British Columbia, the publication featured the works of twelve Vancouver and Victoria architects, including Ralph Cole, Semmens and Simpson, and Jocelyn Davidson. Plan BC-1, designed by architect Fred Brodie, presents a one-level, one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight square foot, three-bedroom bungalow, complete with carport. The accompanying perspective line illustration depicts the building in a quintessential west coast setting, with forested slopes and mountain views in the distance (fig. 13).



The roster of architects whose designs were purchased and promoted by the CMHC underscores the extent of the close relationship between the CMHC and the profession. The 1958 publication of *Small House Designs* contained fifty-two plans, arranged by type (bungalow, split-level, two-storey), number of bedrooms, and area. Plan 58-294, prepared by architects Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold, Michaud and Sise (Montreal), is typical of the house plans developed for 1958: dimension twenty-nine by thirty feet, with an attached carport, the gable-fronted house was raised off the ground providing space in the future for a living room in the basement. Three bedrooms occupied the rear of the house, while the front was shared by entry, living-dining, and open kitchen. Services of stair, bathroom, and heating occupied the centre of the plan (fig. 14). The plans demonstrate a subtle shift in space planning from the earlier CMHC house plans: more square footage, the integration of car and house, and greater separation between parent and children's bedrooms, and indicate an easing in tight space-to-cost restrictions and greater availability of consumer financing.

By the late 1950s, the tentative relationship between the profession and the CMHC, initiated in 1946 particularly through the RAIC, had solidified. Not only did the CMHC provide newly-established architects with commissions and ongoing royalties, its promotion of modern designs, innovation in construction, and use of new materials ensured that the housing market would be notable for progressive, forward-looking thought and action. What was the impetus of this ideology? How did the CMHC come to embrace this approach? Who championed this change, both within the professions and the general public? The answer can be found in the professional and popular press of the day.

### THE MAGAZINE AND CANADIAN HOUSING PRODUCTION AFTER 1945

In tone, editorial content, and presentation, the *JRAIC* and *CH&G* were influential in promoting the modern house in the decade following the Second World War. While the professional journal served to disseminate ideas to current practitioners, the popular press was critical in making this new form of housing acceptable and even desirable.

#### **The Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada: Modern Housing as a Social Necessity and Design Imperative**

The linkage between the CMHC and the profession was particularly effected through a close relationship with the RAIC. The RAIC participated actively in the selection of house designs and architects, and Institute members profited from the selection of their designs for inclusion in the CMHC plan booklets. This close partnership between the government bureaucracy involved with housing production and professional architect was mutually advantageous, although, within the profession, the ways in which the challenges were to be addressed were debated extensively. The variety of opinions and approaches initially advocated by post-war architects represented the split in the profession, between avant-garde and more conservative elements. By the end of the 1950s, however, modern forms and ideas prevailed, particularly as a new generation of architects, trained with modern sensibilities, entered the profession in large numbers.<sup>77</sup>

Between 1945 and 1960, the *JRAIC* devoted approximately ten percent of its editorial space to various aspects of housing, including editorials on housing

design, feature articles on new house designs, and discussions about products unique to housing. Typically one issue per year was devoted to the subject, with an emphasis initially on single-family housing and then later in the 1950s on related issues, such as community planning and high-rise construction.<sup>78</sup>

In an editorial in the September 1946 issue of the *JRAIC*, Charles David, RAIC president, proclaimed that "housing is Canada's primary post-war building problem [...] It is the responsibility of Canadian architects to demonstrate to the public any solution of this problem that is practicable and possible."<sup>79</sup> While the need for housing was clear, the form that the new housing would take was not. Writing in the July 1945 *JRAIC*, Joseph Hudnut, dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Design, made a case that the modern house must acknowledge precedence and, most importantly, not impose the wills of technology and structure on the inhabitant or, in his words, "the wonder and drama of our inventions."<sup>80</sup> He trod carefully, neither opposing contemporary house design nor advocating for it. Rather, he relied upon the insistence that the contemporary house embraced the possibilities of interior and exterior space: "of all the inventions of modern architecture, the new space is, it seems to me, the most likely to attain a deep eloquence."<sup>81</sup>

Joseph Hudnut's equivocation is reflected in the pages of the *JRAIC* where the debate between the avant- and the rear-guard played itself out in the first years after the war. Initially, most houses featured in the *JRAIC* were traditional in form and plan. Typical is the house of A.R. Ferguson located in Gravenhurst (Ontario) and designed by Page and Steele Architects, published in the July 1945 *JRAIC* (fig. 15). Overall the form is



FIG. 15. HOUSE OF A.R. FERGUSON, GRAVENHURST, ONTARIO, PAGE AND STEELE ARCHITECTS. | JRAIC, JULY 1945, P. 142.

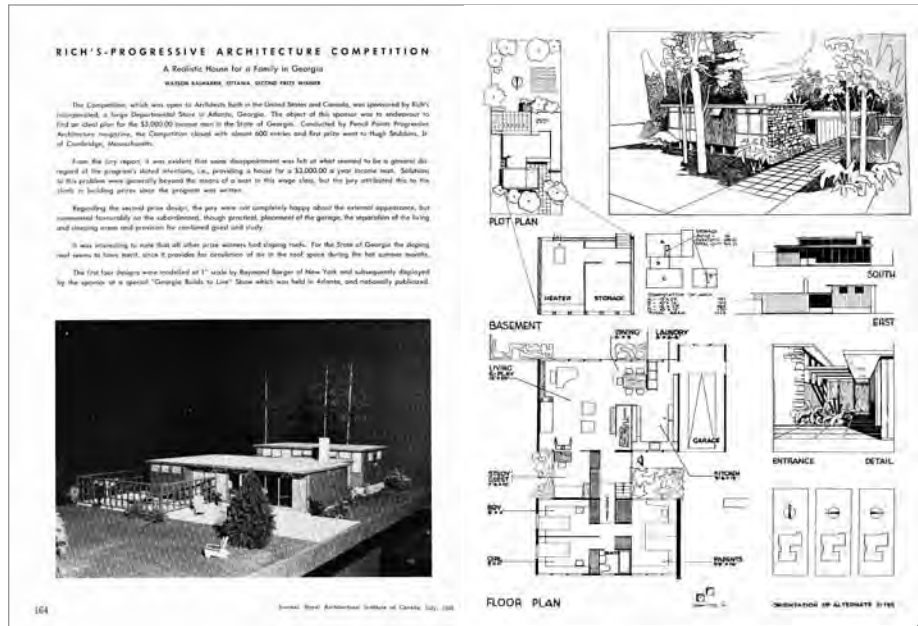


FIG. 16. RICH'S PROGRESSIVE ARCHITECTURE COMPETITION: A REALISTIC HOUSE FOR A FAMILY IN GEORGIA. WATSON BALHARRIE, OTTAWA, SECOND PRIZEWINNER. | JRAIC, JULY 1946, P. 164-165.

neo-colonial, with trim eaves, a central chimney dominating the composition, but in a modern approach to the interior, with a flow of space between living and dining areas. One year later, the *JRAIC* featured an award-winning entry from a competition in the USA for the design of a house for a man with three thousand dollars annual income, co-sponsored by *Progressive Architecture* magazine and the Rich Company, a Georgia department store. The design of Watson Balharrie, Ottawa, second prizewinner, featured a two-volume flat-roofed structure, with a separation of living and sleeping areas and an outdoor room (fig. 16).

But changes were coming quickly. By 1947, Joseph Hudnut's argument about the new space of the house found evidence in the published "House in Rose-dale" by architect Gordon Adamson, with landscape by the Howard and Lorrie Dunnington-Grubb (fig. 17). With a low-pitched hipped roof, this Toronto house was organized around a living-dining

room that extended along the back of the house and opened directly into the garden at the rear, making indoor and outdoor living rooms into one continuous space. In June 1947, the entire issue of the *JRAIC*, dedicated to "Domestic Architecture in British Columbia" (fig. 18), promoted contemporary design, highlighting climatic conditions and site opportunities that made the new indoor-outdoor living spaces featured in these houses unique to their setting and locale. Fifteen houses were presented, many designed by young architects for their families. The published "House of Mr. and Mrs. R.A.D. Berwick, West Vancouver" is typical, where the young Berwick demonstrates his use of new materials, engagement with the site, and overall promotion of modern tenets for the single-family house (fig. 19). Without a doubt, this issue of the *JRAIC*, which featured the unique possibilities of west coast design, played an important role in encouraging the CMHC to issue its *West Coast Designs* booklet two years later.

