

## Exhibiting Women Artists in 1940s Quebec: Femina at the Musée de la Province

### Exposer les femmes artistes dans le Québec des années 1940 : Femina au Musée de la Province

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#### Abstract

The rise in the popularity of surrealist-inspired art often takes centre stage in any retelling of the art world in 1940s Quebec. Exhibitions by groups such as Prisme d'Yeux and the Automatistes often eclipse other important shows. Femina, which opened in 1947 at the Musée de la Province, was one of these noteworthy exhibitions. Femina included 140 works by seven contemporary women artists: Sylvia Daoust, Simone Dénéchaud, Suzanne Duquet, Claire Fauteux, Agnès Lefort, G. Paige Pinneo, and Marian Dale Scott. This exhibition was about affirming - not making - the reputations of modern accomplished artists, many of whom were art educators. Femina was a milestone for the development of art by women artists in Quebec. This study builds upon previously published work on the exhibition, broadening and expanding the topic, looking at the role of the exhibition in the careers of the artists, and placing the exhibition in the context of art in late 1940s Québec.

#### Résumé de l'article

La popularité du surréalisme occupe souvent une place importante dans les récits à propos de l'art au Québec dans les années 1940. Les expositions de groupes tels que Prisme d'Yeux et les Automatistes éclipsent souvent d'autres expositions importantes. Femina est l'une de ces expositions remarquables, ouverte en 1947 au Musée de la Province. Femina comptait 140 œuvres de sept artistes femmes contemporaines : Sylvia Daoust, Simone Dénéchaud, Suzanne Duquet, Claire Fauteux, Agnès Lefort, G. Paige Pinneo et Marian Dale Scott. Cette exposition avait pour but d'affirmer la réputation d'artistes modernes accomplis, dont plusieurs étaient des enseignantes en art. Femina a marqué une étape importante dans le développement de l'art des femmes artistes au Québec. Cet article s'appuie sur les quelques études déjà publiées à propos de l'exposition, en élargissant le sujet et en examinant le rôle de l'exposition dans la carrière des artistes, tout en plaçant l'exposition dans le contexte de l'art au Québec à la fin des années 1940.

# Exhibiting Women Artists in 1940s Quebec: *Femina* at the Musée de la Province<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

The rise in the popularity of surrealist-inspired art often takes centre stage in any retelling of the art world in 1940s Quebec. Exhibitions by groups such as Prisme d'Yeux and the Automatistes often eclipse other important shows. *Femina*, which opened in 1947 at the Musée de la Province, was one of these noteworthy exhibitions. *Femina* included 140 works by seven contemporary women artists: Sylvia Daoust, Simone Dénéchaud, Suzanne Duquet, Claire Fauteux, Agnès Lefort, G. Paige Pinneo, and Marian Dale Scott. This exhibition was about affirming - not making - the reputations of modern accomplished artists, many of whom were art educators. *Femina* was a milestone for the development of art by women artists in Quebec. This study builds upon previously published work on the exhibition, broadening and expanding the topic, looking at the role of the exhibition in the careers of the artists, and placing the exhibition in the context of art in late 1940s Québec.



**Figure 1.** Roland Charuest, *Exposition Fémina au Musée Provincial du Québec, 1947* Photograph. Bibliothèque et archives Nationale du Québec

## Introduction

From February 10 to March 16, 1947, the exhibition *Femina* was presented at the Musée de la Province in Quebec City. It brought together the work of seven Montreal women artists. Local newspapers spread the word about this all-female exhibition and encouraged their readers to see what they characterized as a resolutely modern show. 4,400 people came to see *Femina*, according to an article published in *Le Soleil* on March 19, 1947 (p. 22). The museum's promotion of the exhibition—it was carefully documented by Roland Charuest with installation photos as well as some photographs of individual works (Fig. 1)—signaled that it was designed to have an impact on the museum, the artists, and perhaps the larger arts community<sup>2</sup>.

With 140 works, *Femina* was certainly impressive in scale, but it has not come to be known as a landmark show in Quebec art history or necessarily even in the exhibition histories of the individual women who participated. The most substantial recounting about the story of *Femina* is in *Femmes artistes du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle du Québec* in which author Esther Trépanier devotes several pages to the history of the exhibition and a brief essay on participant Agnes Lefort (2010, pp. 38-42)<sup>3</sup>.

This study builds upon the fundamental work of Trépanier, broadening and expanding the topic, looking at the role of the exhibition in the careers of the artists and placing the exhibition in the late 1940s context. The investigation began with the chance discovery that the archives of Paige Pinneo (1896-1985), one of the artists included in the show, are housed at the McGill University Library. She carefully preserved material documenting her whole career; for *Femina*, she saved correspondence, notes, an installation photograph, and multiple copies of the small pamphlet produced for the exhibition. Using this archive along with documents in the archives of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec and records of other exhibitions in the era, more of the history and context behind the exhibition becomes clear<sup>4</sup>.

What follows is an examination of how *Femina* came to be, its reception in the larger context of art in 1940s Quebec, and the degree to which *Femina* had any influence on future exhibitions. Studying *Femina* allows us to better understand the exhibition practices of the Musée de la Province in the 1940s. Although *Femina* was not the first all-woman art show in Quebec – there had certainly been similar exhibitions in department stores in Montreal (de Andrade, 2019, pp. 54-5)<sup>5</sup> as well as in galleries—it remains the first such exhibition to be held at the government’s own art museum. It is also notable among all-woman exhibitions in Quebec because of the great media attention it garnered across the province.

Although with hindsight we can ascertain the importance of *Femina* in the history of Quebec art, the archives reveal that the exhibition had a limited impact on the lives of the exhibitors. We believe that *Femina*’s momentary impact, limited in scope, was due to three factors: the artists had little to tie them together stylistically; they were brought together by a curator and not the artists themselves; and timing was not on the exhibitors’ side. The seven artists in *Femina* were sculptor Sylvia Daoust and painters Simone Dénéchaud, Suzanne Duquet, Claire Fauteux, Agnès Lefort, Paige Pinneo, and Marian Dale Scott. They did not share a common background, education, approach, first language, nor media. In fact, they probably did not even all know each other before the exhibition. Consequently, it is harder to see them as a coherent group. Certainly, the prestige of being selected by the curator of the Musée de la Province Paul Rainville (1887-1952) for this exhibition was an achievement for these artists; several of them sold works out of the show. But it was not an event that would transform their careers.

