Listening to Her Pictures:
The Vision and Visibility of Jean Sutherland Boggs at the National Gallery of Canada

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Abstract

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This thesis explores how Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs (1922-2014) navigated her position of power as the first woman to direct the National Gallery of Canada (NGC). Boggs worked as director from 1966 to 1976. She returned to Ottawa in 1982 to lead the Canada Museums Construction Corporation, formed to oversee the construction of a new building for the NGC and the Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of History). This study looks at Boggs's tenure as NGC director as a case study on gender and power in Canadian art institutions. Photographs of Boggs, alongside archival material, are analyzed to explore her accomplishments during her tenure. These photographs are a method to denote the different ways in which Boggs has been represented and how she presented herself. This thesis will examine Boggs's significant contributions to the NGC, including reinvigorating the NGC's public image, hiring new staff, expanding the collection, and ultimately, helping to construct its permanent home. Her vision for the NGC has left an imprint on the building and institution that she helped to build. Drawing on feminist and historiographical theories, alongside the contexts of the changing museum in contemporary society, and women's entrance into the labour force in the 1960s, this thesis situates a turning point in the NGC's history.

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Dedicated to Miss Boggs

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Introduction

> In French, the gender of *Gallery* is feminine, unlike the masculine of the word for *Museum*. Perhaps the women who enter this gallery [the National Gallery of Canada] – as the artists, the collectors, the visitors (both celebrated and anonymous); subversively in the works of art; and as its guards, editors, librarians, clerks, scholars, elevator operators, secretaries, administrators – keep it alive as a flexible, imaginative, spontaneous, unpredictable, and very modern institution.
>
> *Jean Sutherland Boggs, 1972*[1]

In 1966, Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs (1922-2014) was appointed as the director of the National Gallery of Canada (NGC), a position she held for ten years. As the first woman in the world to direct a national art gallery, Boggs made headlines: journalists across the country wondered what a 'woman's touch' would mean for the NGC.[2] Her appointment as director was remarkable, given that it occurred in a time when women, emerging into the workforce, were largely relegated to lower level job positions.[3] Thus, Boggs's arrival at the NGC marks a key moment in Canadian, and women's, history: a woman had attained the highest level of arts management in Canada. In this thesis, I will examine several photographs of Boggs from the years that she was director. The images operate as remnants of Boggs's historical narrative, signifying key moments and accomplishments during her directorship. Furthermore, they denote the ways in which Boggs has been represented, as well as the ways in which she presented herself. Throughout her decade as director, Boggs persevered in transforming the public's opinion of the NGC from one of negative connotations and apathetic regard to a positive one. Her accomplishments allowed the NGC to evolve into an institution that had power and meaning in the public eye. Boggs did this by professionalizing the institution, contributing to the NGC's enhanced exhibition programming, and making significant acquisitions for the collection. Furthermore, she was integral to the eventual new building project for the NGC. All the while, she persevered against sexist assumptions about women's leadership capabilities. Ultimately, this 'woman's touch' led to the overhaul and revitalization of the institution.[4] The photographs that I will study in this thesis will act as a way to move through the narrative of Boggs's life and work at the NGC, and allow for a deeper analysis of her endeavors.

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[1] "The National Gallery and Women," *Fourth Annual Review of the National Gallery of Canada, 1971-1972* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1972), 11.

[2] Robbin Frazer, "Canada's "First Lady" of Culture: Jean Sutherland Boggs," *Communiqué: Special Issue for International Women's Year*, May 1975. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 3. Book 6. Documentation 1973-1975 (DOC/CWLT). A distinction should be made: Boggs was *not* the first woman in the world to lead an art gallery, however, she is considered the first to lead a *national* art gallery. According to Wikipedia's *List of Female Art Gallery Directors*, Cornelia B. Sage was the first woman to lead an art gallery (she was director of the Albright Knox Gallery from 1910 to 1924). In Canada, the first female art gallery director was Maude Bowman at the Edmonton Museum of Arts (now the Art Gallery of Alberta) in 1926.

[3] In 1967, 33.8% of all woman over fourteen years old, and 28.3% of all married woman, were working. 96.8% of all secretaries were women, while 2.6% of all lawyers were women. See: J. L. Granatstein, *Canada 1957-1967: The Years of Uncertainty and Innovation* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 7; Joan Sangster notes that the period between 1941 and 1971 saw the most growth in women's participation in the labour force. She writes: "Women workers were more likely to be in part-time and interrupted employment, in lower wage brackets, and, save for teaching and nursing professionals, in jobs with fewer benefits and less security." See: Joan Sangster, *Transforming Labour: Women and Work in Post-war Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 18-20.

I am interested in how we can read these photographs as a way of examining Boggs's accomplishments, and also her historiography. To do this, I discuss her speeches and public appearances, where she expressed her passionate views on art and her vision for the NGC. From there, I will show how the media represented Boggs, particularly in the form of sexist headlines (some which have been used as section headings for this thesis). As well, I explore the staff expansions that Boggs initiated and her leadership of the gallery. This will lead me to discuss Boggs's oversight of the acquisition of American art, which the NGC began collecting under her directorship. I then will consider her contributions to the NGC's collection as a whole, including opening the Department of Photography. The thesis culminates with Boggs's role at the Canada Museums Construction Corporation (CMCC) from 1982 to 1985, where she was finally able to work on acquiring and building the NGC's permanent home. Throughout the thesis, I utilize photographs to explore Boggs's directorship, and how she was positioned as a woman with a great deal of influence. As well, her own interest in photography has been a preoccupation in this thesis.

Photography's "innate condition as archive" lies in its power to preserve a moment with the click of a button.[5] Yet, as American art critic Donald Kuspit has written, "the idea that it [photography] is the record of a direct observation seems quaint. Photography's truth claim seems of less interest than its power to position consciousness."[6] In this way, it is imperative to remember that the photographs I am analyzing are framed, both literally and figuratively, the same way that history is also 'framed.' Similar to how history is written, photography is a part of a broader ideological framework, and is open to interpretation. Indeed, as Britt Salvesen, Curator of the Wallis Annenberg Department of Photography at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, writes, "our interpretation of a photograph is based more on what we already know about the world than on what we actually see in the image."[7] Thus, reading and analyzing a photograph is as much about the viewer as it is about the subject. Furthermore, in Salvesen's view, photographs depict a moment inherently linked to context, site, and time. The notion of time is an increasingly important consideration with photographic archival material. While a photograph may seem to simply record a specific place and space, Salvesen argues that we also "…instinctively assign it meanings in relation to our shifting sense of past, present, and future."[8] As such, photography's connection to time leads me to consider historiography, or, how history is written.

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[4] Brian Foss, "Honorary Degree Citation – Jean Sutherland Boggs," *Concordia University: Records Management and Archives*, June 2000, accessed September 23, 2017. http://archives.concordia.ca/boggs.

[5] Dan Adler, *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books, 2009), 44.

[6] Donald Kuspit quoted in Geoffrey James, "Introduction," in *Thirteen Essays on Photography*, edited by Martha Langford (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1990), xiii.

While much has been written on the NGC, including Boggs's own book, *The National Gallery of Canada,* published in 1971, it is crucial to locate the decade in which Boggs was the director. I view her arrival to the NGC as a turning point for the institution – in terms of its professionalism, prestige, and in particular, its power as a Canadian art institution. Boggs's directorship has left a mark on the NGC that we know today, in the figurative and literal museum that she helped to build. Studying her contributions at the NGC allows for a more holistic historical understanding. However, undertaking this research has been a challenge given that there has been no significant research on Boggs.[9] As a result, the majority of this thesis has been gleaned from archival materials, interviews, and her own unpublished manuscript, "The National Gallery and Me," an autobiographical account enmeshed with the NGC's history.[10] It is partially for this reason that this thesis focuses on photographs, however, this also has been a tactic to render Boggs's story more visible.

The dearth of material on Boggs is not unusual – as cultural historians, we know that many women in history have, until recently, been omitted from the canon. This is the case for the writing of female art gallery directors' biographies: the majority have yet to be penned. As Canadian art historian Anne Whitelaw has written:

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[7] Susan Sontag, "On Photography," in *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, and Society*, edited by D. J. Crowley and Paul Heyer (New York: Longman, 1994), 174. According to Sontag, "What is written about a person or an event is frankly an interpretation"; Britt Salvesen, "Speaking to the Present: The Early Photographs of Lynne Cohen," in *Lynne Cohen: Occupied Territory* (New York: Aperture, 2012), n.p.

[8] Ibid.

[9] At the time of this thesis' completion, Diana Nemiroff is in the process of writing a book that will follow the careers of Jean Sutherland Boggs, Hsio-yen Shih, and Shirley L. Thomson, the three past female NGC directors.

[10] Interview with Cyndie Campbell, February 25, 2016. The manuscript was never completed, because Boggs developed a degenerative eye disease that affected her vision towards the end of her life.

> While there have always been women artists and women working in museums, their place has often been erased from historical accounts, rendering their efforts largely invisible in the present. The task of rectifying the absence of research on women artists has produced an ever-growing number of monographs, anthologies and exhibitions devoted to 'expanding the discourse' (Broude and Garrard 1992), but the contribution of women in the formation and maintenance of art galleries has received much less attention.[11]

This lack in women's historical accounts continues to be a problematic that feminist researchers are working toward remedying.[12] These researchers have argued that women's stories have been edited out, and their accomplishments considered inferior, due to pervasive phallocentrism and sexism within the academy and society. Likewise, as French feminist philosopher Luce Irigaray has written, women have never had a 'space of their own' – rather, they are seen as counterparts, or secondary, to men.[13] Moreover, museums historian Gaby Porter has outlined the challenge in writing and displaying women's stories in museums. In her chapter, "Putting Your House in Order: Representations of Women and Domestic Life," Porter writes that history and experience is often understood through objects and technologies, of which women were not typically the primary creators or users. Usually, it is men that leave behind objects considered to be 'worthy' of exhibition and acquisition, such as art or literary masterpieces, inventions, and technologies. This leads to an inherent gendering, where everyday objects from the private sphere are considered 'less than.'[14]

Thus, as feminist researchers, we must persevere in unearthing these histories and making them visible. This act of uncovering women's histories has often been considered political or radical, an outgrowth of 1970s second wave feminism. For example, Judy Chicago's influential art installation, *The Dinner Party* (1974-1979) (Fig. 1), celebrates powerful and significant women of the past. The project includes a triangular dinner table with 39 place settings for specific women, including mythical and biblical women, as well as leaders, writers, artists, suffragettes, and queens. Another 999 women's names are written in gold on the tiled floor below the table.[15] Chicago's goal for this project was to take on "a role in changing the prevailing views regarding women and women's history."[16] By not discussing women's contributions to history, Chicago believes that we are denying that women were accomplishing a great deal throughout history.[17]

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[11] Anne Whitelaw, "Women, Museums and the Problem of Biography," in *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*, edited by Kate Hill (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 77.

[12] Here, I use "historical" to include the recent past.

[13] Gaby Porter, "Putting Your House in Order: Representations of Women and Domestic Life," in *The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display,* edited by Robert Lumley (London: Routledge, 1988), 121; Elizabeth Grosz, "Histories of the Present and Future: Feminism, Power, and Bodies," *Thinking of the Limits of the Body*, edited by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Gail Weiss (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003), 22-23.

[14] Porter, "Putting Your House in Order," 106-110, 119-125. This statement is not meant to discount the many masterpieces, inventions, and technologies that women have designed and created.

Along with the denial of women's contributions to society, and our continued lack of women's stories, there is also a gender gap in positions of power in our society, and this is an ongoing issue in the art world. According to a 2014 study, *The Gender Gap in Art Museum Directorships*, "women hold less than 50% of directorships, and the average female director's salary lags behind that of the average male director."[18] The disparities, both in terms of the number of female art museum directors and their salaries, are starkest in the largest museums with the largest budgets. Though the NGC's budget is not nearly as large as those of the Louvre or the MoMA, it is still a significant institution in Canada, which receives a substantial portion of federal funding. If we are to consider how these issues continue to be prevalent today, the study shows us just how important Boggs's appointment was back in 1966. Thus, it is imperative to look at Boggs's directorship, as part of the larger conversation surrounding modern day women's representation in museums, as well as historical women's representation in the canon.

Over the past 20 years or so, there has been an increasing interest in writing women's histories. However, the writing of these biographies goes back long before this time, and there is a rich history behind them. Ariane Chernock has written that texts on 'exceptional' women (or, as she refers to them, *women worthies*) have, historically, moved forward women's politics as a means of illustrating women's accomplishments. Thus, many women's biographies have been written as tactics to push for women's rights, as well as methods to subvert common beliefs of gender difference.[19] However, the discipline of women's histories and biographies tends to focus on what is known as *exceptionalism*, or, writing exceptional women's stories. In most cases, the term 'exceptional' denotes influential (and, typically, white) women who gained prestige, success, and power through their, or their husband's, wealth.[20] For example, the existing scholarship on female art gallery directors is mostly concentrated on exceptional women from America, such as art collector Peggy Guggenheim and museum founder Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney. As such, it would be irresponsible of me to write this thesis without stating that Boggs could be seen an 'exceptional' woman in that she held a level of privilege by means of her education and the colour of her skin. She was also born into a family of settler-Canadian parents from the middle to upper-middle class.[21] Furthermore, Boggs could be regarded as exceptional if we are to discuss her prestigious accomplishments throughout her career in academia, curating, and arts administration. However, while she can be read as exceptional, her story should not be dismissed. Boggs played a key role in the NGC's history, at a time when women's societal power, the art world, and the role of the museum, was undergoing significant change.

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[15] "The Dinner Party by Judy Chicago," *Brooklyn Museum*, accessed September 23, 2017. http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/exhibitions/dinner_party. Chicago designed different plates for each of the 39 women. The three sides of the triangle are broken into three historical contexts: Prehistory to the Roman Empire, the beginnings of Christianity to the Reformation, and the American Revolution to the Women's Revolution. The 39 women are: Primordial Goddess, Fertile Goddess, Ishtar, Kali, Snake Goddess, Sophia, Amazon, Hatshepsut, Judith, Sappho, Aspasia, Boadicea, Hypatia, Marcella, Saint Bridget, Theodora, Hrosvitha, Trotula, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Hildegarde of Bingen, Petronilla de Meath, Christine de Pisan, Isabella d'Este, Elizabeth I, Artemisia Gentileschi, Anna van Schurman, Anne Hutchinson, Sacajawea, Caroline Herschel, Mary Wollstonecraft, Sojourner Truth, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Blackwell, Emily Dickinson, Ethel Smyth, Margaret Sanger, Natalie Barney, Virginia Woolf, and Georgia O'Keeffe. The complete list of the other 999 women's names are available on Wikipedia's entry, *List of Women in the Heritage Floor.*

[16] Chicago, Judy, and Donald Woodman, *The Dinner Party* (London: Penguin, 1996), 3-4. Chicago writes that the intent behind *The Dinner Party* "grew out of research into women's history that I had begun at the end of the 1960s… the prevailing attitude towards women's history can be best summed up by the following story. While an undergraduate at UCLA, I took a course titled the Intellectual History of Europe. The professor, a respected historian, promised that at the last class he would discuss women's contributions to Western thought. I waited eagerly all semester, and at the final meeting, the instructor strode in and announced: Women's contributions to European intellectual history / They made none."

[17] Ibid.

[18] Anne Marie Gan, et al., *The Gender Gap in Art Museum Directorships* (Association of Art Museum Directors, 2014), 2.

Contemporary feminists have engaged in historiographical methodologies to challenge and rework the ways in which we write these histories. As visual theorist Griselda Pollock writes, "The political point of feminist art history must be to change the present by means of how we re-represent the past."[22] The act of challenging historiography underpins American historian Joanne Meyerowitz's article, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958," which examines feminist writer Betty Friedan's foundational book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963).[23] On writing women's history, Meyerowitz discusses how authors have typically "applied to women a traditionally male, middle-class discourse of individual achievement that glorified a version of success, honor, and fulfillment that was difficult enough for middle-class white men [...]."[24] This creates a paradox: as feminist historians continue to unearth the untold stories of women, it seems obvious that we should be bringing them to light. However, the stories of women that are brought to the forefront, as champions of their gender, are often the stories of white women like Boggs. Thus, it must be acknowledged that white women often contribute to patriarchal and colonial systems that place women of colour and other minorities at a disadvantage. To quote geographers Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, "This contradiction means that white women can potentially become visible at the expense of colonized women, reproducing an exclusionary, ethnocentric discourse."[25] In a museum context, this is further problematized, inasmuch as the collective that is being ignored is not simply the collective women's movement, but it is often a literal collective of women who volunteered for the museum's women's societies. Whitelaw writes on this topic, noting that the biographical trope of writing women's success stories often gives value to those who held positions of power such as directors and curators, all the while excluding the labour of women's volunteer societies of museums and galleries.[26]

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[19] Arianne Chernock, "Gender and the Politics of Exceptionalism in the Writing of British Women's History," in *Making Women's Histories: Beyond National Perspectives,* edited by Pamela S. Nadell and Kate Haulman (New York: NYU Press, 2013), 118 and 122. Chernock writes that Richard Dinmore's accounts women's 'right to the throne' came to be seen as a reason for the rights of women. Chernock suggests that there can be a deep knowledge gleaned from such historical examples of writing. She studies the ways that the genre has evolved overtime – the turning point being the Age of Revolution, where history began to be written to destabilize "longstanding theories of sexual difference."

[20] For more on the topic of exceptionalism in the art world, see: Anne Whitelaw, "Professional/Volunteer: Women at the Edmonton Art Gallery, 1923-70," in *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada, 1850-1970* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 368.

[21] Jean Sutherland Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," (Unpublished book manuscript, National Gallery of Canada archives), Chapter 3, Chapter 5, 3, and Chapter 17, 5. Boggs discusses her privileged upbringing in her manuscript, noting in her childhood home in Peru, while many other families did not have access to water, "… the plentiful water we had must have been an extravagance." Furthermore, her mother was able to afford to send Boggs 'only' $100 a month while she studied at Harvard, which translates to about $1,400 today (using the inflation calculator on the Bank of Canada's website). $100 per month was the limit that students could bring with them out of Canada during the World War II. Though the financial situation of her parents is never clearly indicated in her manuscript, it can be gleaned that they lived comfortably, if not very well.

In writing women's biographies, then, we must be engaged in the act of not merely focusing on one woman's success, which undermines ordinary or everyday women in the process, and privileges those who already have privilege.[27] Moreover, Whitelaw argues that we must be critical of the biographical approach to writing history. She says that this style of writing often "glosses the complexities and contradictions of lived lives and prevents an active engagement with historical facts and the manner in which they were produced."[28] Whitelaw further calls for an approach to the writing of women's stories that takes into consideration additional nuance, going beyond the narrative of the "gender struggle" that women have overcome. As feminist philosopher and spatial theorist Elizabeth Grosz has written, "We need to think of subjects in terms of their strategic placement within power networks; that is, in terms of what they are able to do, more than in terms of who they are."[29] These theoretical notions about women's positions within networks have been my preoccupation while undertaking this research.

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[22] Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), 14.

[23] Friedan's book was published in 1963, three years before Boggs was appointed as NGC director.

[24] Joanne J. Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, edited by Joanne J. Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 236.

[25] Gillian Rose and Alison Blunt, "Introduction: Women's Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies," in *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, edited by Gillian Rose and Alison Blunt (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994), 11. To expand on this notion, quoted in Rose and Blunt's book (11), Jane Haggis writes that: "The study of colonial women is inherently contradictory. To isolate gender from its interactions with, for example, race and class, seems essentialist. Studying gender differences between colonizing men and women often leaves unproblematized the constructions of racial difference that legitimized imperialism."

[26] Whitelaw writes: "Yet I hesitate to employ this approach because of what I perceive as the limitations of the genre: the emphasis on a single exceptional figure, the reliance on linear chronologies, the creation of a unified subject." See: Whitelaw, "Women, Museums, and the Problem of Biography," 76.

With these considerations, I wish to situate myself among other feminist writers who are looking at contemporary and critical modes of writing women's stories, across time and space. I do not intend for this work to be simply considered a story of 'feminist retrieval,' where Boggs's story, 'hidden from history,' becomes reclaimed.[30] While writing biographies can be useful, in that they offer a space for those who have been overlooked, my goal is to move past the biographical writing trope. Furthermore, I do not believe that this thesis is meant to operate as a stand-alone piece about one woman's contributions to Canadian history. Rather, this thesis should be considered as a means to discuss the ways that writing women's stories can and should move forward. Indeed, I see this as a means to "redress women's individual and collective loss of identity," as Irigaray has argued.[31] In this way, I am attempting to do what Whitelaw proposes when she writes that we should see the director's or curator's work as "a product of both individual agency and as shaped by the ideological and aesthetic beliefs of the institution itself."

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[27] Grosz has asserted that feminists should not focus on the singular woman, nor should we be writing histories that underscore particular women's "roles as unrecognized agents in histories and practices." Rather, she contends that a focus should be on "the disparate and disunified processes, or rather agencies (in the plural), forces and impulses that comprise such an identity." See: Elizabeth Grosz, "Histories of the Present and Future," 13-14.

[28] Whitelaw, "Women, Museums, and the Problem of Biography," 75.

[29] Ibid.; Elizabeth Grosz, "Histories of the Present and Future," 14.

[30] Writing women's histories is a fairly new discipline. As Kathy Peiss writes, gender history knowledge production came out of the "broad intellectual, social, and political development in the post-World War II period." See: Kathy Peiss, "Women's Past and the Currents of U.S. History," in *Making Women's Histories: Beyond National Perspectives,* edited by Pamela S. Nadell and Kate Haulman (New York: NYU Press, 2013), 17; Janet Wolff, "Women at the Whitney, 1910-30: Feminism/Sociology/Aesthetics," *Modernism/modernity* 6, no. 3 (1999): 117, doi:10.1353/mod.1999.0038.

[31] Luce Irigaray, *Thinking the Difference*, translated by Karin Montin (New York: Routledge, 1994), 10.

She argues that doing this would allow for a more complete view of art institutions.[32] Thus, I intend to offer a method to write the nuanced and, at times, contradicting stories of women's lives. My aim is that this thesis can be a contribution to this network of feminist writers, whereby we can continue to carve out a space for women. It has been my challenge, then, to actively engage with these historical facts as well as the complexities of Boggs's life and her time at the NGC.

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[32] Whitelaw, "Women, Museums, and the Problem of Biography," 84.

Section One:
Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs:
A Biography

> Any of my achievements must have had their foundation in my family background – difficult as it would have been to predict when I was a child.
>
> *Jean Sutherland Boggs, c. 2005*[33]

While I do not intend to write a story of exceptionalism, I believe that this thesis would be incomplete without a short, yet comprehensive, biography of Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs. As previously mentioned, there is currently no thorough, published biography on Boggs's life. This section's purpose is to set a ground for the reader, in order to offer context for my analysis in the later sections. The goal is to understand the circumstances within which Boggs was working, and where she came from, as well as to highlight some of her additional accomplishments that will not be discussed later. In large part, this section has been written using Boggs's manuscript, "The National Gallery and Me," of which one copy partially exists in the National Gallery of Canada (NGC)'s archives. The manuscript can be viewed upon request, but it is largely incomplete. Boggs passed away before I started my master's degree, and thus, regrettably, I could not interview her for this project. It was important to me to be able to include Boggs's own words in this research, and so, this is where they will be seen the most. It is for this reason that this first section is not written from a critical or theoretical standpoint; I will move into a more theoretical analysis in the second section.

Grace Jean Sutherland Boggs was born in 1922 in Negritos, one of three towns built by the International Petroleum Company in Northwestern Peru. She was the eldest of three children to two Canadian settlers from Ontario: Oliver Desmond Boggs and Humia Marguerite Sutherland, who had met and married in Peru.[34] In 1931, Boggs moved to Oil Springs, Ontario, to live with her grandparents. The next year, she moved to her Aunt Grace's home in Cobourg, Ontario, where her mother and siblings would join her towards the end of the 1930s. During her early years in Canada, Boggs was introduced to art, beginning with painting lessons, along with travels to the United States with her family where she visited many art museums.[35] At sixteen, she started an undergraduate degree at the University of Toronto to study Fine Art, an art history program in its third year. The Fine Art program, the only one of its kind in Canada at the time, "…was eccentric in 1938 but ideal for me," wrote Boggs.[36]

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[33] Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," Preface, 1-2.

[34] Ibid., 1-11 and Chapter 5, 1 and 4-5. Boggs had a younger brother and sister. Her father was a geologist, and her mother, the daughter of an oil family, had followed her parents to Negritos to teach the oil worker's children. In the manuscript for "The National Gallery and Me," Boggs explained that her parents were very preoccupied and concerned with their children's education. When she was nine years old, Boggs's father attempted to have her learn German (unsuccessfully) because he thought that she "should be properly prepared for graduate work at University."

With World War II looming and many Canadian men joining the military, Boggs's undergraduate cohort was comprised of six women. Though there were no male students in the class, the six students were nevertheless given a rigorous art historical education. They studied artistic, historical, and cultural objects at the Royal Ontario Museum, the University's museum at the time.[37] The women also took art courses, and they worked closely with the School of Architecture. It was during these years that Boggs was introduced to Pablo Picasso's art, which she would curate in her later career.[38] In her manuscript, Boggs recounts two trips during her undergraduate degree that inspired her. The first was a 1939 class visit to the NGC, along with private collections in Ottawa. About this visit, she wrote, "The Institution, which would mean so much to me, had now been formally introduced."[39] The same year, the six women visited the

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[35] Ibid., Chapter 5, 5-6, 16-20, and Chapter 9, 6 and 8-15. In Cobourg, Boggs went to public school, where she advanced by two grades. She spent her last year of high school at Alma College, a private boarding school in St. Thomas, Ontario, where she had a painting teacher.

[36] Ibid., Chapter 9, 15-19. Boggs's residence at Trinity College, St. Hilda's, used to be housed in the home of Sir Edmund Walker (a member of the NGC's first Advisory Council), but was moved just before Boggs started studying there. She wrote, "Therefore, I had just missed living in the house where Eric [first full-time curator and director of the NGC] and Maud Brown had been invited the night before their wedding..." In her manuscript, she often brought up the ways in which the NGC's history was intertwined with her own autobiography; Ibid., Chapter 9, 19 and Chapter 12, 1-5. Art history had been growing as a discipline since before WWII. However, in Canada, the University of Toronto's program was the only one of its kind, apart from a short-lived program at McMaster University. Previous to WWII, Europe had employed many of the world's great art historians. When tensions rose before and during the war, many of them, such as Erwin Panofsky, Harold Rosenberg, Max Jakob Friedländer, and Ernst Gombrich, immigrated to England and North America. Meanwhile, Boggs suggested that the idea for the Fine Art program was probably started at gatherings of the Arts and Letters Club in Toronto. Boggs notes that the program was likely to have made possible through a generous donation from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which had been a large supporter of the arts in Canada. The donation included material items, such as books, periodicals, photographs, reproductions, and slides. For a more detailed history on the program, see: Lisa E. Panayotidis, "The Department of Fine Art at the University of Toronto, 1926-1945: Institutionalizing the 'Culture of the Aesthetic,'" *The Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* XXV (2004): 100-122.

