

The Bureaucratisation of Creativity: The Art and Industry Controversy at Central Technical School, Toronto, 1931-1949¹

Lisa Panayotidis

I have the pleasure to inform you that he [Haworth] worked under my guidance and example for several months and had the advantage of seeing the best possible stained glass produced here . . . His work showed so much promise that I do not hesitate to recommend him to you for carrying out the work you have in contemplation.

(J. H. Dearle, Artistic Director, Morris & Co. Ltd, 1925)²

Introduction

In February 1939, a letter was received by Dr. Charles Goldring, Director of Education at the Toronto Board of Education (TBE), from the Luxfer Prism Company, and on behalf of three Toronto stained-glass firms.³ The letter alleged that the ‘oppression’ experienced in the stained glass industry ‘over the last several years is due to one of your Art teachers [who] is also selling stained windows. As he is a good salesman he is cutting into the very limited field of our endeavor and enriching himself without having the cost of keeping up an establishment’.⁴ The complaint included ethical and artistic issues. The firms pointed out that

he is getting a large salary paid by the tax payers of this City and then competing with them, and practically hindering them from making a decent living and certainly from being able to pay their taxes . . . He has more or less of his work done by others so that he is really not the designer of the windows.⁵

The firms appealed to Dr. Goldring explaining that ‘during this period of very limited business it is a crying shame to have to face competition of this kind . . . we therefore request that he be instructed to cease his operations in the stained glass business’.⁶ The artist-teacher in question was Peter Haworth, then Director of Art at Toronto’s Central Technical School (CTS).

On the surface, the letter may be literally interpreted as an expression of the

economic desperation of a number of stained glass firms, and in fact, of the threat of insolvency faced by the entire stained glass industry in pre-war Toronto.⁷ The letter also reflected the dismal situation that confronted all the visual arts in Ontario, and along with the ensuing textual debate, it unveiled an enigmatic and absorbing narrative which touched on education, art, labour, economics, and issues of professionalisation.

While Haworth categorically denied the spurious allegations of misconduct he argued nonetheless for the importance of students' first-hand experience on actual artistic projects. His pedagogical practice was drawn from a traditional apprenticeship model of teaching art and craft popularised in the late nineteenth century by the English Arts and Crafts Movement, and which had subsequently been institutionalised in Art and Technical schools.

Though artistic in nature, the Arts and Crafts movement's socially-inscribed theories and practices fitted in with new educational imperatives of the time which argued against the formalised system of pedagogy and curriculum that was in place. These included curriculum offerings such as kindergarten education, manual arts and art, domestic science, nature study, picture study, and technical and industrial education. Educational reformers conceived of education more broadly as training the 'whole child' – attending to personal growth rather than to rote learning, fostering imagination and creativity as opposed to disciplinary requisites, and to activity rather than passive transmission. Bolstered by readings of Pestalozzi and Froebel, advocates deemed art and craft, not the three 'R's, as the most important curriculum with which to train tomorrow's citizens.⁸

At the advanced technical education level, Arts and Crafts advocates argued for a form of pedagogy which imitated the specific practices of traditional craftsmanship. This method stressed that under the close supervision of an artist-teacher, students learned all facets of the work from the initial design to the finished product. Significantly, students were introduced to a system of production that stressed original design as opposed to the reproduction of a set of designs, the method often used by stained glass firms in Toronto. As a consequence students trained in this manner did not easily conform to the rigid division of labour inherent in local stained-glass firms, often rebelling against the tired repertoire of static and antiquated pattern books. The firms wanted students adaptable enough to take direction, rather than ambitiously aware skilled craftsmen who cared and argued about form, process, and intent. For this the firms blamed Haworth and the process of pedagogy which created students who did not want to conform to the demands of industry.

While the Toronto Board of Education was compelled to deal with the allegations, it quickly became apparent that this was not an isolated charge of professional 'moonlighting' by one of its employees. The 'recurring' complaint, I argue, highlights the conflict and tension between education and industry and their definition of what should constitute artistic 'training' and who and what body should shape that curriculum. As the debates enveloped the arts communities and their most vocal members, interpretations of the function of art and artists in schools became pivotal. For many it was an opportunity to consider the perennial question of who should be teaching art in schools: artists (specialist) or teachers trained in art (generalist)?

In this article, I analyse the debate as it was played out with its particular set of characters, their stated intentions and clandestine motivations, to see the limits of Arts and Crafts pedagogical procedures in departments and schools of art and the restrictions imposed on artists-teachers. Since Peter Haworth was the key figure in this debate, I focus on him at length, in an attempt to go beyond the narrow artistic confines within which his life has been previously written about in order to situate his long career as an artist teacher.

Paul Duval's exhibition catalogue *Glorious Visions* (1985) remains the only biographical text of Haworth's professional life in England and later in Canada. The catalogue is brief, however, and strictly centred on Haworth's massive stained glass production, which Duval correctly surmised 'remain[ed] virtually unknown'.⁹ Responses to the *Glorious Visions* exhibition from Haworth's long-time friends confirm Duval's assertion and further illuminates Haworth's stained glass production in the schools as a clandestine operation in the early days.¹⁰ As Haworth's former studio assistant, Duval was clearly in a position to observe intimately Haworth's process of work. Duval also interviewed Haworth and his wife Zema for the catalogue, filling in the little-known details of his early art education and professional training in England. Significantly, Duval charts an artistic lineage backwards from Haworth to his stained glass teacher Robert Anning Bell and to 'masters' such as Burne-Jones and William Morris whose influence, Duval categorically states, is 'found in many of the windows Haworth was later to create in Canada. Their [Burne-Jones's and Morris's] example provided him with a sound base of craftsmanship from which to later develop his own more personal works'.¹¹

Notably, Duval does not mention that Haworth was closer to William Morris than is commonly known. In fact, Haworth spent several months working for Morris & Co. Ltd. under the direction of J. H. Dearle¹² – a man hand-picked by William Morris himself and trained as an apprentice. Dearle eventually succeeded him as Artistic Director of the firm. Notably, in job applications Haworth was quick to point to his 'appointment for 6 months as assistant manager to the firm of Wm. Morris and Company at their Merton Abbey works . . . [where] I gained valuable knowledge of the production of the famous Morris tapestries, textiles woven fabrics, stained glass and other artistic crafts under the direction of Mr. Dearle the Artistic Director and manager'. Haworth also noted that 'I also executed some designs for them'.¹³ Though J. H. Dearle's name appears as a referee for Haworth for several artistic/academic positions, regrettably only one letter in the Haworth Papers is from Dearle, written in 1925, in response to a prospective Canadian client seeking an artistic reference from the famous firm. This points to the fact that Haworth was citing Dearle – and by extension Morris & Co. – as a reference well into the 1920s.¹⁴

In light of this direct connection to Morris and the English Arts and Crafts Movement, this article explores the process through which the search for the 'appropriate' candidate to fill the position of art teacher at CTS – later to be filled by Haworth – was conducted. How were Haworth's skills and artistic experiences valued by his employers in Toronto? How did his English lineage and old school connections service to shape Haworth as the most appropriate candidate for the position? The search for the candidate discloses by what method and, more

importantly, the reasons why Arts and Crafts philosophies and practices continued to be taken up in Canada as late as the 1920s.

The Hiring at Toronto

Peter Haworth was born in 1889 and raised in Oswaldtwistle, Lancashire, England. Although his father, a cattle trader, was initially dismayed that his son wanted to pursue a career in art, he stood steadfastly by him 'as long as he could prove he could "better himself"'.¹⁵ After a brief period at the Accrington School of Art, Haworth enrolled at the Manchester School of Art in 1911 where he studied until 1913. In 1914, Haworth was accepted into the prestigious Royal College of Art (RCA) in London. With the outbreak of war in 1914, Haworth enlisted in the Lancashire Fusiliers.¹⁶ After three years in France fighting in the trenches and later as a balloonist with the Royal Flying Corps, Haworth returned to the RCA to resume his art studies with the aid of 'Higher Education of Ex-Service Students' awards to finance the remainder of his education. At the College, Haworth transferred to the design department to study under its head stained glass artist Robert Anning Bell who introduced students to the works of William Morris and Burne-Jones. Versed in painting, stained glass, architecture, and sculpture, Haworth graduated in 1921 as an Associate of the Royal College of Art.