Compared to *CH&G* and other popular magazines of the day, the *JRAIC's* reportage of the small house remained restrained and focused on issues of tectonics, design, and siting (fig. 20). As predicted by Francis R.S. Yorke, magazines such as the *JRAIC* increasingly became the vehicle where young professionals, eager to make their names, sought publication of their houses. The August 1956 *JRAIC* featured two works by architects for their families: the Earnest J. Smith House (Winnipeg) and the Roy Jessiman House (West Vancouver) (figs. 21-22). The November 1952 *JRAIC* featured as its cover story a house designed by architect A.J. (Jim) Donohue for Mr. J.S. Kennedy in Edmonton (figs. 23-25).<sup>82</sup> Increasingly, in these articles, text was minimal and the printed image prominent, with black-and-white photographs depicting the interior of the houses, and drawing attention to the relationship of spaces, the use of materials, and the range of modern furnishings appropriate to these modern houses. Photographs were in



FIG. 17. "HOUSE IN ROSEDALE," GORDON ADAMSON, ARCHITECT, HOWARD AND LORRIE DUNNINGTON-GRUBB, LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT. | JRAIC, MARCH 1947, P. 83.



FIG. 18. "DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA," COVER. | JRAIC, JUNE 1947.

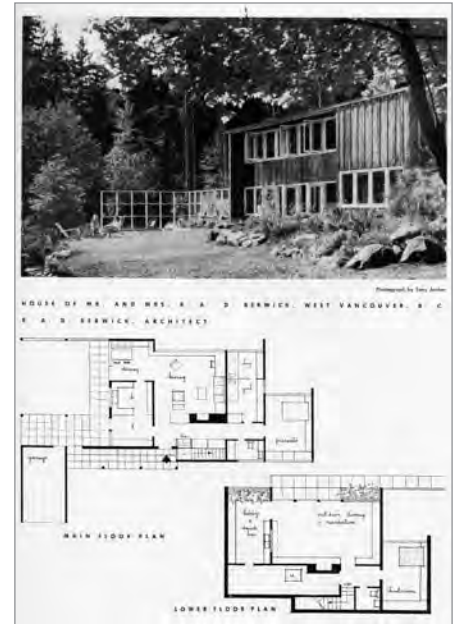


FIG. 19. "HOUSE OF MR. AND MRS. R.A.D. BERWICK, WEST VANCOUVER. R.A.D. BERWICK, ARCHITECT." | JRAIC, JUNE 1947, P. 181.

the architectural mode, rarely showing people in spaces, to ensure that the reader's eye remained focused on form, space, and materiality.

The JRAIC made efforts to address the questions of the architectural interior. The August 1947 *Journal* (fig. 26) invited H.D. Deacon, manager of the Simpson's Department Store Interior Decorating Department in Toronto, to contribute to the magazine. Deacon pinpointed the issue of the

perennial problem of architect-interior decorator relations [...] A great many architects still look upon an interior decorator as someone who will either persuade their clients to buy a lot of elaborate and unsuitable antique furniture or else as a person who will embellish the place to such an extent as to leave it looking like the backdrop to an indecent ballet.<sup>83</sup>

What followed were a number of pages featuring installations of furniture in con-

temporary houses. In most depictions, the house interiors took advantage of traditional furniture displayed in updated settings. In one instance only plan and image were coordinated, although no discussion took place to demonstrate the means by which interior furnishings supported the architectural idea (fig. 27).

**The *Canadian Homes and Gardens Magazine*: Modifying the Modern for the Canadian Consumer**

While the CMHC was actively promoting housing design across Canada, and the professional press reported on the design activities of architects eager to present their modern schemes to their peers, it was in the popular press that full expression of the possibility that the new and modern, single-family house was explored and eventually made accessible and real. The representation of new affordable forms of housing in popular press showed the relationship between mass media and housing production, and the importance



FIG. 20. IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1945 AND 1960, THE JRAIC DEVOTED APPROXIMATELY 10% OF ITS EDITORIAL SPACE TO SOME ASPECTS OF HOUSING, INCLUDING EDITORIALS ON HOUSING DESIGN, FEATURE ARTICLES ON NEW HOUSE DESIGNS, AND DISCUSSIONS ABOUT PRODUCTS UNIQUE TO HOUSING. TYPICALLY ONE ISSUE PER YEAR WAS DEVOTED TO HOUSING, WITH AN EMPHASIS INITIALLY ON SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING AND THEN LATER IN THE 1950S ON RELATED ISSUES, SUCH AS COMMUNITY PLANNING AND HIGH-RISE CONSTRUCTION. | JRAIC, SEPTEMBER, 1952, COVER.





FIG. 21. HOUSE OF EARNEST J. SMITH, ARCHITECT, WINNIPEG. EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR VIEWS. | JRAIC, AUGUST 1956, P. 301.



FIG. 22. HOUSE OF ROY JESSIMAN, ARCHITECT, WEST VANCOUVER. GROUND FLOOR PLAN AND GARDEN ELEVATION. | JRAIC, AUGUST 1956, P. 300.

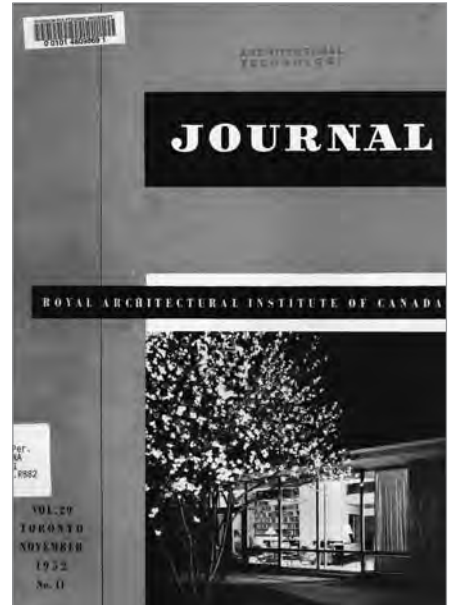


FIG. 23. J.S. KENNEDY HOUSE, EDMONTON, A.J. DONOHUE, ARCHITECT. | JRAIC, NOVEMBER 1952, COVER.



FIG. 24. J.S. KENNEDY HOUSE, EDMONTON, A.J. DONOHUE, ARCHITECT. VIEWS OF DRESSING ROOM AND MASTER BEDROOM, AND DINING ROOM. | JRAIC, NOVEMBER 1952, P. 336.



FIG. 25. J.S. KENNEDY HOUSE, EDMONTON, A.J. DONOHUE, ARCHITECT. VIEWS OF LIVING ROOM AND ENTRY, AND PATIO OFF DINING ROOM. | JRAIC, NOVEMBER 1952, P. 337.



FIG. 26. "INTERIOR FEATURES: RESIDENTIAL," JRAIC, JUNE 1947, COVER.





FIG. 27. "LIVE," "COOK," SUGGESTIONS ON INTERIOR DESIGN, PRESENTED BY H.D. DEACON, MANAGER, SIMPSON'S DEPARTMENT STORE INTERIOR DECORATING DEPARTMENT (TORONTO). | JRAIC, AUGUST 1947, P. 267, 274.