[37] Boggs wrote, "I suspect the absence of any males must have been a disappointment to the Department, particularly since in the first two years there had been promising young men whose fortunes unhappily were to be changed by the War." See: Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," Chapter 9, 21 and 22; Ibid., Chapter 12, 6-8.

[38] Ibid., Chapter 12, 8-9. Through these art classes, Boggs met Charles Comfort, who later became the fourth NGC director – her immediate predecessor. About these classes, which were taken with the architecture students, Boggs wrote, "All of this was done in the middle of kindly, condescending, occasionally helpful male architectural students who were even sometimes flirtatious." Boggs's manuscript often refers to architecture, as this was one of her preoccupations, even at an early age.

[39] Ibid., 15-17, 18. Though it was not her first visit to the NGC, it was the first time that she would enter the museum with a knowledgeable guide.

MoMA for an exhibition on Italian art. Boggs wrote that when she left the exhibition, "I was in a state of euphoria. With this trip, I had learned just how great works of art could be."[40] These experiences, amongst others, influenced her decision to pursue curatorial work.

When she graduated from the University of Toronto in 1942, Boggs moved to Montréal to work at the Art Association of Montréal (now the Montréal Museum of Fine Arts) for Arthur Lismer, Group of Seven member and educator at the Association.[41] In her manuscript, Boggs described her time at the Association as crucial to her development as an arts administrator. She worked there for two years before deciding to pursue a doctoral degree in art history. In 1944, at the height of the World War II, Boggs moved to the United States to study at Harvard's Radcliffe College, the all-women's institution. She chose Harvard because, it "had a remarkable course to stimulate and encourage art museum professionals, or to put it more accurately, museum administrators."[42] Boggs was referring to the Museum Course offered in her first year, taught by James Rosenberg and Paul Sachs. They imparted to their pupils the importance of making strong professional networks, as well as the power of connoisseurship.[43] To support herself during graduate school, Boggs worked as a part-time art teacher at a private school nearby. She also left Harvard for four years to teach as an adjunct professor.[44] Boggs returned to Harvard in 1953 to complete her dissertation on Degas' group portraits. Around this time, she was offered a teaching position at the University of Toronto, but she instead decided to accept a research fellowship in Paris.[45]

After Paris, Boggs taught at the University of California between 1954 and 1962. In 1962, the University of California Press published her book, *Portraits of Dega*s. That same year, she went to the Art Gallery of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario) to work as a curator, where she remained until 1964. During this time, she organized *Picasso and Man*, an exhibition that garnered international acclaim.[46] Boggs also curated other ambitious exhibitions, including *Delacroix* (1962-1963) and *Canaletto* (1964). With regards to the *Picasso and Man*, *Delacroix*, and *Canaletto* exhibitions, Gyde Shepherd, former Curator of European Art at the NGC, wrote, "The quality and organizational complexity of this adventurous trio of successive retrospectives […] represented a milestone in the development of Canadian museums and galleries, of their programmes and of their curatorship."[47] In 1964, Boggs became the Steinberg Professor of Art History at Washington University in St. Louis, where she began organizing the exhibition *Drawings by Degas*. However, Boggs left St. Louis in 1966 for the directorship at the NGC, succeeding Charles Comfort. *Drawings by Degas* opened in 1967, once she was already in Ottawa.

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[40] Ibid., 21 and Chapter 17, 2. Here, Boggs wrote: "I discovered that for me exhibitions and visits to museums like New York's Frick, Metropolitan, and Cloisters were both intoxicating and habit-forming […]. Seeking museums and exploring their contents had almost become a habit."

[41] Ibid., Chapter 12, 22 and Chapter 13, 1-2.

[42] Ibid., Chapter 12, 36 and Chapter 17, 2-3, 7.

[43] For a detailed history on the Museum Course at Harvard, see: Sally Anne Duncan, "Paul J. Sachs and the Institutionalization of Museum Culture between the World Wars" (Ph. D. dissertation, Tufts University, 2001). The course was known to have been formative for many of Boggs's contemporaries in art history. Duncan's doctoral advisor, Andrew McClellan at Tufts University, is currently working on a book regarding Sachs and the Museum Course.

[44] Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," Chapter 12, 37. In 1948, Boggs taught at Skidmore College in New York, and from 1949 to 1952, she taught at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts.

[45] Ibid., Chapter 17, 22-23, 26-27.

As NGC director, Boggs's main goal was to professionalize the institution. She hired new staff, who would aid her in making important acquisitions and organizing impressive exhibitions. She also expanded the Gallery's contemporary art collection and began to permit acquisitions by living American artists. Furthermore, as director, Boggs championed architecture and photography, for which she had long-standing interests.[48] Boggs pushed for the NGC to move out of the Lorne Building, a space that had been designed for offices, and into a building of its own. Indeed, in her first year as director, Boggs had already made it clear to journalists that the NGC needed more space. Though unsuccessful, she worked on the building project throughout her directorship.[49] As well, she promoted photography through founding the NGC's Department of Photography in 1967. With this department, the NGC began to acquire photographic works from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[50] In 1971, Boggs also published a book, the first comprehensive study of the NGC's art collection, titled *The National Gallery of Canada*. She remained the director of the NGC until 1976.

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[46] "The National Gallery's Interior Decorator," *The Toronto Evening Telegram* (Toronto, ON), November 26, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT); About this exhibition, the article in the *Telegram* stated that, "She did it in nine months; such affairs usually take at least five years."

[47] Diane Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy," *The Globe and Mail*, September 18, 2014, accessed September 23, 2017. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/visionary-curator-jean-sutherland-boggs-framed-a-legacy/article20684691/.

[48] "Jean Sutherland Boggs - 1922 - 2014 - The National Gallery of Canada pays tribute to the first woman to lead the institution," *News Wire*, August 24, 2017, accessed September 23, 2017. http://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/jean-sutherland-boggs---1922---2014---the-national-gallery-of-canada-pays-tribute-to-the-first-woman-to-lead-the-institution-515380761.html; Interview with Cyndie Campbell, February 25, 2016.

[49] "Asks for New National Gallery," *Ottawa Journal* (Ottawa, ON), June 14, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT); June Dingman, "No politicians' pokes at Dr. Jean Boggs?" *The Toronto Evening Telegram* (Toronto, ON), June 30, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT); "Architecture of Art Galleries in Canada," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed September 23, 2017. http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/architecture-of-art-galleries-in-canada/. As early as 1966, Boggs had her eyes on new facilities. Many of Boggs's predecessors had also pushed for a new building, but none of their attempts were successful. For example, after the Massey Commission report in 1951, the Canadian government announced a design competition for the NGC. 104 Canadian submissions were received, which led to the selection of the Winnipeg firm, Blankstein, Greene, Russell and Associates' design for a modern, low-rise

After Boggs left the NGC, she continued to have a successful career. She went to teach at Harvard, where she stayed until 1979, when she was appointed as the director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. This appointment made her the first woman to lead a major American art gallery.[51] Under her leadership, the Museum acquired Edgar Degas's painting *After the Bath, Woman Drying Herself* (c. 1896), which is now considered to be one of the its most important works from the Impressionist period. During this time, Boggs oversaw the exhibition, *Futurism and the International Avant-Garde*, and a retrospective on artist and photographer Thomas Eakins. In 1981, she presided over *Manifestations of Shiva,* an acclaimed exhibition of Indian art curated by art historian Stella Kramrisch.[52] Boggs worked at the Museum until 1982, at which time, she returned to Ottawa.

Back in the Canadian capital, she was appointed as the 'Chairman' of the Canada Museums Construction Corporation (CMCC). Her task was to oversee the new buildings for the NGC and the Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of History). Architects Moshe Safdie and Douglas Cardinal, respectively, were selected to design the buildings. However, her time at the CMCC was marred with controversy, with critics saying the project was too expensive. In 1985, the Liberal Party lost the federal election, and the newly inaugurated Progressive Conservative government, led by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, let Boggs go. The project was transferred to the Department of Public Works. Nevertheless, ground had been broken for the NGC, and Boggs's plans for the new building continued.[53] At this point, she began organizing the exhibition, *Degas*, which was to be the inaugural show for the opening of the NGC's new

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building. However, nothing materialized from this selection. For more on the attempts to secure a permanent building for the NGC, see: Joan Acland, "Architecture and Ideology: The National Gallery of Canada," (master's thesis, Concordia University, 1989), 49.

[50] "Our History: 1960s," *The National Gallery of Canada* [web archive], accessed September 23, 2017. http://web.archive.org/web/20170208210251/https://www.gallery.ca/en/about/1960s.php.

[51] Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy."

[52] "Boggs, [Grace] Jean Sutherland," *Dictionary of Art Historians*, accessed September 23, 2017. http://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/boggsj.htm; "About Us: Our Story: 1980-1990," *Philadelphia Museum of Art*, accessed September 23, 2017. http://www.philamuseum.org/information/45-603-503.html.

[53] Through this position, Gyde Shepherd said that, "She was vindicated." See: Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy."

building in 1988. The exhibition was the first large-scale retrospective of Degas' work in over 50 years.

After *Degas*, Boggs organized a Picasso retrospective in 1992, accompanied by a catalogue, *Picasso and Things* (1992). During this later part in her career, Boggs taught at several universities, including Carleton University in Ottawa, Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, as well as the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Remaining fascinated by Degas' work, she compiled the catalogue *Degas and New Orleans: a French Impressionist in America* in 1995.[54] By the end of her career, she had been awarded 17 honorary degrees. Of these awards, she said,

> I was never aware of being a woman while I was doing the job, but I did receive an extraordinary number of honorary degrees, which I know came about because of my sex. In the late 1960s, some institutions felt they had to award honorary degrees to women and my name would automatically come up. It was really a token, and it would be wrong to be too flattered by it.[55]

Boggs spent most of her later years living in Montréal, but she eventually moved back to Ottawa to a retirement home where "she made sure that it had a view of the NGC."[56] In 2002, Boggs received funding from the NGC to begin writing "The National Gallery and Me," a history of the NGC combined with her own autobiography. In the manuscript's preface, she wrote:

> When I was born in 1922, even my parents could not have imagined that I would ever be associated in any way with the National Gallery of Canada […]. After all, "my" National Gallery is in Ottawa, the cold capital of the country […] whereas I was born in the village of Negritos in the north of Peru…[57]

Much of her manuscript is spent considering the ways in which her life story and that of the NGC's collided. It was evident, through reading the text, how deeply she cared for the Gallery.

On August 22nd, 2014, Boggs passed away in Ottawa, leaving behind a significant legacy, a brilliant career, and an unfinished manuscript.

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[54] "Degas, 1834-1917," *MetPublications: Metropolitan Museum*, accessed September 23, 2017. http://www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications/Degas_1834_1917; Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy"; "Boggs, [Grace] Jean Sutherland," *Dictionary of Art Historians*.

[55] Judith Finlayson, *Trailblazers: Women Talk about Changing Canada* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1999), 43-44. Some of Boggs's honorary degrees included the University of Toronto (1967), Dalhousie University (1971), York University (1976), the University of Saskatchewan (1979), and Concordia University (2000).

[56] Michael Enright, "Jean Sutherland Boggs: Remembering a Champion," *Rewind*, CBC Radio, July 9, 2015. http://www.cbc.ca/radio/rewind/jean-sutherland-boggs-remembering-a-champion-of-art-1.2835334.

[57] Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," Preface, 2; Interview with Cyndie Campbell, February 25, 2016. In the early 2000s, Boggs hired Concordia art history graduate students as research assistants on the manuscript. However, due to the gradual loss of her memory and a degenerative retinal condition, she eventually ceased writing the book (around 2005).

Section Two:
"Miss National Gallery '66":
Femininity and (Self-)Portraits of Women

> In 1966, the chairman of the National Gallery of Canada visited me in St. Louis to ask if I'd consider becoming the gallery's director. Frankly, this wasn't a creative period in the gallery's history. It was badly housed and understaffed, but it did have the major collection of European art in the country and – as we have often said – the major collection of Canadian art in the world. The staff were professional and often heroic, though somewhat demoralized. All things considered, no job could have tempted me more.
>
> *Jean Sutherland Boggs, 1999*[58]

On June 29th, 1966, photographer Doug Bartlett captured several images of Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs in the Canadian art galleries on the 4th floor of the Lorne Building, which housed the National Gallery of Canada (NGC) from 1960 to 1988 (Figs. 2 and 3).[59] Figures 2 and 3 are a series of eight black-and-white photographs that were taken during an interview and a press conference, twenty-nine days into Boggs's mandate as director. In each of the four frames from Figure 2, in the centre of the photograph's mid-ground, Boggs is seated on a bench, with light shining directly on her. She wears a light-coloured, double-breasted suit with a skirt. Her hair is styled and short. In the photographs from this Figure, we are able to see a table behind her, with a flower arrangement in a short vase. In the scene's far-left corner, Paul-Émile Borduas' painting, *3+4+1* (1951), can be seen. Another large-scale abstract geometric painting, *Tyranny of the Corner (Sashay Set)* (1962) by Harold Town, hangs directly behind Boggs. In all the photographs from this series, she never once looks towards Bartlett. Rather, Boggs is interacting with other people. Across from Boggs, slightly to her left, a man sits on another bench, facing her and away from the camera. Looking at Figure 2, it appears that he is interviewing Boggs, as other camera people are visible. In the first frame (top left), Boggs is seen, presumably midsentence, mouth open, as if she is answering a question. She looks thoughtful, measured, and calm. The second photograph (top right) captures Boggs leaning towards the man, perhaps listening to a question being asked, and gazing intently. In the bottom right frame from Figure 2, she smiles warmly at the interviewer. Meanwhile, the photographs from Figure 3 are taken from above, giving context to the scene and revealing that a press conference is taking place. In the third and fourth frames in Figure 3, Boggs sits at the table before a crowd of people at the press conference, which must have taken place before or after the interview with the male interviewer. In each photograph, Bartlett captures Boggs at different angles, and despite the photographer's movement around the space, Boggs is always the main subject. Surrounded by contemporary Canadian artworks, in the museum that would be her place of directorship for the following decade, Boggs looks at ease in the spotlight. These photographs reveal her calmness and composure.[60]

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[58] Finlayson, *Trailblazers*, 41.

[59] Little was written on the photographer, Doug Bartlett. He worked for the Newton Photography Associates Ltd. As a photographer, he had taken a number of other people's portraits, mostly in Ottawa, during the 1950s and 1960s. Sitters for his portraits included: Bill and Jean Newton of Newton Photographic Associates Ltd. (1951), Ottawa mayor, Charlotte Whitton (1954), and singer Paul Anka (1956). He also worked at the University of Ottawa as a darkroom lab technician. See: "Obituary of Lorne Douglas Bartlett," *Ottawa Citizen*, February 29, 2009, accessed January 21, 2018. http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/ottawacitizen/obituary.aspx?n=lorne-bartlett&pid=123689054; Greg Newton, "The Newtons: A Family Business in Pictures," *Ottawa*, interviewed by Leah Batisse, January 27, 2009, accessed January 21, 2018. http://ottawa.ca/en/residents/arts-heritage-and-culture/city-ottawa-archives/exhibitions/witness-change-visions-2.

Boggs was the reason that an audience had assembled in the Lorne Building on that day. The conference was meant to be an opportunity for members of the Canadian Women's Press Club and the National Press Club of Canada to see Boggs in action as the newly-appointed NGC director. A number of newspaper articles from that week expressed that Boggs impressed the press conference attendees. One journalist wrote in the *Montreal Gazette*, "At her first press reception, the National Gallery's new director was never caught to dodge a question," and that Boggs was seen as a "keen strategist who would soon find her shortcuts in the labyrinth within the red tape and beyond it."[61] During the press conference, the majority of Boggs's remarks addressed her goals for the NGC. The same journalist wrote, "...Boggs spoke of her hopes and aspirations for the gallery's future development, sounding more confident and optimistic than anything heard from the National Gallery before its trustees announced her own appointment two months ago."[62] Despite the fact that Boggs was seen to be ambitious, she also enthralled the audience with her disposition. The article went on to state that, "And plainly, dark-eyed Jean Boggs delighted by more than her pleasant voice, her unrhetorical manner and her refreshing turn of phrase."[63] Those in attendance were excited with what they saw; the general feeling was that Boggs's appointment was a good choice, given her accomplishments before this position. They saw a woman with a vision.[64]

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[60] Interview with Cyndie Campbell, February 25, 2016. Cyndie Campbell, who knew her later in life, has said that Boggs was a shy and reserved woman.

[61] "National Gallery: Barometer Rising: Program Outlined by New Director," *Montreal Gazette* (Montréal, QC), July 9, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT).

[62] Ibid.

In Figure 4, which is a blown-up version of one image from Figure 2, Bartlett has photographed Boggs posing for another photographer, who is also captured in the frame. This image is particularly compelling due to Boggs's awareness that the other camera is on her. With the knowledge that her portrait is being taken, we can see that she has adjusted her body and face for the photographer. Unlike the three other images in Figure 2, Boggs's hands are not clasped in her lap. Rather, they are placed palms-down on her thighs, causing her to sit up straighter as her portrait is taken. She tilts her head slightly to the side, eyes looking directly at the other camera with a serious, yet soft, expression. In his book, *Camera Lucida*, French literary theorist Roland Barthes discussed the sitter's experience in knowing that the photograph is being taken:

> Now, once I feel myself observed by the lens, everything changes: I constitute myself in the process of "posing," I instantly make another body for myself, I transform myself in advance into an image. This transformation is an active one: I feel that the Photograph creates my body or mortifies it...[65]

Barthes also wrote that being photographed is like a 'social game.' He said, "I pose, I know I am posing, I want you to know that I'm posing but (to square the circle) this additional message must in no way alter the precious essence of my individuality."[66] Echoing these sentiments, photography theorist and critic Robert Graham writes, "To become a photo subject is to transform oneself, to reconstitute oneself as an image. In posing for a photograph, the sitter must "write" with the body."[67] It can be gathered that Boggs is doing exactly this in Figure 4: she is creating a narrative with her pose.

It is likely that Boggs knew the significance of this portrait. Presumably, the photograph being taken in Figure 4 would have been used to announce her new position as NGC director, or it would have been used as an official headshot. While the other photographs from this series are candid, here, Bartlett has caught Boggs in a posed moment. By capturing her in the midst of posing for another camera, Bartlett reminds us of Boggs's importance in this new position. Diana Nemiroff, former Curator of Contemporary Art at the NGC, said that Boggs was "extremely proud of being the first female National Gallery director."[68] Indeed, entering the role was significant not only for Boggs, but for many women in Canada. With regards to this, Nemiroff said:

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981) 10-11.

[66] Ibid., 11-12.

[67] Robert Graham, "Here's Me! *or* The Subject in the Picture," in *Thirteen Essays on Photography*, edited by Martha Langford (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1990), 3.

> I remember reading about her appointment in the newspaper, in Montreal, where I was at the time, and I was enormously impressed with her. So much so that I found her example inspiring. […] But my point is, she was definitely a role model for women of my generation. And the fact that she was the director of the National Gallery was highly symbolic for all of us. It meant, really, that women could shoot for the highest positions. That there were no barriers. There were barriers, of course, but symbolically, it meant that they could be overcome.[69]

This photograph exhibits Boggs's pride in attaining such a prestigious position. Furthermore, through this photograph, we see how Boggs was positioning herself.

Boggs's attention to the way that she wanted to be seen extended to other areas of her life. Being unmarried, she did not carry the salutation 'Mrs.', though, because she held a doctoral degree, she could have used the salutation 'Dr.' Instead, Boggs preferred to be called 'Miss Boggs.' In 1967, journalist Wendy Michener wrote in *Chatelaine*: "One of her first statements upon being appointment director of Ottawa's National Gallery on June 1, 1966, was to drop the Doctor in front of her name for just plain Miss, because "it might imply I'm a male in a bilingual country.""[70] Boggs's statement is referring to her first name, which can also be read as the French man's name, *Jean*. The decision to use 'Miss,' then, was very deliberate, as it demonstrates that Boggs was selective in the ways in which she presented herself. It can be argued that she was, in fact, proud of being a woman (and an unmarried one!), and that this was perhaps more of a priority to her than distinguishing that she held a doctoral degree. Even at a young age, Boggs had been particular about how she wanted to be known. Boggs was christened 'Grace Jean,' after her two aunts, however, she wrote, "at some point, I was told, I declared that I should only be called "Jean," which is how I wrote my name in a proprietary fashion on these childhood books."[71] Her decision to drop the name Grace was because, "grace is a virtue to which I could never aspire."[72] These actions gives us some insight into Boggs's personality.

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[68] Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016.

[69] Ibid. At the time, Diana was a graduate student at McGill university.

[70] Wendy Michener, "Jean Boggs: The Woman They Didn't Want," *Chatelaine*, June 1968, 29. National Gallery of Canada Archives, #074591. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1 (DOC/CWLT).

Portraits, similar to biographies, are often meant to capture the subject's character. However, humanities professor Kathleen Woodward has discussed how photographs of women, taken by others, can also act as a way for the sitter to self-define.[73] Furthermore, as Robert Graham writes, "The camera, as a tool of empowerment, requires those who seek power to employ themselves strategically as photo subjects."[74] In this way, Figure 4 can be seen as comparable to a self-portrait. While the image is framed by the photographer, Boggs has agency in the way that she is choosing to self-determine. She is performing for the camera, and through this, we can read her expression of identity. Agency is integral to the self-portrait; the genre's power lies in its ability to allow the subject to self-assert and self-define. Self-portraiture has been used by female artists as a tactic to signify their power, express their identities, and display their visibility in society.[75]

The rise of women's self-portraiture occurred in the early twentieth century, as seen in the works of artists such as Frida Kahlo and Claude Cahun. However, there have been many historical examples of women artists using self-portraiture as a medium. The 2015 exhibition, *The Artist Herself*, curated by Alicia Boutilier and Toby Bruce at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre in Kingston, ON, was meant to challenge the notion of the self-portrait as a man's pursuit. The curators wanted to show how women have used self-portraiture to express themselves. Boutilier and Bruce write that, "the historiography of self-portraiture reveals the various profound and subtle ways in which women artists have tackled and shaped their identities through this particular Western art historical construct."[76] Effectively, the curators' goal was to shift the perception of the female sitter, in order to show the varied and layered ways in which women have chosen to position themselves, as well as to expand the possibility of what can be considered as self-portraiture. For example, the exhibition included objects such as E. Pauline Johnson's performance costume, and a cookie tin by Maud Lewis, which would not be typical examples of self-portraiture.[77] This recalls what Gaby Porter wrote, on the typical everyday objects that women leave behind, in comparison to men's inventions and creations.[78] As such, the self-portrait needs to be reconsidered because the context was different for women working as artists. Furthermore, I would argue that this self-awareness of positioning oneself is exactly what Boggs is doing in Figure 4.

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[71] Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," Chapter 5, 10.

[72] Ibid., 11.

[73] Whitelaw, "Women, Museums, and the Problem of Biography," 75; Kathleen M. Woodward, "Performing Age, Performing Gender," *NWSA Journal* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 170, doi:10.1353/nwsa.2006.0023.

[74] Graham, "Here's Me!" 8.

[75] Alicia Anna Boutilier and Tobi Bruce, *The Artist Herself: Self-Portraits by Canadian Historical Women Artists / L'Artiste elle-même: autoportraits de femmes artistes au Canada* (Kingston, ON: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 2015), 17.

[76] Ibid., 20; "The Artist Herself: Self-Portraits by Canadian Historical Women Artists," *Agnes Etherington Art Centre*, accessed September 23, 2017. http://agnes.queensu.ca/exhibition/the-artist-herself-self-portraits-by-canadian-historical-women-artists/.

In Figures 2 and 3, one detail stands out: the flower arrangement on the table behind Boggs. While this may seem like a footnote, it is not insignificant. I would argue that every detail in these photographs is highly symbolic, because of their contextual temporality. These photographs depict what would have been one of Boggs's first public appearances as the newly appointed NGC director. As a result, Figures 2 and 3 are marked by Boggs's accomplishment of being appointed director.[79] Given the symbolic link between flowers and femininity, their placement within the scene seems calculated. This symbolism of women and flowers can be traced back through history. Art historian Annette Stott has written that:

> Floral analogies have been employed to describe various attributes of femininity in art, literature, and thought at least since the Middle Ages. […] From the Renaissance, portraits of women often included a single bloom or a bouquet of flowers to convey more general connotations of fertility and beauty. Colonial American painters such as John Singleton Copley adopted the device from Europe and used it repeatedly to describe and compliment their female sitters. During the nineteenth century, many American continued to employ flowers as a standard prop in portraits of women.[80]

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[77] Boutilier and Bruce, *The Artist Herself*, 17; Catherine Annau, "The Artist Herself: A New Take on Self-Portraits by Historical Canadian Women Artists," *Catherine Annau*, accessed September 23, 2017. http://catherineannau.com/the-artist-herself-a-new-take-on-self-portraits-by-historical-canadian-women-artists/.

[78] See: Porter, "Putting Your House in Order."

[79] "A Threesome may put Canada on the world art scene," *The Toronto Evening Telegram* (Toronto, ON), June 25, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT). Indeed, it was quite prestigious to be in such a role: in 1966, Boggs's annual salary was listed as $20,000, which today roughly translates to $150,000, calculated on the Bank of Canada's Inflation Convertor.

[80] Annette Stott, "Floral Femininity: A Pictorial Definition," *American Art* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 61. doi:10.1086/424151. See also: Corinne Kopcik Rhyner, "Flowers of Rhetoric: The Evolving Use of the Language of Flowers in Margaret Fuller's *Dial* Sketches and Poetry, Elizabeth Stoddard's *The Morgesons*, Edith Wharton's *Summer*, Mary Austin's *Santa Lucia* and *Cactus Thorn*, and Susan Glaspell's *The Verge*," (Dissertation, Georgia State University, 2012). On page 7 and 8, Rhyner writes: "Although the connection between women and flowers has existed for centuries in mythology, the Bible, literature, and folk tales, the cultural ideal of women as domestic figures began in the nineteenth century. Beverly Seaton notes that "flowers, in fact, were seen as the most suitable aspect of nature to represent women, or to interact with them, reflecting as they [did] certain stereotypical qualities of the female being: smallness of stature, frailty of mind and body, and impermanence of beauty" (17)."