### The history of the exhibition

The story of *Femina* seems to begin in April 1944, when Pinneo wrote to Rainville, wondering if he would consider her for a solo exhibition<sup>6</sup>. Rainville wrote back that he knew her work but that unfortunately, he had too many requests for individual exhibitions. He was, however, open to organizing a group show. Did she have suggestions, he asked? Pinneo, well-connected in the Montreal arts community, consulted fellow artist Ethel Seath. Pinneo then

wrote back suggesting Seath as well as three women Seath thought would be worth inviting: Anne Savage, Nora Collyer, and Mabel Lockerby<sup>7</sup>. Seath and her three suggested participants were Montreal-born and associated with the group that has come to be called the Beaver Hall Group; Pinneo, who was from Nova Scotia, was not, as she did not come to the city until the late 1930s. However, she had quickly become a part of the community as a teacher, a writer on art, and a frequent exhibitor. Although it has been speculated that Rainville got the idea for *Femina* as late as 1946 while on a trip to Montreal (Trépanier, 2010, p. 40) Pinneo's 1944 letter seems to be the initial starting point for the 1947 exhibition.

After a career in an insurance company, Paul Rainville was named assistant curator of the Musée de la Province in 1931. In 1941, he was promoted to curator, a position he held until his death in 1952. In the mid-1940s, Rainville had changed the exhibition program of the Musée so that it would include largely group exhibitions, rather than shows by individual artists<sup>8</sup>. Rainville was also an active museum professional on the national scene; in 1945, he collaborated with curators at the Art Association of Montreal, the National Gallery of Canada, and the Art Gallery of Toronto to produce *The Development of Painting in Canada 1665-1945*: a huge 239-work historical painting survey exhibition of Canadian art that went to all four institutions (Pincoe *et al.*, 1945).

For *Femina*, Rainville ultimately created his own shortlist of more contemporary artists that included Pinneo, but not any of her suggested participants. He invited Sylvia Daoust, Simone Dénéchaud, Suzanne Duquet, Prudence Heward, Agnès Lefort, Alice Nolin, and Pinneo to exhibit at the museum<sup>9</sup>. Alice Nolin would be unable to participate because of family obligations and Prudence Heward would fall ill before the details could be finalized and pass away two days after the exhibition closed in March of 1947. Marguerite Fainmel was invited to participate but refused to pay the \$17.65 required of each artist to cover the costs of printing the catalogue and invitations, and the *vin d'honneur* at the opening night<sup>10</sup>. Marian Dale Scott and Claire Fauteux were then added to the roster, thus setting the total number of exhibitors to seven. Notably, Dénéchaud, Heward, Lefort, and Scott had all been included in the earlier *The Development of Painting in Canada 1665-1945* exhibition co-curated by Rainville<sup>11</sup>. Although the list that Pinneo had originally sent to Rainville was comprised entirely of anglophone artists, the final selection included a more balanced representation of both anglophone and francophone artists and a broader range of styles.

In his opening remarks during the exhibition's vernissage on 10 March 1947, Rainville highlighted and applauded the dedication of the exhibitors to arts education. Indeed, Rainville said:

*Ces artistes méritent nos félicitations les plus sincères, car lorsqu'on sait l'effort que demande l'enseignement, parfois très ingrat de l'art, on se demande comment et quand les artistes peuvent trouver le temps nécessaire pour donner libre cours à leur inspiration. Cependant, durant leurs heures de loisir, trop peu nombreuses, hélas, nos artistes ont su faire une œuvre qui les honore et dont on peut être fier, à juste titre<sup>12</sup>.*

Rainville thus seemed to want to emphasize the creativity of art teachers<sup>13</sup>. Yet he also emphasized that these artists created works in their free time. In so doing, Rainville came close to falling into the familiar trap of equating women artists' œuvre to a pastime rather than to a serious career. Within the prevailing hierarchy of art at the time, women art educators, like illustrators and caricaturists, were often dismissed as less serious, less professional than male artists. Nonetheless, Rainville maintained that the artists "*se sont distinguées par leur contribution à la vie artistique de la province*"<sup>14</sup>.

Rainville's final selection of artists for *Femina*<sup>15</sup> included women whose work represented a broad range of artistic expression from religious art to portraiture, landscape, and even abstraction. From Pinneo's correspondence we also learned that the artists themselves selected their works to be included in the exhibition<sup>16</sup>. And while Rainville's introduction to the catalogue emphasized the role of the artists as teachers, readers would also find in the short biographies provided by the artists that not all of them mentioned teaching. Sylvia Daoust, who did teach at the École des beaux-arts de Québec, did not mention it in her biography, nor did Marian Dale Scott, who, at the time, was teaching at St. George's School in Westmount<sup>17</sup>.

### The Women Artists in *Femina*

The women in *Femina* were all mid-career artists. Younger women artists of the era, such as Françoise Sullivan or Rita Letendre, would embrace new approaches to art developing as of the 1940s, while a generation of older artists such as Lilian Torrance Newton or Anne Savage—who had already produced bold and innovative works for their time—would not. For the seven *Femina* artists, the choice was theirs. Two would change their style, the others would not; four would focus more on teaching, and one would give up painting altogether.

The artist whose subject matter was the most traditional was Sylvia Daoust (1902-2004), the only sculptor included in *Femina*. At the time of the exhibition, she was a member of the artists group *Le Retable*, founded in 1946 and a vital element of the *Renouveau de l'art religieux* (Keable, 2011, pp. 164-5; Laroche, 1999). Daoust studied at the École des beaux-arts de Montréal in the 1920s and travelled to Europe in 1929-30. She then turned to teaching, first at the École des beaux-arts de Québec and then at the École in Montreal until 1968 (Keable, 2011, p. 20).

Daoust sculpted using modern, pared-down lines and accepted commissions from a number of religious orders and diocese. Daoust also practiced other mediums such as drawing and printmaking. For *Femina*, she exhibited twelve photographs, two drawings, and eight sculptures including her celebrated *Sainte Jeanne-d'Arc* (Fig. 2; 1943; exh. cat. No. 13; Musée de la province de Québec, 1947, p. 3-4). The photographs and drawings on display were of sculptures that Daoust could not include in the exhibition because they were integrated into religious architecture. Despite this large showing, as far as we can tell, the Musée de la Province did not buy any of Daoust's works. She is the only *Femina* artist to not have at least one of her exhibited works enter the provincial collection following the exhibition<sup>18</sup>.