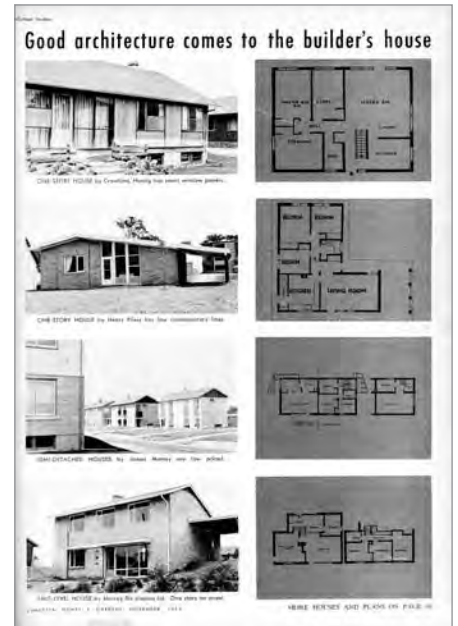


FIG. 28. This article included two houses by James Murray and one by Henry Fliess, which both appeared previously in CMHC house plan pattern books. "GOOD ARCHITECTURE COMES TO THE BUILDER'S HOUSE," CH&G, NOVEMBER 1954, P. 68.

that post-war shelter magazines played in selling the virtues of single-family, suburban living to the average Canadian, thereby establishing this mode as the Canadian norm and standard.

This impact of the popular press is best illustrated by the CH&G, Canada's primary, national English-language popular shelter magazine published by Maclean Hunter in Toronto. After *Chatelaine*, a sister publication at Maclean Hunter, the CH&G had the largest circulation of any magazine of its type in English-speaking Canada. In 1951 the CH&G reached one hundred thousand households or approximately two percent of Canada's population.<sup>84</sup> While such circulation numbers are not reliable indicators of a magazine's readership (magazine circulation and readership numbers are not necessarily linked), within English-speaking Canada the CH&G had a significant share of readers of shelter magazines.<sup>85</sup>

Founded in 1924 by Senator Rupert Davies, owner of the Kingston *British Whig* and father to author Robertson Davies, the CH&G was originally designed to capture a range of women readers, reaching five thousand subscribers in its first year. In 1925, J.B. Maclean purchased the CH&G. The publishers chose not only to keep the magazine but to expand their reach to women readers by creating *Mayfair* magazine in 1927 and purchasing *Chatelaine* magazine in 1928. *Mayfair* was "intended to interpret the life and interests of Canadians in their most gracious moods."<sup>86</sup> The CH&G spoke to women about their everyday living environments, while *Chatelaine* addressed a wider range of women's matters, including health and family, as well as the home.<sup>87</sup> It was this trio of "women's magazines" that directed and reflected the thoughts and desires of a generation of Canadian women through depression, war, and

into the post-war era. In 1951, the CH&G absorbed another consumer magazine, *Your House and Garden*, becoming the pre-eminent beacon for the promotion to English-speaking readers in Canada of modern housing in the 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>88</sup>

The war had not been kind to Canadian consumer magazines and in 1945, with circulation flagging, Jean McKinley replaced the magazine's long-time editor, J. Herbert Hodgins. Under this new lead, the CH&G was reconfigured to cash in on the post-war housing boom. John Caulfield Smith was appointed architectural editor and attention focused on house planning, design, and education, directed at new consumers and the post-war boom. From the end of the Second World War to its demise in 1962, the CH&G stood out as the champion for single-family housing that was sensible, practical, and modern.

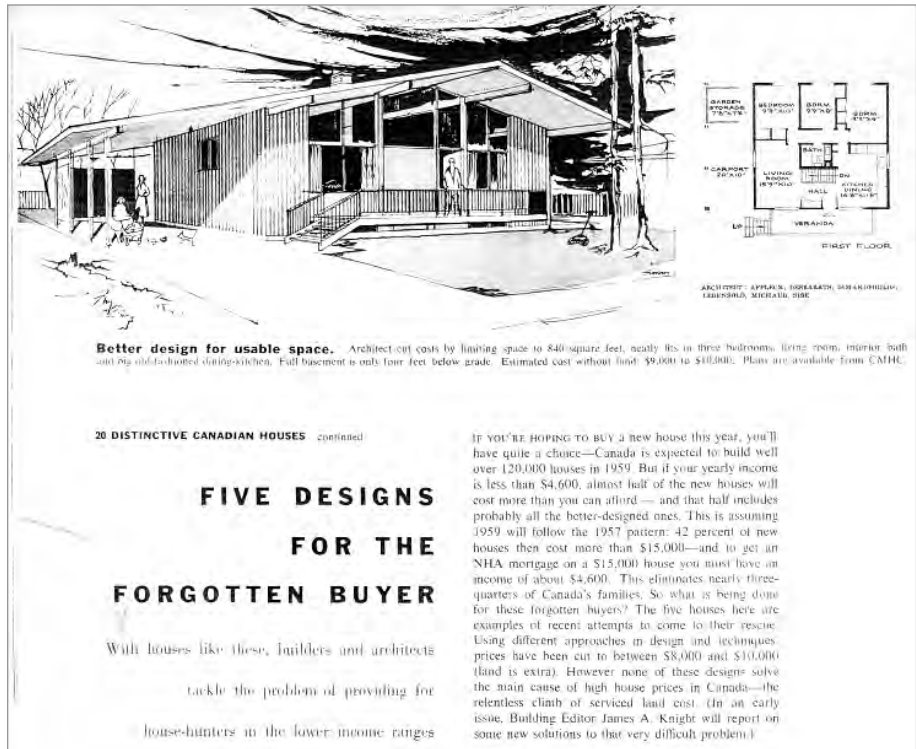


FIG. 29. This article reproduced CMHC design 58-294, by Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold, Michaud and Sise, Architects (Montreal), which had appeared in the 1958 CMHC publication, *Small House Design*. "FIVE DESIGNS FOR THE FORGOTTEN BUYER," *CH&G*, FEBRUARY 1959.

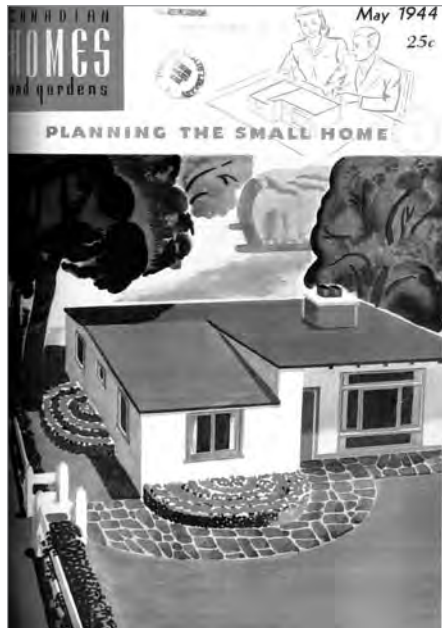


FIG. 30. "PLANNING THE SMALL HOME," *CH&G*, MAY 1944, COVER.



FIG. 31. The editors write, "Economy is built into this lowest-cost home, yet there's ample small-family space in its layout. And you've a choice of plan, with or without basement." "A TWO-PLAN FAMILY HOUSE," *CH&G*, NOVEMBER 1952.

In contrast to the *JRAIC*, the *CH&G* avoided discussing political and production issues of housing.<sup>89</sup> It rather found its focus in three very distinct areas: helping the consumer gain confidence about making the right housing choices under the rubric of "planning and budget," helping the consumer make decisions about house design ("design"), and guiding the consumer in the more traditional area of the magazine, the choice of interior furnishings and fittings that would be in keeping with planning, budget, and design ("the home"). In essence and using current terminology, the *CH&G* presented an approach to housing as "lifestyle."