Peter Haworth's most staunch supporters, instrumental in his appointment at CTS in Toronto in 1923, were his former teacher Robert Anning Bell, William Rothenstein (principal of the RCA), and Alexander Charles McKay, principal of CTS (1911-1926) and later Director of Technical Education. Complimentary endorsements by his teachers as a 'student of great promise . . . hardworking [sic] . . . and [embodying] the valuable gift of initiative so necessary to gain the confidence and respect of pupils', and 'a distinguished student of design . . . [whose] character . . . is most reliable and influential', made Haworth an attractive choice for the position in Toronto.¹⁷

In the fall of 1922, while employed as a temporary Head Master at the Salisbury School of Art, a position to which he had been appointed in September, a letter arrived from A. C. McKay in Toronto informing Haworth that his name had been put forward for the position as an Assistant Teacher of Design and Craft work at the CTS. McKay related to Haworth how in July of that year he had written to Principal Rothenstein at the RCA asking him 'to suggest the name of suitable teachers for this important position in the Central Technical School'. McKay continued 'in view of the fact that two of our most capable teachers of Art in the City of Toronto, Mr. Alfred Howell and Mr. John Chester came to us from the Royal College of Art under similar circumstances [as Haworth], I had no hesitation in recommending our Committee to accept the Principal's nomination'.¹⁸ Haworth received notice that his appointment was ratified on 8 December 1922.¹⁹ Before accepting the position, however, Haworth wrote to McKay inquiring into several matters of importance: salary increases, relocation expenses, possibilities for promotion, and the amount of time allocated to teaching duties and other school activities. In systematic fashion, McKay answered each of Haworth's queries, throughout suggesting that 'if you are as capable as I

think you are, your salary will soon be increased'. McKay once again stressed the connection with the RCA and its esteemed representatives at CTS, Alfred Howell and John Chester. McKay firmly advised Haworth that 'the chances for promotion are excellent . . . the best men available will secure excellent positions'. In a postscript, McKay added 'cable and come immediately'.²⁰ Perhaps as a further incentive, McKay cabled Haworth: 'Sail soon, bring bride, salary starts sailing day'.²¹ Reassured by McKay's certainty of promotion, perhaps Haworth felt that he could more easily advance in the Canadian educational system than in England.

Since no other applicants were seriously considered for the position, it was clearly expected from the beginning that Haworth would in short time succeed Alfred Howell as head of the Department at CTS. A letter from William C. Noxon, Agent General for the Ontario stationed in London, suggests the privilege accorded Haworth's education, his well-regarded referees, Anning Bell and Rothenstein, and perhaps more importantly his English heritage.²² Noxon enclosed three letters of introduction for Haworth, an impressive list indeed: one to Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto; one to Reverend Dr. H. J. Cody, Church of England Clergyman (he succeeded Falconer as President of the University of Toronto in 1932); and one to Alfred Brown who was to facilitate Haworth's introduction to the stained glass trade in Toronto.²³

In many ways, Haworth followed the path of his predecessor artist Alfred Howell who had studied at the RCA (1909-1913), in some cases with the same instructors.²⁴ Howell was promoted by McKay to Toronto in 1914 to head the newly re-organised Art Department. Howell was assisted by senior teachers, in particular John Chester, a weaver from Burnley, England, who was also a graduate of the RCA, Carmen M. Maynard, and Francis Simpson.²⁵ The authors of the 'Art Department' recounted how 'our first Principals chose men for the art department whose experience touched upon all levels of art [consequently] . . . the department had something of the atelier atmosphere, that is its artist-teachers, students and community saw themselves as an "art school"'.²⁶ The 'benevolent dictator with the soul of a prophet', A. C. McKay was considered the leading force behind the formation and development of the Art Department.

[McKay] saw education in terms of people rather than blueprints and courses of study. He looked upon the Art Teachers primarily as artists and was anxious that they should do some of their own work at school so that the students could see how the job was actually done. He encouraged Mr. Howell to gather a staff of practicing artists around him. In those days we put quality before qualifications; pedagogical indoctrination came later.²⁷

In hiring Haworth, A. C. McKay was shaping not only a particular kind of 'department of art', but institutionalising, based on English precedents, a specific curricula approach and philosophical tradition.

Peter Haworth: Artist, Teacher, and Stained Glass Craftsman

In 1923, Haworth and his new wife Zema ('Bobs') Cogill (1900-1988) arrived in Toronto to assume his position as the new teacher of Art at CTS.²⁸ As McKay clearly envisioned, Haworth quickly ascended through the ranks of CTS's Art Department, becoming head in 1928. Until his retirement in 1955, Haworth carried on consecutive careers as a teacher, administrator, painter, stained glass artist, and noted and respected authority on Art.²⁹ Once in Toronto, Haworth kept high profile and prestigious company in Canadian artistic circles: '[Within] a year of his arrival, Peter had become friends with Lawren Harris and most of the (other members of the) Group of Seven'.³⁰ The Haworths' extensive address book of friends and acquaintances included names from the world of art and culture, business, and the educational establishment. Besides Group of Seven members like Harris, Casson, Lismer, and A. Y. Jackson,³¹ the book also lists such well-known figures as Mrs. and Mr. Jack Bush, art historian Marius Barbeau, sculptor Barbara Hepworth (with whom the Haworths were classmates at the RCA), Mrs. and Mr. Alan Eaton, Mrs. and Mr. George Gooderham, Dr. and Mrs. C. Goldring, and Dr. and Mrs. C. D. Gaitskell.³² The inclusion of wives indicates both a sense of formality and the social nature in which relationships were forged and maintained within this elite cultural world.³³ Childless and with the advantage of fixed educational salaries and substantial commissions from their extensive artistic projects, the Haworths enjoyed a lifestyle befitting the elite circles in which they traveled. These social networks were vital in that it is these friends which either commissioned or recommended Haworth's stained glass artistry.³⁴ By hiring Haworth, they were in fact engaging one of their own.

Many relationships were also forged in the ranks and service of professional artistic societies. In addition to membership in the Ontario Society of Artists (member, 1933; president, 1954), in the Royal Canadian Academy of Art (he was made an Academician in Painting in 1955), the Canadian Group of Painters (member, 1938), and the Canadian Society for Painters in Watercolours (serving as president in 1934-37), Haworth was elected a member of the Royal Society in 1957 and in the same year made an honorary member of the Guild of Art and Crafts of the Women's Art Association of Canada in recognition of his past service. In 1953, he was also awarded a medal in commemoration of Queen Elizabeth's coronation,³⁵ and was routinely called on by the National Gallery of Canada's director Eric Brown to judge and participate in juried exhibitions in Canada and England, for example the 1938 exhibition 'A Century of Canadian Art', held at the Tate Gallery in London.³⁶ The Haworths pursued artistic initiatives that would often put them in the centre of major 'career-making' events such as the opportunity during the Second World War to serve as war artists recording Canadian military manoeuvres on the West Coast.³⁷

Understanding the social and artistic circles which the Haworth's traversed is key to understanding an important subtext of the debate; why, partly, Haworth was able to secure the elite and lucrative commissions which the stained glass firms coveted. It also accounts for the way in which influential social, and particularly artistic, networks were able to assert their professional authority in this debate, though they had no official sanction to do so. When the lines were

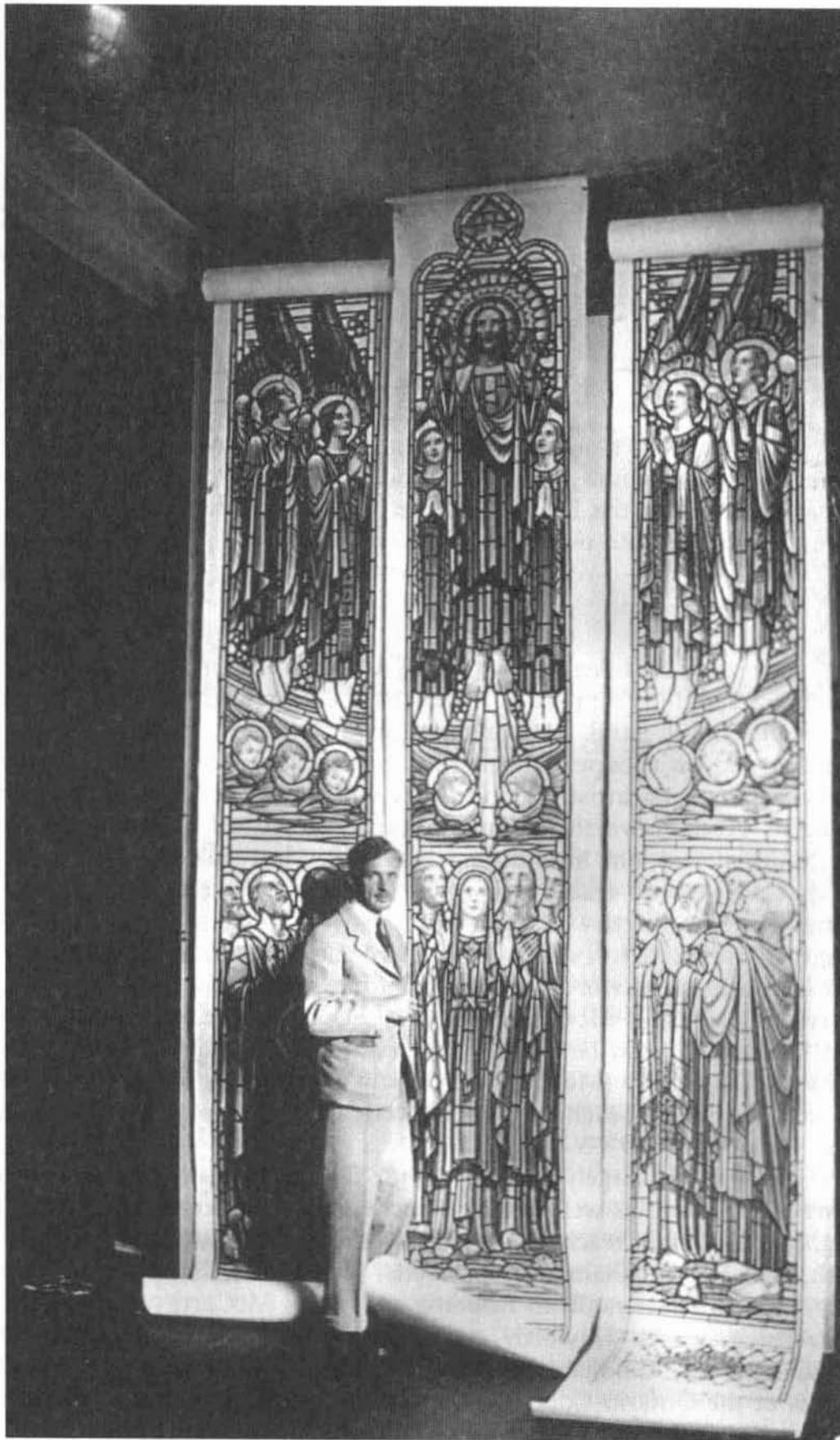


Figure 1. Peter Haworth in front of full-scale cartoons, ca. 1930s.