The flowers are located in such a way that they would have likely been seen in any photograph, taken at any angle, of Boggs that day. This means that, twenty-nine days into her mandate, Boggs's gender is already being highlighted, and seems to say that while a woman may hold a position of power, she is still a woman. While some may see this as innocuous, I argue that this gives off a subtle yet sexist message. While being the first woman to lead a major art gallery was an accomplishment of which to be proud, the fact that her womanhood was constantly highlighted is particularly unsavoury.

The flowers are reminiscent of two other photographs where Boggs is seen holding flowers. Published in the *Ottawa Journal* (Fig. 5) and the *Ottawa Citizen* (Fig. 6) in 1969, these images were used to promote an exhibition at the National Library and Archives, supported by the Florists Transworld Delivery Association.[81] In these photographs, Boggs stands before a still life painting of flowers by van Gogh, holding a flower arrangement. If we study her face in these images, we can see that Boggs does not look pleased to be there, as her smile is strained and reads as a grimace. She seems to be resisting this representation of her. From these images, it could be discerned that perhaps Boggs preferred to represent herself differently than this. Another consideration could be: would Boggs have been asked to be in this position if she had been a man? I would argue that a male NGC director would not have been asked to take a photograph holding flower arrangements – it would have been considered as something a woman would do. Women's connection with the imagery of flowers has long been considered as related to femininity. As Corinne Kopcik Rhyner writes, this relationship is "not surprising in a culture concerned with creating a restrictive role for women by assigning them the cardinal virtues of godliness, wholesomeness, domesticity, and obedience."[82] This question of representation is integral in considering that these photographs would have been used in the media to promote a certain image of the director, one which, in the case of these photographs, highlights her femininity.

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[81] More on this exhibition can be gleaned from reading the complete captions of these images, which I have included along with the photographs in the Figures section. See: Figures 5 and 6.

[82] Rhyner, "Flowers of Rhetoric," 7.

Section Three:
"The Best-Looking Director the Gallery Has Ever Had":
The Press and Boggs in the Public Eye

> I think all Canadians interested in the development of the gallery and the furtherance of our cultural life in general will be pleased at the appointment of a Canadian of such national and international stature. For my own part, I need hardly add that I am particularly happy to see a woman filling such a senior position among our cultural agencies. She is, in fact, the first woman in Canadian history to head an agency with the status of deputy minister.
>
> *Judy LaMarsh, Secretary of State, 1966*[83]

Especially in her early days as director, the public and the press were keen to see what Boggs would accomplish. Journalists across the country were particularly impressed that she was a woman in such a position. An article from *The Toronto Evening Telegram* in 1966, which referred to the press conference seen in Figure 3, stated that "The audience was as attentive to how things were said, as to the thoughts that were conveyed. To put it plainly, everyone took a good look at the National Gallery's new director."[84] However, the publicity on Boggs was often used as an opportunity to focus on her gender in a casually sexist manner. Frequently, newspaper articles mentioned Boggs's appearance, speaking to her attractiveness, femininity, and charm, and it was rare for the headline or the article's first few sentences to not mention that she was a woman. She was called a "tall, dark and attractive woman," a "vivacious woman," an "art historian with a flair for color," and "the best-looking director the National Gallery has ever had."[85] Indeed, one article wrote, "The lady in question–Jean Grace Sutherland Boggs–will bring much more than persuasive charm, stylish good looks and hazel-green eyes to the National

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[83] "New Director for the Gallery," *Ottawa Citizen* (Ottawa, ON), May 6, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT); *Commons Debates*, May 4, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT).

[84] "National Gallery: Barometer Rising," *Montreal Gazette.*

[85] Eunice Gardiner, "New Gallery Director: Art Historian with Flair for Color Searches for Apartment in Centretown," *Ottawa Journal* (Ottawa, ON), May 5, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT); "Woman to head National Gallery," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), May 5, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966. (DOC/CWLT); "Jean Boggs is named National Gallery head," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), May 5, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT); Jay Walz, "A Woman Heads the National Gallery of Canada; Jean Sutherland Boggs who Taught on Coast is Named Best-Looking Director," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), August 7, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT).

Gallery."[86] Rather than focusing solely on what she had accomplished, descriptions of Boggs were typically accompanied by a note regarding her womanhood.

Furthermore, several headlines regarding Boggs from the same time period were misogynistic. An article titled, "The National Gallery's Interior Decorator," minimized Boggs's role as director to someone who decorates homes, which, in the sixties, would have been seen as a 'woman's job.'[87] Additionally, one article with the headline, "There's Just Not Enough Space for Dr. Boggs," stated: "Finding space to hang pictures is a big problem for women, but for Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs, it is more like a large size headache."[88] Other titles included: "Miss National Gallery '66," "Canada's First Lady of Culture," "National Gallery's First Lady," and "Typical Gal, She Wants a Home."[89] The first three headlines liken Boggs's position as director to being a pageant queen and a president's wife. The last headline refers to Boggs's ambitions for a new NGC building. However, the way the headline is written dismisses her vision, likening her goals for the NGC to something that a wife may want for her family. There are other less overtly sexist examples such as "National Gallery: Barometer Rising," in reference to Boggs's arrival to the NGC, and the caption "Girls at the Gallery," which shows a photograph of Boggs with former Ottawa mayor Charlotte Whitton at a reception at the NGC; both women were well over the age to be acceptably called 'girls.'[90]

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[86] "To Move the Immovable," *Time*, May 13, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT).

[87] "The National Gallery's Interior Decorator," *The Toronto Evening Telegram*; see also: Manli Zarandian, "Feminism and Interior Design in the 60s," (master's thesis, University of Nebraska, May 2015), 1-2, and 5. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1160&context=archthesis. Zarandian writes, "Throughout its history, a complicated relationship was established between women and interior design as a field of study. On one hand, interior design offered women many career opportunities, and allowed them to be seen as experts and professionals. On the other hand, women's accomplishments and contributions to the field have been counted as unequal compared to the achievements of men in the discipline […]. In other words, despite the high level of professionalism among the women of the field, they were ultimately associated with the domestic sphere while the public sphere was, and continues to be, associated with men."

[88] Patricia MacGuire, "There's Just Not Enough Space for Dr. Boggs," *Ottawa Journal* (Ottawa, ON), June 23, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT).

[89] Kay Kritzwiser, "Jean Boggs: Miss National Gallery '66," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), July 2, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT); "National Gallery's First Lady," *The Toronto Evening Telegram* (Toronto, ON), May 5, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT).

[90] "National Gallery: Barometer Rising," *Montreal Gazette*; "Girls at the Gallery" in "New Director Also Plus Expansion: 'Wonderful Thing to Hang $6 Million Painting in Gallery,'" *Ottawa Journal* (Ottawa, ON), June 30, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966. (DOC/CWLT).

However, perhaps the most flagrant display of sexism was the title, “A Threesome May Put Canada on the Art Scene,” from *The Toronto Evening Telegram* in 1967. The headline alludes to Boggs’s and Judy LaMarsh’s attempts to purchase Leonardo da Vinci’s portrait *Ginevra de’ Benci* (1474).[91] At the time, LaMarsh was a federal Cabinet Minister for the Parliament of Canada and the Secretary of State. While headlines are typically written to grab attention, and as a result, can be somewhat inflammatory or exaggerated, calling Boggs’s and LaMarsh’s goals to purchase *Ginevra* a ‘threesome’ is wildly inappropriate, especially considering that both women were in positions of power at the time. This headline devalues their leadership roles, and suggests that both women are merely sexual beings, meant to be consumed by patriarchal Canadian society. Moreover, the ‘sexy’ powerful women (the teacher, the doctor, the lawyer... and in this case, the art gallery director and the politician) is a popular fetish, as is the imagery of girl-on-girl sexual encounters, which has often been used as a tactic meant for male titillation, as women’s sexuality, bisexuality, and lesbianism has historically been erased and ignored as a form of cultural production. Literary scholar Claude S. Summers writes, in *The Queer Encyclopedia of Visual Arts*, “while men are free to look, evaluate, and choose sexual partners, women’s sexuality is restricted to narcissistic *self*-evaluation in order to attract men.”[92] Thus, the theme of the female “threesome” in this headline could be argued as meant to sexualize these women for the purpose of arousing male readers. While the tides may be changing in our contemporary landscape, women’s sexual liberation was only just beginning in the sixties.[93]

This is further problematized in a 1967 caricature from the *Ottawa Citizen* (Fig. 7). There, we see Boggs and LaMarsh standing behind a frame that reads, “Reserved for Leonardo’s *Ginevra dei* [sic] *Benci*,” with a caption, “She’s Run Off with an American.” The “American” in this case refers to the National Gallery of Art in Washington, which ultimately purchased the painting. Boggs’s and LaMarsh’s efforts were unsuccessful in the purchase because the Canadian government considered *Ginevra* to be too expensive, and the painting’s high price tag had caused a stir in the news.[94] Here, *Ginevra* is presented as a ‘loose woman’ who took an American partner. Through the use of sexualized language, the drawing can be seen to undermine the power of Boggs and LaMarsh, two accomplished middle-aged women, for the purpose of exposing that they do not conform to typical beauty standards – particularly LaMarsh, whose caricature is especially unflattering. This recalls the notion that women are damned either way, relegated to being seen as either sexual objects or old maids, further reminding women that their power is in their physical appearance, specifically their youth and beauty. In this case, it would seem that the illustrator chose to make a comment on the women's lack of sex appeal to undermine their power.

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[91] “A Threesome may put Canada on the world art scene,” *The Toronto Evening Telegram.*

[92] Claude S. Summers, *The Queer Encyclopedia of Visual Arts* (Jersey City, NJ: Simon and Schuster, 2004), 115.

[93] For a primer on the sexual revolution, see: David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution. An Unfettered History* (Boston: Little Brown, 2000).

[94] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 201. At the time, Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson decided that it was too expensive to justify its purchase.

In Figure 8, we see another image of Boggs and LaMarsh: standing together between a sculpture, titled *Wheel Man*, at the opening of the NGC's 1968 exhibition, *Sculpture in the Sixties*. Figure 8 can be found in LaMarsh's autobiography, *Memoirs of a Bird in a Gilded Cage*, first published in 1968, after she left politics. Her memoir details her own struggles as a woman working in the government in Ottawa. The 'Boggs era' saw more women entering the workforce, with a few women like Boggs and Judy LaMarsh rising to top positions in the public sector in Canada. LaMarsh was a known feminist, and in her role of Secretary of State, she had made it her mission to promote women's representation by placing women in positions of power within the Canadian government. LaMarsh wrote in her memoir: "My own appointment of Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs was considered by my colleagues to be a daring one."[95] It was considered daring because it was a rarity to see a woman enter into such a position at the time – particularly in terms of political positions (at the time, the director of the National Gallery of Canada was considered a political position, given its Deputy Minister status). With regards to Boggs's appointment, a journalist wrote, "Miss LaMarsh said this had been a long and difficult hunt for a gallery head. She was pleased that it had ended with the selection of a woman."[96] As LaMarsh lamented in her book, "the sad fact is that political parties in Canada think of women only at election time."[97] In a chapter titled, "Twenty-five to One," LaMarsh outlines her attempts to push forward the candidacy of several women. She even compiled a list of women's names who could be considered for a variety of so-called ‘responsible positions.’ The list itself was often loaned to other committees looking to make nominations.[98]

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[95] Judy LaMarsh, *Judy LaMarsh: Memoirs of a Bird in a Gilded Cage* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), 304.

[96] "Woman will Head Gallery," *Ottawa Citizen* (Ottawa, ON), May 4, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT).

[97] LaMarsh, *Judy LaMarsh*, 300.

With LaMarsh as one of its major proponents, women’s representation started to be seen as a principal subject in Canada, and more roles were being offered to women. However, it was often thought to be enough to have just one woman to count as representative. As Nemiroff said, “if you have one women in your cabinet, well, that was plenty, wasn’t it?”[99] With these issues in mind, LaMarsh pushed for a Royal Commission on the Status of Women, which was established in 1967. The Commission’s mandate was to “inquire into and report upon the status of women in Canada, and to recommend what steps might be taken by the federal government to ensure for women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society.”[100] In 1970, the Commission published its report, which included recommendations to update legislation, specifically in areas that affected women such as poverty, family law, as well as the Indian Act. The Report also outlined the need for more women’s representation in the federal government.[101] The issue of representation was directly related to the boom in women’s role in the public sphere.

The post-World War II era was one of social and economic changes. During the World Wars, many women went to work in previously male-dominated industries. They assumed the roles of head of household and breadwinners while their male counterparts were on the battlefield. As such, women were introduced to jobs in industries they hadn’t had access to previously.[102] While many women returned to the home once WWII ended, and the baby boom caused a spike in new mothers, the 1960s continued to see women entering the workforce. Many households (especially those of low income families) had come to rely on the additional income that women were able to provide with their jobs. In 1961, 50 percent of women in the workforce were married – gone were the days when only young and unmarried women were working.[103] Meanwhile, with the rise of the Women's Liberation Movement, women who stayed at home began looking for recognition for the work that they did, and demanded shared responsibilities in traditional 'women's work,' such as raising children, cooking, and cleaning. Overall, women's presence in the workforce was on the rise, and though traditionalism had its comeback in the 1960s, gender roles were becoming more malleable. Like Boggs, more women were choosing to attend higher education, and saw paid opportunities as viable options.

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[98] Ibid., 307; LaMarsh eventually left politics, partially due to her exasperation with the system. She wrote that she “grew tired of being the woman’s watchdog.” See: Ibid., 316. LaMarsh included her resignation letter on page 313.

[99] Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016.

[100] Government of Canada, “Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada,” *Government of Canada: Status of Women Canada*, last modified June 1, 2016, accessed September 23, 2017. http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/rc-cr/roycom/index-en.html.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Mary Kinnear, *In Subordination: Professional Women 1870-1970* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), 3; Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity, 1945-1975* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 4; Meyerowitz in Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 19.

In moving into the job market, women were traversing the gender boundaries laid out for them. These women were oddly positioned in society, in that they could not easily be categorized by the private/public dichotomy.[104] However, the workplace was segregated by gender: mainly, women comprised the companies' lower levels, with less pay and less responsibility. Judy Collischan van Wagner argues that women were often pushed towards jobs where there could fulfill typically 'feminine' roles as nurturers/supporters, for example, as secretaries and low-level administrators; meanwhile, men were able to attain positions where they acted as creators/producers. In the art world, this translated to artists, curators, museum directors, etc.[105] These issues persist today: according to Stats Canada, while some women may attain positions of power, the large majority still work in lesser paying jobs (in Canada, women make an average of 87 cents for every dollar men earn) and lower positions.[106] As seen with the *Gender Gap* study, men continue to reign supreme at the highest grossing art galleries worldwide. This is why Boggs's appointment was seen to be so groundbreaking in 1966.

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[103] Government of Canada, "Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada"; Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 33. Adams notes that out of all women in paid employment, married women in the workforce rose from 12.7% in 1941, to 30% in 1951, and almost 50% (49.8%) in 1961; by the 1970s, Mary Kinnear notes that even more jobs were accessible to women, and a diversified group of women were in the workforce – it was no longer a place for only young, unmarried women. However, these advances were not immediate, and many women experienced prejudice and discrimination. Kinnear explains that women in the workplace were often "almost all in subordination to men." See: Kinnear, *In Subordination*, 3 and 15.

[104] Ibid., 10; Shonaugh McEwan discusses this dichotomy: "The public arena has been traditionally associated with men and masculinity, along with social, economic, and political power, while the private sphere aligned with women, middle-class domesticity, femininity, and dependence." See: Shonaugh McEwan, "Crossing Boundaries: Gendered Spaces and Bodies in Golf," in *Subjectivities, Knowledges, and Feminist Geographies: The Subjects and Ethics of Social Research*, edited by Liz Bondi (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 101.

[105] Kinnear, *In Subordination*, 14; van Wagner, *Women Shaping Art*, 7; Lucy Lippard is quote in van Wagner, *Women Shaping Art* (105): "making art is considered a primary function, like running a business or a government, and women are conventionally relegated to the secondary, housekeeping activities such as a writing about, exhibiting or caring for the art made by men."

[106] Solomon Israel, "StatsCan on gender pay gap: Women earn 87¢ to men's $1," *CBC News*, last modified March 9, 2018, accessed January 16, 2018. http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/statistics-canada-gender-pay-gap-1.4014954.

As a woman in the 1960s, Boggs occupied a very unusual position: not only was she in a leadership role, but she also was unmarried and highly educated. Indeed, by the end of the 1950s, roughly 60 percent of women studying at colleges in the United States were dropping out to find a husband. Some even worried that higher education would inhibit their chances of getting married.[107] Meanwhile, in 1953, Boggs obtained her doctorate from Harvard. With the rise of the Cold War, singledom was seen as a threat to the nationalism promoted in post-war North America. This deviance was deemed to be a stance against family values, unpatriotic, and beyond the scope of 'social legitimacy.'[108] This view of single women persists today: in 2016, Rebecca Traister wrote an exposé on single women for *New York* magazine, where she wrote, "Single women are taking up space in a world that was not designed for them [...]. If the country is to flourish, we must make room for free women, and let go of the economic and social systems built around the presumption that no woman really counts unless she is married."[109] This speaks to the peculiar position that Boggs held as a woman in a position of power. Boggs's sister said that though she remained unmarried, "It wasn't because she wasn't chased," but it wasn't for her, because "she'd have had to give up too much of her liberty."[110] She was more interested in her career than in the prospects of settling down with a family, which was atypical at this time.[111] However, one could also argue that it was precisely because of her transgressive nature – the fact that she had no husband to hold her back, or a family to tie her down – that Boggs was able to accomplish so much.

Boggs's position at the NGC was a public one. Throughout her tenure, Boggs was often in the media because she pursued many travels across Canada to speak publicly. For example, in 1967, Boggs began a series of 10 speeches across Canada for the centennial celebrations, which discussed the trajectory of Canadian art over the last 100 years. Her first speech in the series was held at the Willistead Art Gallery Art (now the Gallery of Windsor), on January 5th, 1967.[112] In Figure 9, we see a 1968 photograph from *The London Evening Press* of Boggs holding up a slide, with a caption noting that Boggs spoke on Degas' female subjects. The photograph shows us how passionately she stares at the slide (the article indicates that the slide was of Degas' work), which she shows to two male colleagues. With these public appearances, she emphasized the importance of art in Canadian society as well as the public's support for art institutions and collections.[113] Her position was that Canadians should have a significant art collection provided through government funds, which she believed should exist through the NGC. As a result, many of her speeches related back to her vision of the future of the NGC's art collection.

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[107] Rebecca Traister, "All the Single Ladies: Unmarried Women and the Rise of an Independent Nation," *New York*, July 22, 2017, accessed September 23, 2017. http://nymag.com/thecut/2016/02/political-power-single-women-c-v-r.html?mid=twitter_cut. In her article, Traister mentions another article from 1957, published in *Harper Bazaar's* titled, "American Youth Goes Monogamous," by Charles Cole. Cole wrote that wrote that "a girl who gets as far as her junior year in college without having acquired a man is thought to be in grave danger of becoming an old maid." During these years, about 50% of married women were under the age of 20, with about 14 million women engaged by 17 years old.

[108] Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 23-24, 30-31, 38.

[109] Traister, "All the Single Ladies."

[110] Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy." Boggs was proposed to twice, however, she never married. Boggs's sister, Ms. Ripley, recalls "her sister nearly heading to the altar as many as three times, but "chickening out.""

[111] Diana Nemiroff, personal communication with author, October 4, 2017. Nemiroff says, "She viewed marriage and the career she wanted as incompatible, and turned down at least one proposal for this reason."

Boggs's interests in bringing art to the public started before her time as director. From 1964 to 1966, she was involved with a CBC Radio show, *Listening to Pictures*, an art appreciation series where she would discuss various artworks for anyone tuning in. The radio program consisted of 13 talks on artworks by nineteenth and twentieth century artists, including Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, Wassily Kandinsky, and Jasper Johns. Artworks ranged from Cézanne's *Still Life: Jug of Milk and Fruit* (1888-1890) to Robert Indiana's *The Demuth American Dream No. 5* (1963). CBC's program, *Rewind*, looked back on this radio series in 2015. The online introduction to the segment states,

> If you were listening to CBC Radio in 1964, you might have heard an invitation to send a dollar to the CBC. In return, you'd get a packet of ten postcards with famous works of art. Then you'd tune in to a program called *Listening to Pictures*, where Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs would help explain them to you. It was all part of a plan to bring art to Canadians. Dr. Boggs was passionate about art and helping Canadians to appreciate it.[114]

Boggs's first three talks on *Listening to Pictures* discussed Cézanne, Gauguin, and van Gogh. The program was scheduled "for triple exposure to reach as wide an audience as possible […]."[115] This showed that she was interested in making art accessible to the masses.

Indeed, Boggs's interest in using avant-garde technologies continued throughout her directorship. She saw the importance and possibilities of new technology, particularly in the realm of media and communications.[116] Her interests were widespread – she was interested in radio, television, photography, and film. For example, the exhibition, *Art in the Courts*, had an accompanying film by National Film Board. In 1967, Boggs was profiled in an hour-long special through the CBC-TV program, *Telescope 67*, titled "The Miraculous Miss Boggs." During the *Telescope 67* episode, she was seen in various parts of the NGC, discussing various works in the collection, as well as surveying a selection of departments at the NGC, such as the conservation department. In a press release, Olive Dickason of the NGC's information services wrote, "It's an informal portrait of our director, showing her as she goes about her rounds, and including a look at *Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art* and its opening party."[117] Additionally, in February 1973, Boggs was featured on *Canada AM*, the same week as David Lewis (former leader of the New Democratic Party of Canada) and John Diefenbaker (former Prime Minister of Canada).[118] Ultimately, these attempts were made to reinvigorate interest in an art gallery that was certainly in need of it.

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[112] Eloise Wilkinson, "Expo, Centennial Projects to Stimulate Art Interest," *Windsor Star* (Windsor, ON), Jan 9, 1967. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 2. Documentation 1967 (DOC/CWLT).

[113] Enright, "Jean Sutherland Boggs."

[114] Ibid.

[115] "Listening to Pictures," *CBC Times*, February 26-March 4, 1966, 3. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT). The lectures, along with the photographs of the works she discussed, can be found in print. See: Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Listening to Pictures* (Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1966).

Prior to her arrival, the NGC had fallen into a difficult position, and the public had come to have a fairly low opinion of their national art museum. An article from 1968 outlined the NGC's issues in the 1960s:

> […] a gallery suffering from insufficient staff, a mediocre collection, internal dissension and a bad name acquired through years of government indifference, artistic mis-management and scandals – among them hanging the paintings of questionable pedigrees. In the current issue of *Chatelaine*, Wendy Michener tells the story of this fine woman, this Jean Sutherland Boggs, who is turning the National Gallery into a national asset. The gallery is being transformed hastily from a laughing stock, an obscure and dusty institution to a place of excitement and a genuine centre of art.[119]

The article quoted above was written to promote Wendy Michener's feature story on Boggs in *Chatelaine*, which will be discussed in the next section of this thesis. Indeed, the author of an article from *The Toronto Evening Telegram* wrote:

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[116] See: Annex B (Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016).

[117] "The Remarkable Miss Boggs," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), October 20, 1967. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Book 2. Documentation 1967 (DOC/CWLT); Olive Dickason, "The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa: Memorandum," October 18, 1967. National Gallery of Canada Archives, File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 2. Documentation 1967 (DOC/CWLT).

[118] "Canada AM Show Grows," *Lethbridge Herald* (Lethbridge, AB), February 14, 1973. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 3. Book 6. Documentation 1973-1975 (DOC/CWLT). This occurred during Canada AM's sixth month on television.

[119] "Jean Boggs: The Woman They Didn't Want," *Alberni Valley Times* (Port Alberni, BC), May 22, 1968. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 2. Book 3. Documentation 1968-1969 (DOC/CWLT).

> Finally, the most important single 1966 event may turn out to be the appointment of Dr. Jean Boggs as director of the National Gallery of Canada. The National Gallery has been a dead loss for close to 10 years, but it now should rapidly move to the position of leadership its prestige and budget indicate.[120]

These quotes show how dire the situation at the NGC was prior to Boggs's arrival.

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[120] Harry Malcolmson, "It's Been the Best Art Year Ever," *The Toronto Evening Telegram* (Toronto, ON), Jan. 25, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT).

Section Four:
"The Woman They Didn't Want":
Leading and Hiring Staff at the National Gallery

> I never gave much thought to being the only woman in the world to head a national gallery. I just assumed I was the best person for the job.
>
> *Jean Sutherland Boggs, 1999*[121]

Two years into her directorship at the National Gallery of Canada (NGC), Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs was featured in the June 1968 edition of *Chatelaine* magazine, in an article titled, "Jean Boggs: The Woman They Didn't Want," by Wendy Michener. The title of Michener's article refers to the fact that Boggs had initially applied to be the NGC director in 1959, but her application was rejected, and ultimately it was artist Charles Comfort who was selected. However, in 1966, after Comfort's resignation, the search for a new NGC director began, and Boggs was approached for the position. It has been reported that at least two people had been offered the job before her, but they turned it down.[122] Thus, Michener is referring to the director hiring committee at the NGC as the "they" in this title. While Boggs may not have been initially 'wanted,' there are many indications in the text and the accompanying photograph (Fig. 10) that she became what the NGC needed. The photograph shows Boggs, seated in the mid-ground, with her staff standing behind her. Many of the staff members in the image were hired during her directorship as part of the NGC's staff expansions.[123] Despite the numerous people in the photograph, our eyes go directly to Boggs, placing her as the most important subject. She commands the composition with an air of authority, her unsmiling face reads as serious, though not stern. Her body language, facial expression, and central placement denote this strength.

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[121] Finlayson, *Trailblazers*, xix.

[122] Nemiroff mentioned this in our interview, however, the information can also be found in: "Jean Boggs: The Woman They Didn't Want," *Alberni Valley Times*, and Michener, "Jean Boggs: The Woman They Didn't Want." See also: Annex B (Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016).

[123] "The Sixties at the National Gallery of Canada," *National Gallery of Canada* [web archive], accessed September 23, 2017. http://web.archive.org/web/20140801230826/https://www.gallery.ca/pdf/exn19_e.pdf. From left to right, the staff members are: Dennis Reid, Mimi Cazort, Brydon Smith, Nathan Stolow, Pierre Théberge, Pamela Osler, Jim Borcoman, Guy Viau, Jean-Paul Morisset, Bill Bragg, Amos Paget, Michel Amyot, André Vigeant, and Dorothea Coates.