The Maclean Hunter machinery did not rely on the CMHC material for magazine editorial content. While many of the architects who sold plans to the CMHC were also featured in the pages of the *CH&G*, only three instances correlate CMHC plans and houses featured in the *CH&G*. First was a report on the 1947 competition, which produced images from the competition that were also reproduced identically in the *JRAIC*. Second, the November 1954 report in the *CH&G*, "Good architecture comes to the builder's house," included two houses by James Murray and one by Henry Fliess, which had both appeared previously in the CMHC annual house plans (fig. 28). Third, one house, which appeared in the 1958 CMHC publication *Small House Design* as House 294, designed by Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos, Lebensold, Michaud and Sise (Montreal), appeared in the February 1959 *CH&G* (fig. 29). The article focused on housing for "house hunters in the lower income range" and provided examples of housing for "forgotten buyers," those families with an average annual income of four thousand six hundred dollars.<sup>90</sup>

While few direct linkages are in evidence, it was by indirect means that the *CH&G*

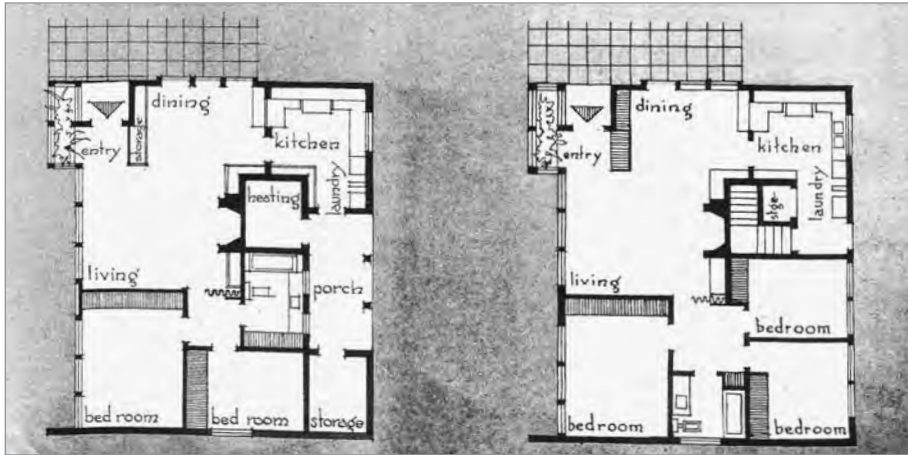


FIG. 32. Two plan options were presented, which allowed for two or three bedrooms, with or without basement. "A TWO-PLAN FAMILY HOUSE," CH&G, NOVEMBER 1952.

became a successful agent in providing the means for new consumers to see themselves as actual owners and occupiers of the new form of housing being promoted by government and the professions, and the concomitant lifestyle it offered. That connection was accomplished through corollary advice on planning, budgeting, and home furnishing, advice whose content and tone moderated as the consumer's anxieties shifted from finding basic housing to creating a welcoming domestic environment in the new home.

Given the scarcity of resources at the end of the war and the consumer mindset from the Depression of the 1930s, the CH&G initially advocated that readers take the time to plan their houses. Typical is the cover story from the May 1944 issue entitled "Planning the Small Home," which lays out the possibilities of housing in a post-war Canada (fig. 30). Readers are drawn to consider the dreams of Canadian servicemen, writing to their wives and sweethearts at home:

What I want when I get back is a little home somewhere outside the city where we can raise our own fruit and vegetables [...] We don't want anything big [...] let's keep it small and simple enough to enable you to look after

the youngsters [...] a house where we can have more fun than we've ever had before.<sup>91</sup>

The composite picture presented by the CH&G is low-density, suburban, owner-occupied, modestly-priced (estimated at four thousand five hundred dollars for the Toronto area), built with technologically-advanced materials and methods (such as dry construction and fibre board), free of decorative treatment, and designed to be energy conscious. The interior is presented in what the magazine termed "the contemporary idiom." "Amazing, isn't it, how many attractive convenient groupings can be fitted into the living-dining area of this compact cottage," the editors proclaim.<sup>92</sup> The interior has a complete colour scheme, is fully furnished, and merchandizes design features, such as "dishes in Swedish design," all presented through sketches prepared by the Interior Decorating Bureau of Eaton's College Street Store in Toronto.

The theme of planning for efficient design continued for the next ten years. Articles such as "A Two Plan Family House" offered two floor plans, a half-dozen economy features, and a number of space-saving ideas, including the possibility of a basement for storage and



FIG. 33. Bird's eye perspective and plan. A CH&G Select Home (no. 4) by Vancouver designer E.J. Watkins is featured. "The house provides 1380 square feet in an efficient, compact layout, including a central utility room, lit by clerestory windows." "THIS HOUSE GETS EXTRA SPACE WITHOUT A BASEMENT," CH&G, JUNE 1956.

built-in storage spaces (figs. 31-32).<sup>93</sup> In "This House Gets Extra Space without a Basement," a CH&G Select Home (no. 4) featured work by Vancouver designer E.J. Watkins. The revolutionary idea of a house with no basement allowed for one thousand three hundred and eighty





FIG. 34. The article proclaims: “With its good-sized rooms, its built-ins and its feelings of warmth, this home is a good example of contemporary Canadian design tailored to fit family needs.” “GOOD USE OF SPACE HERE,” CH&G, DECEMBER 1951, P. 34.



FIG. 35. Designed by William Lyon Somerville, the house design was based—according to the editors—on the elements of a home “our readers have asked about and suggested most frequently.” THE “HELP-LESS HOUSE FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR,” CH&G, FEBRUARY 1945, COVER.



FIG. 36. “THIS IS THE HOUSE THAT YOU BUILT,” CH&G, FEBRUARY 1945, P. 17.

square feet in an efficient, compact layout, including a central utility room, lit by clerestory windows (fig. 33).<sup>94</sup>

As houses using modern plans were built, the CH&G was able to present completed schemes that had only been envisioned in 1944. In “Good Use of Space Here,” R.D. Steers’s house near Ottawa (Victor Belcourt, architect) explicitly connected the application of modern design principles to the realization of the ideal lifestyle (fig. 34):

With a young son of seven, Mr. Steers’ love of gardening and Mrs Steers’ fondness for the outdoors, a move to the country was only natural [...] Three miles from downtown Ottawa [...] they found a beautiful two-acre lot with a view of the Rideau River. A glance at the plans and photographs [...] shows how [the architect] used the sloping site and view to establish an open type of planning so appropriate to family life today.<sup>95</sup>

The magazine’s formula for directing their reader to the contemporary, and thereby directing tastes and preferences, was created by means of clever engagement with the client at the level of planning and design. In February 1945, as the outcome of the Second World War was becoming certain, the magazine looked brightly into the future. The “Help-less House for a Family of Four,” designed by architect William Lyon Somerville, was based, according to the editors, on the elements of a home “our readers have asked about and suggested most frequently”<sup>96</sup> (figs. 35-36). The scheme was presented as a montage, which included the following wish list from magazine readers:

- it satisfies the desires of a couple in Vancouver for an “open plan for the living-dining area,”
- for a family of four in Ontario we designed for their two children a bedroom that could easily be divided in two,

- this fell in with the wishes of a family near Montreal who wanted the same construction for bedroom-into-guest rooms,
- a returned soldier caused us to decide how to make the living room turn its back on the north wind and provide large double-glazed windows to give the always-outdoor feeling,
- and so it went,
- the house was a cross section of what are readers are asking for.<sup>97</sup>

The editors ingeniously presented the plans as a kit of parts, with cut-outs for readers to assemble. “In presenting this home,” they asserted, “it occurred to us that you would have fun putting it together”<sup>98</sup> (figs. 37A-E). The project continued to be featured in the magazine into the spring of 1945. A ready-made landscape plan, designed by Frances Steinhoff from the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects (CSLA), was added to the kit of parts, along with two alternative suggestions for interior decorating by the