drawn in this *battle royale*, Haworth was able to quickly marshal his friends and associates to mount a passionate defence of the arts in schools, as nothing less than crucial to the very well being of the individual, communities and the nation.

Teaching Art at Central Technical School

Peter Haworth was commonly known as a dynamic teacher. During his 32-year career at CTS and his appointment as an Instructor in Design and Drawing (1939–1947) at the University of Toronto's Department of Fine Arts, he came in contact with thousands of students. In her daily broadcast for CFRB radio, Toronto, in 1948 on 'issues of art and life', Kate Aitken related the following story:

Last week when I was talking to one of the newspaper men [sic] who buys more art than any publication in Canada – here's what he had to say about Peter Haworth. 'He trains the best artists that Canada produces. Believe me, when anyone who comes into our office and says I took my training at Central Tech with Peter Haworth – I reach for his portfolio and say – 'Kid, let me see your work'.³⁸

Artist-teachers in the Art Department also benefited from Haworth's comfortable manner and his support of their artistic endeavours. Teaching and artistic practice went hand-in-hand. As Doris McCarthy suggests, 'I always knew I was a good teacher and I was happy teaching . . . I didn't feel justified in teaching unless I was also a practicing artist. I don't think you should teach something you are not doing'.³⁹ Peter Haworth, whom McCarthy described as 'an autocrat', was granted 'unusual freedom in choosing his staff'. He regularly hired artists and 'hoped that they could teach'. He often fought with the Board, '[convincing] authorities that an effective teacher must also be a practicing artist . . . Peter encouraged his teachers to exhibit in the juried shows'. Although he fought for the right to hire artists, Haworth understood what certification implied within the school system, advising McCarthy to take the teacher training course and get certified 'then [she] could be taken on staff and paid an annual salary instead of wages by the half-day'. (McCarthy promptly enrolled at the Ontario Training College for Technical Teachers in Hamilton where her practicum teacher was Hortense Gordon.)⁴⁰

Peter Haworth was largely responsible for the hiring of women artist-teachers in the Art Department, as well as for the increase in their artistic production while teaching. In 1932, eight teachers were employed in the day school: Director Peter Haworth, Charles Goldhammer, Elizabeth Wyn-Wood, Edna Jutton, Dawson Kennedy, Noreen Masters, Tom Roberts, and Doris McCarthy. Five of the eight were practising artists: Haworth and Kennedy were A.R.C.A. (Associates of the RCA, London), Goldhammer, Wyn-Wood, and McCarthy were A.O.C.A. (Associates of the Ontario College of Art). Norren Masters was a graduate of the Art Department at CTS who was hired by Haworth as a permanent staff member.

Stained glass, its history, and the process of its production was one of



Figure 2. The Haworths at work, ca. 1940s.

Haworth's principal courses at CTS. Existing course notes and lecture outlines reveal a systematic exploration of the functional, technical, and historical aspects of the craft. Haworth structured the course so that technical discussions were enhanced by discussions of the past and the present. In these classes, he used the traditional pedagogical method of the RCA to teach by example. Haworth took students through the process of drawing and its translation into a full-size charcoal cartoon. Template patterns from the cartoon were then used to cut the pre-selected coloured glass to fit in its proper placement. Once the etching and final details were applied, the windows were assembled and leaded. Though seemingly straightforward, the use of the diamond cutters, the cut glass scattered about, and particularly the leading substance made the process hazardous. The project was on view for the entire class, executed from start to finish using the best possible materials and techniques. This gave Haworth control over production while students had the opportunity to participate in making an actual work: '[There] are gray haired former students who got their first glimpse of the Fine Arts tradition by helping Peter Haworth to rule borders around the cartoons for stained glass which he occasionally brought to school'.⁴¹ According to the outline in class 8 on 'Modern Tendencies Revival', Haworth discussed the stained glass work of William Morris (and almost undoubtedly the work of Burne-Jones and Anning Bell) and we can assume that Haworth iterated his artistic connection to Morris & Co. In the remainder of the course, Haworth discussed Morris, the

importation of glass into Canada, the quality of glass available in Canada, and the quality of domestically-produced stained glass and the use of stock catalogue figures, both of which he deemed 'very bad'. As Haworth suggested in one of his History of Art lectures:

I do feel a great responsibility towards the young people who are being trained in art today. I am anxious that artistic integrity be maintained, that experimentation be carried on, in order to equip the artists with a simple philosophy of Art based on knowledge of the past, so that he may create from the experience of today, using present day life and motifs to enrich our modern development, imparting to it a national flavour, the result of our mode of thinking, and living in Canada today.⁴²

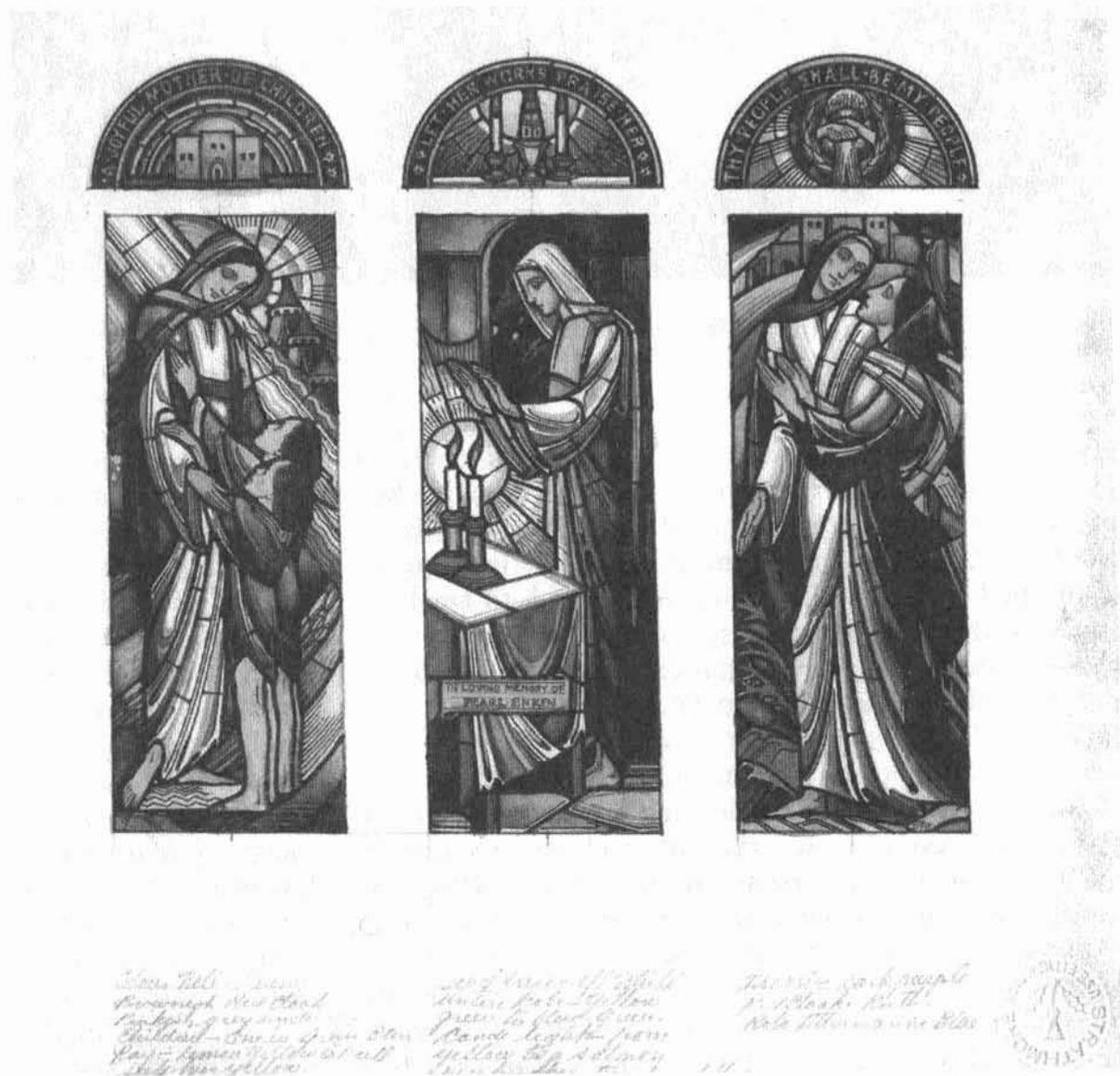


Figure 3. Holy Blossom Temple windows, Toronto, 1943–58. Pencil coloured cartoon.