Though there is an emphasis on Boggs's femininity, through her seated pose and her floral floor-length dress, this does not seem to detract from her position of power in the photograph.[124]

Figure 10 is unlike many other photographs of Boggs from this time. The image was meant to be seen by a primarily female audience, as it was published in a women's magazine, but also, the photograph is significant in terms of photographic style. Taken at a lower vantage point, the viewer gets the sense that we are looking up at Boggs and her team. As well, the composition is even more interesting given that the photograph was taken through an art object: the 1965 sculpture *Breaker* by contemporary Canadian abstract sculptor Robert Murray, which the NGC acquired in 1967 (Fig. 11). Although *Breaker* is barely perceptible in the photograph, it creates a strong frame for Boggs and her staff. The photograph is also one of the few colour photographs of Boggs that can be found from this time, as colour photography only began to gain popularity in the 1970s.[125]

Chatelaine is a popular Canadian women's magazine. In the 1960s and 1970s, one in three Anglo-Canadian women were reading the magazine. It was the only women's magazine with a national readership. From 1958 to 1977, Doris Anderson was *Chatelaine*'s Editor-in-Chief. Her influence was felt in the introduction of much more political and feminist content than before.[126] Through her editorials, but also in the content of articles in the magazine, the topics were markedly feminist and seen as controversial for the time. Headlines for Anderson's editorials included: “We Need More Women Scientists,” “Do Women Really Dominate Men?” and “Let’s Stop Acting Like a Minority Group.”[127] In these editorials, Anderson criticized the inclusion of women as ‘token’ figures on councils, committees, and within politics, which was becoming more popular within public offices, as seen with Judy LaMarsh’s attempts at increasing women’s inclusion in politics.[128] While LaMarsh’s work in appointing more women into politics was indeed commendable, Anderson was of the mind that one wasn’t enough. It could be argued that LaMarsh, herself an ardent feminist, felt the same, though was more pragmatic in her approach, believing that one is better than none.

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[124] Boggs was often photographed wearing eye-catching outfits, particularly dresses. Douglas Ord wrote that Boggs "often represented herself at such events, and was photographed, as a kind of sociable art object, wearing dresses printed with Op-Art geometric patterns." See: Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 199.

[125] Colour photography was seen before World War II in America, when photographers for the Farm Security Administration began using coloured film. In Postwar North America, colour photography gained popularity with magazines such as *National Geographic*. However, Mary Warner Marien writes, "Despite color's intermittent successes, in the 1950s and early 1960s most magazines continued to run black-and-white images, which were less expensive and less time consuming to produce." However, by 1970s, with the rise of the Polaroid camera, the prices for colour film were finally coming down. Colour became a norm for snapshot-taking, nearly pushing black-and-white film completely out of use. See: Mary Warner Marien, "Technology and Media in Postwar America: Color Photography and the Polaroid Process," *Photography: A Cultural History* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2010), 358-363.

[126] See: Valerie Korinek, "'It's a Tough Time to be in Love': The Darker Side of Chatelaine During the Cold War," in *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War*, edited by Richard Cavell, 159-182. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 161; Similar to what happened with *Chatelaine* when Anderson took over as Editor-in-Chief, the magazine *Teen Vogue* is currently going through its own politicization thanks to its Editor, Elaine Welteroth, who took over in May 2016. Welteroth succeeded Amy Astley, one of the magazine's founding members. Welteroth, along with Phillip Picardi (Digital Editorial Director) and Marie Suter (Creative Director), has "moved the magazine more aggressively into covering politics, feminism, identity, and activism." In this way, magazines can be vehicles to promote activism and politics, rather than beauty and lifestyle topics alone. For more details on *Teen Vogue,* see: Sophie Gilbert, "*Teen Vogue*'s Political Coverage Isn't Surprising," *The Atlantic*, December 12, 2016, accessed September 23, 2017. https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2016/12/teen-vogue-politics/510374/.

However, feminist content was not solely relegated to the editorials in *Chatelaine* – it came to be seen in the ways that long-form articles were written and selected as well – a category of which Michener’s “The Woman They Didn’t Want” belongs.[129] That being said, while the content of the magazine might have been thematically progressive at the time, from today’s perspective, articles like Michener’s might also be critiqued for promoting what we now consider as exceptionalism. In the 1960s, many news stories featured women ‘defying the odds,’ ultimately promoting the notion of the ‘exceptional woman.’ Joanna Meyerowitz notes that the twentieth century’s ‘cult of the personality’ was a method employed by many articles in the 1960s, and this can also be seen in *Chatelaine.* Indeed, Natalie Wood, a popular film and television actress at the time was on the magazine’s cover in the June 1968 issue that featured the essay on Boggs. This could be seen as an indicator of this ‘cult of the personality,’ whereby contemporary society was becoming exceedingly interested in the lives of people, particularly those in positions of power, fame, and success, which continues to be seen even today. While Meyerowitz notes that these stories were inspirational (and thus could be seen as part of a feminist agenda), they nevertheless promised a story that few would actually attain.[130] Michener’s article could be considered as part of the success stories to which Meyerowitz is referring.

In 1975, International Women’s Year, Boggs had nearly achieved gender parity in the NGC’s workforce: 44% of the NGC staff were women. Boggs hired two of the women in Figure 10 during her time as director: Pamela Osler (Assistant Curator of Prints and Drawings) and

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[127] Valerie Korinek, “Roughing it in Suburbia: Reading *Chatelaine* Magazine 1950-1969,” (P.h. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1996), 110.
[128] Ibid., 111.
[129] See: Korinek, “‘It’s a Tough Time to be in Love’: The Darker Side of Chatelaine During the Cold War.”
[130] Meyerowitz, “Beyond the Feminine Mystique,” 236.

Mimi Cazort (Curator of Prints and Drawings) were hired in 1966 and 1970 respectively.[131] However, it is dubious whether issues of women's representation would have been Boggs's concern in terms of staff hiring. Indeed, in the photograph, there are only 3 women, excluding Boggs, in the group of 14 staff people. Unlike Judy LaMarsh, Boggs did not consider herself a feminist. In "The Woman They Didn't Want," Michener writes, "Far from being a feminist, she seems slightly embarrassed about assuming social roles usually assigned to men, like ordering lunch when men are in the group. This feeling obviously doesn't extend to her work where she exudes an easy authority."[132] This was not unusual at the time: it was often the case for women from Boggs's generation to be ambivalent or unsympathetic towards the Women's Liberation Movement; in many circles, as it was seen as too radical and even distasteful.[133] Nevertheless, she made additions to her staff which reflected her ultimate goals for the NGC.

One detail in Figure 10 is noticeable: the addition of the staff members within the photograph. Though Michener discussed Boggs's work, the members of her staff and their activities were barely mentioned, nor were they named in the article or the photograph's caption. One could argue, then, that the photograph could have just as easily been a portrait of Boggs. So, why include her staff? One line in the article states that Boggs sits "…before the staff that is bringing a new wave to the gallery…"[134] This furthers the significance of Boggs's new role. Not only does it highlight her own fairly recent appointment as director as a turning point for the NGC, but the photograph positions her as a leader of a large team committed to furthering this transformation with her. Even though Figure 10 does not include the entire NGC workforce, the pictured staff take up nearly the full width of the photograph. It is powerful imagery to have Boggs's staff standing behind her. This is quite extraordinary when we consider how Boggs was in a rare position, as one of very few women in Canada to hold such power.

Boggs was well-respected and well-liked by her staff. Gyde Shepherd told *The Globe and Mail* that, "She drove us, and we followed her and supported her."[135] This sentiment was echoed by Charles Hill, former Curator of Canadian Art at the NGC, in an interview for this thesis. Hill said that Boggs's staff members were dedicated to her vision and felt inspired by her encouraging management.[136] With regards to Boggs's leadership style, Diana Nemiroff said, "you would know that she was trying to give you guidance as to what was really feasible. I think that was probably the way she operated with her own staff when she was director."[137] Many staff members who Boggs hired to the NGC ended up working there longer than she did. For example, Hill worked at the NGC for forty years. On this topic, Nemiroff said, "she affected the gallery long term by the people that she hired, who remained a long time after she was gone."[138] Part of this was due to her leadership style, about which Nemiroff stated, "And everyone whom I talked to said Jean would open doors. She would see what they were good at and she would use them in ways that made use of their talents, and if they weren't good at something else, then she wouldn't push that, she would work around difficulty…"[139] Boggs was strategic in her hiring: she was aware of her own weaknesses, and hired to complement them.

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[131] Frazer, "Canada's "First Lady" of Culture"; Anne Whitelaw, *Spaces and Places for Art: Making Art Institutions in Western Canada, 1912-1990* (Montréal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 215. The third woman, Dorothea Coates, was hired long before Boggs was director (early 1940s) and was the NGC's first registrar.

[132] Michener, "Jean Boggs: The Woman They Didn't Want," 29.

[133] Ibid.; see also: Annex B (Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016).

[134] Michener, "Jean Boggs: The Woman They Didn't Want," 29.

[135] Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy"; see also: Annex C (Interview with Charles Hill, February 23, 2016).

In her manuscript, Boggs revealed that French was her worst subject in school, even at an early age. Try as she might, she was never able to become bilingual.[140] This was especially a concern with the rise in the importance of bilingualism in Canada at this time. To counteract this, Boggs made sure to hire several Francophone staff members, in departments from outreach to curatorial. In Figure 10, a number of staff members photographed were French-speakers, including Jean-Paul Morisset (Eastern Liaison Officer and Director of the Extension Program) and André Vigéant (Eastern Liaison Officer).[141] Boggs was also aware that, in order to have a strong museum, she needed to expand her staff and reorganize the curatorial team into specialized areas. Therefore, she instituted curatorial positions for Canadian and European Art, and subsequently hired Jean Trudel (Early Canadian Art), Dennis Reid (Canadian Art), and Pierre Théberge (Contemporary Canadian Art). Théberge also became Boggs's curatorial administrator in 1970, from which position he helped with coordinating acquisitions.[142] However, of all these additions to her staff, it could be argued that the most significant person that Boggs hired during her directorship was Brydon Smith.

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[136] See: Annex C (Interview with Charles Hill, February 23, 2016).
[137] Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," Chapter 9, 6 and 8-15.
[141] Joyce Zemans, "The Canon Unbound," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 25 (2004): 170; Sandra Alfoldy, *Allied Arts: Architecture and Craft in Postwar Canada* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2012), 141.
[142] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 238. Théberge was eventually appointed NGC director in 1998.

In 1968, Smith was hired at the NGC as the Curator of Contemporary and Modern Art, a position which he held until 1999. With Smith's help, Boggs expanded the NGC's contemporary art collection, and helped to bring ground-breaking exhibitions to the NGC, including solo shows of artists such as James Rosenquist and Dan Flavin. Figure 12 depicts a moment at one of these exhibitions. In the photograph, Boggs stands with Smith alongside the artists Dan Flavin and Barnett Newman. The four of them are looking at Flavin's light installation for his 1969 exhibition at the NGC, *fluorescent light, etc*. In Figure 12, the white of the room is very striking, and Boggs's white dress noticeably matches it. As the three men are all wearing greys and dark clothing, she becomes the focal point. She stands in front of Smith and Flavin, from whom she is slightly turned away, and she holds a rope that cordons off the room from visitors, allowing exhibition goers to consider the room's installation from afar. The cord echoes the shapes of Flavin's work, seen inside the room – semicircular arcs of bright, white lights. It is evident that Boggs and the three men were looking earnestly at the works before them, which were considered to be quite avant-garde for the time.

Figure 12 is compelling given that another (though slightly different) version of it has been published in Douglas Ord's book, *The National Gallery of Canada: Art, Ideas, Architecture* (Fig. 13). The version that we see in book is cropped, and Boggs, Smith, Flavin, and Newman are in slightly different positions. The caption for the image in Ord's book reads:

> Jean Boggs considers Dan Flavin's *fluorescent light, etc*. in September 1969 with, from left, Barnett Newman, Dan Flavin, and Brydon Smith. The expression on Boggs's face, after a summer that had included N.E. Thing Co.'s transformation of the Lorne Building's ground floor into "a disturbingly accurate imitation of a suite of offices and a showroom," suggests that she was reaching the limit of her patience with contemporary art. This would be confirmed in her speech at McMaster University two months later.[143]

Although Ord reads her expression as exasperation, I would argue that it is much more innocuous. Ord's focus on Boggs in his book is noteworthy, as it is one of the few sources that discusses her contributions to the NGC in depth. However, parts of his analysis lack nuance and complexity. Throughout the book, Ord often refers to Boggs as 'Miss Boggs' – Ord always uses the scare quotes around her name, as if he does not take seriously her decision on how she wished to be addressed.[144] In most cases, he writes about her in a way that hones into specific details (such as her facial expression in Figure 13), and often lacks context.

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[143] Ibid., 213.

The McMaster University speech to which Ord refers in the photograph's caption to took place in Hamilton, ON, on November 21, 1969, during a convocation ceremony. In the speech, Boggs said:

> One of the problems I suppose I should face in 1969 is the relevance of my discipline – the history of art – and the other, since this is after all a graduation ceremony, is its particular relevance in terms of today. I should begin by admitting the problems of the generation gap. I was born, after all, five years after the artist whose work I have studied the most, Edgar Degas, died […]. I expect art to express tensions, violence, brutality, partly as a catharsis but also as a reminder of the world in which we live […]. If you know contemporary art, you will realize how deep a canyon is placed between it and me.[145]

However, she acknowledges the fact that she is not alone in not understanding or appreciating "the art of a young generation." She goes on to discuss how works like Flavin's engages with architecture, and may contribute to the 'prettiness' of the space, to which she objects, saying that she prefers work that depicts conflict, rather than aesthetic beauty. Furthermore, she discusses how the ephemerality of these works lead to the difficulty in their preservation, which one may argue was her utmost concern as a director of an art gallery with a collection. In other words, if art is ephemeral, it will overtime cease to exist, which goes against the goals of having a collection. Ultimately, her goal was to make an impressive art institution – and much of an art gallery's power comes from what it owns.[146] While Ord sees her speech as a critique of contemporary art, I argue that she shows that she is open to differing, expanding views of what should and can be collected.

Throughout her speech, she acknowledges that she does not understand contemporary art, but she never rejects it as art. It would seem to be quite the opposite, in fact, given her hiring of Smith – who was a supporter of contemporary artists, and known to be controversial in his tastes. In this case, I would argue that Boggs's facial expression in Figure 13 does not convey a lack of patience for contemporary art; rather, she is merely looking into the room with two artists and Smith, and considering the works. From my perspective, Boggs may have been caught in an awkward moment, facially, which happens with candid photographs (especially those taken before digital cameras). Furthermore, she looks like she is mid-smile, and either about to say something, or just finishing a statement. Most crucially, and whatever her disposition towards contemporary art, her hiring decisions demonstrate that she was able to put personal preferences aside, in order to further her goal of putting the NGC on the map. Thus, regardless of her feelings on contemporary art, Boggs allowed for a variety of cutting-edge, contemporary art shows, and for Smith to have much control over his curatorship.

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[144] In his book, Ord discusses a number of controversies around Boggs – such as her 'complicated' relationship with Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whom she had met during her Harvard years. See Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*.

[145] Jean Sutherland Boggs, "Convocation Address: McMaster University, Hamilton, 21 November 1969," November 21, 1969. National Gallery of Canada Archives, File: Speaking Engagements: Dr. Boggs, 1968-1974. Folder 21-6-2. Vol. 3.

[146] Ibid; The connection of museum collections and power is a well-established concept which comes up throughout museum theory. For a primer, see: Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* 3 (1980): 448–469. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8365.1980.tb00089.x.

Boggs and Smith knew each other from the Art Gallery of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario). There, Boggs had overseen Smith's work on a Mondrian retrospective exhibition before she left the institution in 1964.[147] Smith was considered to be a pioneer in curating Canadian contemporary art, known for his dedication to building important contemporary art collections, both at the NGC and the AGO. He promoted many careers of now-household names in the Canadian contemporary art scene, such as the artist Michael Snow.[148] When Boggs offered Smith the position of Curator of Contemporary Art at the NGC, Smith's condition upon accepting the job was that he would receive a cache of $2,500 annually, out of the total purchasing budget of $25,000 for his department. With this cache, he asked to be able to purchase artworks at his own discretion, without requiring approval beforehand in order to have some freedom to act quickly when necessary.[149] Though it was considered to be a bold move, and unorthodox given the NGC's typical acquisition process, Boggs complied with Smith's request. Boggs's acceptance of Smith's cache is significant, in that it gave him an unparalleled independence as a curator. Upon his hire, Smith made the decision to purchase Andy Warhol's *Brillo Boxes*.[150] In marked contrast from the NGC's previous leadership, both Boggs and Smith considered Warhol's *Brillo Boxes* as art, and believed that they should be collected as such.[151]

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[147] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 198; "AGO History: The Controversial Arrival of Claes Oldenburg's *Floor Burger*," *Art Matters Blog: Art Gallery of Ontario*, October 22, 2012, accessed September 23, 2017. https://artmatters.ca/wp/2012/10/ago-history-the-controversial-arrival-of-claes-oldenburgs-floor-burger/. It was at the AGO that Smith gained the reputation of being an avant-garde curator. He came to be known for the controversial purchase of Claes Oldenburg's *Floor Burger* (originally titled *Giant Hamburger*) in 1967. When he purchased the soft sculpture, there was a public outcry. About 50 students from the Central Technical School protested the acquisition. They did not believe the artwork should be considered art, or owned by the Gallery, because of its subject matter.

[148] "7 Artists & 1 Curator Win $25K Governor General's Awards," *Canadian Art*, March 4, 2014, accessed October 6, 2017. http://canadianart.ca/news/governor-general-award-2014/; Peter Simpson, "Local Stars: One Artist + One Curator," *Ottawa Citizen*, March 5, 2014, accessed October 6, 2017. http://ottawacitizen.com/entertainment/local-stars-one-artist-one-curator. Marc Mayer, current NGC director, has said of Smith, "He's on a very short list of the most significant personalities in the entire history of the National Gallery of Canada [...]. He's one of the most important curators of modern, contemporary art anywhere."

[149] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 198. This ask for the cache was likely due to the fact that, shortly after the Oldenburg 'scandal' at the AGO, Smith had been disallowed from purchasing a Mondrian painting. Smith had considered this a great loss. Ord writes that Smith was particularly disappointed, given that he had negotiated the price for the Mondrian, which he thought was "a bargain."

Prior to Boggs's time as director, the NGC did not show American art, and it had a ban on acquisitions by American artists. Boggs and Smith did not agree with this decision, and worked to overturn it. When asked about her time as the NGC director, Boggs said that, "the most radical change in acquisition policy has been the decision to buy American art."[152] Ord writes about how Boggs and Smith believed that, in beginning to acquire American art, they were working towards a 'dissolution of borders,' and by this, he did not only mean the literal Canadian-American border, but also, the border between what art was and was not.[153] Thus, in collecting works by contemporary American artists such as Jackson Pollock, Carl Andre, and Robert Morris, and in showing the works of artists like Flavin, as seen in Figures 12 and 13, Smith became a champion for the artistic innovations of the 1960s. This was made possible because of Boggs's leadership and vision for the potential in the NGC's collection.[154]

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[150] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 198. In 1965, when customs officials had asked the NGC director at the time, Charles Comfort, whether Warhol's *Brillo Boxes* were art, he decided that they were "merchandise," which would require them to be taxed upon entry to Canada. Jerrold Morris, the dealer from Toronto who was trying to import the boxes, refused to pay the duty, and so, the works did not enter the country. Comfort's decision caused a wave of negative publicity against the NGC, "for its inability to recognize new boundaries in art. Comfort retired from his position later that year, amid contentious controversy over this decision as well as other issues including fake artworks exhibited at the NGC."

[151] Prentice, Alison, et al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 337.

[152] Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy." The original reasoning for the ban on American art at the NGC was that it was thought that Canadians could easily see works by American artists by visiting nearby cities like New York and Chicago; Jean Sutherland Boggs, *The National Gallery of Canada*, (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1972), 61.

[153] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 198. He writes: "What was implicit in Boggs's talks, and in Smith's hiring and initial purchase, was a dissolution of borders: of the Canadian border as hindrance to the passage of ideas and artworks, and of aesthetic borders themselves as exclusionary of particular kinds of objects as "art.""

[154] Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy."

Section Five:
"Typical Gal, She Wants a Home":
A Permanent Building for a Growing Collection and a Changing Museum

> [Boggs] *embodied* excellence. [...] She wanted a top-notch program, she wanted top-notch publications – and above all, within the resources available, she wanted an excellent collection.
>
> *Diana Nemiroff, 2016*[155]

During her directorship, Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs formally recognized photographs as collectible objects and artworks at the National Gallery of Canada (NGC). While this decision was one of the first of its kind for institutions in North America, photography's recognition as an artistic medium was on the rise in the mid-twentieth century. Certain thinkers and artists had already begun to consider photography as art since the turn of the twentieth century, with photographer Alfred Stieglitz and critic Charles H. Caffin pushing for its status as an art form in the early 1900s.[156] However, in the 1960s and 1970s, there was a turning point for the medium, particularly in the academic considerations that photography was afforded.[157] The NGC began collecting photographs, with the goal of establishing a permanent collection of photography in 1967. This was the beginning of the Department of Photography at the NGC, made possible with Boggs's support as director, and the appointment of James Borcoman as the first Curator of Photographs. Photography scholar Carol Payne explains this history in her article, "Museums and Photography: Some Observations." She writes:

> Modelled in part after the Museum of Modern Art and the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film, it [the NGC's photography department] has been in many respects a classic art museum collection of photography. International in scope, it has particular strengths in British and French photography of the nineteenth century and American photography of the twentieth century; however, the collection extends beyond those regions and includes Canadian photographic practice seen within an international context. Early in its history, the NGC — under founding curator of photography, James Borcoman — chose to collect extensively

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[155] Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016.

[156] J. Wells Champney, "Fifty Years of Photography," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 79, no. 471 (1889): 366. In 1901, critic Caffin wrote his influential book, *Photography as a Fine Art*. Meanwhile, Stieglitz came to be known as the foremost art photographer, and published a periodical on the medium, titled *Camera Work*, from 1903 to 1917. He also ran the Little Galleries of Photo Secession in New York, which opened in 1905. See: Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 172, 181.

[157] Though there are several academic sources that came out of this period, one such significant example is Susan Sontag's *On Photography,* published in 1977, one year after Boggs left the NGC, and Barthes' *Camera Lucida* (1981).

> within the work of individual photographers. As a result, it has amassed a valuable collection for teaching and research.[158]

As current NGC director Marc Mayer has said, “She [Boggs] established photography as a new collecting area for the Gallery, initiating a collection that is now among the finest in the world.”[159] Even before founding the Department, the NGC had a history of exhibiting and supporting photographic works. In 1934, it hosted the Canadian International Salon of Photographic Art, which was the first of its kind.[160] This promotion of photography was advanced, as it took many other arts organizations much longer to consider photographs worthy of being exhibited and collected as art objects.[161] However, founding the new Department of Photography was not the only way in which Boggs showed her interest in photography.

In considering Boggs’s interests in photography, and its greater importance in society at this time, we are given a richer understanding on her own feelings towards being photographed. This could be evidenced in her manuscript, “The National Gallery and Me,” which includes nearly as many photographs per chapter as footnotes. During our interview, NGC archivist Cyndie Campbell noted the sheer number of photographs taken during Boggs’s directorship.[162] As director, Boggs made a habit of including an unprecedented number of photographs in the

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[158] Carol Payne, “Museums and Photography: Some Observations,” *muse*, July/August 2016, 32; In 1979, James Borcoman was interviewed by *Vanguard* magazine regarding the new department at the NGC. At the time, he was the only curator of photography in Canada (the Edmonton Museum of Arts had appointed Douglas Clark in 1978, but he had resigned within the year). In the interview, Borcoman discussed the differences between the artistic landscapes in Canada and the United States, and access to the collection, which had grown to 8,000 photographs by 1979. See: “James Borcoman: Photography and Curatorial Imperatives,” *Vanguard*, March 1979, 12-14.

[159] Peter Simpson, “Updated: National Gallery gets $10M Gift to Launch ‘Unprecedented,’ Photography Institute,” *Ottawa Citizen*, November 28, 2015, accessed October 6, 2017. http://ottawacitizen.com/entertainment/local-arts/national-gallery-gets-10m-gift-to-launch-photography-institute; James Borcoman was another staff member who worked at the NGC for several years, and remained there long after Boggs had left. “During a distinguished career covering 34 years at the National Gallery of Canada, James Borcoman has been Education Officer, Director of Exhibitions and Education, Head of Publications and Curator of Photographs. Upon his retirement from the National Gallery, he became Curator Emeritus of that institution.” See: Penelope Cousineau, “Honorary Degree Citation – James Borcoman,” *Concordia University: Records Management and Archives*, June 1996, accessed October 6, 2017. http://archives.concordia.ca/borcoman.

[160] Joseph Martin, “Foreword,” *Environments Here and Now: Three Contemporary Photographers: Lynne Cohen, Robert Del Tredici, Karen Smiley* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1985), n.p. The first works that the NGC acquired was a group of photographs by William-Henry Fox Talbot, a photography pioneer from England.

[161] Payne, “Museums and Photography: Some Observations,” 30-32. In the article, Payne writes: “By the 1960s and 1970s, museums — particularly art museums — began to collect and exhibit photographs more purposefully. This newfound interest reflected the contemporary introduction of photography as a studio practice.” Payne also writes about some of the earliest Canadian institutions to collect photography, including the Library and Archives Canada as well as the National Gallery of Canada. For several years, photography held an ambiguous place in collecting practices – they were more often seen as historic or scientific documentation, but not art objects collectible for art galleries. She writes, “museums usually treated photographs as lowly, utilitarian documents. They were valued for their semblance of factuality rather than as objects inherently worthy of collection, display and analysis.”

[162] Interview with Cyndie Campbell, February 25, 2016.

NGC's Annual Reports (which later became the Annual Reviews), as a means of recording specific events and acquisitions. This had not been the style of earlier Annual Reports. While it is true that the use of photography was on the rise, Boggs was particularly keen to take advantage of the medium's possibilities, particularly in the realm of documentation for events.

During the 1960s, there was a rise in temporal art events, as well as time-based and ephemeral art practices, as seen with N. E. Thing Co. Ltd.'s self-titled 1969 conceptual art installation, which temporarily transformed the Lorne Building into an office space, for which it had initially been intended.[163] Documentation of such events and installations became crucial to the artworks' continued existence, even if only through an image.[164] In this way, Boggs was using photographs to make visible the ephemeral. Installations such as N. E. Thing's could not continue to exist once de-installed, save for the photographs that were taken. Boggs's interest in photography could be argued as typical for an art historian, whose methodology primarily revolves around looking at art objects and is thus a visual practice. However, another important consideration is that Boggs was concerned with the changes happening at the NGC, and the accomplishments that she was making; it could be argued that these photographs were her way of showing her value and proving the worth of her work at the NGC.