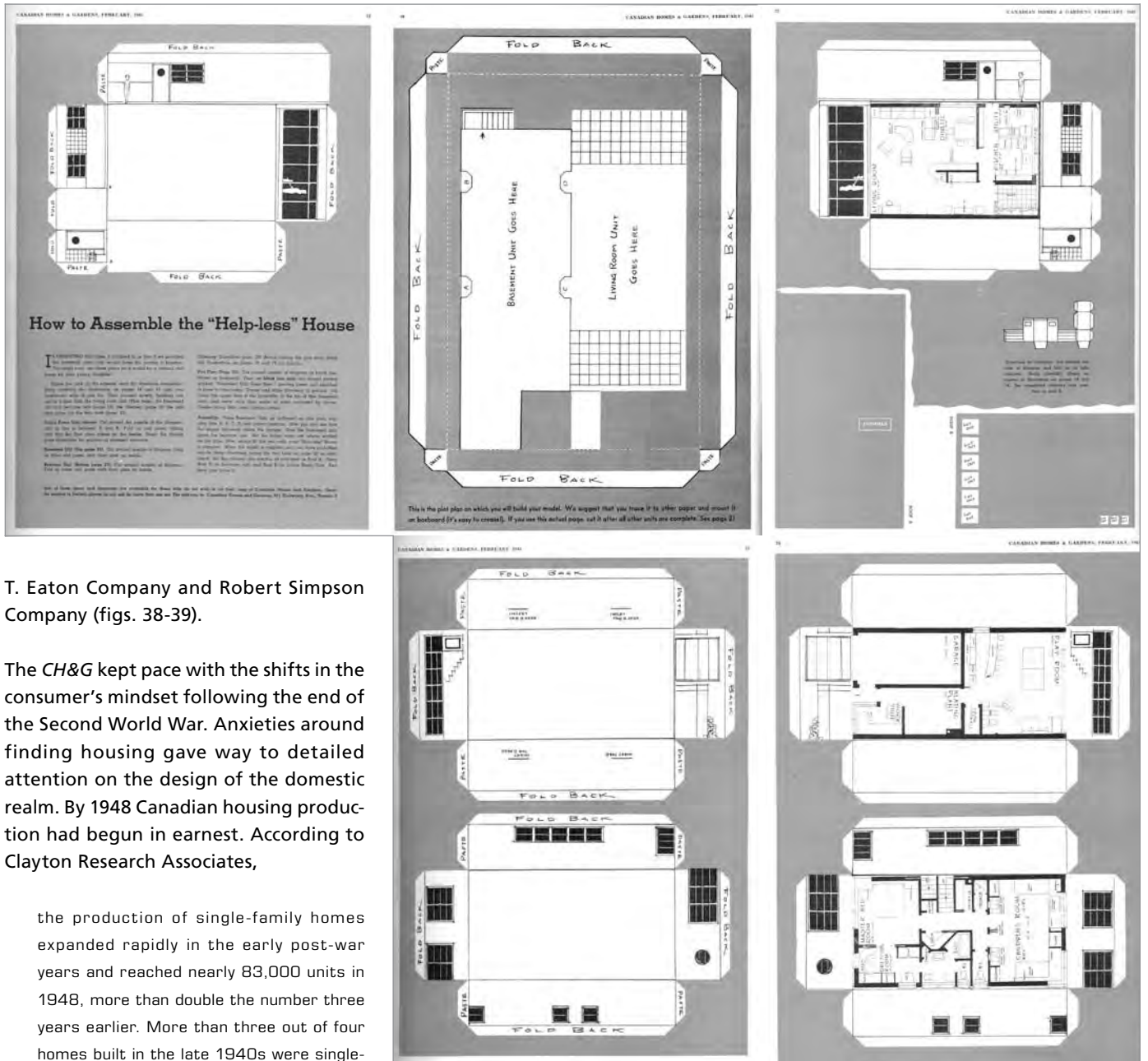


FIG. 37. Instructions and four pages of cut-outs. "HOW TO ASSEMBLE THE 'HELP-LESS' HOUSE," CH&G, FEBRUARY 1945, P. 20, 22-24.

T. Eaton Company and Robert Simpson Company (figs. 38-39).

The CH&G kept pace with the shifts in the consumer's mindset following the end of the Second World War. Anxieties around finding housing gave way to detailed attention on the design of the domestic realm. By 1948 Canadian housing production had begun in earnest. According to Clayton Research Associates,

the production of single-family homes expanded rapidly in the early post-war years and reached nearly 83,000 units in 1948, more than double the number three years earlier. More than three out of four homes built in the late 1940s were single-family units (almost all were single-detached homes). The number of single family starts declined in 1951 to 59,000 units, but then recorded solid year-over-year gains reaching 86,000 units by 1954.<sup>99</sup>

Aimed at the women of the house and detailing how a family could realize its housing dreams, the pages of the CH&G

reflected the rush to build. One of the most telling articles produced by the CH&G during the initial years after the war was "How the Morrisons Manage: to budget, build and furnish," an April 1948 cover story in the same helpful tone as the "Help-less house," but with

a pragmatic focus on budget, construction, and implementation (fig. 40).<sup>100</sup> In collaboration with architect E.C.S. Cox and the Housing Research Section of the Manufacturer's Life Insurance Company, the editors of the CH&G discussed costs, construction, materials, space

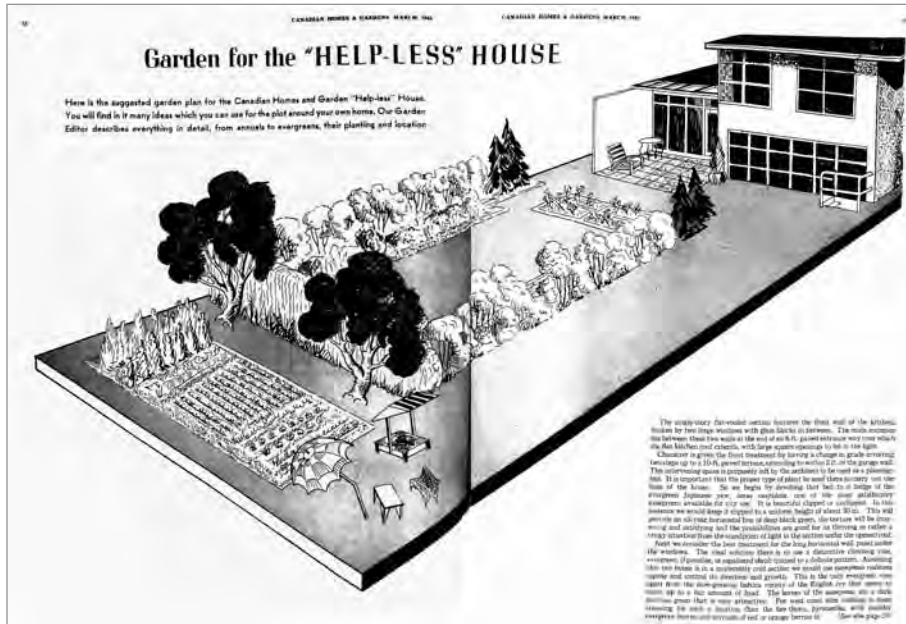


FIG. 38. "GARDEN FOR THE 'HELP-LESS' HOUSE," CH&G, MARCH 1945.



FIG. 39. "INTERIORS FOR THE 'HELP-LESS' HOUSE," CH&G, MAY 1945.

planning, interiors, and by means of a clever correlation between oblique plan and photograph, translated layout into reality (fig. 41). The focus was liveability, with particular attention paid to the woman of the house. Each room also



FIG. 40. "HOW THE MORRISONS MANAGE... TO BUDGET, BUILD AND FURNISH," CH&G, APRIL 1948, COVER.

had a complete breakdown of costs for furniture, appliances, and finishes, and even suggested the ways in which the fictitious Mrs. Morrison would realize the dreams of a modern housewife in her own home: she demonstrates her domes-



FIG. 41. "HOW THE MORRISONS MANAGE... TO BUDGET, BUILD AND FURNISH," CH&G, APRIL 1948, P. 31.

tic skill in a fully-equipped up-to-date kitchen; she listens to her husband's relay of the affairs of commerce in an end-of-day living room chat; she undertakes the rituals or the boudoir and prepares for bed (figs. 42A-C). This article was published just as the first batch of plans of newly-designed homes was being made available across Canada by the CMHC through its regional and branch offices in 1948.