Haworth's sympathy with Morrisian and Arts and Crafts principles was conspicuous in many of his lectures. In 'The Place of Decoration in Everyday Life', Haworth, sounding very much like Morris, outlined how 'love of beauty and the desire to create it is a primal instinct in man'.⁴³ Echoing Ruskin's environmental determinist philosophy, Haworth added that 'beauty expressed in our surroundings . . . becomes part of our life and personality'.⁴⁴ Most of his talk was dedicated to decoration of the 'home' which he conceived as one of the 'most complete and ample opportunities for self-expression'.⁴⁵ Haworth corroborated Morris's and Ruskin's notion of beauty and particularly of function in regard to interior design claiming that 'The room must fulfill its function. Every object in it must be there because it has a purpose. We do not have rooms just to rush and pile something into them, but because we see some things in certain places to make the room fulfill its function'.⁴⁶

In 'Regional Taste and Aesthetics in the Allied Arts', Haworth bemoaned the deplorable lack of taste of contemporary manufacturers and industrialists.⁴⁷ In a tone reminiscent of Ruskin, he would provocatively ask: 'What is being done to educate the buyers?' For Haworth, design was 'the common denominator of all the Arts. It is timeless and placeless'. Connecting the past and the future, the 'creative artist, whether professional, amateur or student, should normally apply his design sense to his environment. This was normal practice in the middle ages and we must work in the idiom of today'. Haworth reasoned that modernist reductionist approaches seemed to have taken decoration to an extreme: 'In the Victorian era schemes of decoration were choked with ornamentation. Walls, ceilings, drapes, upholstery, carpets and furniture were ornately carved with intricate but rather coarse motifs. Now we have gone to the opposite extreme of no decoration'. When decoration was used for 'cheap commercialism', its only function was to 'prostitute . . . the Craftsman's talent'. Haworth tried to dispel the notion that crafts were the mere purview of the 'hobby people who knit at this or that'. For example, 'ceramics has been a noble art . . . enjoying a well deserved revival . . . in Toronto in particular . . . capable of holding its own in the international field'. Pointing to the plethora of native and ethnic cultures in Canada, each with their own unique traditional handicrafts and 'picturesque manual arts', Haworth noted that this was the essence from which to 'build up a living decorative art'. In conclusion, he noted that it was the 'craftsmen . . . in the past, even more than the Writer, [who] reflected the culture of his times . . . the mode of life of the people, and above all the mood and aspirations of the people'.⁴⁸

Controversy at Central Technical School, 1931: The First Incident

As his lecture notes make clear and as a perusal of Haworth's prodigious stained glass production suggests, the concern of the Luxfer Prism Company and other stained glass firms was genuine. Haworth completed his first major stained glass commission for the Swindon Secondary School in England prior to his arrival in Canada in February, 1923. In Canada, one of his first commissions was the war memorial window for the Ontario College of Agriculture at Guelph, now the

University of Guelph. By the late 1960s, Haworth had completed over 50 commissions in Toronto and Montreal, and in various buildings from New Brunswick to British Columbia. Many of these commissions, such as the one for Melrose Church⁴⁹ in Hamilton and the Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto, were executed over an extended period, and in conjunction with his church commissions, Haworth undertook a large number of institutional projects such as the windows in University College and Sigmund Samuel Library at the University of Toronto.⁵⁰

The original complaint from the firms in 1931 was a reaction to over 16 important commissions by Haworth. At a meeting in February 1931, the firms' representatives addressed the Advisory Vocational Committee with several points of contention (only to be restated eight years later). The latter two points highlighted the links between the educational and business communities:

6) Cooperation in the training of stained glass apprentices between the school and the industry is not as harmonious as desired; and

7) That pupils [who] obtain positions in this industry are not fitted for the trade unless they are further trained by the firm engaging them.⁵¹

The meeting concluded with the committee referring the matter to the chair Dr. A. C. McKay who subsequently presented his Report at the May 1931 meeting. Containing accounts from both Peter Haworth and the stained glass firms, the arguments centred on the 'professionalisation' of the stained glass industry. Haworth countered the main allegation that he did not pay taxes, and pointed out that 'the making of stained glass windows provides work for glass painters, glaziers and installers, and there is very little doubt that my overhead in this connection exceeds that of the firms doing similar work'. He also contended that 'my lectures reflect my personal opinion and ideal for the future of stained glass in Canada, and I have not at any time in my lectures or to the students, disparaged the work of any of the firms represented by any of the delegates'.

These statements testify to an underlying discourse which, contrary to suggestions from both sides, conveyed personal antagonisms. The part of the Report from the firms which iterated previous complaints about Haworth and his encroachment into the private stained glass market suggested that by attacking Haworth the firms were implicitly criticizing the TBE and technical education in general. The firms charged that 'primarily we complain that no effort has yet been made to co-operate with the various firms engaged in this branch of Art Work', underscoring that 'The most convincing proof that the Technical schools have failed to co-operate is that no attempt has yet been made to know the needs of the local stained glass studios ... No call of inspection or enquiry has ever been made. No students from Technical schools have been found suitable for employment'.⁵² To counter this dismal situation, one firm, they argue, instituted its own training classes. In conclusion, the firms emphatically denounced 'a school management which permits a salary to be paid from public funds, ostensibly for the purpose of training help for our own and allied craft, but which is in effect merely a subsidy to encourage competition'. The meeting closed with a decision to have McKay,

Principal Kirkland of CTS, Peter Haworth, and the firms' representatives 'confer with a view to disposing of this matter in an amicable, satisfactory and co-operative manner'.⁵³

Perceiving little definitive action from the TBE; the Canadian Manufacturing Association wrote to the Toronto Board's Advisory Vocational Committee (AVC) 'protesting the extending of such privileges to members of the teaching staff'.⁵⁴ In response to alleged questions of impropriety, Pringle and London, identifying themselves as the manufacturers of Haworth's stained glass windows, wrote to the AVC to correct the inference that Haworth had an interest in the firm. Concerned that the competing firms were branding them historically inconsequential, Pringle and London stated:

We may add that this firm is an old established one, operating on a similar basis to other competing firms, and has been since 1912 under its present constitution. Before that, the senior partner, Mr. Pringle, had owned one-half interest in the firm of Faircloth & Co. who made and painted the windows for Massey Hall and Victoria College as far back as 1895.⁵⁵

The AVC struck up its own sub-committee, producing a report which was released in May. Dr. McKay was charged with discussing the substantive contents of this report with the parties concerned to elicit their 'viewpoints'.⁵⁶ The 1931 AVC report read:

In our consideration of the matter we have endeavored to recognize and preserve the rights of teachers engaged in the field of creative art, as well as the interests of firms or persons engaged in the manufacture or construction of goods of which art and design form a part. In our opinion both ought to be free to pursue their own interests without conflict, trespass or injury to each other, and with this thought in mind, your Committee suggests the setting up for an ethical standard for the guidance of teachers and members of staffs in schools within the jurisdiction of the Advisory Vocational Committee, rather than the adoption of a definite expression of the creative instincts of said teachers and staff members.⁵⁷

For the 'preservation of goodwill for the schools and the school system throughout the community', the report stopped short of any conclusive policy, relying instead on vague notions of co-operation and support.

Perhaps anticipating that the matter had not been resolved, letters of support for Haworth continued to arrive. For example, Pastor M. J. Oliver of Holy Rosary Church wrote how he approached Haworth to supervise a window in the church as 'none of the other Toronto firms will do the window without supervision . . . If you do not undertake to supervise the work, it will be done by Hardman & Co., of Birmingham, England and Anthony of New York will supervise it'.⁵⁸ The TBE thought, for the time being, that the Haworth matter was closed.