**Figure 2.** Sylvia Daoust, *Sainte Jeanne-d'Arc*, 1943, Wood and paint, H. : 26 cm. Musée de l'Oratoire. Used by permission.

Simone Dénéchaud (1905-1974), painter of landscapes, still lifes, and portraits, was very involved in teaching through the École des beaux-arts and the Catholic School Commission in Montreal. A contemporary of Daoust—they graduated from the beaux-arts one year apart—Dénéchaud travelled to Europe in 1928 to continue her education. She exhibited twenty-three paintings in *Femina* including *Nature morte aux pommes*, with its clear post-impressionist inspirations (**Figure 3**, 1947; exh. cat. No.33 ; Musée de la province de Québec, 1947, pp. 5-6). Two paintings exhibited were bought by the Musée. After *Femina*, Dénéchaud moved away from painting to dedicate herself entirely to teaching, save for one exhibition at the Galerie Morency in 1969 (Vallée, 2010, p. 223)<sup>19</sup>.

Suzanne Duquet (1916-2000) painted angular, high-keyed colour portraits that challenged the viewer with a direct gaze, as is evident in her 1945 *La Femme en mauve* (**Figure 4**, exh. cat. No. 52), exhibited at *Femina* along with fourteen other works, and bought by the museum following the show (Musée de la province de Québec, 1947, pp. 7-8). She was a career teacher, first offering drawing lessons at the École des beaux-arts de Montréal, then joining the founding professors in the Département d'arts plastiques at the Université du Québec à Montréal<sup>20</sup>, where she taught until her retirement in 1982 (Bouchard, 2019, p. 104). For another 1947 exhibition, this one held at the Riverside Museum in New York City (to which we will come back later), Duquet was praised in the press as "*Un des meilleurs peintres que nous ayons, [qui] peint avec une force étonnante [et qui] dessine avec une sûreté de ligne qui ne faiblit jamais*"<sup>21</sup>.

Claire Fauteux (1890-1988) was in France when World War II began. She was arrested and interned first at Bésançon and then at Vittel. While detained, she made drawings of her surroundings and used them as the basis for a series of works including *Les Latrines extérieures, Bésançon*; 1941; ([Figure 5](#), exh. cat. No. 64). Many of these—twenty-five watercolours and three oils on canvas—were exhibited at *Femina* (Musée de la province de Québec, 1947, pp. 9-10). The purchase of these twenty-eight works by the Musée de la Province was negotiated by Rainville when he came to Montreal in 1946 ahead of the exhibition (Trépanier, 2010, p. 41). One can assume that shortly after the Second World War, people were eager to see how Quebec artists interpreted the war. Indeed, Claire Fauteux's experience in Nazi camps and her subsequent creativity were mentioned at length in almost all the newspaper reviews of the *Femina* show<sup>22</sup>. Her history in France was also mentioned by Rainville in his opening remarks during the exhibition's vernissage. Whereas the canvases by Dénéchaud, Duquet, Lefort, Pinneo, and Scott were mixed together, sporadically broken up by Daoust's sculptures, Fauteux's watercolours were presented together in one room at the back of the exhibition, thus setting them apart from the rest of the group.

Agnès Lefort (1891-1973), who painted brightly colored portraits and landscapes, frequently participated in Montreal exhibitions while teaching at Miss Edgar and Miss Cramp's School. In October 1950, she opened her own gallery. The Agnès Lefort Gallery would go on to be one of the most important and innovative art galleries in Montreal (Duval, 1952, p. 37; see also [Lafleur \(2024\)](#) in this issue of *Le Carnet*). For *Femina*, Agnès Lefort presented nineteen paintings including *Vers la montagne bleue* ([Figure 6](#), exh. cat. No.96, Musée de la province de Québec, 1947, pp. 11-12). Three of the works were acquired by the institution in 1947-1948 (Trépanier, 2019).

Marian Dale Scott (1906-1993) showed eighteen artworks at *Femina*, one of which was bought by the Musée de la Province<sup>23</sup>. At that point, her work was on the cusp of abstraction as she explored city themes as well as natural forms—from closeup views of flowers to cells and fossils. The work selected for purchase by the Musée was *Fire Escape* dated 1939, perhaps the most realistic of her works in the exhibition. The majority of the paintings that the artist selected for the exhibition—including *Cement*, (Fig. 7; 1940; exh. cat. No. 127) now considered among her most significant paintings—were from the 1940s and represented her more recent and adventurous compositions<sup>24</sup>. Following *Femina*, Scott continued to be an active participant in exhibitions; her painting style continued to move toward abstraction and by the end of the 1950s it was completely nonrepresentational. She participated in many important exhibitions in the 1950s and 1960s such as the 1953 *Place des artistes* exhibition organized by Marcelle Ferron and Fernand Leduc, among others (Gagnon, 1998, pp. 840-849). Her career as a teacher was sporadic and limited; she did not teach art after 1952<sup>25</sup>.



**Figure 7.** Marian Dale Scott, *Cement*, 1940. Oil on canvas, 65 x 54.5 cm. McGill Visual Arts Collection, 1975-055 © Estate of the Artist.

Finally, Paige Pinneo, the watercolour painter whose letter to Rainville may have been the spark behind the idea of the show, was a writer and educator who taught for many years in Protestant Montreal high schools and ardently fought for the importance of art in education. Of the fifteen works Pinneo exhibited, two of her watercolours were bought by the Musée de la Province, one of which was *Ombres sous les quais, Le Bic, Québec* (Musée de la province de Québec, 1947, pp. 13-4)<sup>26</sup>.

### *Femina* in the Press

While *Femina* was not the first all-woman art exhibition in Quebec, it was more heavily promoted than earlier exhibitions. In 1933, the *Exposition de peintures féminines* opened at Eatons in Montreal. It included Alberta Cleland, sisters Gertrude, Alice and Berthe Des Claves, Mary Grant, Mabel May, Kathleen M. Morris, Rita Mount, Jean Munro, Sarah M. Robertson, and Marjorie Smith (T. Eaton Company, 193, p. 10). The following year, the William Scott & Son Gallery in Montreal organized and presented *Exposition de femmes artistes*. Shortly before *Femina*, the Art Association of Montreal, in 1944, exhibited a show descriptively entitled *Oil Paintings by L. T. Newton, Prudence Heward, Anne Savage, Ethel Seath* (Pageot, 2000, p. 134)<sup>27</sup>.