A second and equally important aspect of the CH&G editorial philosophy was the sensitization of the consumer toward the new architectural form, modernism, as it was being developed in schemes propounded by the CMHC and explored in the professional journals. In the pages of the CH&G, the modification of modernism, as suggested by David Smiley and Joy Parr, is clear. "How New is Modern?" proposes to "set the picture straight" by advocating that "modern is a state of mind." Modern is transmuted into "the desire to get the maximum value and satisfaction in house

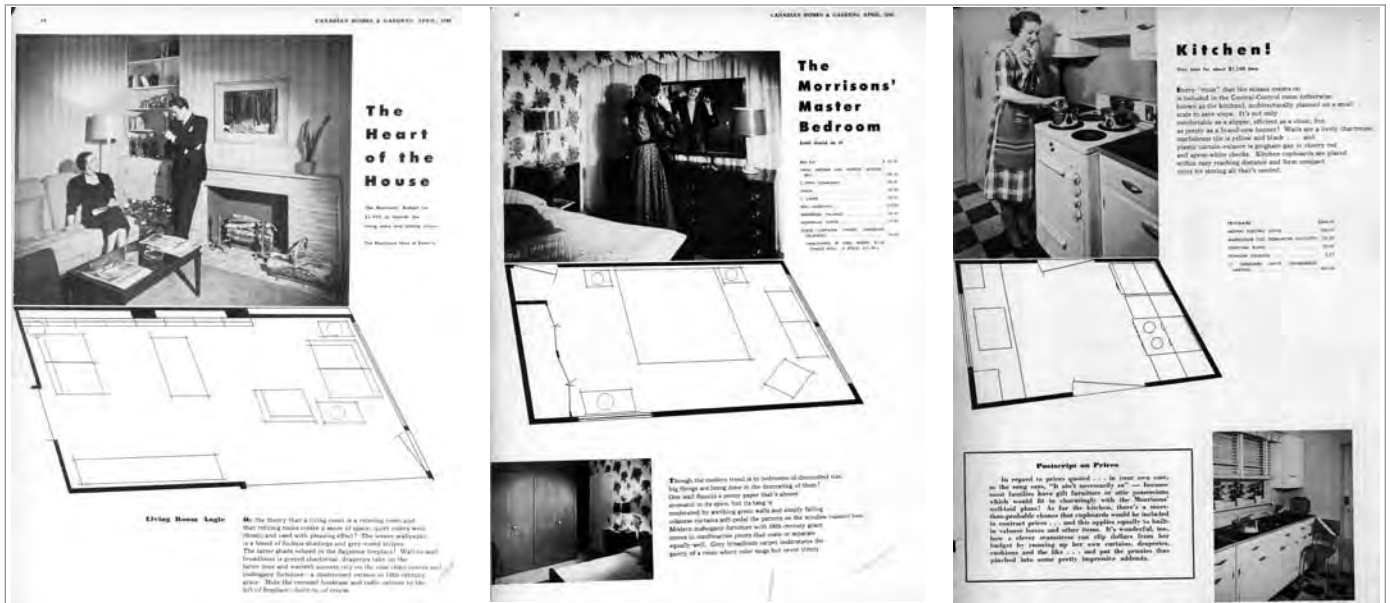


FIG. 42. By correlating oblique plan and photograph, the editors translate layout into reality. The focus is liveability, with particular attention paid to the woman of the house. Each room also has a complete breakdown of costs for furniture, appliances, and finishes, and even suggests the ways in which the fictitious Mrs. Morrison would realize the dreams of a modern housewife in her own home. "HOW THE MORRISONS MANAGE... TO BUDGET, BUILD AND FURNISH," CH&G, APRIL 1948, P. 24, 26, 27.

building by using the best materials and methods available regardless of period"<sup>101</sup> (fig. 43). Plans and elevations showing what would soon become the suburban norm of a two- or three-bedroom house with attached garage support this form-follows-function argument: "The house is a splendid example of modern design. The predominant impression is one of horizontality, and the low-pitched roof with its overhanging eaves plays an important part in creating this effect."<sup>102</sup>

However, just as the architectural profession struggled to fully embrace the modern as witnessed in the pages of the *JRAIC*, the *CH&G* continued the debate between traditional and modern maintaining the issue's currency. In May 1950, two houses are compared: "The Brooks-Hills Wanted Traditional," designed by architect W.G. Armstrong, is contrasted with "The Yolles Proved a Point," designed by architect Samuel Devor (figs. 44-45). Typically, the *CH&G* takes a moderating stance, claiming that "[the juxtaposition] proves

our contentions that modern design can fit into a traditional setting without offending either the eye or the neighbours."<sup>103</sup>

### FROM MAGAZINE READER TO POST-WAR HOMEOWNER

Within five years of the first house plans being made available through CMHC offices, Canadians were well entrenched in their new homes. Based on census data, four hundred and fifty-eight thousand single-family units were added to the stock of Canadian housing in the period 1941-1951, and an additional seven hundred and twenty-four thousand units were added in the period 1951-1961.<sup>104</sup> Self-confident acceptance quickly overtook the tentative presentations of the late 1940s and first years of the 1950s.

How is one to understand the role that the *CH&G*, as a representation of the popular press, played in the transformation of the Canadian housing landscape? The *CH&G* led readers to make logical choices, which

were clearly in tune with the spirit of the times. Joy Parr's assertion that the domestic ideal of the designer differed significantly from the reality of the homemaker and homeowner drove the *CH&G's* editorial stance that modernism complements contemporary family living.

Let us consider again the J.S. Kennedy House (Edmonton) designed by A.J. Donohue architect and featured in the November 1952 *JRAIC*. In the professional journal the house is depicted uncluttered, un-peopled, almost un-inhabited. Four months later in May 1953, the *CH&G* features the same house, full of life, occupied the Kennedys, a typical post-war family (figs. 46A-B). Readers are told that "the Kennedys of Edmonton love their long, low one-level home which proves you can be cosy with contemporary design [...] [Their] children take their friends through [the house], proudly."<sup>105</sup> The starkness of modernity is transmuted by these assertions and the vision of liveability and the practical logic they portray. To the editors





FIG. 43. This article proposes to “set the picture straight” by advocating that “modern is a state of mind. It’s the desire to get the maximum value and satisfaction in house building by using the best materials and methods available regardless of period.” “HOW NEW IS MODERN?” CH&G, JANUARY 1948, P. 36.



FIG. 44. Designed by architect W.G. Armstrong, the Brooks-Hill house is contrasted with the Yolles house, designed by architect Samuel Devor. “THE BROOKS-HILLS WANTED TRADITIONAL,” CH&G, MAY 1950, P. 42.

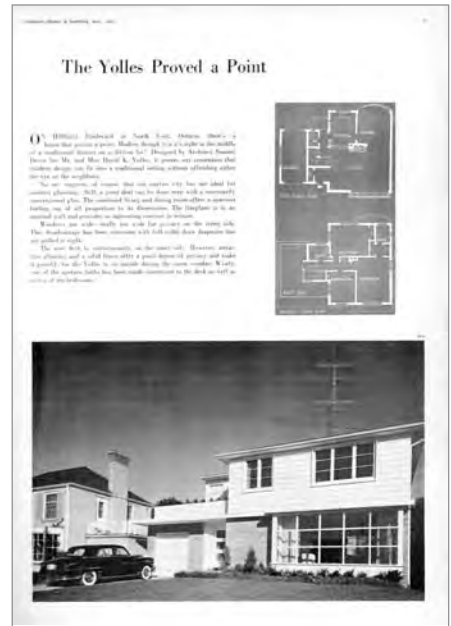


FIG. 45. The Yolles House, designed by architect Samuel Devor, is juxtaposed with the Brooks-Hill house. Typically, CH&G presented a moderate view, claiming that “[the juxtaposition] proves our contentions that modern design can fit into a traditional setting without offending either the eye or the neighbours.” “THE YOLLES PROVED A POINT,” CH&G, MAY 1950, P. 43.

of the CH&G, modernity is no longer simply an issue of design, but one of comfort and good sense.

The CH&G cover story of May 1962 relates how this new ethos is now integral to the life of Art and Patti Phillips:

Art Phillips, a young Vancouver investment banker, has worn out three swim suits in the two summers since the pool was installed in their West Vancouver home [...] Often in summer [the family] barbecues their meals on the patio adjoining the pool. Sunday dinner is sometimes a carefree expedition to a drive-in for hamburgers and chips [...] With both his house and family outdoor-oriented, [the] Phillips’ western version of The Poolside Life is very pleasant and very *In living indeed*.<sup>106</sup>

By means of these and other attractive real-life portraits of modernity in every-

day use, and affirmations of its desirability, ordinary Canadians are encouraged not merely to accept, but to embrace modern design.

## CONCLUSIONS

Printed material found in pattern books, professional journals, and shelter magazines of the day demonstrates how distinct agents interacted in concert to create a flow of forces directed at realizing the suburban, single-family ideal for post-war Canadian consumers.