1939: The Recurring Complaint

Disappointed with the results of the 1931 complaint and fueled by Haworth's steadily increasing stained glass work, the firms once again lodged a grievance with the TBE against Haworth. The debate was launched by a letter of complaint against Haworth of 24 February 1939 from the Luxfer Prism Company; it brought a deluge of responses on behalf of Peter Haworth and the practicing artist as teacher in the school system. While the firms essentially restated the same concerns as in 1931, by this time Haworth had cultivated an influential support network.⁵⁹

For Toronto patrons, bestowing a stained glass commission was not inconsequential. A craftsman's skill, stylistic artistry, artistic lineage, and stellar references from the English art establishment were all equally vital in a recommendation. Haworth's reputation as the craftsman of choice was bolstered as early as 1925 when Miss A. C. Wright approached Haworth to design a stained glass window. Since he was relatively unknown at the point, he supplied Miss Wright with the names of notable referees to whom she could contact for professional and character enquiries. Miss Wright wrote and received replies from the Registrar of the RCA on behalf of Principal Rothestein who was absent from the College due to illness, from Richard Anning Bell, and F. S. A. Tristram of the Department of Design of the RCA. Tristram was particularly enthusiastic about Haworth's abilities, declaring that ' . . . I am glad to be able to say that he is not only capable of carrying the work through successfully, but I am confident he will give you a window of considerable artistic merit. He is a most able man and a talented artist and I quite expect that when he left England he would have a successful firm in Canada'.⁶⁰ Lastly, J. H. Dearle, Artistic Director of Morris & Co. Ltd. wrote the following estimation of Haworth's competency:

I have the pleasure to inform you that [Haworth] worked under my guidance and example for several months and had the advantage of seeing some of the best possible stained glass produced here. He resumed his studies at the Royal College of Art and as visitor to the college I may say that the Diploma he gained there was well merited and his [work] showed so much promise that I do not hesitate to recommend him to you for carrying [sic] out the work you have in contemplation.⁶¹

The letters addressed to Miss Wright were all found in the Haworth Papers; it is probable that Haworth asked her for the copies for future enquires and to show prospective clients. In this respect, Miss Wright's name and status in the community became part of the standard by which other patrons evaluated Haworth's artistic worth. Clearly denominational and intra-congregational rivalries had been a consistent feature of religious social politics in Ontario since the 1850s. Hiring the architect, the craftsmen, and builders of the day reflected the rising social and economic fortune of English-Canadian Protestant denominations, while bestowing a stained glass window signaled one's affluent and 'moral' prominence within the congregation.

Pringle and London wrote once again on Haworth's behalf.⁶² George G.

London wrote on behalf of the Pringle and London Co. to ‘protest strongly’ at the actions of their competitors whose allegations ‘interfere[] with our business and would deprive us of the work handed to us by Mr. Haworth. The action proposed by our competitors would seriously hamper our business and thus jeopardise the earnings of our employees’. London emphatically stated in support of Haworth’s work with stained glass that ‘we Pringle and London, Hobbs Glass Company, and Miss Yvonne Williams, an independent artist doing quite a lot of work, are not objecting’.⁶³

The debate broadened to include A. Y. Jackson, then President of the Canadian Group of Painters, whose comments incorporate yet another facet of this argument, that is, the ‘nature’ of the artist in the school system. In a letter addressed to Haworth, Jackson acknowledged the ‘old question of whether those engaged in the profession of teaching should be debarred from accepting Commissions or doing work of a commercial nature while not engaged in their educational work’. He offered his ‘authoritative artistic’ counsel by explaining ‘that one may reasonably object if the teacher on salary was bidding for work at below industry prices’. On the other hand, the question of ‘quality’ prompted him to ask ‘[whether] the public [should] be denied the services of outstanding artists because they are teachers. Then you are in danger of lowering the whole standard of arts and crafts [and] the teaching profession too’. He suggested that ‘teachers who cease to create soon cease to inspire their students. Those who would regulate and restrict the artist in the school would have purely selfish motives in consideration’.⁶⁴ John Alford, Professor of Fine Art at the University of Toronto, concurred. In a letter to Haworth, his experience as an ‘educator’ led him to believe that

from an educational point of view it is most desirable that the teachers in art departments and art schools should be practicing professionals, as well as theoretical instructors, and in many cases of which I have knowledge, this is a positive condition of employment in the schools.⁶⁵

Furthermore Alford added, ‘the circumstances governing this desirability are closely analogous to those of the architectural and medical profession’.⁶⁶

Frances Loring, Secretary of the Sculptor’s Society of Canada wrote to record its protest against the firms’ accusations. Loring definitively suggested that this was not an issue of competition: ‘The field of a firm that supplies commercial windows of which they sell duplicates can not be considered in the class with the work of an artist who makes an individual design’.⁶⁷ Stressing the need for practicing artists in the schools, Loring closed her letter by ‘hoping that the issue is purely one of misunderstanding of the status of the commercial stained glass firms and that of the creative artist’.⁶⁸ This latter point illustrates the way in which Arts and Crafts philosophies had differentiated between commercial endeavours and the art industries. The evidence suggests that these letters were solicited by Haworth and used as ‘expert’ educational and artistic testimony in his defense with the TBE’s AVC. The letters also allude to an orchestrated strategy by all involved to participate and be ‘heard’ in the debate.

Ultimately, the TBE was compelled to deal with the matter. In response to the

complaint concerning the acceptance of contracts for stained glass windows, a meeting took place on 26 April 1939. In attendance were school trustees Conquergood and Butt, the Superintendent of Schools, the Assistant Secretary, T. E. Lyon (The N. T. Lyon Glass Co. Ltd.), T. Ewan, Manager of Luxfer Prism Co. Ltd., A. J. McCausland, President of Robert McCausland Ltd., and Peter Haworth, 'teacher of art'.⁶⁹ Trustee Conquergood attempted to have the two parties reach a mutually satisfactory 'amicable solution' by delegating a sub-committee to review the issue. Unable to pass his motion because of lack of quorum, the members present agreed to hear the views of both sides. The firms' representatives iterated their accusations of unfair competition but were quick to point out that these accusations were in no way personal. Instead, they were 'against the system which permits a competition of such a nature to exist'. The representatives pointed out that they were not arguing against Haworth's right to design windows but rather his 'acceptance of contracts which he designed, and then subcontracted the mechanical work to others'. Haworth remained firm in his position 'that he did not at any time solicit business . . . [and] was only interested in the projects which come to him without solicitation'. He also stated that any commissions were undertaken during his own time and 'without the use of any school equipment'. Haworth reminded the meeting that the question had been dealt with in 1931 and that it had been also agreed by the TBE at the time of his appointment that he 'would be permitted to carry on his work',⁷⁰ an artistic freedom similarly enjoyed by artist-teachers in England and Canada. In a three-page biographical document clearly intended for the TBE's AVC, Haworth stated that if he continued his artistic work, 'my efficiency would be enhanced . . . and it was further pointed out that my predecessor, Alfred Howell, had made quite a name for himself as a sculptor engaged in large commissions for war memorials'.⁷¹ Clearly frustrated, Haworth wrote to C. R. Conquergood: 'I feel that my poor efforts have been exaggerated out of all proportion in this connection. I do not wish, however, that my individuality should be sunk into that of a firm. First of all, I am a teacher of Art'.⁷²

Continual cancellations of AVC committee meetings, the lack of general agenda, and member's absenteeism, suggests that the committee may have now deemed the issue inconsequential or perhaps too politically volatile for any definitive resolution. While the Board sought to create a set of policies around outside professional work, on 14 September 1939, a carefully-worded statement, vague at best, revealed no specific resolution to the Haworth controversy: 'It was decided that the firms in question be now informed of the policy established by the Board of Education governing after school activities of teachers and concurred in by the Committee'.⁷³ No mention was made of any specific censuring against Peter Haworth, and Haworth continued to produce stained glass for private patrons.

In 1949, stained glass artist F. S. J. Hollister wrote a letter to Dr. C. C. Goldring 'to bring to his attention the matter of teachers engaging in business to the common detriment'. He asked to be granted an appointment to deal with question.⁷⁴ Though Hollister had retained a relatively low profile in the 1931 and 1939 allegations, letters to Haworth in 1934 reveal that he was in fact coercing Haworth to join him in a formal business partnership. He suggested to Haworth

that 'you and I could do much better work with greater remuneration to each of us and to all concerned in its production without any interference with your duties or interests as a teacher, on the contrary enhancing all that, as well as engendering greater public interest and appreciation'.⁷⁵ In a letter to a friend, Haworth, clearly annoyed, replied:

No, I have never worked for or sold designs to McCausland's and one short time I spoke to Mr. McC, I shouldn't think he noticed me enough to remember my name. This used to be one of Mr. Hollister's pet phobias, which makes me surprised that it is McCausland's not he who are bringing it up. The whole charge of incompetent teaching is added as an afterthought – because their old complaint that M. Haworth could 'underwrite them because he used tech pupils and equipment to carry out his orders', is no longer true (if it ever was.) Well, I hope there will be a happy ending. I was a little annoyed because I didn't see why my name . . . had to be dragged into it at all.⁷⁶

Weary of the unceasing assaults on his reputation, manipulative advances, and eager to pursue his art work, in 1954 Peter Haworth resigned his position as head of the Art Department.⁷⁷ As one friend noted ' . . . I expect retirement for you will be only a matter of ceasing work under some authority which will leave you free to fill your time with the work you choose to do'.⁷⁸ Yet, years of strain were apparent on his face. A letter from his brother Joseph observing a photograph of Peter in *Saturday Night* magazine led him to suggest that 'Your hair . . . [is] white and you look like you mean business'.⁷⁹

Conclusion

The firms that objected to Haworth and the apprenticeship training at CTS's Art Department were clearly concerned about their professional status. Although they were faced with the loss of commissions, the firms were more worried that the system of training advocated by Haworth and his aspersions about the methods of production and the quality of the final products of the firms' factories and workshops would lessen their stature as an emerging artistic professional body in Canada.⁸⁰ A brief perusal of Peter Haworth's extensive and prestigious stained glass *oeuvre* before 1931 makes it clear that the firms did indeed have cause for concern. Professionalism aside, personal animosities, collective collusion, and self-interest played no small part in the eventual and sometimes bitter exchange of correspondence throughout the 1930s and '40s. The firms were not only resentful of Haworth and how he had managed to become the stained glass artist of choice for high end clients but they were also frustrated with the TBE which had hired Haworth to organise the Art Department around a pedagogy and curriculum that was popularly used in English art schools and in opposition to the firms' practices. The firms levelled allegations in the hope that the TBE could effectively censure their 'teacher' from 'moonlighting' and thus accepting further stained-glass commissions.