*Femina* opened on February 10, 1947, with 140 works. The installation photographs demonstrated how its presentation in a series of galleries at the museum allowed for breathing room between works of art (Fig. 1). This made it very different from the crowded annual exhibitions that showed the work of men and women together. It may be that it was designed to have an impact.

For reviewers, the diversity of artistic expression among the seven chosen artists was the most notable characteristic of the exhibition. *Le Soleil* published several articles publicizing *Femina*, reviewing it, and announcing various conferences held during the exhibition—one of which was given by Jean-Paul Lemieux, Quebec artist and teacher at the École des beaux-arts du Québec (*Visites-conférences à l'exposition Femina*, 1947, p. 11). Anonymous writer "Un Amateur" was especially prolific; they wrote a long critique in *Le Soleil*, praising the exhibition and the individual artists. In their opening paragraph, they wrote: "À vrai dire, si l'art est une expression, l'exposition Fémina qui s'ouvrait dernièrement au Musée provincial est, avec sa quarantaine de toiles, tableaux de tous genre, une des plus intéressantes et des plus significatives de notre évolution esthétique canadienne" (1947)<sup>28</sup>. Notwithstanding the error in the number of works on display at *Femina*, the author was clearly impressed by the show at the provincial museum. The same writer went on to compliment each artist on their work. The author never highlighted that *Femina* was an all-woman show, often using masculine adjectives. The exhibition is proclaimed a triumph, and the writer goes on to exhort the reader to experience the escapism that *Femina* offers. Un Amateur continues, " [...] des peintres de renom [...] alternant dans leurs œuvres picturales et plastiques de l'impressionnisme au surréalisme avec la désinvolture d'un modernisme uni à la magie de la couleur"<sup>29</sup>.

In another issue of *Le Soleil*, an anonymous author, presumably not the same person who signed as *Un Amateur*, writes that the works on display "[...] tirent leur inspiration de sources très différentes qui s'échelonnent entre un classicisme traditionnel et l'abstraction la plus pure" (*M. P.-P. Lorion à l'inauguration de l'exposition Femina au Musée*, 1947, p. 3)<sup>30</sup>. "Abstraction" was used to denote a style that was modern or not strictly figurative. No doubt the adjective was directed towards Scott's paintings. The closeup views of flowers and cells would have been considered "abstract" in the literal sense of the term; the images were abstracted, taken from the natural world.

A positive review also appeared in *Le Bien Public*, and *La Patrie* advertised the show (albeit with the same underlying sexism that characterized almost all publicity at the time)<sup>31</sup>. Finally, *L'Action catholique* was just as effusive as *Le Soleil* in writing about *Femina*.

### The seven artists after *Femina*

Often, an important marker of the significance of a given exhibition in the career of an artist is commensurate with its role in leading to other exhibitions. For Paige Pinneo, who exhibited

fifteen times before 1947, and only nine times afterwards, it might be said that the significance was limited. She would devote the rest of her career to teaching and advocating for the importance of art in high school<sup>32</sup>. On the other hand, Marian Dale Scott, whose style was in constant evolution, enjoyed a successful career: she exhibited in numerous group shows at the time and eventually became a gallery-represented artist at the Dominion Gallery, then under the leadership of Max Stern (Pageot, 2008, p. 201). Suzanne Duquet would also change her style in the second half of the twentieth century. Following her figurative period from 1939 to 1954, Duquet started experimenting with computer paintings in the 1970s. Around that time, she joined *Art Machine*, an artist group based in London, Ontario that explored art in electromedia (Lauder and Hayward, 2020, pp. 12-16)<sup>33</sup>.

Overall, the show at the Musée de la Province was thus not a significant one in the career of the exhibitors. Scott's and Duquet's success, largely attributable to the change in their artistic style in the midst of changing demands among the Quebec artistic scene, is arguably unrelated to the 1947 exhibition. Indeed, their artistic development was more important to their success than *Femina*, which is rarely cited in either of their summarized exhibition histories.

### The *Femina* Artists and the avant garde

Like elsewhere, Quebec saw the confrontation between Academicism and avant-garde art erupt in the 1930s and 1940s. Academicism was the predominant style taught at the Écoles des beaux-arts in the province. Neoclassicism, Symbolism, or Naturalism, these styles were promoted by Charles Maillard, the then Director of the École des beaux-arts de Montréal. Yet so-called *art vivant* opposed the traditional forms of Classicism and Academicism adopted by several *Femina* exhibitors. According to Jean-Phillipe Warren, *art vivant* was new and spontaneous, while academicism was traditional, and rational (2011, pp. 65-70). As early as the 1930s and well into the 1940s, the style was being vehemently criticized by influential artists like Paul-Émile Borduas, John Lyman, and Alfred Pellan who were promoting a new and expressive form of art. Critics of Academicism believed it was "[...] merely the degraded remnant of post-Renaissance naturalism, destined to be supplanted by the 'avant-garde,' the oppositional and innovatory art it seeks to denigrate" (Barlow, 2000, p. 16).

Indeed, in 1939, the Contemporary Arts Society/ La Société d'art contemporain was founded by John Lyman and a group of artists. Lyman "[...] conceived of the Society as a body to bring artists and collectors together, and as a lobby to counteract the influence of the academics in the art schools, galleries, and other societies" (Varley, 1980, p. 12)<sup>34</sup>. Emphasis had always been placed on the bilingualism of the Society, and both francophone and anglophone members were encouraged to join. Marian Dale Scott was a member, as were artist Paul-Émile Borduas and art historian Maurice Gagnon. In May of 1939, the C.A.S. opened *Art of Our Day*, an exhibition of European contemporary art. The main purpose of the exhibition was to "educate

the public” about contemporary art. At the same time, in the United States, Clement Greenberg’s famous 1940 essay “Towards a New Laocoon” was igniting the controversies simmering under the surface about Academic art versus the avant-garde<sup>35</sup>. The dichotomy that existed in the western art world was fueling passions across the continent, either independently from each other or not.