As the state proponent of the Canadian post-war housing industry, the CMHC acted on behalf of lenders, builders, government financiers, designers, and consumers to present affordable housing. With literature geared to the consumer, easy to comprehend, free of charge, and guaranteed to provide subsidized mort-

gage financing, the CMHC guided consumers in making the right choices and presented confident direction to new homebuyers.

As an official voice of the profession, the JRAIC promoted innovation, disseminated new ideas, and showcased the talent of young architects across the country. By advocating for the architect’s role in solving the country’s housing needs and then demonstrating how home-grown talent could successfully step up to the challenge, the JRAIC succeeded in confirming the value of modernity in architecture and architectural training in the building of post-war Canada. Further, by advocating that the small, affordable house was an appropriate venue for the architect’s attention, the JRAIC raised the design standard for the new housing and reinforced the value of good architectural design in the domestic sphere.

It is possible that modern, single-family housing could have been effectively realized without the popular press standing at the ready to mediate between the housing industry and design profession, and providing subtle direction to the consumer. The fact remains that the *CH&G* successfully promoted innovation in design and empowered female readers in making housing decisions. The magazine promoted consumer education, advocated for the equal voice of all members of the family, including the mother and child, as consumers. Further, it reinforced other values such as the centrality of the home in Canadian life, home ownership, pride of domicile, and material consumption as positive and necessary components of post-war life. The breezy and helpful manner in which content was presented made this material accessible, and always with a mind to the main reader, the female mother-housewife, whose role in the domestic sphere was deemed dominant, and in the designed sphere certainly equal to that of the male father-breadwinner, and whose participation was key to the successful construction of post-war domestic life.

The magazine reflected changing attitudes to the place of contemporary design in everyday life. The architect-designed, affordable, single-family home brought the exemplary to the quotidian. The accoutrements of design, such as furnishings and décor, and lifestyle, including appliances, outdoor spaces and automobiles, were an extension of the well-designed household. All these attitudes, implied by CMHC's pattern books and filtered through the professional journal, saw their clearest and most accessible exploration in the pages of the *CH&G*.

Recent feminist analyses of the domestic and suburban experience have informed



FIG. 46. This article features the J.S. Kennedy House, Edmonton, A.J. Donohue, architect. Readers are told: “the Kennedys [...] love their long, low one-level home which proves you can be cosy with contemporary design [...] [Their] children take their friends through [the house], proudly.” The starkness of modernity is now downplayed in favour of its liveability and sensibility. *CH&G*, MAY 1953, P. 46-47.

an understanding of the complexities of this environment and the particularities of the Canadian experience of the post-war community, particularly the suburb. Literature in design, housing construction, and economic development, however, has largely ignored the centrality of women in decision-making and their role, albeit indirect, in shaping the housing market.

Reading within the pages of specific media of the day, and across the types of publications available, allows for a greater understanding of the forces at work in the shaping of Canada’s post-war suburbs. The terrain remains largely unexplored. Considering that so much of Canada’s modern heritage continues on the near-periphery of Canada’s urban areas, and that this environment shaped a large majority of Canadians born after the Second World War, this is a subject that merits further exploration and understanding.

NOTES

1. This research was originally presented as a paper at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Lethbridge, Alberta, in June 2005. The author wishes to express his appreciation to the following: Stalin Doctor, dean, Ryerson University Faculty of Engineering, Architecture and Science, who provided funds for research support and travel to the SSAC Conference; Robert Dirstein, director, Office of Research Services, Ryerson University, whose office provided research assistance funding; John Fraser, master, Massey College, who provided the author, as senior fellow-in-residence, space to research and write during post-administrative leave in 2007-2008; research assistants Janice Quieta and Kelvin Lee, students in the Department of Architectural Science, Ryerson University; Zita Murphy, Ryerson University Library, staff of the CMHC Information Centre, Ottawa, and Metro Reference Library, Toronto, and Shore + Moffat Library, Daniels Faculty of Architecture, Landscape, and Design, University of Toronto, for providing generous access to their collections; and the following individuals: Ivor Shapiro, Ryerson School of Journalism, Rhodri Windsor Liscombe,

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2. "The Poolside Life," *CH&G*, May 1962, cover.
  3. Wade, Jill, 1986, "'A Palace for the Public': Housing Reform and the 1946 Occupation of the Old Hotel Vancouver," *BC Studies*, nos. 69-70, spring-summer, p. 288-310.
  4. The last issue of the *CH&G* appeared in July 1962; in its latter years the magazine had been renamed *Canadian Homes*.
  5. For a full description of the activities of the CMHC with regard to housing policy, see Anderson, George, 1992, *Housing Policy in Canada*, Vancouver, Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia.
  6. In the period 1954-1960, the CMHC administered approximately 340,000 *National Housing Act* (NHA) Insured Loans and 620,000 conventional loans.
  7. Two recent publications highlight an awareness of the retention of this housing stock: CMHC, 2002, *Renovating Distinctive Homes: 1 ½ Storey Post-War Homes* and *Renovating Distinctive Homes: One-Storey Houses of the '60s and '70s*, Ottawa, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.
  8. For a description of the context for the development of post-war housing in Canada, see Denhez, Marc, 1994, *The Canadian Home. From Cave to Electronic Cocoon*, Toronto, Dundurn Press, p. 79-126.
  9. Although the radio was widely accessible to Canadian homes, it is outside the scope of this investigation. Television did not appear in Canadian households until the mid-1950s.
  10. Tippet, Maria, 1990, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 36. Tippet's investigation focuses on the creative and performing arts in Canada.
  11. See McLuhan, Marshall, 1962, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: the Making of Typographic Man*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press; and Cavell, Richard, 2002, *McLuhan in Space: a Cultural Geography*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
  12. Williams, Raymond, 1981, *Culture*, Cambridge, Fontana Paperback, p. 10.
  13. *Ibid.*
  14. *Ibid.*
  15. *Id.*, p. 13.
  16. For an extensive exploration of the role that the magazine has played in the influence of culture, see Matthew Schneirov, 1994, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America 1893-1914*, New York, Columbia University Press.
  17. Korinek, Valerie J., 2000, *Roughing it in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
  18. Williams, as discussed in Korinek, p. 382.
  19. Korinek, p. 16.
  20. It is difficult to establish exact figures for periodical readership during the time period of this investigation. Other researchers have reviewed the impact of magazines, particularly those from the USA, on American markets. Such magazines did permeate the Canadian marketplace; however, the *CH&G* appears to be the single and consequently most influential periodical of its kind in English-speaking Canada.
  21. There are several other threads that are to be pursued in future studies. The first is the rise of other media, namely television, and the ways in which early television advanced ideas of modern living, particularly as they related to the single-family house promoted by the CMHC. Another thread to be explored is the ways in which consumer culture attached itself to the suburban house and extended this domain into the everyday object. Home decorating services, through national department stores, such as the T. Eaton Company and the Robert Simpson Company, played a significant role in the furnishing and decorating of houses depicted in the magazine, underscoring the interplay between house design, lifestyle, and the cultural appurtenances necessary for that lifestyle.
  22. Strong-Boag, Veronica, 2002 [4<sup>th</sup> ed.], "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-1960," In Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason, and Adele Perry (eds.), *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, Don Mills, Oxford University Press.
  23. Larry Bourne identifies three phases of urban settlement under the aegis of the CMHC. The first, a period from 1945-1964, saw a rapid growth in population and the creation of new suburban communities across Canada. In 1941 only 24% of Canadians lived in suburbs. By 1961 that number had increased to 45%. (Bourne, Larry, 1993, "The Changing Settlement Environment of Housing," In John R. Miron (ed.), *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 272.)
  24. Bauer, Catherine, 1934, *Modern Housing*, Cambridge, Riverside Press, p. xv.
  25. *Id.*, p. 146.
  26. *Id.*, p. 212.
  27. *Id.*, p. 106.
  28. See Yorke, Francis Reginald Stevens and Penelope Whiting, 1953, *The New Small House*, London, The Architectural Press.
  29. Yorke, Francis Reginald Stevens, 1937 [3<sup>rd</sup> ed.], *The Modern House*, London, Architectural Press, p. 5.
  30. Melvin, Jeremy, 2003. *FRS Yorke and the Evolution of English Modernism*, Chichester, Wiley, p. 13.
  31. Yorke, Preface.
  32. Melvin, p. 18.
  33. Ford, Katherine Morrow and Thomas H. Creighton, 1951, *The American House Today*, New York, Reinhold, p. 2.
  34. Ford, p. 2.
  35. Aynsley, Jeremy and Francesca Berry, 2005, "Introduction: Publishing the Modern House: Magazines and the Domestic Interior 1870-1965," *Journal of Design History*, vol. 18, no. 1, p. 1; and Schneirov, Matthew, 1994, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America 1893-1914*, New York, Columbia University Press.
  36. Aynsley, p. 1.
  37. *Id.*, p. 3.
  38. *Ibid.*
  39. *Id.*, p. 5.
  40. CMHC, 1958, *Housing in Canada: A brief from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation to the United Nations*, Ottawa, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, p. III-1, IV-1.