For Haworth and his supporters – noted artists, historians of art, and patrons –

the issue had nothing whatsoever to do with Haworth personally but was perceived as an attack on all artist-teachers and their unique pedagogical teaching practices in the schools and their outside professional ambitions. Who should teach art in the schools, artists certified as teachers or teachers trained in art? This was a perennial question with a consistent theme (and remains to this day in many professional programmes) in early discussions of vocational education in the schools. Haworth had in fact solidified his reputation in the department and in the artistic community by insisting that all his staff be practising artists trained through the art school system to be later certified as teachers. By this method, Haworth, with the blessings of his superiors and the broader artistic community, was able to organise an impressive and notable group of artist-teachers who all employed traditional guild-like pedagogical practices in the curricula.

The ensuing debate extended beyond the narrow confines of the educational sector to question the very legitimacy of art and artists and their role in society. Resulting exchanges between Haworth and the stained glass firms brought to light the beliefs and historical conditions under which artists came to be employed in CTS's Art Department, and specifically, the kind of support lent to both sides of the debate by both the educational bureaucracy and industrial interests. Whether the firms knew it or not, they were up against not only Haworth but the very structure which had brought together education, industry, and art into a congenial union in support of an emerging economic state. Significantly, the firms seized the only avenue opened to them to complain and used the only argument that promised to grant them a hearing: that the students Haworth was training were ill-prepared for the specific requirements of the industry.

By the 1920s, CTS's art department was considered by its artist-teachers and students as a separate school of art similar in structure and function to an art college, such as the Ontario College of Art. By the time of the complaints the art department had recast itself into an autonomous and internally governed realm. The ensuing investigation of the firms' allegations may have been a way for the TBE to redefine its authority over the art department and particularly over its increasingly powerful and charismatic department head Peter Haworth. Although the art department saw itself as a separate entity within the CTS, the TBE took steps to pull in the administrative reins, and while always dealing cautiously with Haworth, reminded the department of its official role as a disciplinary member of a technical school. For many this action was detrimental to art education in Ontario. Dawson Kennedy, then assistant head of the Art Department (and a former student in the department), wrote in a 1961 article that there were 'shadowy implications of censure or derision of art in general . . . Art education has always been more or less on the defensive in Canada. Until the last twenty-five years – a mere coffee-break in the history of art'.⁸¹ Art colleges and departments in 'some' technical schools such as CTS, he suggested, are the last bastion of 'real' art in the secondary school system. It had been a mistake to place 'art schools into technical'.⁸²

With Ontario's massive industrial and manufacturing expansion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, vocational training – manual arts in the public schools and industrial and technical education in the secondary schools – became a vehicle through which to stream and mould students into a skilled

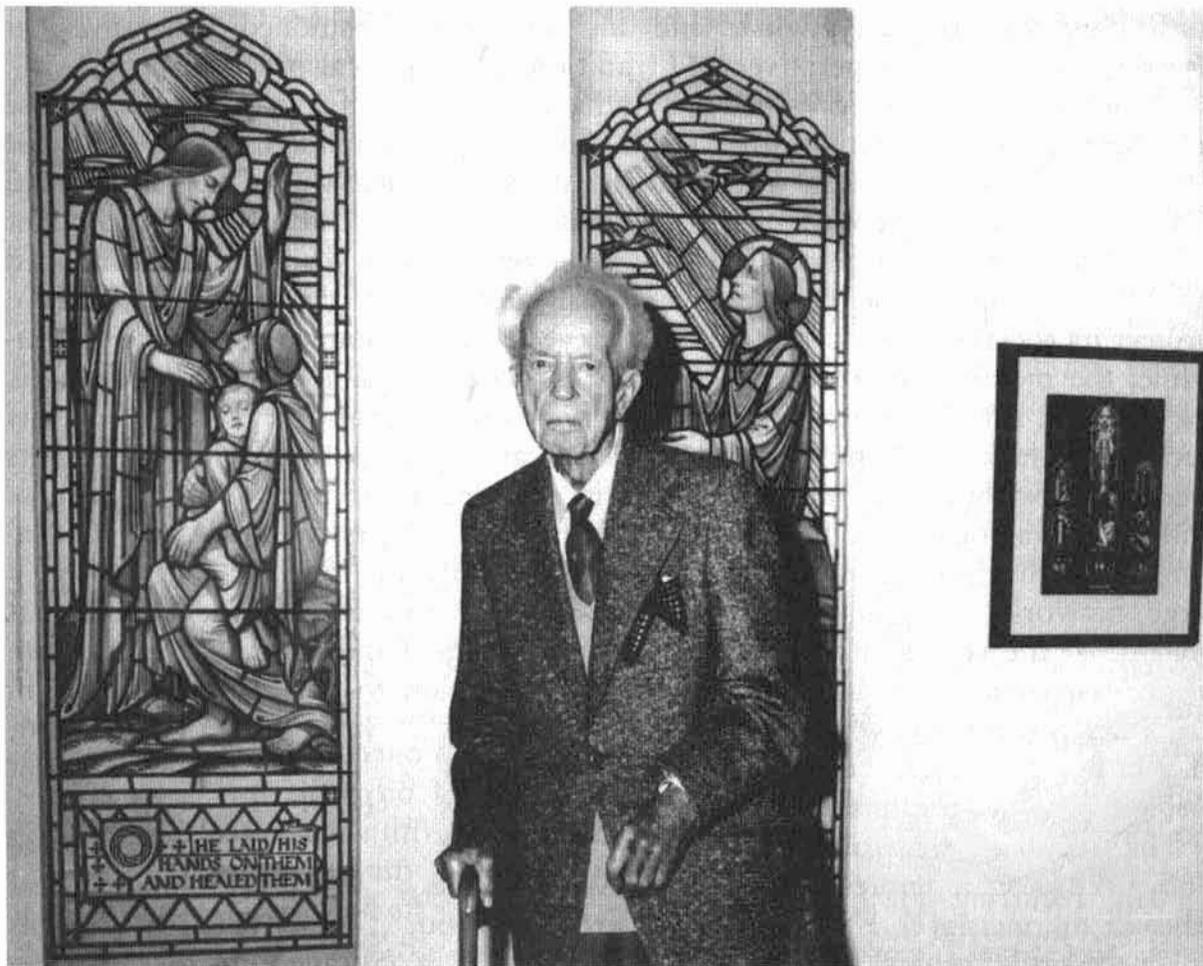


Figure 4. Peter Haworth at the opening of the *Glorious Visions* Exhibition, Art Gallery of Windsor, Ontario, 1985.

labour pool, adaptable to the specific needs of industry. This streaming of students, beginning at the kindergarten level, also served the interests of those advocates who saw a necessary separation between those destined to vocations of manual labour and those deemed for 'higher' opportunities requiring the use of mental faculties. Clearly each citizen had a role to play in the ultimate working of the state.

Although industry and labour had admittedly played an integral part in the definition and structure of technical education in Ontario since its inception, it was not until the Industrial Education Act (1911) that industrialists were able to secure powerful positions of authority on advisory committees within the educational system alongside local school boards. They were in the end responsible for evaluating the extent to which graduating students satisfied the needs of industry. The Haworth controversy brought to light the connections between technical education and industrialists and the growing business community in the early decades of the twentieth century. The business community appeared self-serving and protectionist, intent on dealing with technical education students as a pool of available labour to the exclusion of other educational aims

and mandates while Haworth and his supporters fashioned themselves as defenders of cultural imperatives and traditional pedagogical practice.⁸³

Importantly, this union between industry and education, reflected in the membership composition of the TBE's Advisory Vocational Committee, made disputes such as the incident with Haworth difficult to deal with. The TBE wanted best to ignore the controversy but was bound by the official complaint mechanisms already in place. The TBE was compelled to deal with the offended stained glass firms, and it did so cautiously lest it lose its own autonomy. To protect its social and educational authority was of paramount importance. Meanwhile, the membership of the AVC made objective decision-making problematic for the TBE. AVC members from industry were quick to support business interests because its lack of support in industrial/educational disputes could result in its members' lost business, reputation, and in some cases retribution from business and labour associations. The board and the AVC committee also had to deal gingerly with Haworth who by 1931, and certainly by 1939, had developed a large network of influential friends, both inside and outside the educational system. At the very least, Haworth had almost single-handedly raised the stature of the Art Department at CTS to national recognition to rival any art school in Canada. Interestingly, while the board maintained an outward show of dispassion, Haworth was in fact being apprised by the board on issues likely to arise at meetings and suggestions as to the best way to deal with them.