Apart from photography, the contributions that Boggs made to the NGC's collection are substantial, particularly in the area of modern art, which was her specialization. Several photographs of Boggs during her time as director place her beside art objects in the NGC collection. In some of these images, Boggs could be considered as 'secondary' to the high art beside which she is captured, in that she often seems overshadowed by the art. However, this is not always the case, and the ones where she commands the image are the most compelling. In a series of photographs in this style, taken during Boggs's last year as NGC director in 1976, she wears a black dress with white triangles (see Figs. 14 and 15). There is no indication as to why these photographs were taken, though perhaps they were meant to be used for promotional materials regarding Boggs and/or the NGC's art holdings, given that she is standing next to important works in the permanent collection. This photographic series of Boggs feels significant, given the sheer volume of the series is unlike any other photographic series of Boggs that I could find in the NGC's archives – there are well over 30 photographs. The timing, too, seems auspicious, given they were taken during her last year as director. In Figure 14, Boggs stands before Gian Lorenzo Bernini's bust, *Maffeo Barberini, Pope Urban VIII* (c. 1632). In this photograph, Boggs's gaze seems resolute, and the lighting is dramatic, recalling Baroque portraits. Her strong stance next to the bust, looking directly at the camera, is captivating in that it emphasizes a similarity between her face and the Pope's. The photograph underscores her importance, in relation to another important authority figure, sculpted by one of the major sculptors of all time. It is not the only instance from this series of Boggs standing next to a figurative work of art that depicts a man.

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[163] On N.E. Thing Co.'s exhibition: "Conceived of as a parodic extension of the corporate activities of N.E. Thing Co. rather than as a conventional exhibition of works, it obscured the distinction between corporate and aesthetic production, leaving many viewers wondering whether they had inadvertently entered a corporate office rather than the National Gallery." See: "Traffic: Conceptual Art in Canada 1965-1980: N. E. Thing. Co. Ltd.," *CCCA Canadian Art Database*, accessed October 6, 2017. http://ccca.concordia.ca/traffic/artists/pages/netco_profile.html.

[164] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 199.

In Figure 15, Boggs is seen standing next to Fernand Léger's *The Mechanic* (1920), acquired during her tenure as director. In 1967, Boggs said that she was very proud of the acquisition of Léger's painting.[165] To this day, *The Mechanic* is the only Léger artwork in the NGC's collection, apart from Léger's 14-minute Dadaist post-Cubist film from 1923-1924, *Ballet mécanique*, which is not currently on display. Boggs was very interested in European art from the early twentieth century (as seen with her affection towards Picasso's work), and Léger's painting would have been one of the first acquired during her tenure. This photograph stands out from the majority of the photographic series from 1976, due to Boggs's facial expression – there is a warmth in her smile that is not seen in the others, where she looks severe, serious, or contemplative. Here, Boggs looks tenderly at the painting; there appears to be a deep sense of care towards this artwork. Rather than looking small next to a brightly-coloured painting of this 'man's man' with his tattoos and moustache, Boggs looks strong, standing tall and holding her own.

During her directorship, Boggs believed that the NGC needed to buy quality artworks so that it could have borrowing power to receive loans from other museums.[166] Of the acquisitions she made during her tenure, current director Marc Mayer has said that he suspected that Boggs was also gifted at negotiating purchases. He said, "I can't imagine what it took to get some of this work into the collection."[167] Boggs's studies at Harvard, particularly in the Museum Course, had taught her about building collections. She had learned that collections would bring in visitors as long as they had even a small selection of artworks by well-known artists. As Diana Nemiroff has commented, "They didn't have to have the resources of the National Gallery of London, or the Louvre, but if they had a few really good things, [Boggs] knew that that would work."[168] This method worked in her favour, as the NGC did not have the same budget as museums like the Louvre, but were still able to make important purchases that renewed interest in the Gallery. During her directorship, Boggs remained actively engaged in the acquisition of art works.

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[165] Lucy Koserski, "Jean Boggs: Every Idea Stepping-Stone to Another," *The Hamilton Spectator* (Hamilton, ON), March 6, 1967. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 2. Documentation 1967 (DOC/CWLT). Koserski wrote: "But she [Boggs] brightens at a happy thought – the recent acquisition of a Leger painting for the gallery. "I'm very proud of that.""

[166] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 201.

At Harvard, Boggs had also learned about the importance of connoisseurship, which proved to be useful in identifying artworks, and finding works which she considered to be first-rate.[169] Indeed, it was thought that she was very skilled at this: Gyde Shepherd said that "Her eye, it was piercing. She never acquired a mediocre piece of art for the gallery."[170] Indeed, many works that she collected are now some of the most valuable pieces in the NGC's collection.[171] Purchases made between 1966 and 1976 include works by Rembrandt, Bernini, Degas, van Gogh, Pollock, Bernini, Constable, Gauguin, Klimt, Molinari, Mondrian, and members of the Group of Seven, to name a few. Of course, her curatorial staff, including Smith, played a part in the acquisitions.[172] By 1976, when Boggs left her position, it was calculated that 8,620 acquisitions had been made during her appointment, nearly tripling the NGC's holdings.[173]

In Figure 16, we see Boggs standing before Lucius R. O'Brien's painting *Sunrise on Saguenay, Cape Trinity* (1880). O'Brien was the Vice-President of the Ontario Society of Artists (1874-1880), and as the first President of the Royal Canadian Academy of Art (RCA) (1880-1890), he had helped to form the NGC as an institution. The painting, *Sunrise on Saguenay, Cape Trinity*, was O'Brien's diploma work submitted for membership to the RCA, and one of the first artworks that the NGC acquired.[174] In this undated photograph, Boggs stands before the painting, rife with symbolism in terms of the NGC's history. Boggs wears a black and white patterned jacket, and she smiles wide, looking straight at the camera, holding a copy of her book, *The National Gallery of Canada*, which was published in 1971. The book is a compilation of the history of the NGC's collection, and its cover image is also O'Brien's *Sunrise on Saguenay, Cape Trinity*. She was very proud of the fact that she had written the first comprehensive history of the NGC and its collection; she saw it as an important feat. Indeed, it was quite remarkable that she had accomplished this task while also the NGC director. In reading through her book, it becomes evident that she cared deeply about the NGC's collection, and had high hopes for its future as a collection and an institution. Boggs saw it as a collection that needed to be preserved and expanded upon, through the continued pursuit of excellence. Perhaps, too, part of Boggs's pride in publishing *The National Gallery of Canada* was related to the way in which it confirmed that the NGC was its own institution, with its own rich history.

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[167] Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy."
[168] Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016.
[169] See: Annex B (Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016); see also: Duncan, "Paul J. Sachs and the Institutionalization of Museum Culture between the World Wars."
[170] Peters, "Visionary Curator Jean Sutherland Boggs Framed a Legacy."
[171] Ibid.
[172] "Our History: 1970s," *National Gallery of Canada* [web archive], accessed September 23, 2017. http://web.archive.org/web/20170208210257/https://www.gallery.ca/en/about/1970s.php. As well, in 1972, the NGC acquired the Rideau Street Convent Chapel's interior.
[173] Marie-Danielle Smith, "Long History Surrounds Site of New Finance Headquarters," *Ottawa Citizen*, May 19, 2014, accessed October 9, 2017. http://ottawacitizen.com/news/local-news/long-history-surrounds-site-of-new-finance-headquarters.

In 1968, the NGC's autonomy became a cause for concern when the National Museums of Canada Corporation (NMC) came into existence, which that brought together Canada's four federal national museums under a single Board of Trustees: the Museum of Man, the Museum of Science and Technology, the Museum of Nature and the National Gallery of Canada.[175] These changes were further cemented with the National Museums Policy of 1972. The NMC began to oversee the management and budgets of the four museums. Consequently, the NGC lost its power as a separate entity and thus, much of its autonomy. As Whitelaw writes, "Although not the original intent of the program, the end result of the National Museum Policy was to diminish the authority and programming activities of the four National Museums in Ottawa and raise the national visibility of regional institutions."[176] One very visible change at the NGC was that the Annual Reports were transformed into much less detailed Annual Reviews. A separate advisory committee, known as the Visiting Committee, was set up for the NGC with purchasing powers.

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[174] In 1879, O'Brien met with Governor General, the Marquess of Lorne, who suggested that O'Brien create a national academy for Canada's artists and architects. O'Brien accepted, and became the Royal Canadian Academy of Art's first president. The RCA held its first exhibition in 1880, to which O'Brien submitted five paintings for the exhibition, including *Sunrise on Saguenay, Cape Trinity*. About the painting, the NGC's website writes, "Painted in 1880, the poetic sunrise may have symbolized the promising beginnings of the development of the arts in Canada." Furthermore, "The scene O'Brien had chosen to depict, Cape Trinity […] was a site that had already become a widely acknowledged symbol of the majestic landscape to be experienced in Canada. […] His diploma work quite literally promises a new dawning, an auspicious beginning. […] It is an image of aspirant self-identity within an imperial realm that was eagerly embraced by Canadians in 1880, and, to all appearances, still is today." See: "Lucius R. O'Brien," *National Gallery of Canada*, accessed October 6, 2017. http://www.gallery.ca/collection/ artist/lucius-r-obrien.

[175] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 233; "An Act to Establish a Corporation for the administration of the National Museums of Canada," December 1967, quoted in Whitelaw, *Spaces and Places for Art*, 226. The purpose of the NMC was "to demonstrate the products of nature and the works of man, with special but not exclusive reference to Canada, so as to promote interest therein throughout Canada and to disseminate knowledge thereof."

This reordering removed much of Boggs's power as director. Charlie Hill has said that the creation of the NMC made it so that, "A lot of decisions were out of her control. She was always fighting for autonomy."[177] In dealing with the NMC, the challenges that Boggs faced were not specific to the NGC; all the directors of the national museums experienced the same issues. However, part of Boggs's frustration was that she had initially accepted the position as director with the promise that the NGC was to receive better legislation, which would have helped to improve its functioning. Instead, with the NMC, all she was left with was a lot of red tape and less power than she had anticipated.[178] Nevertheless, this did not stop her from persevering with her goals. She had stated several times that she badly wanted the NGC to be viewed as an impressive, renowned museum, and she saw this to be possible through the collection as well as finding the NGC a new home.[179]

For over a century, the NGC was housed in various buildings that were never intended for a national art collection. The Lorne Building, named after the Marquess of Lorne, located on Elgin Street, was adapted for 'temporary use,' equipped with 33 galleries, as well as offices, a library, conservation labs, an auditorium, and storage rooms. However, what was supposed to be a temporary measure ended up lasting for 28 years: from 1960 to 1988, the NGC resided in the Lorne Building.[180] For the first time, the NGC had ample space to put its entire art collection on display. However, as the collection grew, the space began to dwindle, and the building that had been retrofitted for the NGC's needs in the 1960s swiftly became a large (though, clearly, not large enough) problem.[181] It was in the Lorne Building that Boggs worked as director. Due to the challenge that the NGC had in not having a home of its own, Boggs was anxious to be a part of the solution and find it a new residence: one that would have space for the collection, and her visions for the future of the NGC.

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[176] Whitelaw, *Spaces and Places for Art*, 225.

[177] Nemiroff explains the changes with the Annual Reviews. See: Annex B (Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016). With regards to the NMC, see: Annex C (Interview with Charles Hill, February 23, 2016) and Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 238-245.

[178] Ord writes that Boggs had actually initially turned down the position, due to the state that the NGC was in prior to her arrival. LaMarsh had worked to convinced her otherwise, and Boggs was promised that structures at the NGC were to be reordered in a way that would have allowed the NGC to function better. See: Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 188.

[179] "Our History: 1960s," *National Gallery of Canada* [web archive]. See also: Jean Sutherland Boggs, *The National Gallery of Canada.* London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1971.

[180] The NGC was founded in June 1880, when Queen Victoria granted the creation of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA), with the help of the Marquess of Lorne. Through the RCA, the NGC was born, and its first home was the Clarendon Hotel. In 1882, the RCA was incorporated through an Act of Parliament, and the NGC moved to a building shared by the Supreme Court. Six years later, the NGC was relocated to the Federal Fisheries building, where it would remain for a quarter of a century. However, following the Massey Commission report in 1951, the Canadian government announced their plans for open competition for the design of a new building and site for the NGC. In 1952, the site was announced to be Cartier Square, in Ottawa. In 1954, the competition came to a halt, even though they had already receiving 104 submissions, and had selected an architectural firm. Ultimately, it was decided that the Lorne Building, an eight-storey block, originally meant to be office space, would host the NGC

Another photograph of Boggs denotes a profound symbolic meaning. In Figure 17, Boggs is seen standing next to Robert Théberge-Trépanier's painting, *My Tentacular Vision of Ottawa* (1974). Théberge-Trépanier's work was acquired in 1975, the second-to-last year of Boggs's directorship, and the photograph is part of the series taken in her last year. In the photograph, Boggs looks at the painting with a face of contemplation. Théberge-Trépanier's painting is a large, colourful, bird's eye view of downtown Ottawa. The theme of the photograph is bittersweet, if we consider the context of Boggs nearing the end of her time in Ottawa (she moved to Cambridge, MA, later that year). Moreover, she seems to be looking at what could have been one of the proposed sites for the new NGC building – a project that was no longer feasible to achieve at this time of her directorship, which was a great disappointment to her. Boggs's goals for a permanent building for the NGC started early on: Boggs was considering a move from the Lorne Building even three weeks into her appointment.[182] She believed that the NGC truly needed its own building if it were to become the important museum that she hoped it would. During her directorship, she began to consult these plans with her staff. Boggs wanted the new building to be "a work of art in itself."[183] At times, it seemed like this goal was going to lead to fruition, but it ended up falling apart.

In May 1973, the Chairman of the NGC's Building Committee, R. W. Finlayson, suggested that Boggs seek approval from the Minister of Public Works for a new building. It was during this meeting that she said that she would begin her staff consultations, and struck a sub-committee of staff members (which would include Brydon Smith) to prepare a report for the new

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until a final location was determined. The Lorne Building was officially opened to the public on February 17, 1960. See: "Architecture of Art Galleries in Canada," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, and Smith, "Long History Surrounds Site of New Finance Headquarters."

[181] Ibid.

[182] "Asks for New National Gallery," *Ottawa Journal* (Ottawa, ON), June 14, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1. Book 1. Documentation 1961-1966 (DOC/CWLT); Dingman, "No Politicians' Pokes at Dr. Jean Boggs?"

[183] Boggs quoted in Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 203.

building.[184] In August 1973, these staff consultations resulted in thirteen pages that mapped out her plans. The 'talking paper,' as it was called, showed the visitor within the proposed building. Boggs believed that there was an optimum size for a museum, which would "give the visitor the greatest delight in looking at original works of art."[185] In October 1973, the NGC's Visiting Committee held a discussion on the topic of the NGC Building Committee, and a draft on the collection's space requirements was presented. The minutes from the meeting read: "The Director explained that sculptures and decorative arts would, as much as possible, be integrated with the painting collection."[186] Ultimately, the report did not lead to a new building. Given this context, Figure 17 presents a poignant image of Boggs looking onto the city that she had called her home for almost a decade. She was soon to be leaving the NGC, with an unfinished building project behind her.

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[184] Minutes of the Building Committee (Appendix A), Minutes of the Eighteenth Meeting of the Visiting Committee, August 19, 1973. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Minutes of the Visiting Committee for the NGC, Vol. II, 1 December 1971-26 October 1973.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Discussion with the Building Committee (started on October 25, continued on October 26), Minutes of the Nineteenth Meeting of the Visiting Committee, October 25-26, 1973. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Minutes of the Visiting Committee for the NGC, Vol. II, 1 December 1971-26 October 1973.

Conclusion

> [Boggs] will be remembered as one of the NGC's most effective leaders. As director, she played a leading role at the National Gallery for a full decade. […] Her vision and her exceptional abilities as an administrator made that period a turning point for cultural history in Canada.
>
> *Obituary for Jean Sutherland Boggs, 2014*[187]

Boggs's departure from her position as NGC director was not the end of her career in Ottawa. In 1982, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau decided to erect buildings for the NGC and the Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of History). The Canada Museums Construction Corporation (CMCC) was established to oversee the building process, and Trudeau appointed Boggs as the CMCC's Chairman of the Board of Directors and its Chief Executive Officer. Boggs left Cambridge, MA, for Ottawa, where she would work for the CMCC until 1985. She was to supervise the museums' design and construction, as well as make recommendations for the sites and architects. These new buildings would be the first proper 'home' for both museums, built and designed for their specific needs.[188] Boggs was pleased to return to Ottawa to oversee this project, which had become so personal to her. As a curator herself, along with her own experience having been the NGC director, she had a good idea of what would be needed for the Gallery, in particular.[189]

Boggs's second position in Ottawa was controversial: she would not reveal the selected architects for both museums, and she did not ask any architect to join the selection jury. In 1983, Boggs selected Moshe Safdie's architectural firm and the Parkin Partnership to design the new NGC building, and the site's excavation began on Sussex Drive.[190] However, two years later, Trudeau lost the federal election to Brian Mulroney, and Boggs was let go. The Progressive Conservative government accused the project of being too elaborate and expensive. Nevertheless, ground had been broken, and both buildings were too far along to be scrapped.

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[187] "Jean Sutherland Boggs - 1922 - 2014," *News Wire*.

[188] Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 286; Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," Preface, 1-2. Boggs and Trudeau had known each other from studying at Harvard.

[189] See: Annex C (Interview with Charles Hill, February 23, 2016).

[190] "Boggs, [Grace] Jean Sutherland," *Dictionary of Art Historians*. It has been said that the building project for the NGC was so successful that it opened many doors for Safdie, who went on to have a career in building a number of art museums, including the Montréal Museum of Fine Art's Jean-Noel Desmarais Pavilion and the Musée de la civilisation in Québec City. See: "Jean-Noël Desmarais Pavilion," *Montréal Museum of Fine Arts*, accessed October 9, 2017. http://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/museum-district/jean-noel-desmarais-pavilion/#toggle-id-2.

Thus, while Boggs caused headlines, her time at the CMCC was not unsuccessful, as both buildings ultimately came to fruition.[191] On May 21st, 1988, the NGC's new permanent home officially opened to the public on Sussex Drive. In the foreword to Suzanne Lacasse's 1988 guide to the NGC, Dr. Shirley Thomson, the gallery's director at the time, welcomed visitors to the new building, writing "Today the collection and staff are under one roof, in quarters designed specifically for the collection, conservation, exhibition and study of works of art."[192] For the opening, Boggs had organized a major retrospective exhibition on Degas, in collaboration with the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. She was offered this opportunity as a visiting curator for the NGC.[193] Thus, while she was not the one to see the buildings to their final steps, she was still actively engaged with the Gallery up to the new building's opening.

In the early 2000s, Boggs began working on a book, tentatively titled "The National Gallery and Me," meant to be a history of the NGC interwoven with her autobiography. The manuscript shows us just how important 'her' Gallery (as she affectionately refers to the NGC in the Preface), its collections, and its history were to her. If completed, it would have allowed for a richer reading of Boggs and her life's work. Although it is unfinished, we can still study it, as it exists in the form of a manuscript in the NGC's archives with many chapters in various stages of completion. It remains an important tool for research, and has greatly informed this thesis.

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[191] "Boggs, [Grace] Jean Sutherland," *Dictionary of Art Historians*; Smith, "Long History Surrounds Site of New Finance Headquarters"; Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," Preface, 2. In her manuscript, Boggs explained her termination, "Since mine was an Order-in-Council appointment […], a newly elected government was able to review and terminate it, which is what the Conservative Government, after fulfilling other priorities, did in May 1985 […]. By then, the Gallery was roofed and the foundations of the National Museum of Man were laid." The responsibility for the project was transferred to the Department of Public Works. After the move, the Lorne Building was used for federal office space, until it was demolished in 2011.

[192] Shirley Thomson in Suzanne Lacasse, *The National Gallery of Canada: Guide* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988), 1; "Building and Grounds," *The National Gallery of Canada*, accessed October 9, 2017. http://www.gallery.ca/whats-on/exhibitions-and-galleries/building-and-grounds; "Architecture of Art Galleries in Canada," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*; Moshe Safdie had developed a plan for the NGC's new building that was meant to specifically serve the collection. There were two distinct components – a curatorial wing, and the gallery itself that faces Sussex Drive. Safdie designed the building with its highest point echoing the Parliamentary library's shape. On the interior, a colonnaded ramp links the main entrance with the Great Hall, which has been said to evoke a temple processional. In her thesis, Joan Acland discusses the theme of the processional hall and the symbolism that the NGC evokes. She looks at the NGC's new building through a lens of feminist and postmodern theories. See: Joan Acland, "Architecture and Ideology: The National Gallery of Canada: A Reading of the Architecture, Using Feminist and Postmodernist Theory," (master's thesis: Concordia University, 1989).

[193] Boggs, "The National Gallery and Me," Preface, 2; "Degas Retrospective Debuts in the U.S. at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, in October," *Museum of Fine Arts, Houston*, accessed October 9, 2017. https://www.mfah.org/press/degas-retrospective-debuts-us-museum-fine-arts-houston-october/; The retrospective is considered to be a significant contribution to academic scholarship on Degas, as the artist's career was for the first time fully and chronologically assessed within one exhibition. The exhibition created a revival in interest on Degas' work, leading to other shows on a variety of subjects. About the *Degas* exhibition, John Russell wrote in *The New York Times* in 1988: "The Degas exhibition in Ottawa is a glorious affair, and one more than worthy of the new National Gallery of Canada, which opened May 22 to universal acclaim. […] This is, quite simply, the finest, richest and most carefully researched and annotated exhibition of Degas ever held." See: John Russell, "Review/Art; The Richest Degas Show Ever Opens in Ottawa's New Museum," *The New York Times*, June 23, 1988, accessed October 9, 2017. http://www.nytimes.com/1988/06/23/arts/review-art-the-richest-degas-show-ever-opens-in-ottawa-s-new-museum.html.

It has been my attempt to bring together Boggs's story in a way that champions the work that she did at the time. To discuss Boggs as a powerful woman is to make visible her 'primary' role within her own history. In this way, the style of writing on the 'exceptional' woman has been and can be influential, as a tactic to subvert notions of gender inequality and shed light on the stories of women with power, as users and/or creators.[194] Though we should be critical of exceptionalism, it is undeniable that Boggs's accomplishments make her an important part of the history of the NGC and Canada. Additionally, Boggs's story offers some perspective for us today, as women in positions of power continue to struggle to be taken seriously, and the glass ceiling remains to be broken (though, cracks have started to occur), while women of colour continue to face a ceiling that feels a lot more like it is made out of concrete.[195]

Writing women's biographies from a feminist perspective is a complex endeavor, due to the tension of wanting to expose the truths of a woman's life, while also being deeply critical about the act of writing one woman's story. And, one might ask: *Why should it not be complex?* Lives are long, and people are not one-dimensional, and so, it is fitting that a topic such as this one is not neat and simple. Nevertheless, over the course of this thesis, questions continued to circle in my mind: *Why this one woman? Why now?* My answer to these questions, in turn, has grown into another question: *Why not?* One method that I used in an attempt to avoid the pitfalls of exceptionalism was to further contextualize my subject. By looking at the social history and political landscape of Boggs's directorship, and by looking at the historiography of the few sources that study Boggs, as well as utilizing materials in the form of archival documents, photographs, interviews, and Boggs's manuscript, I believe I have succeeded in offering a nuanced, complicated analysis. All the while, I have not discounted the fact that Boggs is in fact an exception. Regardless, I believe that I have proven that she is a worthwhile subject to study, by virtue of her impact on the NGC, but also, in the fact that her story has not yet had the chance to be significantly shared. This analysis has allowed me to consider her life and work in ways that a purely biographical approach would not.

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[194] Rose and Blunt, "Introduction," 11; Chernock, "Gender and the Politics of Exceptionalism," 122.

[195] See: Jo Piazza, "Women of Color Hit a 'Concrete Ceiling' in Business," *The Wall Street Journal*, September 27, 2016, accessed October 6, 2017. https://www.wsj.com/articles/women-of-color-hit-a-concrete-ceiling-in-business-1474963440, and Jasmine Babers, "For Women of Color, the Glass Ceiling is Actually Made of Concrete," *Huffington Post*, April 20, 2015, accessed October 6, 2017. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jasmine-babers/for-women-of-color-the-gl_b_9728056.html. Babers writes: "Concrete, on the other hand, is practically impossible to break through by yourself. It's definitely impossible to see through. There is no visible destination, just what seems like a dead end."

The photographs analyzed in this thesis have also given me insight into ways of looking at Boggs. The story that is offered through the visual analysis of these photographs is rich: we see her passion for art, the way that the press saw her as a woman and leader, her outfits and attention to detail, her personality, the way that her staff supported her. In many photographs, we learn how she wanted to be seen – her pride in her position as director, and her power and strength. While her name may no longer be anywhere on the NGC website (the website underwent significant changes in Spring 2017, clearing away several pages that had previously occasioned my own introduction to Boggs), she remains very much present in the files, folders, and boxes of the archives. Indeed, as Diana Nemiroff said during our interview, there are "echoes of her everywhere" in the NGC.[196] Her representation remains.

In terms of gender representation, which is still an issue in the art world, as an art historian, I believe the way to move forward is by looking to the past. The intersections of gender and power remain a focus in contemporary museological writing. As more women, and other marginalized people, move further into positions of power within museums like Boggs once did, they disrupt the patriarchal power of the institution, creating space and visibility for themselves, as well as others who follow. However, though the boundaries are malleable, barriers remain. Museums, especially those with large budgets, still have gender gaps, and this is all the more evident in top leadership roles. More women are working in these positions than ever before, however, there is a disproportionate amount of power in the hands of men.[197] These conversations are essential in understanding continued gender inequalities.

Now, at the end of this research, I am left with yet another question: *What now?* Patriarchal systems must continue to be challenged and resisted, as their power keeps women in subordinate and secondary roles in society. Only through reordering power, and reshaping the museum, the art world, and society, can women have their own spaces within and beyond such places. This could be used as a tactic to rework the writing and telling of history. Indeed, Elizabeth Grosz suggests that feminist academics use their power to work against the "prevailing assumptions that have regulated the production and use of knowledge against women's interests."[198] Furthermore, as feminist scholars, we must work to foster an academic setting where these histories can be (re)written to include a range of representations and voices, in order to create new futures. Through Irigaray's theories, Grosz argues that feminists must conceptualize new ways for women to challenge current systems, in order to create new possibilities for their own specific ways of being.[199]

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[196] Interview with Diana Nemiroff, February 23, 2016.

[197] Gan, et al., *The Gender Gap*, 5. In the study, the authors include a table that shows that only 33% of museums with budgets over $45 million have women working as directors, and no women are leading museums with budgets over $100 million. These issues are not only seen in the art world. *The Gender Gap* study notes women's median pay continued to be below men's in the United States, and only 5% of Fortune 500 companies have women working as their CEOs. See also: Whitelaw, "Women, Museums, and the Problem of Biography," 85.