41. Liscombe, Rhodri Windsor, 2002, "The Fe-Male Spaces of Modernism: A Western Canadian Perspective," *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies*, vol. 26, p. 669.
42. *Id.*, p. 679.
43. Strong-Boag, p. 318.
44. Parr, Joy, 1999, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in Post-war Years*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 61.
45. For a sampling of issues brought to English Canadian magazine readers in the 1950s, see Benedict, Michael (ed.), 1999, *Canada in the Fifties: From the Archives of Maclean's*, Toronto, Viking Penguin Group.
46. This analysis does not take into account the very considerable role that local newspapers played in the dissemination of values and culture, directed at the home and home-maker.
47. Korinek, p. 366.
48. Liscombe, "The Fe-Male Spaces of Modernism...", p. 676.
49. Parr, p. 163.
50. Smiley, David, 2001, "Making the Modified Modern," *Perspecta*, 32, p. 40-54.
51. *Id.*, p. 45.
52. *Id.*, p. 53.
53. The state had been directly involved with housing production nationally since 1941 through the agency of Wartime Housing Limited (WHL). The CMHC assumed responsibility for housing with the 1944 *National Housing Act* and, with its establishment on January 1, 1946, took over the operations of WHL at that time.
54. Canadian Welfare Council, 1947, *A National Housing Policy for Canada*, Ottawa, CWC, p. 1.
55. The full intent of the Act is clear from its subtitle, "An Act to Promote the Construction of New Houses, the Repair and Modernization of Existing Houses, the Improvement of Housing and Living Conditions, and the expansion of Employment in the Post-war Period."
56. Carver, Humphrey, 1948, *Houses for Canadians*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 6.
57. For an extensive description, see Clayton, Frank A., 1989, "The Single-family Home-building Industry in Canada 1946-2001," In Tom Carter (ed.), *CMHC and the Building Industry: Forty Years of Partnership. Occasional Paper 18*, Winnipeg: Institute for Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg.
58. McKellar, James, 1993, "Building Technology and the Production Process," In Miron (ed.), *House, Home, and Community*, *op. cit.*
59. See Liscombe, Rhodri Windsor, 1997, *The New Spirit: Modern Architecture in Vancouver: 1938-1963*, Montreal, Canadian Centre for Architecture, p. 114.
60. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1947, *67 Homes for Canadians*, Ottawa, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, p. 1.
61. Gitterman, S.A., 1986, "An Old Challenge" in *Housing a Nation: 40 Years of Achievement / Un toit pour tous : Quarante années de réalisations*, Ottawa, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, p. 81.
62. CMHC *Annual Reports*, Ottawa, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1947, 1965.
63. CMHC *Annual Report*, Ottawa, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1946, p. 23.
64. For an extensive discussion on the WHL and projects in Vancouver and Montreal, see Wade, Jill, 1994, *Houses for All: The Struggle for Social Housing in Vancouver, 1919-1950*, Vancouver, The UBC Press; and Adams, Annmarie and Pieter Sijpkens, 1995, "War-time Housing and Architectural Change, 1942-1992," *Canadian Folklore Canadien*, vol. 17, no. 2, p. 13-29.
65. CMHC, *67 Homes for Canadians*, p. 77.
66. CMHC, *67 Homes for Canadians*, p. 76.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. The pattern book has been a vehicle for disseminating house plans and information on housing design since the late eighteenth century. For a discussion of the role of pattern books, with particular emphasis on housing in Canada, see Ennals, Peter and Deryck W. Holdsworth, 1998, *Homeplace: The Making of the Canadian Dwelling*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 109-120, 192-212.
70. CMHC, 1965, *Small House Designs*, Ottawa, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Introduction.
71. This list was assembled based on information on record in the CMHC Information Centre, Ottawa. In most instances, these publications were also produced in French.
72. The date of publication is an approximation as the publication is undated.
73. This list is by no means comprehensive. The materials produced by the CMHC in both English and French are extensive and merit a separate investigation.
74. Gitterman, p. 81.
75. Denhez, p. 79.
76. Holdsworth, Deryck W. and Joan Simon, 1993, "Housing Form and Use of Domestic Space," In Miron (ed.), *House, Home, and Community*, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
77. The role of Canadian Schools of Architecture in this period has been discussed extensively in analyses of the take up of modernism across the country. (See Liscombe, *The New Spirit...*, *op. cit.*; and Keshavjee, Serena (ed.), 2006 *Winnipeg Modern: Architecture 1945-1975*, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, particularly the chapter by Kelly Crossman, "The Meaning of White," p. 131-152.)
78. Author's assessment.
79. *RAIC Journal*, September 1946, p. 206.
80. Hudnut, Joseph, 1945, "The Post-Modern House," *RAIC Journal*, July, p. 139.
81. *Ibid.*
82. For an extensive discussion of the architect A.J. (Jim) Donohue, see Crossman, p. 138-139.
83. "Feature: Residential Interiors," *RAIC Journal*, August, p. 293-294.
84. Based on an estimated Canadian population of 13.6 million.
85. *Chatelaine*, by contrast, reached almost 7% of Canadian households at a circulation of 375,000.
86. Sutherland, Fraser, 1989, *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789-1989*, Toronto, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, p. 157.
87. Valerie J. Korinek categorizes the *CH&G* as "upscale" and *Mayfair* as "society" publications; however, no further explanation of these categorizations is given (Korinek, p. 33).
88. The *CH&G* continued to be published until July 1962 and *Mayfair* until 1961. *Chatelaine* is still published.

89. In the period 1946-1950, the *CH&G* presented only one article addressing housing production, as compared with the *JRAIC* that featured nine articles (many of which were editorials) during the same period.
90. *CH&G*, "Five Designs for the Forgotten Buyer," February 1959.
91. *CH&G*, "Planning the Small Home," November 1945, p. 36.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *CH&G*, "A Two Plan Family House," November 1952, p. 28-29.
94. *CH&G*, "This House Gets Extra Space without a Basement," June 1956, p. 111.
95. *CH&G* "Good Use of Space Here," December 1951, p. 31-35.
96. *CH&G*, "This is the House that You Built," February 1945, p. 17-20.
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Id.*, p. 21.
99. Clayton Research Associates and Scanada Consultants, 1989, "*Working Paper Two*" *The Evolution of the Housing Industry in Canada, 1946-86: The Housing Industry, Perspective and Prospective*, Ottawa, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, p. 6.
100. *CH&G*, "How the Morrisons Manage to Budget, Build and Furnish," April 1948, p. 21-28.
101. *CH&G*, "How New is Modern?," January 1948, p. 16.
102. *Id.*, p. 18.
103. *CH&G* "The Brooks-Hills Wanted Traditional; The Yolles Proved a Point," May 1950, p. 42-43.
104. Skarburskis, A., 1993, "Net Changes in Canada's Post-war Housing Stock," In Miron (ed.), *House, Home, and Community*, *op. cit.*, Table 9.1, p. 157.
105. *CH&G*, "...the children take their friends through proudly," May 1953, p. 16-18.
106. *CH&G*, "The Poolside Life," May 1962, p. 16-20.