The recurring Haworth controversy illustrated the growing animosity of Toronto industrial interests towards the Arts and Crafts Movement's fundamental tenet of the inseparable union between art and labour. To industrialists, art was not necessarily central to daily life, especially if it curtailed profits. Waning support for Haworth and the system of educational training he represented was attributable to the increased compartmentalisation and specialisation of labour processes, the more rigidly disciplinary divisions within education and higher education, and the lack of consensus due to poor communication among members of industry, education, and the artistic communities on the role of or place of art in society. The Haworth controversy presaged a dispute over the definition of art in Ontario education and society which lingered for decades to come.

NOTES

- ¹ I would to thank Paul Stortz, David Levine, and Bill Bruneau for reading and commenting on various drafts of this paper. Research and writing of this paper was made possible by the financial assistance of Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Doctoral and Post-Doctoral Fellowships. I also wish to thank William D. Martin on behalf of the Estate of Zema Haworth for permission to publish and reproduce images from the Haworth Papers.
- ² Letter from J. H. Dearle, Morris & Co. Ltd to Miss A. C. Wright, 15 November 1925, 'Testimonials, 1911-1926', Peter and Bobs Coghill Haworth

Papers, Ms. Coll. 5033, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario (hereafter QUA).

- ³ The other two firms were the N. T. Lyon Glass Co. Ltd and Robert McCausland Ltd.
- ⁴ Letter from Luxfer Prism Co. Ltd. Letter to Dr. Charles Goldring, 24 February 1939, Toronto Board of Education Records Museums and Archives (TBERMA).
- ⁵ Letter from Luxfer Prism Co. to Dr. Charles Goldring, 1939.
- ⁶ Letter from Luxfer Prism Co. to Dr. Charles Goldring, 1939.
- ⁷ For contemporary comments on the stained glass industry in Ontario, see: S. Jones, 'Stained Glass and Canadian Art', *Canadian Architect and Builder* 1: 2 (Feb. 1888), pp. 7-8; 'Canadian Women in Stained Glass', *Stained Glass* 36: 2 (Summer 1941), pp. 50-52; Yvonne Williams, 'Some Speculations on the Future of Stained Glass: A Canadian View', *Stained Glass* 39: 1 (Spring 1944), pp. 21-24; and Alwyn J. Austin, 'Toronto Stained Glass Windows', *Canadian Antiques Collector* 10: 4 (July-Aug. 1975), pp. 18-22.
- ⁸ For an elaboration on the links between Ontario's educational system and Arts and Crafts ideas see E. L. Panayotidis, "'Artist, Poet, and Socialist": Academic Deliberations on William Morris at the University of Toronto, 1896-1925', *Journal of the William Morris Society* 12: 4 (Spring, 1998):, pp. 36-43; 'James Mavor: Cultural Ambassador and Aesthetic Educator to Toronto's Elite, 1892-1925' *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* 8 (Fall-Spring, 1997-1998), pp. 61-173; "'Every Artist Would be a Workman, and Every Workman an artist": Morrisian and Arts and Crafts Ideas and Ideals at the Ontario Educational Association, 1900-1920', in *William Morris: Centenary Essays*, eds. Peter Faulkner and Peter Preston (Exeter: Exeter UP, 1999), pp. 165-71.
- ⁹ Paul Duval, *Glorious Visions: Peter Haworth, Studies for Stained Glass Windows*, exhibition catalogue for exhibition at the Art Gallery of Windsor, Ontario, 2 June - 7 July 1985. *Glorious Visions* must certainly be read in light of the aims and objects of the exhibition and particularly the Haworths' financial underwriting of the catalogue.
- ¹⁰ Letter from Louise Comfort to Kenneth Saltmarche, 13 May 1985; Letter from Caven Aitken to Peter and Bobs Haworth, 19 July 1985, Haworth Papers, QUA. A friend of the Haworth's, Kenneth Saltmarche, was director of the Art Gallery of Windsor, Ontario and was a major impetus in organising the exhibition. See also Kay Kritzwiser, 'Haworth's Secret Life in Stained Glass', *The Globe and Mail*, 22 June 1985, Entertainment section, p. 9.
- ¹¹ *Glorious Visions*, pp. 12-13.
- ¹² On J. H. Dearle and his artistic work for the firm, see: Susan Moore, 'The Marxist and the Oilman: Morris & Co. at Stanmore Hall', *Country Life* (14 November 1985), pp. 1494-96; Oliver Fairclough, 'Morris & Company after William Morris', *Antique Collector* 53 (May 1982), pp. 112-15; Linda Parry, 'Morris and Company in the Twentieth Century', *Journal of the William Morris Society* 6: 4 (Winter 1985-6), pp. 11-16; and Barbara Morris, *Victorian Embroidery* (London, 1962), pp. 90-116.
- ¹³ Peter Haworth, 'Application for the Appointment of Assistant Secretary at the Royal Society', 31 December 1919. Haworth related his experience at Morris

- & Co. in his application for the position of Head Master at the School of Art, Salisbury. Haworth also included his experience at Morris & Co. under the 'Professional Qualification' section in his 'Application for the Specialists Certificate', n.d. Job Applications, Hiring, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 14 Arthur Frederick Wingate has also written a brief but interesting account of his employment at Morris & Co. under the direction of Duncan Dearle (son of John Henry Dearle). See 'Working for Morris & Co', *Journal of the William Morris Society* 11: 2 (Spring 1995), pp. 31-32.
 - 15 *Glorious Visions*, p. 10.
 - 16 *Glorious Visions*, p. 11.
 - 17 Robert Anning Bell (n.d.), 'Testimonial on Behalf of Peter Haworth'; W. Rothenstein, 'Testimonial for Peter Haworth', 21 July 1922. Haworth had two advantages in his application for employment: he was relatively mature to other candidates – he was 33 years old when he took on the position at CTS – and he had a distinguished and decorated military career for which he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for valour in 1918. When applying for positions, Haworth always included 'war testimonials' from his commanding officers. Such a reference from Lt. Colonel Hugh L. Meyler accompanied several of Haworth's applications. Meyler 'recommended Haworth for employment in any post where a knowledge of men with power of organising and attention to details are essentials'. Lt. Colonel Hugh L. Meyler, 'Testimonial on Behalf of Peter Haworth', 31 December 1919, 'Testimonials', Haworth Papers, QUA.
 - 18 Letter from A. C. McKay to Peter Haworth, 29 November 1922. Rothenstein's reply arrived on November 2nd. Haworth Papers, QUA.
 - 19 Letter from W. W. Pearse to Peter Haworth, 8 December 1922, Haworth Papers, QUA.
 - 20 Letter from A. C. McKay to Peter Haworth, 3 January 1923, Haworth Papers, QUA.
 - 21 Cable from A. C. McKay to Peter Haworth, n.d., Haworth Papers, QUA.
 - 22 The Haworths eventually became Canadian Citizens in 1973. *Certificate of Canadian Citizenship*, 1973, Haworth Papers, QUA.
 - 23 Letter from W. C. Noxon to Peter Haworth, 21 February 1923, "Testimonials, 1911–1926," Haworth Papers, QUA. Interestingly, appealing to English authorities for knowledge of the right candidate was the same approach used by Presidents Falconer and Cody when they initiated the search for an English male candidate to fill the newly created position of the Fine Arts Chair at the University of Toronto in the early 1930s.
 - 24 For information on Alfred Howell see: National Gallery of Canada Artists Files; 'Local Sculptor Wins War Memorial Prize', *Toronto Star* (27 December 1922); '25,000 War Memorial for Oshawa', *Toronto Telegram* (19 February 1924); and 'A Beautiful War Memorial', *Saturday Night* (5 November 1927).
 - 25 Chester left CTS in 1922 to become Supervisor of Art in the public schools.
 - 26 n.a. 'The Art Department, 1915–1965' (Central Technical School Art Department, ca. 1965), p. 5. With the building of CTS in 1914, the Art Department was given spacious accommodations, 'an impressive forecast of the place that the authorities expected art education to occupy in the future' (p. 5).