Suffice it to say that in Quebec the distinction between what was seen as academic and what was new art was made clear with the publication of two important manifestoes : *Prisme d’yeux* and *Refus global*, both in 1948<sup>36</sup>. *Prisme d’Yeux* called for “[...] free artistic expression, the rejection of restrictive ideologies, and an end to the juries that had previously selected works for public presentation [...]” (Bouchard, 2019, p. 12). *Prisme d’Yeux* was written by Jacques de Tonnancour and signed by many artists including Alfred Pellan. *Refus global* was a blueprint for the rejection of traditional Quebec society by the *Automatistes*, whose own work absorbed the experiments of both Surrealism and Abstraction. With the main essay by Paul-Émile Borduas and additional texts by Claude Gauvreau, Fernand Leduc, and Françoise Sullivan, the multiple-author manifesto has come to be emblematic of the changes that we now see were developing just under the surface in Quebec at the time (Gagnon, 1998, pp. 975-6; Ellenwood, 1992, pp. xi-xiv).

Although *Femina* did display portraits and still-lives that could fall under the umbrella term “Academic,” the installation photographs show that most works in the exhibition were more closely related by their visual language to the precepts of Fauvism. Formally speaking, and largely attributable to their art education, works like Simone Dénéchaud’s *Nature morte aux pommes* and Agnès Lefort’s *Vers la montagne bleue* signal a personal interpretation of early 1900s French Fauvism rather than a direct copy of the European style. Just the same, the signatories of *Prisme d’Yeux* and *Refus global* found reinterpretations of earlier 20th century art to be backward-looking and uninteresting. Indeed, Claude Gauvreau made the distinction quite clear, as recounted by Esther Trépanier:

*Voilà donc clairement établie l’opposition entre l’avant-garde et les autres. En réponse aux objections de ceux qui voudraient faire valoir que les “autres” s’inscrivent tout de même dans une filiation “moderne,” notamment celle du fauvisme, Gauvreau distingue les “immortels” fauves du Salon d’automne de Paris, encagés en 1905 dans un “fourgon compact” (une petite salle à l’arrière de l’exposition) d’où sortait leur “hurlement explosif,” des fauves qui aujourd’hui sont loin d’être “immortels,” qui sont devenus des animaux “domestiques,” “édentés.” “La révolution est ailleurs,” proclame Gauvreau; “la vie de la peinture a immigré à Montréal [...] les New Yorkais ne savent de quel côté se retourner, ne foutent rien” (2000, pp. 180-1).*

By demoting the Fauves to mere domesticated animals, Gauvreau was downplaying the relevance of the movement at a time when the Automatists and other surrealist groups were creating art that had never been seen before. This new art was termed “better” on the basis of its novelty more than anything else. The avant-garde’s objection to Fauvism was based on history and formalism, more than nationality. The style of the seemingly fauvist works presented in *Femina* was thus not seen as anything noteworthy by the avant-garde circles of Montreal.

The distinction between the new wave of surrealist-inspired art and the works presented at *Femina*—with the possible exception of the paintings of Marian Dale Scott—is clearly demonstrated in the visual evidence. Yet the women artists in the 1947 show were professionals who were established enough to see themselves as having a developed style, not artists likely to change simply to keep up with the artistic trends of the time. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, non-figural art (including abstract and minimal art) would grip the Quebec art scene and its market. The more realistic style of the works of art exhibited at the Musée de la Province in 1947 was no longer seen as contemporary by critics. *Femina*, however, as a model for an all-women exhibition, would inspire many more in the following years.

### After *Femina*: Exhibiting Women Artists in 1940s Quebec

The year 1947 was an important one for the assertion of women producers and their place on the art scene. A month after *Femina* closed, the National Council of Women of Canada spearheaded a show at New York’s Riverside Museum called *Canadian Women Artists*. After New York, the exhibition travelled to Toronto at the T. Eaton Fine Art Gallery, Ottawa at the National Gallery of Canada, Kitchener, London, Windsor, and Montreal, where Eaton’s Art Gallery once again hosted (Pageot, 2000, p. 123). Three of the *Femina* artists participated: Suzanne Duquet, Agnès Lefort, and Marian Dale Scott<sup>37</sup>. Although Paige Pinneo did submit works to *Canadian Women Artists*, her watercolours were not selected<sup>38</sup>. The exhibition grouped together both established artists, such as women from the Beaver Hall Group, and less well-known, younger painters from across the country. But the younger artists did not include more radical artists, such as *Refus global* signatory painter Marcelle Ferron. In fact, Marian Dale Scott’s work was seen as some of the most modern on display, described as “ultra modern” in the review by Josephine Hambleton in the *Ottawa Citizen* (Pageot, 2000, p. 126). Whereas *Femina* was explicitly presented as an all-women show, *Canadian Women Artists* had a more nuanced *raison d’être*. The exhibition catalogue and numerous reviews saw the show more as a manifestation of the difference between Canadian and American art at the time. This nationalist rationale eclipsed any emphasis of the artists’ gender even if the title explicitly highlighted the all-female participation in the exhibition (Trépanier, 2010, p. 42). In 1949, the West End Gallery—owned and operated by Rose Millman, who previously operated the Dominion Gallery—presented a show called *Canadian Women Painters*. It brought together

the works of 21 artists including Marian Dale Scott and Paige Pinneo. 1950 saw *Group Show of Women Painters and Six Montreal Women Painters* open at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (Pageot, 2008, p. 193).

These exhibitions presenting works exclusively created by female artists helped to challenge the common narrative about art in the first half of the century. In 1920s and 1930s Quebec, the idea of a creator, maker, or producer of art was all too often conjugated with masculinity and a mythologized male exclusivity surrounded professional artistry. Indeed, although many women attended art schools like the *École des beaux-arts de Montréal* and the Art School of the Art Association of Montreal, these “*jeunes filles [...] perfection[aient] leur culture*” and the expectation was that “[...] *plus tard elles joueront une bonne influence au milieu de la famille et de la société*”<sup>39</sup>. *Femina* can be seen as contributing to the multiplication of the number of all-women exhibitions that was vital in the demystification of the relationship between being a woman and being *une artiste*.

What is more, the greater number of female gallerists helped to deconstruct the assumed role of women in organizing art events. In the early twentieth century, women presented art in their own homes. The time and energy needed to organize these hangings was not, as Trépanier has noted, considered professional work. “*Sans-doute est-ce perçu comme un élargissement du rôle attribué aux femmes de la haute société dans la diffusion des arts et du bon gout, rôle parallèle à leur devoir de bénévolat*”<sup>40</sup>. Yet women like Rose Millman and Iris Westerberg at the Dominion Gallery succeeded in establishing themselves in the male-dominated exhibition world in the early 1940s. Although Quebec art museums were exclusively run by men at the time of the *Femina* exhibition, women artists were starting to establish themselves and break free from the conventional mold of society. As they exhibited more, women asserted their creativity and control over their art<sup>41</sup>. *Femina* remains unique among this growing number of all-women exhibitions because it was the first such show to open in Quebec City at the Musée de la Province.