In this thesis, I have argued that Boggs's appointment to the NGC marks an incredible time in Canadian and women's history. With Boggs's appointment, it was perceived that women could have the opportunity to rise to the top of art institutions, even if such appointments were few and far between, and only accessible to the most exceptional of women. It was also a time when the nature of art and the museum were in flux.[200] Through these changes, the NGC was entering a new period in its own history – one that crystallized with the opening of the new building in 1988. Coming full circle, with the culmination of her *Degas* exhibition, one could say that the Gallery – as it stood then in 1988 to welcome visitors, and in many ways, as it still stands today – is a testament to Boggs's vision and work, first as NGC director, and then at the CMCC. As Brian Foss has said, "The gallery's present-day position on the world stage is a legacy of [Boggs's] directorship."[201] She played an enormous role in the building of the NGC – figuratively and literally. Indeed, in 1969, when a reporter asked her whether she thought that her time at the NGC was a 'Life Work,' Boggs answered: "yes."[202] It was.

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[198] Grosz, "Histories of Present and Future," 18 and 21.

[199] Ibid., 18-23.

[200] In Canada, the 1960s were a turning point for museums. From the Canadian Museum Association's perspective, the country's centennial was the impetus for this turning point: "The influx of centennial money created hundreds of museum jobs […]" Furthermore, "It was in the 1960s that working in museums became a career […]." With regards to the 1970s, the CMA wrote: "If the shift in museums in the 1960s was to look inward at the museum profession itself, then steps to strengthen the profession dominated the 1970s." See: "The 1960s for Canadian Museums: 1960-1969," *Canadian Museums Association*, accessed October 9, 2017. http://www.museums.ca/site/history_1960 and "The 1970s for Canadian Museums: 1970-1979," *Canadian Museums Association*, accessed October 9, 2017. http://www.museums.ca/site/history_1970; This state of flux was not specific to Canada. Museums in general were very much seen to be going through a 'crisis' during this time period. See: Brian O'Doherty, *Museums in Crisis* (New York: G. Braziller, 1972); For a primer on the history of museums and their various roles in society over the years, see: Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, (New York: Routledge, 1995).

[201] Foss, "Honorary Degree Citation – Jean Sutherland Boggs."

[202] "The National Gallery's Interior Decorator," *The Toronto Evening Telegram*.

Figures

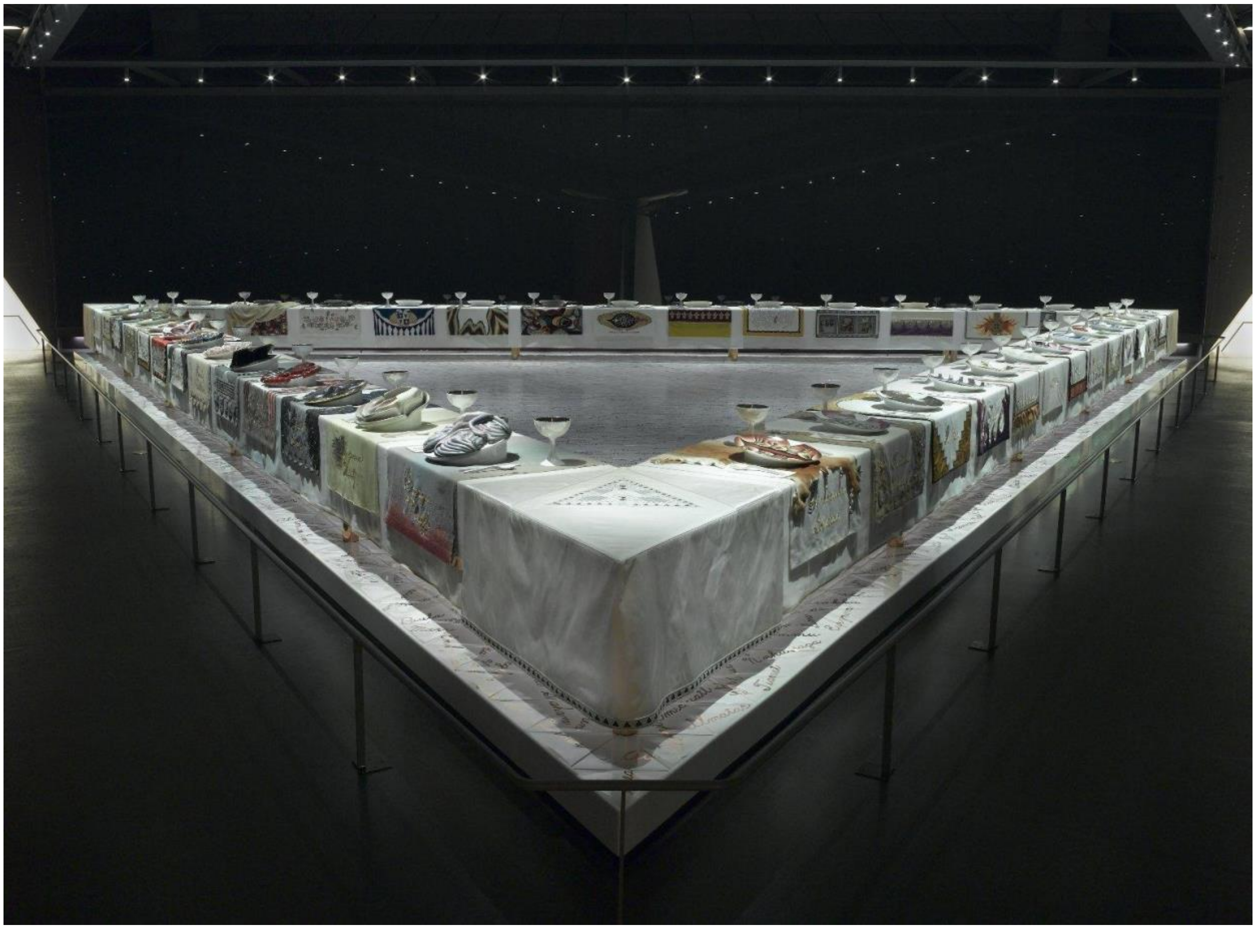

Fig. 1: Judy Chicago. *The Dinner Party,* 1974-79. Ceramic, porcelain, textile. 14.63m x 14.63m. The Brooklyn Museum, Gift of the Elizabeth A. Sackler Foundation, 2002. http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/exhibitions/dinner_party.

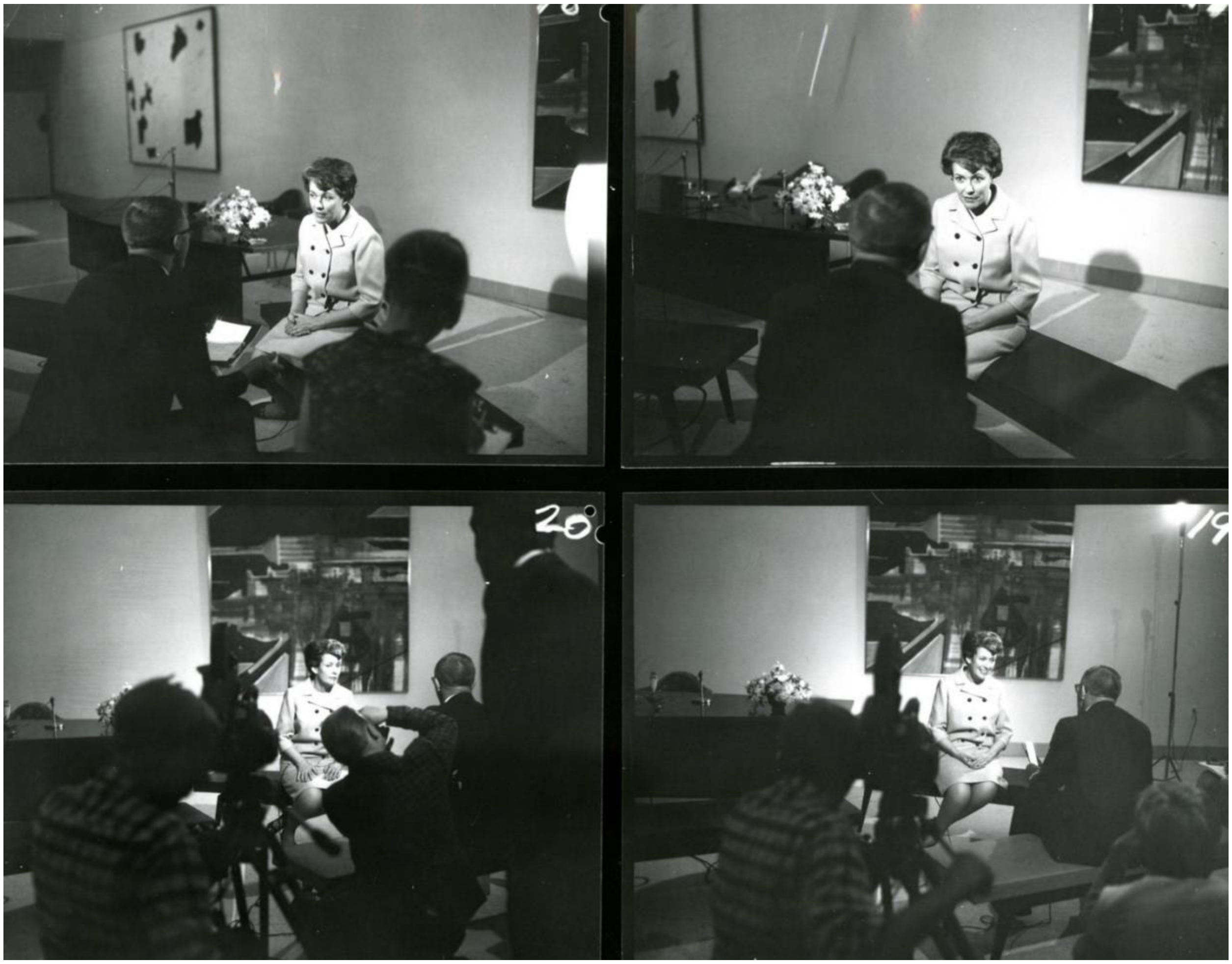

Fig. 2: Jean Sutherland Boggs in interview at the National Gallery of Canada. Photographs by Doug Bartlett. June 29, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives, #074591. Folder: Boggs, Jean Sutherland 1/4 (CWTL).

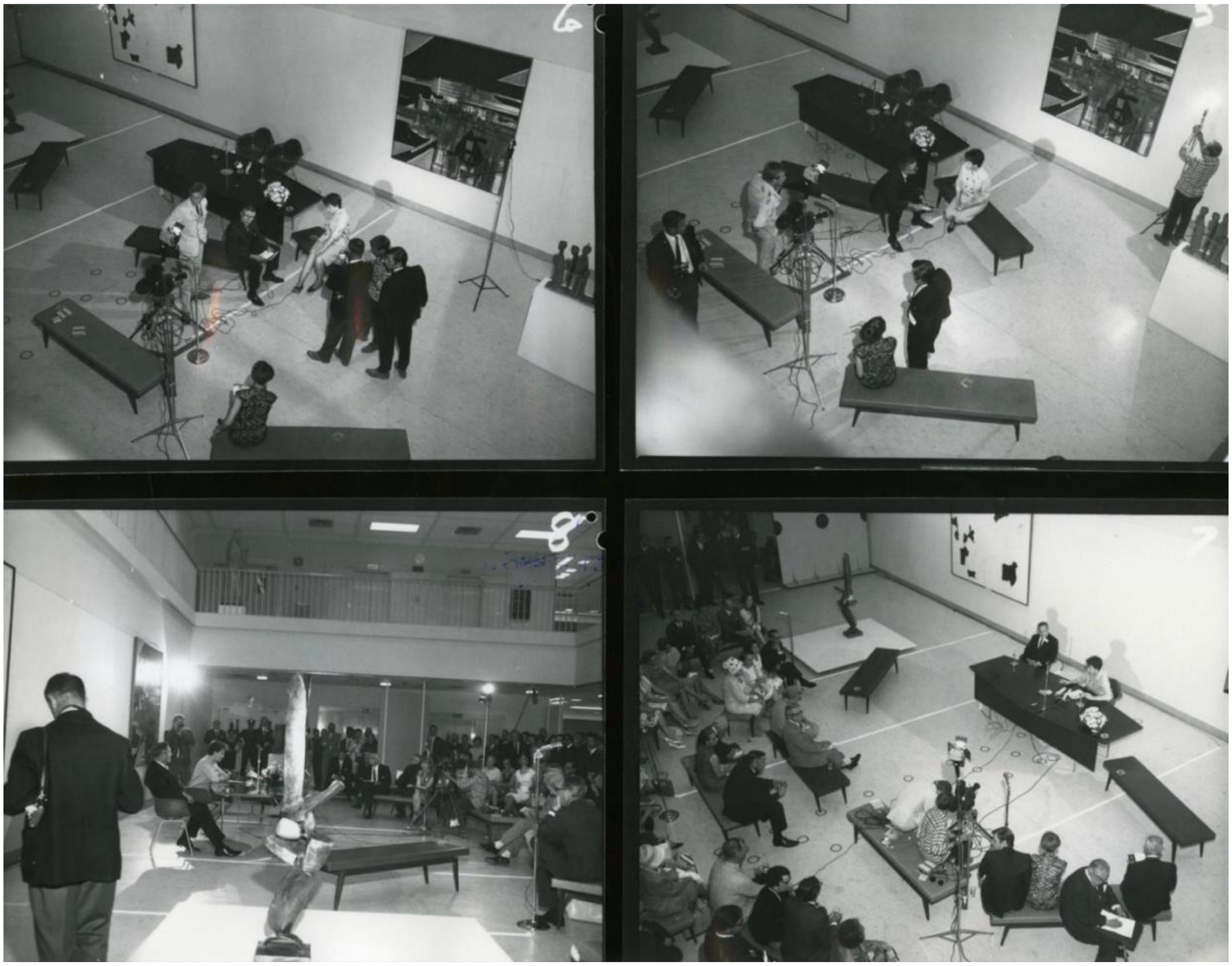

Fig. 3: Jean Sutherland Boggs at a press conference at the National Gallery of Canada. Photographs by Doug Bartlett. June 29, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives, #074590. Folder: Boggs, Jean Sutherland 1/4 (CWTL).

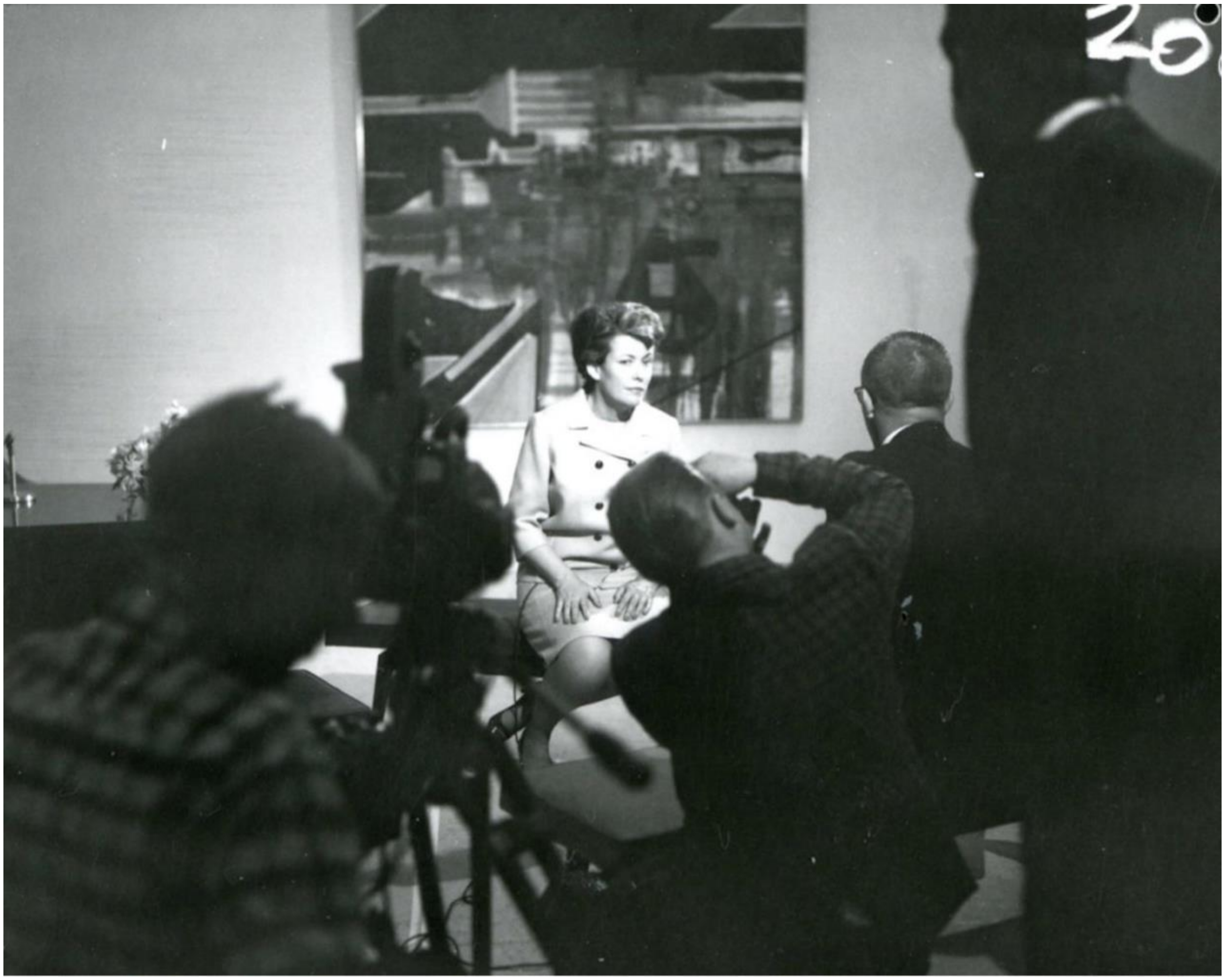

Fig. 4: Jean Sutherland Boggs in interview at the National Gallery of Canada. Photograph by Doug Bartlett. June 29, 1966. National Gallery of Canada Archives, #074591. Folder: Boggs, Jean Sutherland 1/4 (CWTL).

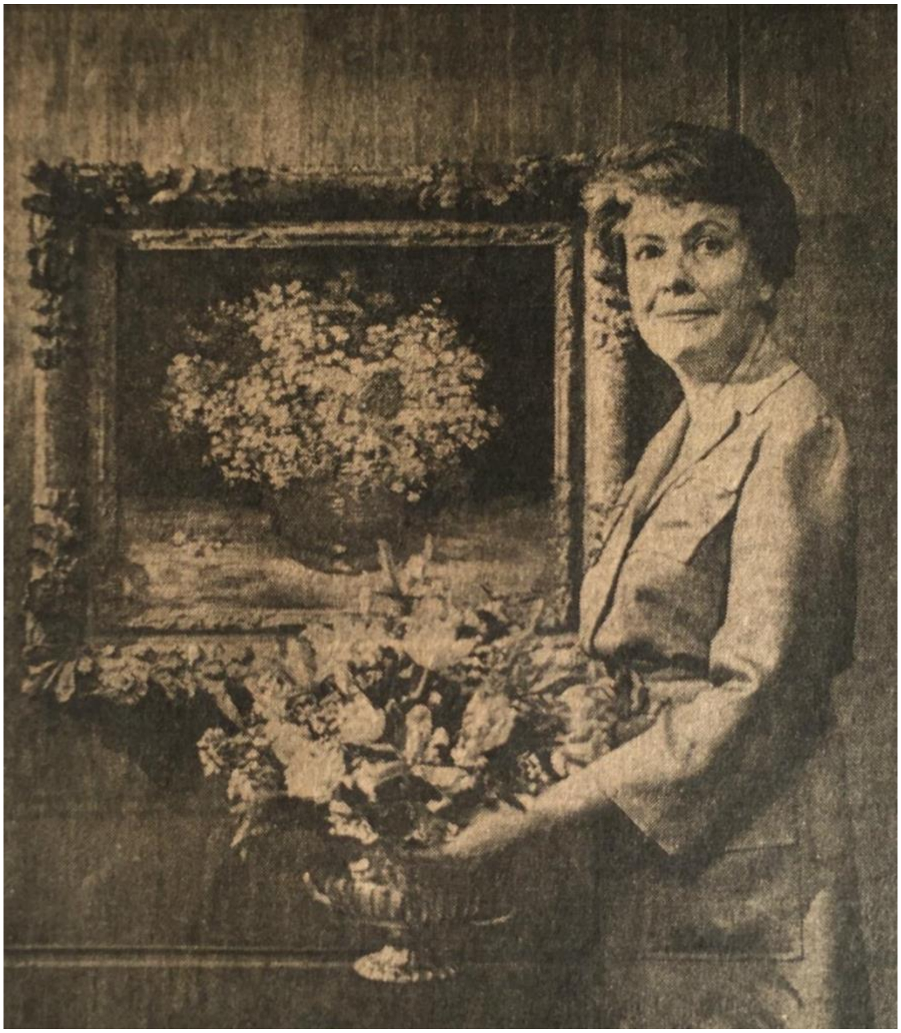

Fig. 5: Jean Sutherland Boggs holding flowers, posing with a van Gogh painting, for exhibition at the National Library and Archives, 1969, in "Floral Magic." *Ottawa Journal* (Ottawa, ON), March 13, 1969. Photograph by Malak. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 2. Book 3. Documentation 1968-1969 (DOC/CWLT).

Caption: *Dr. Jean Boggs, director of the National Gallery, poses with a Vincent van Gogh painting and a floral arrangement demonstrating the affinity between arts and flowers. The arrangement is one of several on display at the National Library and Archives Building today until Sunday. European and Canadian paintings have been loaned by the Gallery to the Muscular Dystrophy Association for the exhibit. On Sunday, two demonstrations of floral arranging will be held at 2 and 7 p.m. Proceeds will be turned over to the Muscular Dystrophy Association. Tickets may be obtained from association members or at florist shops.*

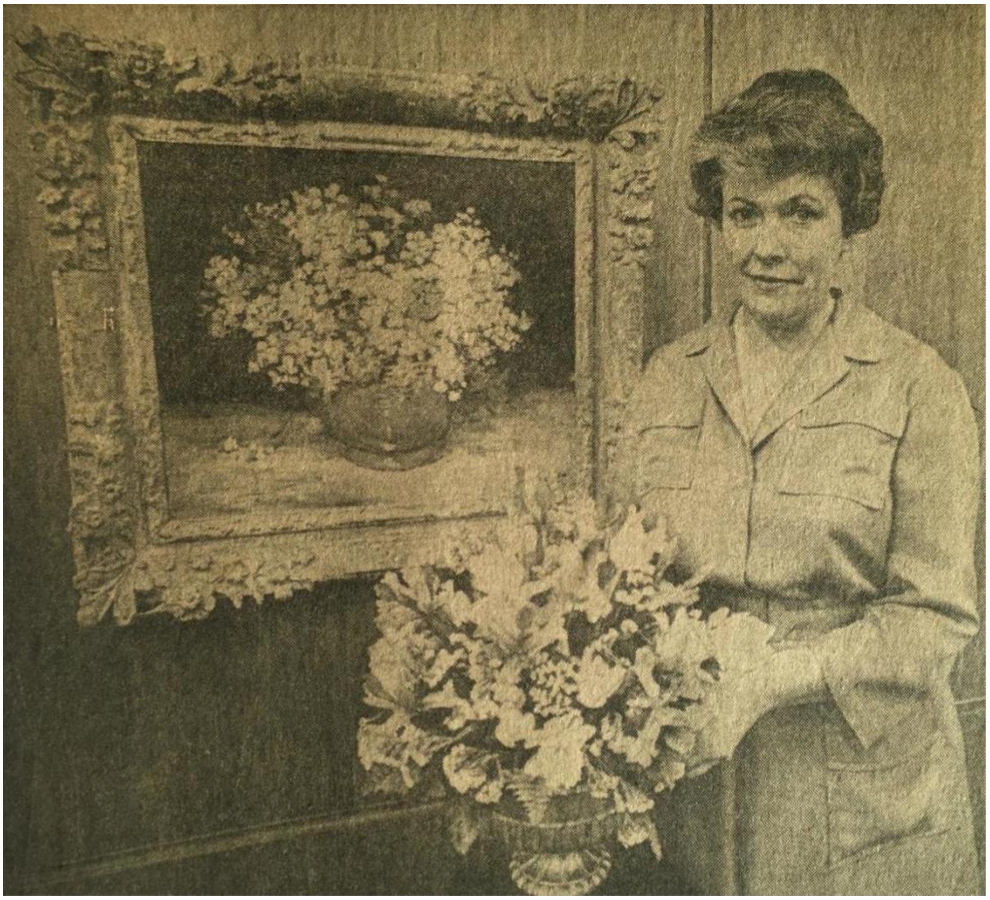

Fig. 6: Jean Sutherland Boggs holding flowers, posing with a van Gogh painting, for exhibition at the National Library and Archives, 1969, in "Fusion of Nature and Art." *Ottawa Citizen* (Ottawa, ON), March 14, 1969. Citizen-UPI staff photo. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 2. Book 3. Documentation 1968-1969 (DOC/CWLT).