- ²⁷ 'The Art Department', p. 5.
- ²⁸ Though it is clear that the Haworths worked jointly on many artistic and intellectual projects and were teaching colleagues at CTS, they were both influential in their own particular fields. 'Bobs' Haworth was a potter who eventually became president of the Canadian Guild of Potters.
- ²⁹ Haworth was also a painter. For contemporary reviews of Haworth's solo painting exhibitions at the Roberts Gallery in Toronto, see: Hugh Thompson, 'Gentle Nature Art', *Toronto Daily Star* (6 February 1959); and Gail Sabiston, 'Stylised Abstracts by Haworth', *Toronto Globe and Mail* (18 February 1961).
- ³⁰ *Glorious Visions*, p. 15. In 1927, Haworth became a member of the Arts and Letters Club and earned life member status in 1972. Letter from John Irwin to Peter Haworth, 24 March 1972, 'The Arts and Letter Club, 1958-1985', Haworth Papers, QUA.
- ³¹ Haworth and Jackson had a life-long friendship and artistic working relationship. Jackson even elicited Haworth's help in supporting his case against the new owner of the Studio Building in Toronto, Gordon McNamara, who was trying to force him out of the place in which he had lived for 35 years. A series of correspondence between the two parties was to sent to Haworth by Jackson as a record of the 'truth' on the belief that 'Gordon is a social snob who cannot afford to lose face in art circles'. A. Y. Jackson to Peter Haworth, 20 December 1954, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- ³² This list was alphabetised and neatly typed with over 200 names. 'Address List', (n.d.), Haworth Papers, QUA.
- ³³ The Haworths were long considered part of the artistic establishment. Their biographies are included in issues of the *Canadian Who's Who* beginning in 1953. The Haworths were also members of The Social Register of Canada Association. Membership card, The Social Register of Canada Association, #4657, Haworth Papers.
- ³⁴ Bobs' membership in such women's groups as the Heliconian Club of Toronto was significant in that it was the women's committees of many churches which were responsible for looking after the interior decoration. In the majority of cases this also included the stained glass. Similarly, membership of the Rosedale Ratepayers Association, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, and the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club (the Haworths were members since 1928) went a long way in establishing the couple's artistic personae and securing them artistic commissions particularly in stained glass. Letter from Edith Turnbull to Zema Haworth, 19 June 1931, 'Rosedale Ratepayers Association' File; 'Royal Canadian Yacht Club, 1975-88' File, 'Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, 1953-1982' File, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- ³⁵ 'Buckingham Palace Medal on Her Majesty's Coronation', 2 June 1953.
- ³⁶ Eric Brown, National Gallery of Canada to Peter Haworth, 5 August 1938; Eric Brown to Peter Haworth, 30 August 1943, 'National Gallery of Canada' File, Haworth Papers. QUA. See also *A Century of Canadian Art* (catalogue, Ottawa, 1938), p. 17.
- ³⁷ Palette, 'B. C. Coast At War Depicted by Noted, Toronto Artists', *Vancouver Province*, (20 January, 1944), p. 17. Interestingly, Peter's National Department of Defense Card which gave him admission 'to all RCAF units, Western Air

- Command' listed him only as 'Director of Art, University of Toronto'. Peter Haworth, National Department of Defense Card, 9 July 1943-December 31, 1943, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 38 'Your Tamblyn Broadcast with Kate Aitken', CFRB Radio, 2 November 1948, transcript, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 39 Randi Spires, 'Landscape Artist Doris McCarthy a Dynamo at 76', *Toronto Star* (25 April 1987), P.C15.
- 40 Doris McCarthy, *A Fool in Paradise: An Artist's Early Life* (MacFarlane, Walter & Ross, 1990), p. 142.
- 41 'The Art Department', p. 5.
- 42 Peter Haworth, 'Modern Art for the Public', History of Art Lectures, Haworth Papers, QUA. This lecture was originally delivered to a Hamilton audience (n.d.).
- 43 Haworth used his lectures on art interchangeably in CTS, University of Toronto, and popular speaking engagements. In fact, in his lecture 'Modern Art for the Public', Haworth likened man's desire to create and possess beauty to the biological 'appetite for food, drink or rest . . . [It was] just as important to man's realisation of himself' (p. 2).
- 44 Peter Haworth, 'The Place of Decoration in Everyday Life', History of Art Lectures, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 45 'The Place of Decoration in Everyday Life', p. 1.
- 46 'The Place of Decoration in Everyday Life', p. 3.
- 47 Peter Haworth, 'Regional Taste and Aesthetics in the Allied Arts', History of Art Lectures, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 48 'Regional Taste and Aesthetics in the Allied Arts', p. 4.
- 49 Upon completion of the work, the congregation of the Melrose produced a small book describing the project and the biblical iconography of the windows. Stressing the educative value of the windows, Rev. Mutch relates in the Introduction that a 'Professor from a theological college, after conducting services in Melrose remarked: "You hardly need sermons with all those beautiful windows"'. See Rev. John Mutch, *The Windows of Melrose United Church* (Hamilton, 1956), p. 4.
- 50 This ongoing list has been compiled from the Peter and Bobs Coghill Haworth Papers in the possession of Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario. See *Glorious Visions*.
- 51 *Advisory Vocational Committee Minutes*, 24 February 1931, TBERMA (hereafter *AVC Minutes*). The firms originally presented a seven-point memorandum which detailed their grievances. At the meeting with the AVC committee, only the points which actually dealt with the school facilities, students, and the issue of public moneys were raised. 'Competition by Art Teacher', 9 March 1931, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 52 *AVC Minutes*, 10 May 1931.
- 53 *AVC Minutes*, 10 May 1931.
- 54 *AVC Minutes*, 28 April 1931.
- 55 Letter from Pringle and London to S. J. McMaster, 18 May 1931, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 56 Notably at the 26 May 1931 meeting, a similar 'after work activities'

complaint was brought against a Mr. R. M. Proudfoot, a teacher from Western High School of Commerce, on behalf of a number of city ratepayers. Mr. Proudfoot, a teacher, was charged with conducting a tourist camp near his residence, 'in view of him being employed by the Board of Education'. Mr. Proudfoot withdrew his direct interest in the camp, and the matter was summarily dropped.

- 57 *AVC Minutes*, 2 May 1931.
- 58 Letter from M. J. Oliver to Peter Haworth, 3 June 1931, Haworth Papers, QUA. It is unclear whether Haworth solicited this particular letter.
- 59 It is clear from letters and notes found in the Haworth Papers that Haworth came to meetings organised with a strategic plan to address the firms' accusations.
- 60 Letter from H. L. Wellington, Registrar, RCA to Miss A. C. Wright, 18 November 1925; Letter from W. Tristram to Miss A. C. Wright, 18 November 1925, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 61 Letter from J. H. Dearle, Morris and Co. Ltd to Miss A. C. Wright, 15 November 1925, 'Testimonials, 1911-1926', Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 62 Letter from George G. London (Pringle and London) to C. R. Conquergood, 11 May 1939, Peter Haworth File, TBERMA.
- 63 Letter from George G. London (Pringle and London) to C. R. Conquergood, 11 May 1939.
- 64 Letter from A. Y. Jackson to Peter Haworth, 12 May 1939, Peter Haworth File, TBERMA.
- 65 Letter from John Alford to Peter Haworth, 11 May 1939, Peter Haworth File, TBERMA.
- 66 Letter from John Alford to Peter Haworth, 11 May 1939.
- 67 Letter from Frances Loring to Peter Haworth, 11 May 1939, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 68 Letter from Frances Loring to Peter Haworth, 11 May 1939.
- 69 *AVC Minutes*, 26 April 1939.
- 70 *AVC Minutes*, 26 April 1939.
- 71 'Peter Haworth Biography', n.d., Peter Haworth File, TBERMA. Haworth's argument in this case was somewhat flawed. In 1925, as head of the Art Department, Howell had also come under attack by the Ontario Association of Memorial Craftsmen who objected to his competing for war memorials to its members' common detriment. Howell's reply that he was competing only by invitation and the work was strictly done outside of school seems to have diffused the incident. This episode with which Haworth was undoubtedly familiar may have given him hope that later allegations brought against him would be swiftly resolved. 'Defends Expenditure of Technical Schools', *Toronto Mail* (27 June 1925).
- 72 Letter from Peter Haworth to C. R. Conquergood, 12 May 1939, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- 73 *AVC Minutes*, 14 September 1939.
- 74 Letter from F. S. J. Hollister to C. C. Goldring, 24 March 1949, Haworth Papers, QUA.

- ⁷⁵ Letter from F. S. J. Hollister to Peter Haworth, 4 December 1934, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- ⁷⁶ Letter from Peter Haworth to Norah (last name not provided, n.d.).
- ⁷⁷ Haworth was replaced as head of the Art Department by Charles Goldhammer, a graduate of the Ontario College of Art and a protege of Arthur Lismer.
- ⁷⁸ Letter from Hilda (no last name provided) to Peter and Bobs Haworth, 8 December 1955, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- ⁷⁹ Letter from Joseph Haworth to Peter Haworth, 11 December 1952, Haworth Papers, QUA.
- ⁸⁰ Interestingly, the firms were overly optimistic about their progress towards professionalisation. Stained glass was one of last crafts to be professionalised in Canada, The Association of Stained Glass Artists first forming in 1976.
- ⁸¹ Dawson Kennedy, 'Art or Therapy', 'Central Technical School' File (Autumn 1961), p. 21, TBERMA.
- ⁸² 'An Art School Should be an Autonomous Institution' (Art Department, CTS, Toronto: n.d.), p. 3.
- ⁸³ For example, in 1931 the Advisory Vocational Committee received a letter from the Toronto District Labour Council 'opposing the proposal to teach the unemployed various trades in the technical schools in view of the present large percentage of skilled workers out of employment'. *AVC Minutes*, 28 April 1931, TBERMA. Similarly, in 1931 the Toronto Typographical Association wrote to the AVC insisting that teachers hired at technical schools be members of the Typographical union. *AVC Minutes*, 11 May 1931, TBERMA.