While we have become accustomed to thinking of current museum exhibitions as having a stylistic coherence, the history of museums—and in particular the Musée de la Province under Paul Rainville—reminds us that this was not always the case. Among the group exhibitions in the 1940s was an exhibition in 1944 of Henri Hébert, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Adrien Hébert, and Edwin Holgate that Rainville referenced in his letter to Pinneo when he explained that the institution was no longer doing solo shows<sup>42</sup>. While the artists were of the same generation, Fortin’s more fanciful, often heavily outlined compositions, seemed farther from reality than the sculptures of Henri Hébert, the cityscapes of Adrien Hébert, or the portraits and landscapes of Holgate. In 1949, Rainville organized, under the leadership of artist Irène Legendre, an exhibition that included Paul-Émile Borduas, Irène Legendre herself, Stanley Cosgrove, and Goodridge Roberts. One need only hear the names and realize that the exhibition would

have presented a very disparate mix of works; Borduas was a signatory of the *Refus global* and Goodridge Roberts was a signatory of the competing *Prisme d'Yeux* manifesto. Although Stanley Cosgrove and Goodridge Roberts share some similarities in terms of subject matter, their styles are decidedly different. Cosgrove showed many of his signature portraits and landscapes. Roberts mainly showed still lifes and landscapes. Irène Legendre's style borrowed from Cubism, Fauvism, and Pointillism. As for Borduas, he exhibited many surrealist works in this 1949 show (Musée de la province de Québec, 1949). The four artists had very little in common personally and expressed themselves using very different artistic styles. Despite the variety in this four-person show, all artists agreed to partake in the exhibition because, as revealed in Borduas's correspondence with Legendre, exhibiting at the Musée was viewed as a means of establishing one's reputation as an artist and consequently, of enhancing sales<sup>43</sup>. Rainville may have chosen them not thinking about their particular philosophical approach to art, but, as in *Femina*, because they were deemed by him to be artists making good art. Showing the range of expression may have been precisely the point of his exhibition program.

### Conclusion: What's in a Name?

As we look back on the era, it is easier to think of that fascinating moment in art in Quebec in terms of different silos: the Automatists, the women who were teachers, the artists in the Contemporary Arts Society, among others. There were connections and an overlap between all the groups, friendships, polite disagreements, but, of course, a common interest in individual artistic expression. The larger list of exhibitions at the Musée de la Province reveals that many exhibitions had artists from several camps and people who were at odds with each other in terms of philosophy or approach to art exhibiting together<sup>44</sup>. One wonders if too much weight has been put on the idea that artists were working in different styles—not actually disagreeing with each other—and not enough weight on their common goal of exhibiting and selling art. The history of exhibitions, too, has come to be a history of blockbuster retrospectives and tours that have coloured our point of view; our standards for success and numbers of visitors are surely different now.

In bringing together works by a range of artists, *Femina* contributed to the thinking that a group show can offer innovation, surprises, and diversity of expression all in one gallery. It also contributed to reimagining women artists' abilities in the face of the sexism of the time.

One particular aspect of the show that has helped cement it in the history of art in Quebec is, of course, the clever name of the exhibition. *Femina* was more memorable than "Seven Women Artists" or simply a list of names. *Femina* as a name was intriguing, accurately conveying that it was a show by women, and added a sense of sophistication—a sophisticated name for a show by significant female artists. It has found its way into the history of Quebec art—sometimes only as a footnote—but it is better known than many other and perhaps equally interesting and deserving exhibitions of the era.

*Femina*, however, could still have a renaissance. It was an important show; it had a large number of works, attracted a substantial audience, received good reviews in the press, and retrospectively, many of these artists, despite the fact that they all were not frequent exhibitors in later exhibitions, are now recognized as significant Quebec artists, and not just as significant *women* artists who lived in Montreal. When art historians and curators write about or recreate exhibitions, they can become more famous after the fact. A great example is *The Eight Show* at the Macbeth Gallery in New York, a one-time 1908 exhibition that brought together artists “because they were so unlike” (Homer, 1988, p. 130). There have been numerous *Eight Show* revivals—both large and small exhibitions—and many books and articles have been written about the show. Recreating *Femina* would allow it to carve a greater place in the history of Quebec art.

In a particular irony, however, to reconstruct the *Femina* exhibition, the most difficult task would be to locate the watercolours Paige Pinneo exhibited. Today the works by most of the *Femina* artists can be found in many museum collections (though perhaps not on view) apart from Pinneo. As the artist whose correspondence with Rainville may have been the spark behind the idea of an all-women art exhibition, she is less well-known, documented, and discussed in the literature than her six colleagues. She, however, gave her archive to McGill University and her documentation about her own work and about art in Montreal was a great leap forward for our research. For anyone interested in further research on art in the mid-twentieth century in Montreal—about exhibitions, teaching of art in high schools, and what was discussed in periodicals—Paige Pinneo, ever a teacher, has left us her archive as a gift.

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## Notes

1. Our thanks are due to the two anonymous reviewers who commented on our article as well as Michelle Macleod and Lorne Huston. Thanks also to the staffs at the Archives of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec (especially Nathalie Thibeault), McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections, and the McGill Visual Arts Collection who patiently helped us in our search for archival material. Special thanks also to Dominic Hardy, who invited Gwendolyn Owens to expand upon her talk “Timing can be everything: *Femina* at the Musée du Québec” at the Canadian Women’s Art History Conference, September 30–October 2, 2022 and who, along with Edith-Anne Pageot, provided insightful comments on the revised version of this paper.

2. These photos are included in the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec’s file on the exhibition, and are available digitally on the Bibliothèque et archives Nationale du Québec website. “*Femina*- Dossier Générale” Folder, Archives of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec. One photo from the exhibition is in the “*Femina*” Folder, Paige Pinneo Archive, McGill University Archives and three are also in the archival files of Marian Dale Scott at the MNBAQ.