Caption: *Florists from the Ottawa Valley and Western Quebec who belong to the Florists Transworld Delivery Association are sponsoring a showing of Canadian and European paintings from the National Gallery, the exhibition being on view until Sunday, March 18, at the National Library and Archives Building. On Sunday, at 2 and 7 p.m., the florists are also sponsoring flower arranging demonstrations, all proceeds going to the Muscular Dystrophy Association. Gallery Director Jean Boggs is pictures with a van Gogh painting and the real-life arrangement it inspired.*

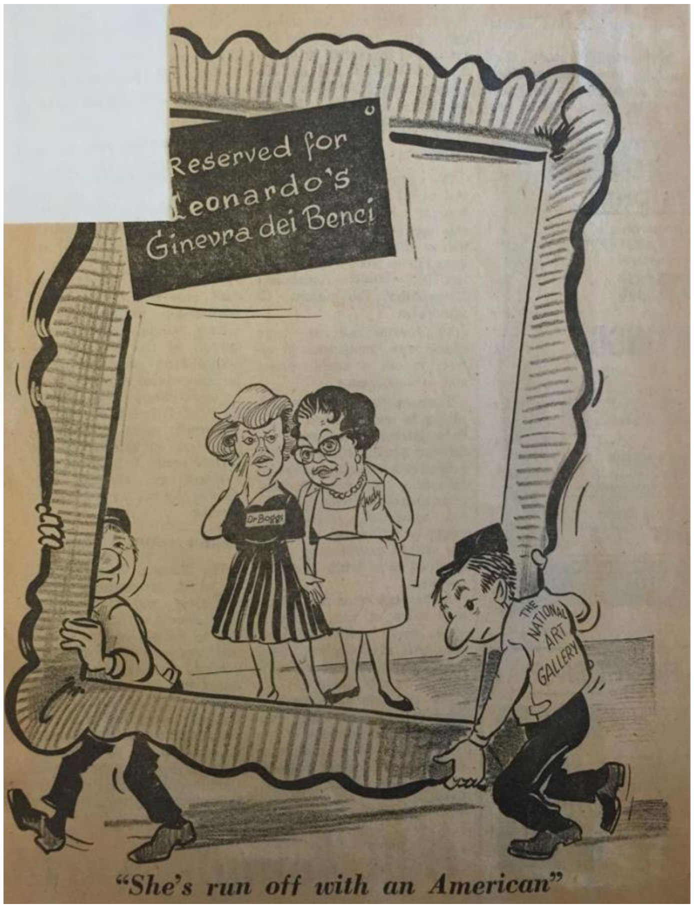
Reserved for
Leonardo's
Ginevra dei Benci
Dr Boggs
Judy
THE NATIONAL ART GALLERY
"She's run off with an American"

Fig. 7: Caricature of Jean Sutherland Boggs and Judy LaMarsh, in "U.S. gets da Vinci: Canadian bid fails." *Ottawa Citizen* (Ottawa, ON), Feb. 21, 1967. National Gallery of Canada Archives. Folder: NGC General 1967 (DOC/NGC). Book: National Gallery of Canada, General File, 1967 (DOC/NGC).

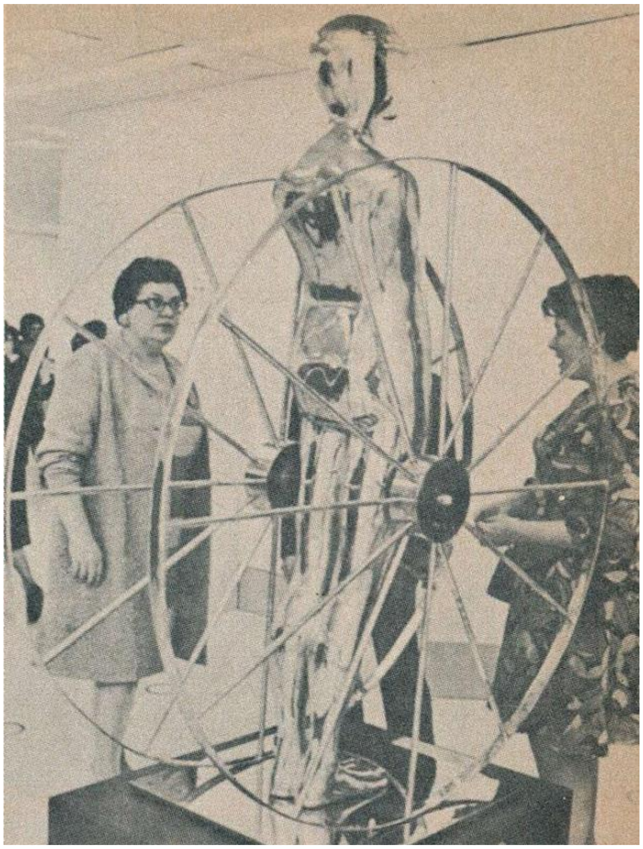

Fig. 8: Jean Sutherland Boggs with Judy LaMarsh, 1968, in LaMarsh, Judy. *Judy LaMarsh: Memoirs of a Bird in a Gilded Cage.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970. n.p.

Caption: *With Jean Sutherland Boggs, the new Director of the National Gallery of Canada, and "Wheel Man" at the opening of "Sculpture in the Sixties," 1968.*

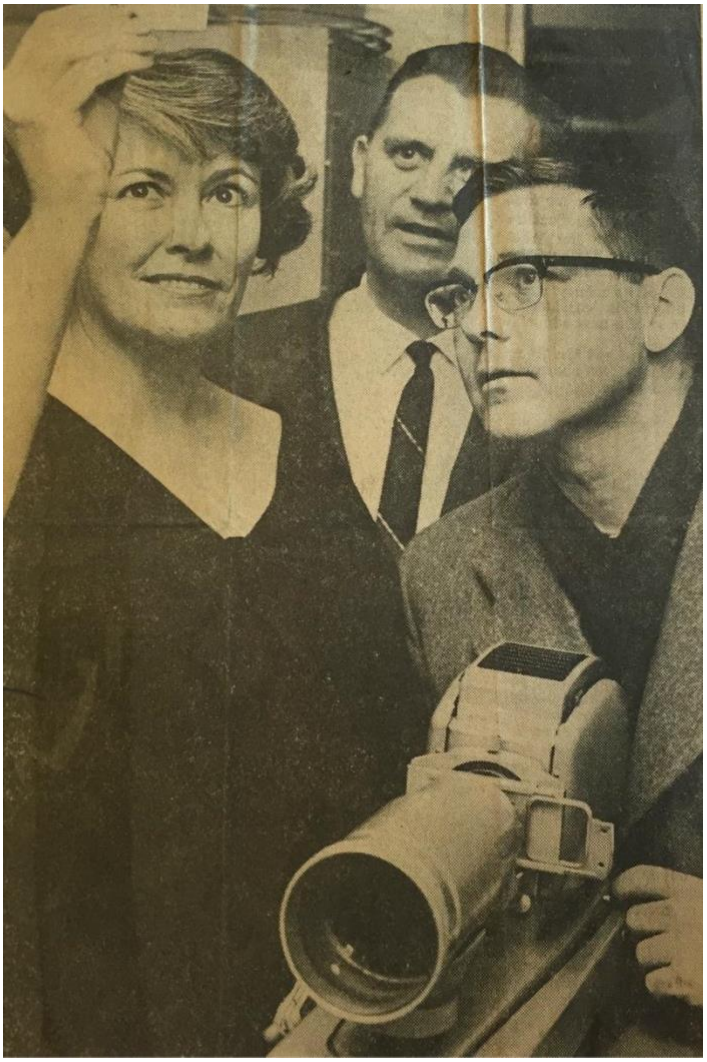

Fig. 9: Jean Sutherland Boggs holds up a slide with Dr. J. B. Sanders and Roger Gardiner, in "Degas' fascination for women discussed by art director." *London Evening Press* (London, ON), February 16, 1968. National Gallery of Canada Archives. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 2. Book 3. Documentation 1968-1969 (DOC/CWLT).

Caption: *Degas' women were discussed by Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs, director of the National Art Gallery, last night. With her is Dr. J. B. Sanders, French professor at University College and Roger Gardiner, fine arts librarian at UWO.*

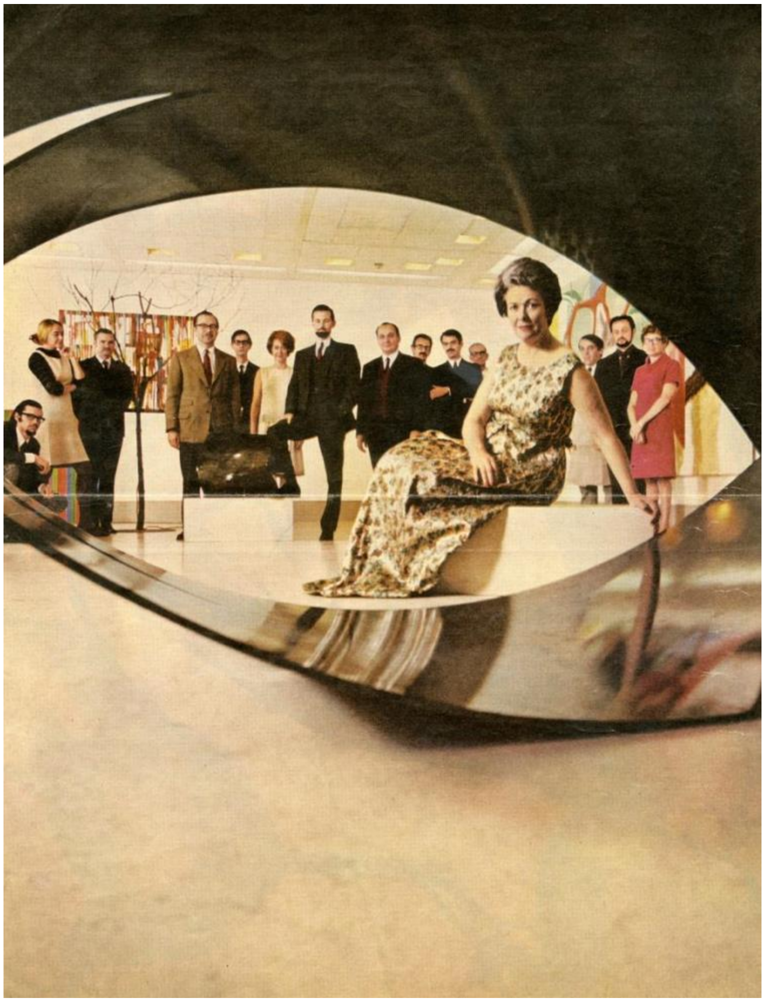

Fig. 10: Jean Sutherland Boggs with her staff, in Michener, Wendy. "Jean Boggs: The Woman They Didn't Want." *Chatelaine*, June 1968, 30. National Gallery of Canada Archives, #074591. File: Boggs, Jean Sutherland, 1922-. Folder 1 (DOC/CWLT).

Caption: *Framed by Canadian sculptor Robert Murray's The Breaker [1965], Jean Boggs poses with some of her 116-gallery staff; on the wall, rear left, American painter James Rosenquist's Capillary Action II [1963].*

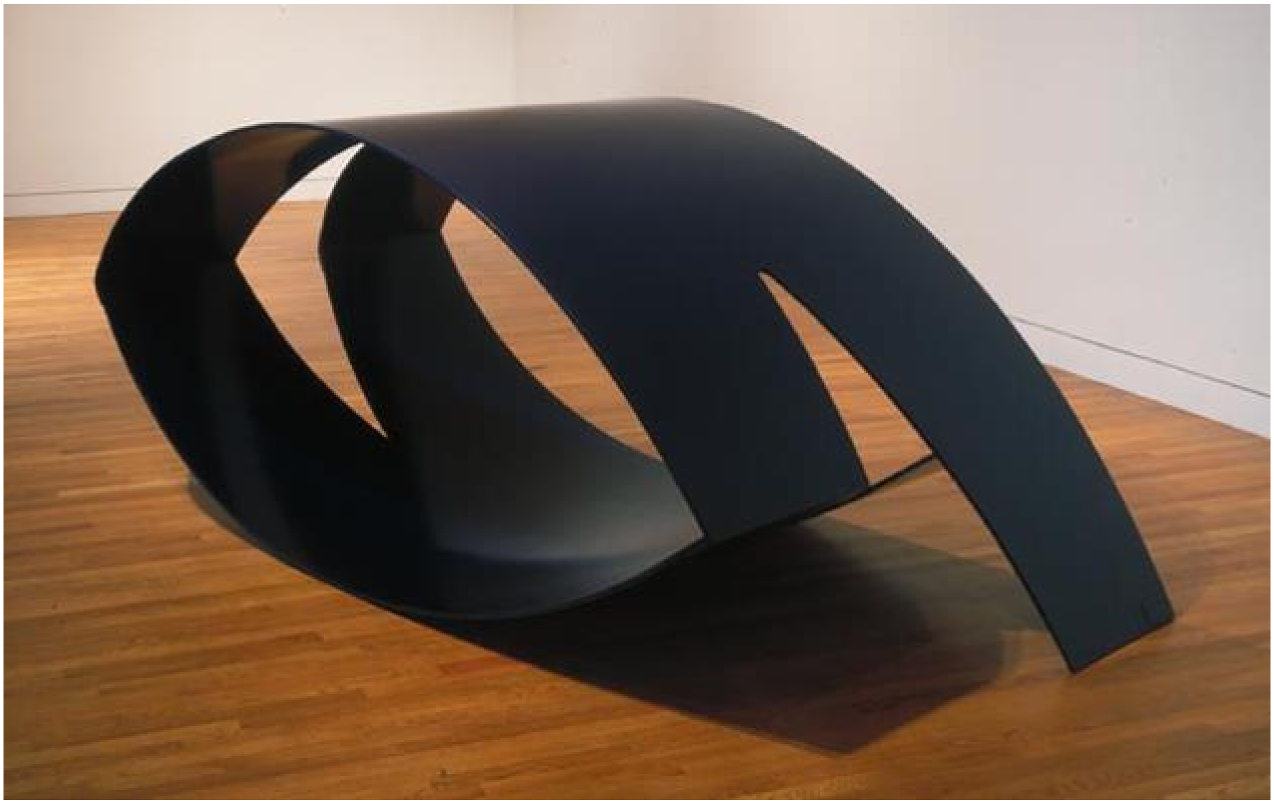

Fig. 11: Robert Murray, *Breaker*, 1965. Aluminum with enamel, 120cm x 289.6cm x 145.1cm. Purchased in 1967. National Gallery of Canada (no. 15321).

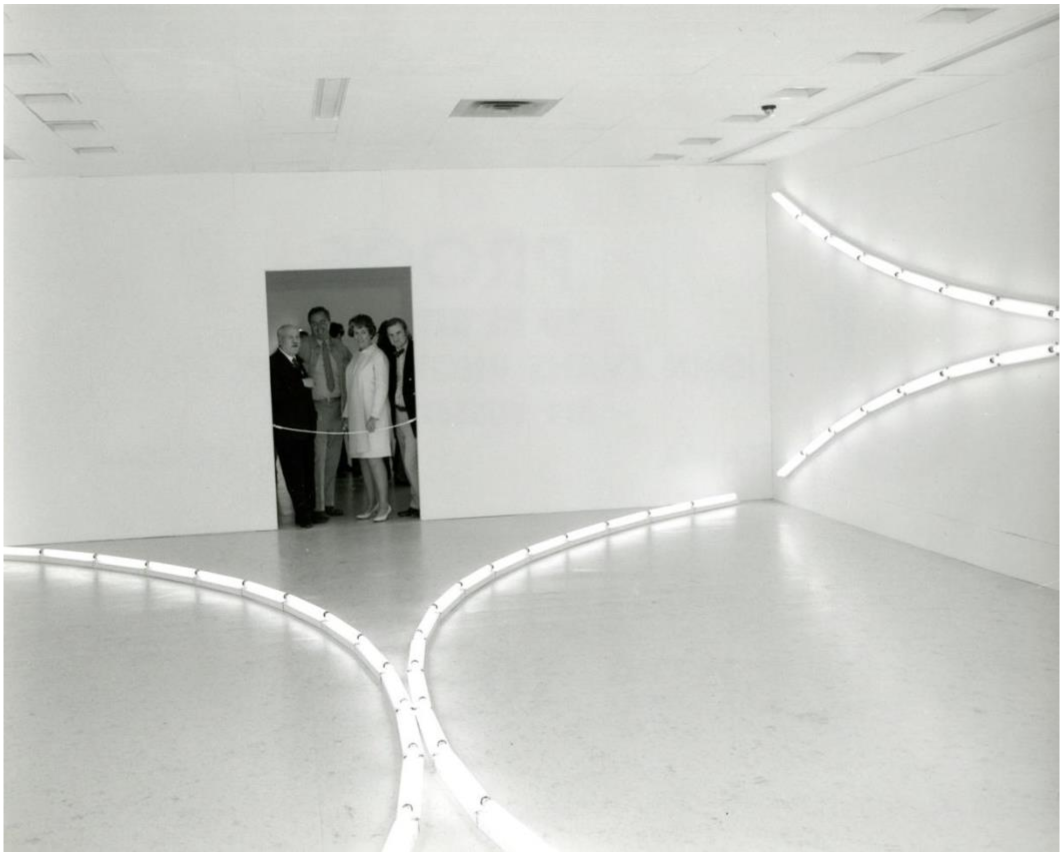

Fig. 12: "Opening of Dan Flavin" with Jean Sutherland Boggs with Barnett Newman, Dan Flavin, and Brydon Smith at *Fluorescent Light, Etc*. exhibition. 1969. Photograph by John Evans. National Gallery of Canada Archives. Folder: Opening 1353. #5023-10.

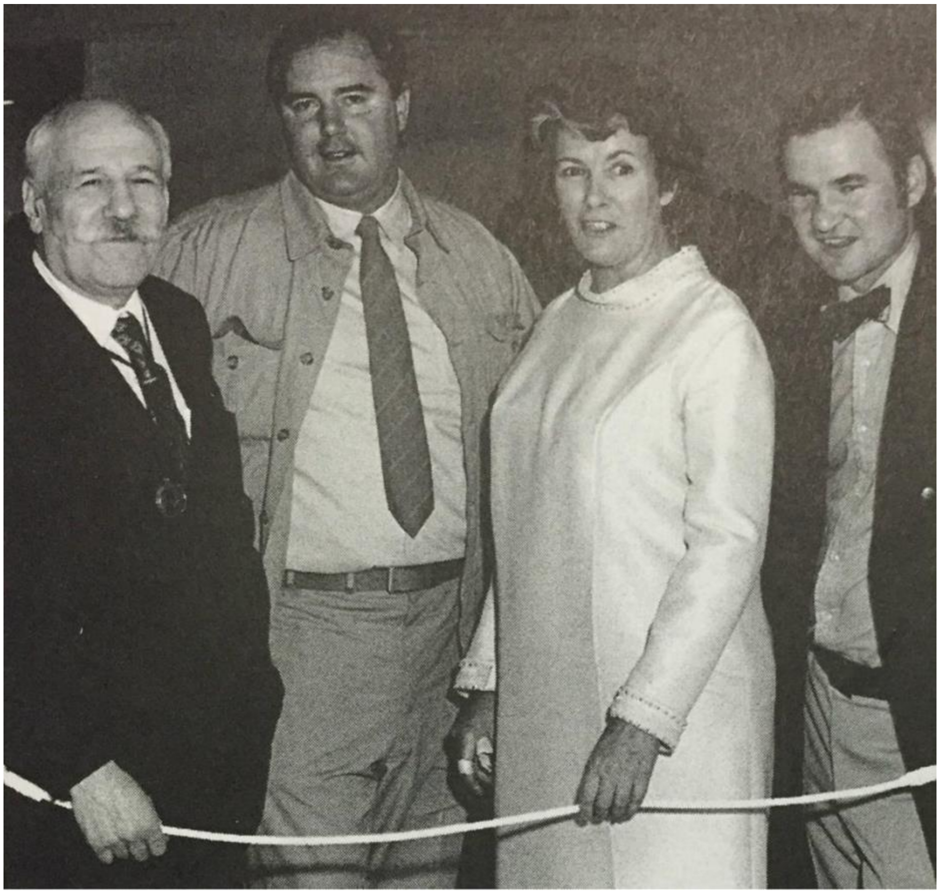

Fig. 13: Jean Sutherland Boggs with Barnett Newman, Dan Flavin, and Brydon Smith at *Fluorescent Light, Etc*. exhibition, 1969. Photograph by John Evans, in Ord, Douglas, *The National Gallery of Canada: Ideas, Art, Architecture.* Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003, 213.

Caption: *Jean Boggs considers Dan Flavin's* fluorescent light, etc. *in September 1969 with, from left, Barnett Newman, Dan Flavin, and Brydon Smith. The expression on Boggs's face, after a summer that had included N.E. Thing Co.'s transformation of the Lorne Building's ground floor into "a disturbingly accurate imitation of a suite of offices and a showroom," suggests that she was reaching the limit of her patience with contemporary art. This would be confirmed in her speech at McMaster University two months later. (National Gallery of Canada)*

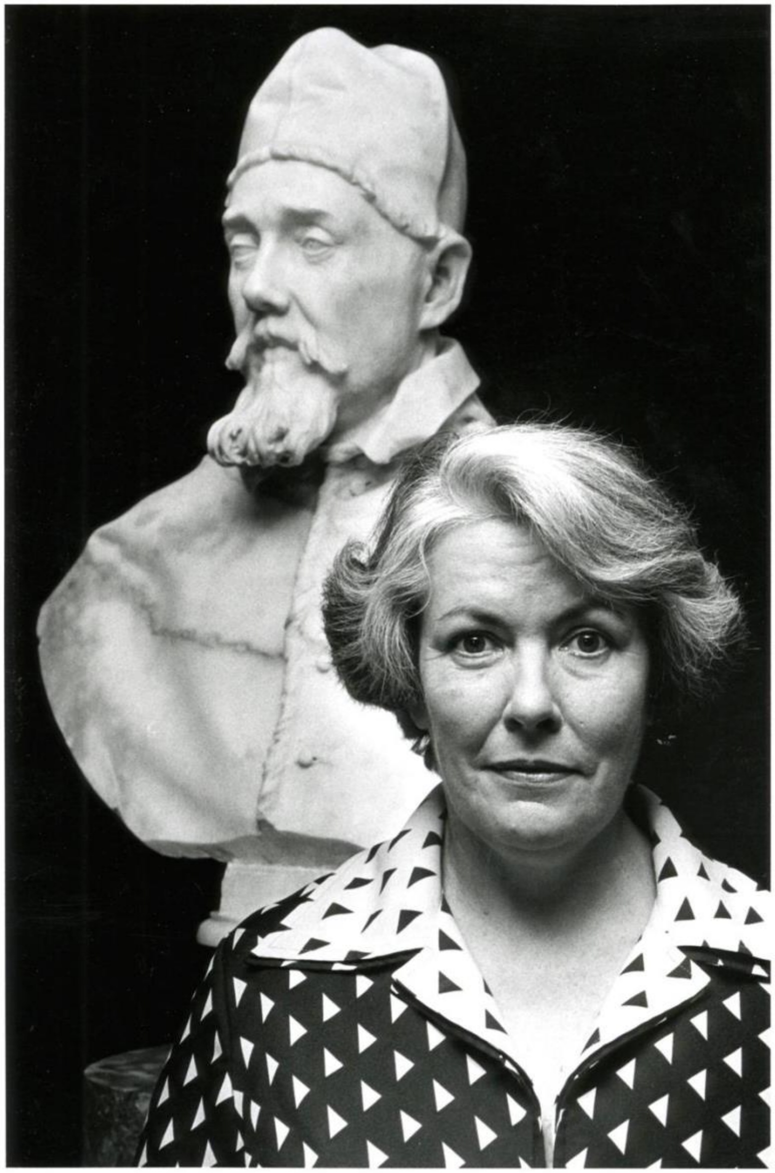

Fig. 14: Jean Sutherland Boggs with Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Maffeo Barberini, Pope Urban VIII* (c. 1632). Purchased in 1974. Photograph by John Galt. May 18, 1976. National Gallery of Canada Archives, #74653. Folder: Boggs, Jean Sutherland 4/4 (CWLT).

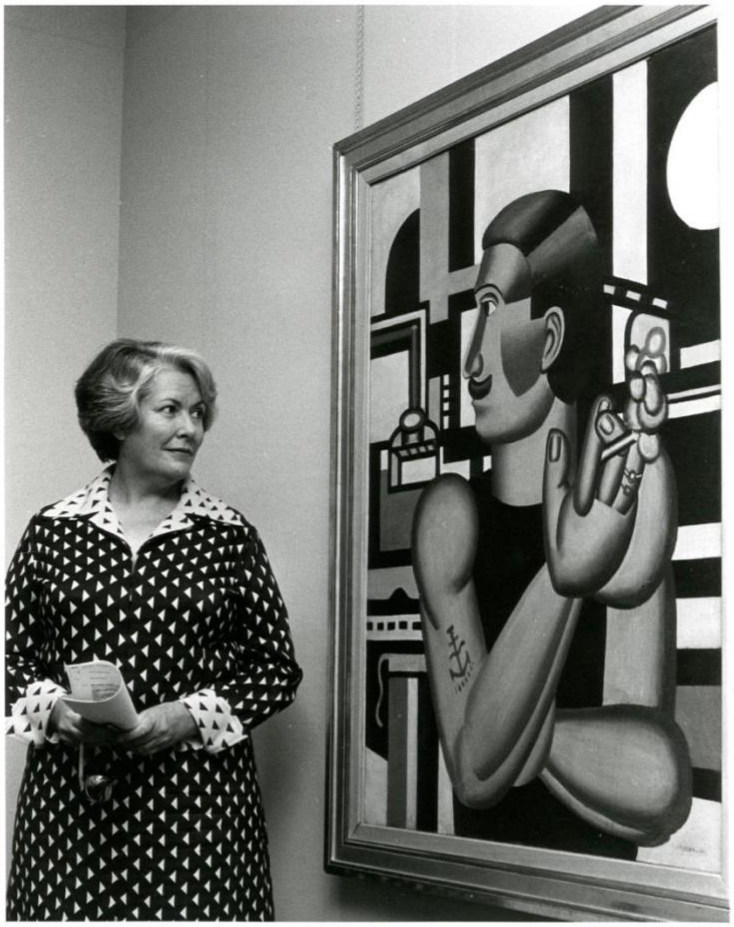

Fig. 15: Jean Sutherland Boggs with Fernand Léger’s *The Mechanic* (1920). Purchased in 1966. Photograph by John Galt. May 18, 1976. National Gallery of Canada Archives, #74657. Folder: Boggs, Jean Sutherland 4/4 (CWTL).

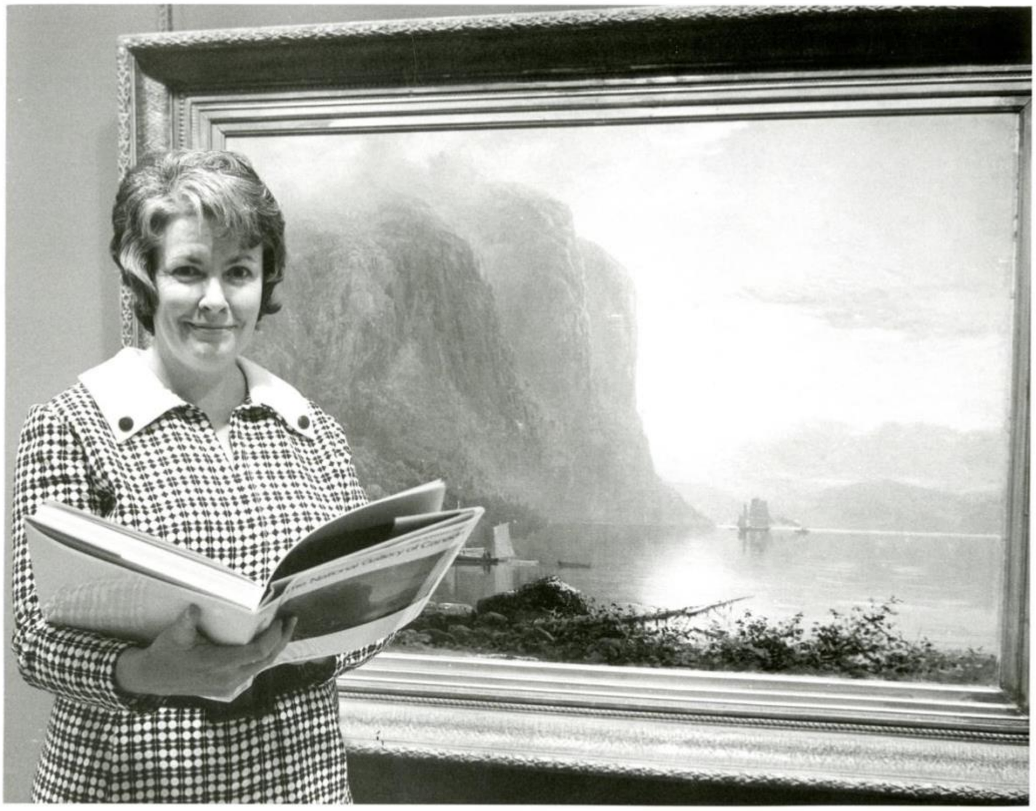

Fig. 16: Jean Sutherland Boggs holding a copy of her book, *The National Gallery of Canada* (1971) with Lucius R. O'Brien, *Sunrise on Saguenay, Cape Trinity*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 90 x 127 cm. Deposited by the artists to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 1880. National Gallery of Canada Archives, #074612. Folder: Boggs, Jean Sutherland 2/4 (CWTL).