3. See also (Trépanier, 2019, pp. 61-81).
4. "Femina- Dossier Générale" Folder, Archives of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec; "Femina-Pinneo" Folder, Archives of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec; "Biographie de Claire Fauteux" Folder, Archives of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec; Paige Pinneo Fond, McGill University Archive.
5. For example, in Montreal, the department stores held many exhibitions of art by women, both group shows and individual exhibitions.
6. The research for this article benefited from the opportunity to see first-hand correspondence and files about *Femina* in Paige Pinneo's archive. The artist's only connection to the University seems to be a personal connection to an archivist at the institution.
7. G. Paige Pinneo to Paul Rainville, 25 April 1944, "Femina-Pinneo" Folder, Archives of the Musée National des beaux-arts du Québec.
8. The website of the MNBAQ documents the exhibitions held at the provincial museum and there is a marked change to group exhibition beginning in 1945.  
<https://www.mnbaq.org/en/researchers/exhibition-directory?locale=en&page=60>
9. Arguably, this group had more in common than the seven exhibitors who ultimately exhibited at *Femina*. Looking at the exhibition photographs, one is tempted to reimagine the hanging with Heward's portraits instead of Scott's cell and flower canvases. Or Alice Nolin's sculptures juxtaposed with Daoust's. Prudence Heward's *Farmer's Daughter*, painted in 1945, is more stylistically similar to Lefort's *La Madonne des îles* (1938; exh. cat. No. 91) than to Scott's *Crocus* (1938; exh. cat. No. 124), for example, or Fauteux's *Corvée de pommes de terre, Besançon* (1941; exh. cat. No. 63). Heward's colourful, fauvist inspirations align more closely with Duquet's and Dénéchaud's work at the time as well. Nolin's sculpture was similar to Daoust's and works by the two artists—one anglophone, the other francophone—would have been highly complementary.
10. It was common practice at the time to have the exhibiting artists foot the bill for these costs. Paul-Émile Borduas was similarly displeased with the price tag associated with exhibiting at the Musée de la Province when he was invited by Rainville in 1949 (Trépanier, 2010, p. 40; Bourassa & Lapointe, 1997, pp. 338-41).
11. Dénéchaud exhibited *Alice—Petite Ballerine* (1940, exh. cat. No. 211), Heward showed *Dark Girl* (1935, exh. cat. No. 170), Lefort displayed *The Welders* (1943, exh. cat. No. 203), and Scott sent *Atom, Bone and Embryo* (1943, exh. cat. No. 237). See (Pincoc et al., 1945).
12. "...these artists deserve our sincere congratulations, as once one realizes how time-consuming teaching art is, one wonders how and when do these artists find the time to let their inspirations run wild. However, during there all-to limited free time, our artists have created an œuvre that honors them and we can be proud of." Paul Rainville, 10 February 1947, "Femina- Dossier Générale" Folder, Archives of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec.
13. This emphasis on the artists' role as art educators was also seen in some of the newspaper articles about the exhibition. In *La Presse*, D.N.C. writes that "*Les artistes dont les œuvres ont formé un bel exhibé de l'exposition 'Femina' se sont particulièrement distinguées ces dernières années, non seulement dans le domaine de l'expression artistique, mais aussi dans le domaine, plus aride, de l'enseignement*". The same article was reprinted the day after in *L'Action catholique*. What is more, the quote presented above from Rainville's speech was partially included another article in *La Presse* by the same author. (D.N.C., 1947b, p. 4; La direction du Musée de la province... (1947, Feb. 15). *L'Action catholique*, p. 2.; D.N.C., 1947a, p. 4).
14. Typescript dated 11 février 1947 in Femina Folder, Paige Pinneo Archive, McGill University Archives.
15. Letter from Paul Rainville to Paige Pinneo, February 6, 1946, Femina Exhibition folder, Paige Pinneo Fond, McGill University Archives. The authors were unable to see original exchanges of letters between Rainville and Jean Bruchési, Sous-Secrétaire of the province, due to COVID-19 restrictions and then due to building works at the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec. Bruchési would have had to approve the exhibitions at the Musée and Rainville would have had to explain his choice of exhibitions at that time. Could Rainville's emphasis on art education have been his way of convincing Bruchési of the final selection of artists? See also (Trépanier, 2010, p. 40).

**16.** Femina folder correspondence, Paige Pinneo Fond, McGill University Archives. One assumes that the letters to the other artists also instructed them to select their own works of art for the exhibition, with the exception of Claire Fauteux whom Rainville visited in Montreal in the fall of 1946 to negotiate the purchase of 28 works by the artist and presumably helped make the selection. See (Trépanier, 2010, p. 41).

**17.** While she did teach briefly at several schools including St. George's School in Westmount and the Montreal Art Association, Marian Dale Scott's role as a teacher was more limited. The National Gallery of Canada Archives has an Information form completed by the artist that notes her teaching experience.

**18.** The Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec does now have 102 works by Daoust in the collection. However, these works were all accessioned in the 1970s and 1980s. Only one work was in the collection of the museum before the 1970s: *Mon frère*, a bronze bust from 1931, accessioned in 1939.

See (Le partenariat Données Québec, s.d.)

<https://www.donneesquebec.ca/recherche/dataset/collections-du-musee-national-des-beaux-arts-du-quebec/resource/8b00cbfb-a146-4d84-a356-a615ff6b27ca>

**19.** These are *Christ*, 1945. Oil on panel, 48,2 x 53 cm. Quebec City, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, 1947.136 and *Pivoines*, 1945. Oil in panel, 61,7 x 76,8 cm. Quebec City, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, 1947.137.

**20.** See *Suzanne Duquet. Affinités électives* <https://galerie.uqam.ca/expositions/suzanne-duquet-affinites-electives/>

**21.** "One of the best painters we have, [she] paints with an astonishing force, draws with a confident and unyielding stroke" (Quoted in Pageot, 2000, p. 131).

**22.** These articles are, in chronological order: *Visiteurs très nombreux au Musée.* (1947, Jan. 25). *L'Action catholique*, p. 9; *Les visiteurs reçus au musée provincial.* (1947, Jan. 25). *L'événement-journal*, p. 12; *Exposition au Musée provincial.* (1947, Feb. 5). *La Tribune*, p. 7; *Au musée de la province.* (1947a, February 6). *Le Bien Public*, p. 2; *Exposition Femina au Musée provincial.* (1947, Feb. 8). *L'événement-journal*, p. 5; *Avis divers.* (1947, Feb. 10). *Le Soleil*, p. 20; *L'exposition 'Fémima'.* (1947, Feb. 11). *L'Action catholique*, p. 14; D.N.C. 1947a, p. 4; M. P.-P. Lorion à l'inauguration de l'exposition Femina au Musée. (1947, Feb. 11). *Le Soleil*, p. 3; M. Lorion inaugure l'exposition Fémima. (1947, Feb. 11). *L'événement-journal*, p. 3; *La direction du Musée de la province...* (1947, Feb. 15). *L'Action catholique*, p. 2; *Visites-conférences à l'exposition Femina.* (1947, Feb. 15). *Le Soleil*, p. 11; *Au musée de Québec.* (1947, Feb. 19). *La Presse*, p. 13; *Au Musée de la province.* (1947b, Feb. 21). *L'Écho de St-Justin*, p. 4; *Un Amateur,* 1947, p. 4; *Conférence-promenade à l'exposition Fémima.* (1947, Feb. 24). *L'événement-journal*, p. 16; *Visites-conférences à l'exposition Femina.* (1947, Feb. 15). *Le Soleil*, p. 11; D.N.C., 1947b, p. 4; *Exposition terminée.* (1947a, March 19). *Le Soleil*, p. 22; *Exposition qui a été un succès.* (1947, March 20). *L'action Catholique*, p. 2; *Nos femmes artistes admirées à Québec.* (1947, March 20). *La Patrie*, p. 13; *Exposition terminée.* (1947b, March 20). *L'événement-journal*, p. 2.

**23.** *Fire Escape* (1939) was purchased by the Musée following the exhibition. (Musée de la province de Québec, 1947, pp. 15-16).

**24.** *Cement*, now in the Visual Arts Collection at McGill University, has been reproduced frequently and is on the cover of Trépanier, 2000. See also pages 128, 130, 139, 140.

**25.** Marian Scott information form, The National Gallery of Canada Archives.

**26.** Unfortunately, we are not able to reproduce works by Pinneo or give links to images of her work as no rights holder has been located.

**27.** Unfortunately, Pageot's article does not list the names of the artists in the William Scott & Sons exhibition. The archives of the gallery now at the National Gallery of Canada does not have further information.

**28.** "To be sure, if art is an expression, *Femina*, which just opened at the Provincial Museum is, with around forty canvases of all genres, one of the most interesting and most significant ones in the evolution of our Canadian aesthetic".

**29.** "... famous artists... alternating in their canvases and sculptures from Impressionism to Surrealism with the casualness of a modernism united with the magic of color".

30. "... draw their inspiration from very different sources which range from traditional Classicism to the purest abstraction."
31. See (LaVergne, J., 1947, p. 13; *Le Bien Public*, 1947, p. 2).
32. Paige Pinneo Fond, McGill University Archives.
33. See also (Benoit, 1971, pp. 36-37).
34. The members of the Society in 1942 and 1943 included Peggy Anderson, Jack Beder, Alexander Berkowitz, Paul-Émile Borduas, Sam Bornstein, Marie Bouchard, Miller Britain, Stanley Cosgrove, Henry Everleigh, Charles Frimmel, Louise Gadobes, Eric Goldberg, Eldon Grier, Alan Harrison, Prudence Heward, Jack Humphrey, Sybil Kennedy, Mabel Lockerbie, John Lyman, Bernard Mayman, Louis Muhlstock, John Palardy, Margaret Paquette, Alfred Pellan, Goodrich Roberts, Anne Savage, Marian Scott, Ethel Seath, Regina Seldon, Jori Smith, Philip Surrey, Fanny Weiselberg, Peter Younger. Their exhibitions included work by artists who had officially become members as well as artists who shared their interests but were not members. See (Varley, pp. 40-42).
35. For more on the issue, see (Barlow, 2000, pp. 15-32).
36. The confrontation between *Prisme d'Yeux* and *Refus global* is not often debated. Indeed, the former manifesto and exhibition are understood to be a direct reaction to the yet unpublished *Refus global* manifesto. Although disagreements were strong between Alfred Pellan and Paul-Émile Borduas (the two leaders of the two revolutionary movements), we must not forget that both parties were working towards the same goal of deconstructing the Classicism that governed art in Quebec at the time. Yet their methods varied too much, and confrontations thus grew from the beginning (Ellenwood, 1992, pp. 120-1).
37. Agnès Lefort exhibited *Le Collier rouge* (exh. cat. No. 44), Suzanne Duquet displayed *L'Homme vert* (exh. cat. No. 23), and Marian Dale Scott showed *Variations on a Theme: Cell and Fossil 5* (exh. cat. No. 64, part of a series of biology-inspired works she produced following her extensive research to produce *Endocronology* in the McGill office of Professor Hans Selye). See the exhibition catalogue: (Riverside Museum, 1947; Pageot, 2000, p. 132).
38. Two of the watercolours in *Femina* had to quickly be shipped to Toronto from Quebec City before the end of *Femina* as Pinneo had submitted them for inclusion in *Canadian Women Artists*. These were *Memphramagog Barns* (1942; exh. cat. No. 109) and *Wood Interior* (1942; exh. cat. No. 110). Although her submissions weren't accepted, Pinneo's works were sent to the Wakunda Art Centre in Toronto to be exhibited with the other artists' works not retained for the New York show. Paige Pinneo Fond, McGill University Archives.
39. "young girls... perfected their culture. ... later, they would be a good influence on their families and society". (Quoted in Trépanier, 2010, p. 23).
40. "This is no doubt seen as the continuation of the role attributed to high society women in the diffusion of the arts and good taste, a role that existed along side their duty to volunteer" (Trépanier, 2015, p. 31).
41. For a recent and more complete account, see (Milroy, 2021, pp. 13-24).
42. Letter from Paul Rainville to Paige Pinneo, April 21, 1944, *Femina* folder, Paige Pinneo Fond, McGill University Archives.
43. In a letter to Borduas, Legendre explains that although the \$30.70 required of the artists for the costs of printing the catalogue and invitations, and the *vin d'honneur* at the opening night was a high price to pay, the expense would pay dividends because of the media attention and good publicity an artist can get after having exhibited at the Musée du Québec: "*Il peut y avoir une dépense d'une cinquantaine de dollars pour chacun de nous. Cela peut valoir la peine si l'on considère la publicité qui découlera de cette exposition*". "*Nous ne sommes pas obligés de le faire mais il paraît que cela lance bien une exposition!!!*" (Bourassa & Lapointe, 1997, pp. 338-41).
44. See <https://www.mnbaq.org/en/researchers/exhibition-directory?locale=en&page=60>

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