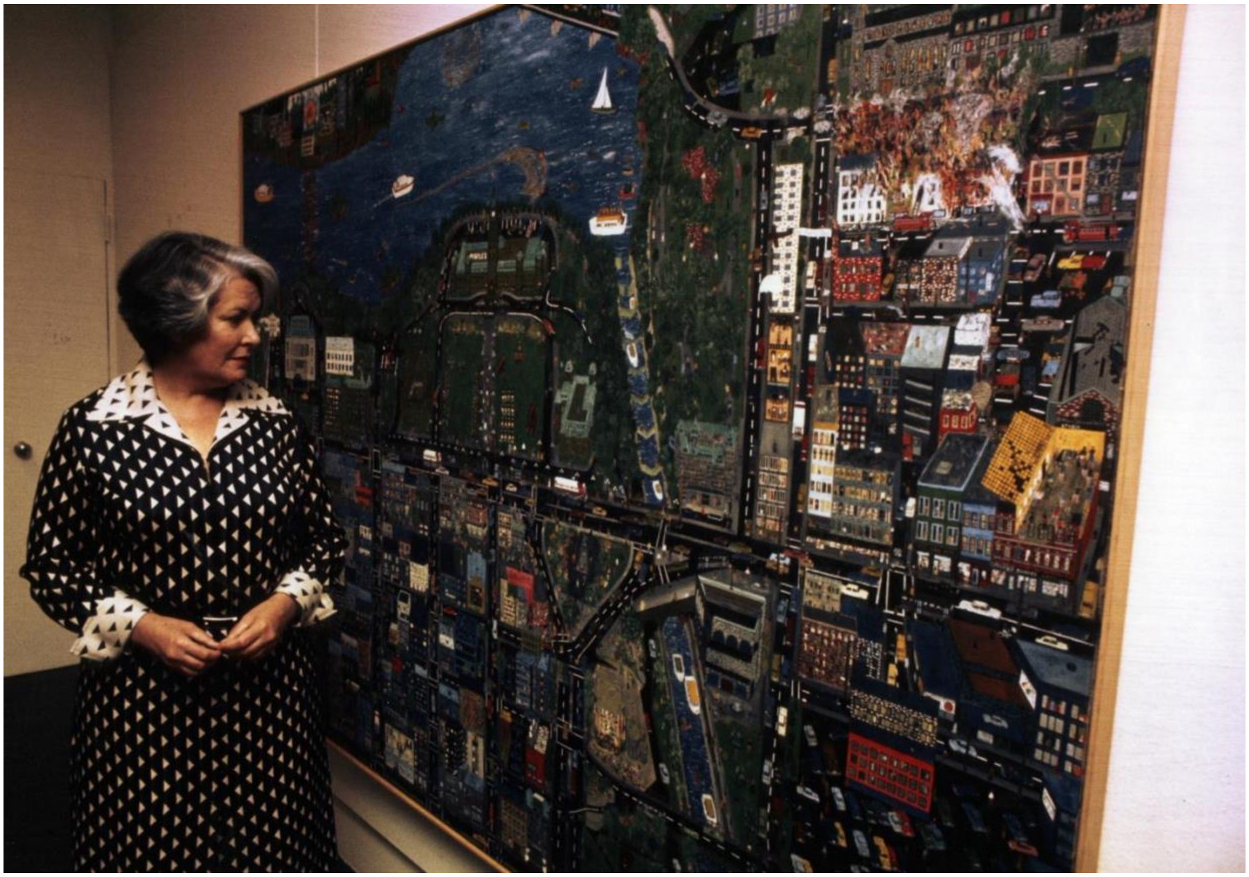

Fig. 17: Jean Sutherland Boggs with Robert Théberge-Trépanier's *My Tentacular Vision of Ottawa* (1974). Photograph by John Galt. May 18, 1976. National Gallery of Canada Archives, #074659. Folder: Boggs, Jean Sutherland 4/4 (CWTL).

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Appendix A

Timeline of Events

1867: Canada’s Constitution Act is written
1880: National Gallery of Canada is inaugurated by the Marquess of Lorne
John Williams Watts is appointed as the NGC’s first curator
1897: L. Fennings Taylor is appointed as NGC curator
1913: Eric Brown is promoted as first director of NGC
1922: Jean Sutherland Boggs is born in Negritos, Peru
1931: Boggs moves to Oil Springs, Ontario
1936: The Fine Art program at the University of Toronto is instituted
1938: Boggs goes to the University of Toronto to study Fine Art
1939: Eric Brown passes away, Harry Orr McCurry is appointed as NGC director
World War II begins
1942: Boggs graduates from the University of Toronto and moves to Montreal to work at the Art Association of Montreal
1944: Boggs goes to Harvard to begin her PhD
1945: WWII ends
1953: Boggs completes her dissertation and goes to France for a post-doctorate research trip
1957: Alan Jarvis is appointed as NGC director
1960: The Gallery moves to the Lorne Building
Charles Comfort is appointed as NGC director
1964: Boggs becomes the Steinberg Professor of Art History at Washing University in St. Louis
Boggs’s exhibition, *Picasso and Man*, opens
Listening to Pictures airs on CBC Radio
1966: Boggs is appointed as NGC director
1967: Andy Warhol’s *Brillo Box* is purchased
Canada’s centennial year; Centenary events at NGC
Expo ’67 takes place in Montreal
NGC Department of Photography is instituted
1968: “The Woman They Didn’t Want” is published in Chatelaine
Pierre Elliott Trudeau becomes Prime Minister of Canada
NGC becomes ‘absorbed’ into a newly formed umbrella organization: The National Museums Corporation (NMC), passed under the National Museums Act
1969: *True Patriot Love*, Joyce Wieland’s exhibition, is the first solo show for a living female Canadian artist.
1970: International Woman’s Year

1971: Boggs publishes the book, *The National Gallery of Canada*
1973: *Drawings by Degas,* curated by Boggs, opens
Boggs is appointed to the Order of Canada
1976: Boggs leaves the National Gallery to teach at Harvard
Hsio-yen Shih is appointed as NGC director
1979: Boggs is appointed director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art
1982: Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau establishes the CMCC
Jean Sutherland Boggs is appointed as CMCC Chairman
1983: Joseph Martin is appointed as NGC director
Architect Moshe Safdie is selected to design the new NGC building
Excavation begins on Sussex Drive
1984: Liberal party loses election to Progressive Conservatives
Brian Mulroney becomes Prime Minister of Canada
1985: Boggs is let go from her position as CMCC Chairman
Conservative Government terminates the CMCC
Responsibility for the new building is transferred to the Department of Public Works
1987: The Lorne Building closes in preparation for the move to the new building.
Shirley Thompson is appointed as NGC director
1988: The Gallery moves to its new building on Sussex, designed by Safdie
The *Degas* exhibition opens at the NGC
1992: Boggs's exhibition, *Picasso and Things*, opens
2002: Serge Thériault, NGC Chief of Publications, hires Jean Sutherland Boggs to write a history of the National Gallery from 1880 to 1988
2014: Jean Sutherland Boggs passes away in Ottawa

Appendix B

The following is an excerpt from a transcript of an interview with Diana Nemiroff, former Curator of Contemporary Art at the NGC, on February 23, 2016. At the time of this thesis' completion, Nemiroff is working on research for a book on the NGC's three past female directors: Jean Sutherland Boggs, Hsio-yen Shih, and Shirley Thomson.

KC: Was gender something [Boggs] wanted to play up or down? Because, she insisted on the 'Miss Boggs' title, rather than using her doctoral title.

DN: Yes, very interesting. She was extremely proud of being the first female National Gallery director. She was extremely proud of the fact that she had also been offered the first presidency of the College Art Association, which she had turned down, but she made a point of telling the board [of the National Gallery of Canada] ... so she played it from both sides.

KC: I remember reading somewhere that Jean pointed out the fact that her first name could have been mistaken for *Jean* (the man's French first name).

DN: [...] I think that she was emphasizing her femininity. She had been found attractive by pretty much everyone, but men in particular. She had at least two offers of marriage. So… I think at she was pleased by her distinction, overall. But she would say things like, "Oh, there are no barriers for women in high places – I'm a perfect example." And then she'd go on to say that she's the only one [in such a position].

KC: So, it was very contradictory.

DN: It was very contradictory. And, I think, a lot of women of her generation were probably quite conflicted by what they saw as the, sort of, radical nature of women's liberation, which gets started right around the time she is [working at the National Gallery of Canada] – well, a little bit later, in my opinion, because I was there. I would say that [the women's liberation movement] started in 1968 in Canada.

KC: Which is around the time that she's already at the National Gallery.

DN: Yes, she's already there. Basically, a McGill prof, Marlene Dixon, who had come from the University of Chicago… I can't remember the name of the class she was teaching, but she was in the sociology department – she opened her lectures to anyone who was interested in attending. So, I went, and a lot of other women went. And she talked about the women's liberation movement. [...] This was Montreal, so of course there could be other seeds in other places. But [Dixon] was incredibly important. She was a Marxist, so she was quite radical. It was she who introduced us to consciousness raising, and informed of its Maoist origins, and not in a negative way. Not in a 're-education camp' way, at all. She was radical, for sure. She didn't last at McGill – she went out West. [...]

KC: Can you speak generally about Boggs? And, can you speak to your experience with having met her?

DN: I remember reading about her appointment in the newspaper, in Montreal, where I was at the time, and I was enormously impressed with her. So much so that I found her example inspiring. And I thought to myself, "Oh, that's what I'd like to do - be the director of the National Gallery."

[laughter]

But, my point is, she was definitely a role model for women of my generation. And the fact that she was the director of the National Gallery was highly symbolic for all of us. It meant, really, that women could shoot for the highest positions… that there were no barriers. There were barriers, of course, but symbolically, it meant that they could be overcome.

KC: Which must have been incredible.

DN: Right. And that was basically what I knew about her. The other experience that I had was going to see her exhibition, *Picasso and Man,* which she had organized when she was curator at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1963 or 1964. I saw it in Montreal, where it was also shown. That was the first time that I had ever seen a Picasso exhibition. It was mind-blowing [...]. The kinds of exhibitions that otherwise were being shown… well, let's just say that modern art was not a commonly approached topic. At the Montréal Museum of Fine Art, you would see contemporary art. They had an annual salon I remember going to. And, you would see historical art. But there wasn't really a focus on what we would now consider to be the masters of the twentieth century… Picasso, Braque, Mondrian, Miro… there was nothing. And along comes Jean's show [...].

She was well connected. And she knew how to take advantage of opportunities. I wouldn't have been able to tell you that back then, in 1963 or 64, but I can say it now because it's a sign - being able to do a show like that. And, as much as her work on Degas was great – the Picasso show made her reputation back then. It was very daring! [...] So, not only did she manage to climb the top of the ladder, at quite a young age – 43 – but at the same time, she was out there, defending Modern art, which was pretty interesting to an art student… which is what I was at the time.

KC: How did Jean have all these connections with people who were able to give her such great opportunities? Was it just by virtue of having gone to Harvard?

DN: Harvard was very important. She studied with Jacob Rosenberg, who, with Paul Sachs, was giving the Museums course. Sachs and Rosenberg insisted very much on two things: connections to the museum world, introducing students to real people, and connoisseurship, which was an incredibly important aspect of Jean as an art historian and as a museum director. So, that set up a network of good connections with U.S. museums. I think, also, it was a matter of personality. She was extremely gracious. From what I can tell, from correspondences, she was warm, thoughtful, and she was never shrill. She had none of the qualities that women can be ‘blamed’ for, which the Secretary of State, Judy LaMarsh (who was responsible for Boggs’s appointment) had in spades. Judy was loud, outspoken, opinionated. Jean had a much softer approach. She had nothing that would put off people. I think she was very aware of the importance in social opportunities, entertaining and things like that. She realized that these were important opportunities to know people who could be useful in the future – but my sense is that she did not approach it is a sort of opportunistic “what’s in it for me?” kind of way. She really had an inclusive view of the museum world, as a community [...].

KC: When you did meet… how did that happen? In what context did you know each other?

DN: I wish I had made more of meeting her, finally. It was when I was at the National Gallery myself. I arrived in 1984. She was sort of behind the scenes, as the head of the Canada Museums Construction Corporation she was responsible for the new buildings for the National Gallery and the then-called National Museum of Man. I remember going to one dinner given by the Canada Museums Constructions Corporation. They had offices on Murray St., and the curators [of the National Gallery of Canada] were invited to this dinner. She must have talked, but I remember nothing about it, honestly.

Then, after she was let go by the federal government, she was organizing the Degas exhibition for the opening of the National Gallery. She had offices at the end of the corridor at the building where I was working, which was not the Lorne Building, but the building at 75 Albert Street, where all the offices and library were. I can’t say I crossed path with her often. And there were various social events at various landmark moments for her - and somehow, I missed all of them.

The one important conversation that I remember having with her was actually long past the opening of the new building, and not long before I myself left the National Gallery. I left in 2005 – so this conversation probably took place around 2003. At that point, I was planning a Francis Bacon exhibition – an exhibition that, in the end, went nowhere because there wasn’t really the institutional support for such an ambitious project. What I was doing was laying out photocopies of works that I was considering [for the show] – you know, my ‘wish list.’ I was in the curatorial files room [of the NGC]. Jean came in and asked what I was doing, and I explained. She paused for a minute [...]. She said, “I think you could probably do a very interesting small exhibition of Bacon’s work.” And then she left the room, she left me to work. I remember, at the time, being sort of put off by her comment. I didn’t want to do a small exhibition. At that point, I was investigating the possibility of collaborating with the Tate. I had in mind a big exhibition. But it was so interesting. When I look back on it, this is how Jean operated. She would make a very mild suggestion, and, if you were smart enough, which I guess I wasn’t at the time, you would know that she was trying to give you guidance as to what was really feasible.

I think that was probably the way that she operated with her own staff when she was director. Just to compare, the director at the time that I was working on this project was Pierre Théberge, and Pierre was absolutely hands off. He wouldn’t say anything, he didn’t give guidance, but he could and would withhold approval. I think, in hindsight, it’s a telling encounter with Jean, because she herself would have known just how difficult it is to get loans of artists like Francis Bacon. I mean, she had gotten loans of Pablo Picasso and Degas… but, I didn't know these things, you see, because I came from contemporary art, where the artists are living and they wanted to work with you. Loans were no problem because you have the artist behind you. I was only just starting to find out how incredibly difficult it was going to be to get loans.

[…]

KC: Absolutely. In only a few words, we can know so much about her.

DN: Exactly. And everyone whom I talked to said Jean would open doors – she would see what they were good at, and she would use them in ways that made use of their talents, and if they weren't good at something else, then she wouldn't push that. She would work around difficulty. That's the impression I got.

KC: Why do you think she was like that?

DN: I don't know. I suppose that it had something to do with her own qualities as an individual… I think she was diplomatic, and it seems to me that that's an example of a kind of diplomatic approach. You know, you don't charge in like a bull in china shop, and expect everyone to say "Oh, yes! Of course! We'll do what you say." As a director of a museum, you have to work with the staff that you have. You can certainly try and get good staff, and she really did try and do that. But at the same time, you have to know how to use them. No individual is going to have 100% of the qualities that you want in a particular position [...]. So, I think it's diplomacy, basically. It's got to do with perceptiveness, also, with seeing what it is that a person has to offer.

KC: [...] I think those are all qualities that probably made her a successful leader at the Gallery.

DN: People have said to me that she was the best, and from what I have heard, I have come to believe it [...].

KC: What can you tell me about the time that Boggs was the director of the National Gallery?

DN: You know, the 1960s, on the whole, was a period of enormous optimism and openness to change. It seems to me that that was an attitude that pervaded society at the time. A lot of the old structures of society were starting to break down. If you look at Québec, for example, it was the period of the Quiet Revolution, which was the massive movement of Catholic Québecers away from an active belief in the tenets of the Church… but mainly, away from an acceptance of the power of the Church.

KC: Which was huge.

DN: Huge! Across the country, there was an interest in women, and when Judy LaMarsh was Secretary of State, she pursued the Royal Commission of the Status of Women which issued its report in 1970. What you have to think about from that perspective – the gender perspective – was an institutional structure, where, across the country, women were pretty much invisible. If [women] were going to be visible [...], it was considered that one was enough – if you had one women in your cabinet, well, that was plenty, wasn't it? It was a very male environment. It was an environment where people on the whole didn't question that, either. The questioning was just really beginning to start in the 1960s. I think that's why Jean, and other women of her generation, would probably not have considered herself a feminist. Because, in the earlier days, there were moderate voices like Doris Anderson, who was the Editor of *Chatelaine*, which did a lot of interesting articles on women's issues, at the same time as offering products for, say, 'women's odors' [...]. In the U.S., there was the resistance to Vietnam - that also was had an impact on Canada in the 60s, because we were getting young Americans, who were eligible for the draft choosing to come to Canada to avoid it.

[...]

The interesting thing about the draft dodgers was that there were a lot of American talented young people who were coming up with ideas about a new society - you know, the Kennedy sort of vision. Certainly, when Pierre Trudeau became Prime Minister, the 'just society' was his version of that movement [...].

And the other thing that had an impact on Jean was the introduction of official bilingualism, which meant that all Canadian state institutions that serve the public had to be bilingual. That made hiring [at the NGC] much more complicated.

KC: Did she speak French?

DN: She had to go to French classes and training when she was hired so I take it from that that she did not. She was from Ontario, and in my experience, people from Ontario managed to achieve what they were achieving without any ability whatsoever to speak French [...]. I think she was self-conscious about it. One of the things she did at the Gallery was that she made sure that she had good French speakers around her, people like Joseph Martin, for example. She hired a lot of Francophones in the curatorial area. So, bilingualism was another transformative influence on Canadian institutions at the time.

My own sense is that Canada had gradually been breaking free from being a colony of Britain since the First World War, so there were changes in Canada's desire to affirm itself as a nation. At the same time, however, because of broadcasting, and the introduction of television in the 1950s, there was fear of undue influence from the U.S. So, Canada was trying to find its own identity, its own path, in between, as it were, the old allegiance to Britain, and the fear of being swallowed by the U.S.… the incredible success of U.S. popular culture, for example.

Then, you have the Massey-Levesque Report, which eventually leads to the Canada Council. As far as Jean is concerned, the founding of the Canada Council is important because it sort of play into ideas that she had about the place of contemporary art at the National Gallery – and in this context, I think, she has to be considered as something of a conservative, although I don't think it would have appeared that way at the time because it was also a matter of breaking away from an exhibition program that was dominated by the various artist societies, and by exhibitions like the biennales, which were juried and to which anyone could submit. Jean articulated many times that she felt that the Canada Council, with its very generous budget, was in a better position than the National Gallery to support artists, and she did believe in the judgement of time, so she was very interested in the moderns, certainly. She acknowledged and accepted the place of contemporaries, but she wanted that place to be a select group… she didn't feel that it had to be broadly opened up.

KC: Why do you think she felt that way?

DN: The test of time, probably. I also think that she was of two minds about abstraction. One of the things that comes up really clearly on her work on Picasso is her notion of humanity and conflict – she has a kind of existentialist view. She feels that Picasso's view of distortions communicates the kind of conflict that she identifies with modern society. And when you begin to look at the abstract painters, perhaps, for example, some of the painters in Toronto who were influenced by Clement Greenberg – you don't see a lot of conflict, you don't see a lot of tension, and it disturbs her. However, Jean did not impose her own judgements. She respected curatorial judgements. First of all, she got the best curators she possibly could. My sense was that [as a curator] you could make the case [to buy contemporary art] with Jean, but… you would have to make a case.

KC: So, would you would have to make the case, but she would allow [the purchase]?

DN: Well, she wouldn't allow it all the time. She had real doubts about Claes Oldenburg's bedroom, with the result that, when the gallery eventually did buy it… it cost a lot more than when it was first offered.

[laughter]

But, it was still cheap by today's standards.

KC: Oh, I'm sure... especially for an Oldenburg. So, how do you think Jean affected the Gallery as director?

DN: The main thing, really, is a very general thing. She stood for – *she embodied* – excellence. She embodied high standards. She had a P.h. D. – she was the first permanent director to have a P.h. D. (William Dale, the interim director between Comfort and her arrival, had a P.h. D). But… she had all the qualifications. And Harvard is a big name. I think Dale went to Harvard, by the way, which is interesting. In any case, she stood for excellence. She demanded excellence. She wanted a top-notch program, she wanted top-notch publications – and above all, within the resources available, she wanted an excellent collection. And, she had a very specific way of going about it. Her own studies [at Harvard] had shown that even smaller museums could have a collection that would bring people in if they had a few masterworks. They didn't have to have the resources of the National Gallery in London or the Louvre – but, if they had a few really good things, she thought that would work. She was very active in the search for, and in the identification of, first-rate historical works of art for the collection. And, as I said earlier, she really was a connoisseur. She had developed her eye with Degas and her training – which was extremely demanding – in the Museum Course that she took at Harvard. So, [collecting] was very important for her, and I think really in many ways, the collection was the most important thing [to her].

But, the other really important thing, the way that she really made her mark and really affected the National Gallery, was in the choice of curatorial staff. Pierre Théberge was already there - but she brought in Brydon Smith [...]. I think that she always recognized curatorial talent. Witness her reaction to Kathleen Fenwick, the curator of Prints and Drawings, to whom she gave enormous, and owed, credit. So, she affected the Gallery long-term by the people that she hired, who remained a long time after she was gone. That was very important. Things that Brydon and Pierre said to me, when I encountered them as a curator… now that I've read pretty much everything Jean had to say, I think, "Woah! There are echoes all over the place of Jean!"

The acquisition policy for contemporary art was certainly affect by her standards, and her way of dealing with things: identifying a smaller number of artists that you would collect in depth, and a broader number whom you would represent with one or two key works. For me, that's very Jean. That was her message for how to deal with the risks of contemporary art. You couldn't just sweep everything up… the way the Canada Council's Art Bank might have been accused of doing.

So, those are the things that she left. Her legacy is really there. Her approach to people, and her approach to the collection.

KC: And do you still feel that ripple effect experienced even today?

DN: Probably not so much today. I think with the current generation, you're now at a point where none of the curators knew Jean [...]. So, it's different now. And museums are different now. Jean was very interested in the media, as she understood it at the time. She had done radio talks, she wanted to use TV, she wanted to use film. The *Art and the Courts* exhibition, for example, was accompanied by a film made by the National Film Board, especially for the Gallery. Let's not forget, this was the year of Marshall McLuhan, *The Media and the Message*. So, she understood the importance of communication in general. And I suppose that that's the other thing that one should stress. It's easy to overlook – because, today, media has become so much bigger than it looks like, "What did she do?" But you have to remember, this is before social media. This was before the Internet.

KC: So, she embraced these media, and actively used them.

DN: Right. And she wanted to use them. She did the *Listening to the Pictures* series, between the Art Gallery of Toronto stint, which ended in 1964, and the National Gallery in 1966 – so, the proof is there. But, she also used the old-fashioned method – she travelled across the country, gave talks to every Canadian club in every small town and city [...], whatever it was, she was there [...]. And, I think all of those [speeches] were geared to kindling a sense on the part of the public that this was *their* National Gallery. But, she would also plug other museums and galleries. She would emphasize the importance of public support for your own gallery, your own museum [...]. I think it shows a real investment and belief in the museum community. She would have gotten that going right back to her studies at Harvard.

KC: Which I think is really great, because she wouldn't just talk about the National Gallery as the only institution that matters. I think that is really important, and was probably great for building connections with people whom she would have wanted to work with [...].

DN: I agree. Also, she had to deal with the NMC, and one of the offshoots of that was that they had a group of associate museums that they supported, so the regional art galleries were becoming quite autonomous and much less dependent on the National Gallery to set the tone [...].

KC: I guess that goes back to her diplomatic nature.

DN: I think so. She didn't boast.

KC: Which seems rare, for a woman of her position.

DN: Yes. And, I ought to say, when we were talking about legacy… the obvious thing is the new National Gallery. It was so striking to me to see how, within the first year, she was already talking about it, in concrete terms, and pushing it forwards, in great detail.

KC: You man her first year as director?

DN: Yes. I mean, she wasn't working on plans yet, but she was talking about why it was necessary.

KC: For sure… and I mean, here we are [sitting in the National Gallery].

DN: Exactly. Thank you, Jean.

KC: Seriously! So, from your perspective, what kinds of struggles did Jean face as a woman in this role?

DN: Jean denies that she faced struggles. And, I'm inclined to believe her. She was so unusual. She was so obviously qualified. She was so obviously way above the average, that I think people were in awe of her. And she was so nice, at the same time. She was the iron fist in the velvet glove. I don't think she had much of a struggle. Let's not forget that a lot of her earlier career was in academia. As a Harvard trained P.h. D, there weren't any real problems for her. Though, when you look at where she was teaching, you'll see that she was making her way up through the smaller colleges and so forth, which in the U.S. have a different connotation than here, where you're either a university or community college. There, they have small liberal arts colleges that don't do graduate work.

The other thing that opened a lot for Jean was the fact that her reputation as an expert on Degas was growing, and people were very interested, as they remain, in the nineteenth century, so she did the exhibition in St. Louis… I think it opened when she was already at the National Gallery [...]. Doors were opened to her. She was sort of the art historical equivalent of royalty. She had all the right elements. She had Harvard. She was well spoken but soft spoken. She was an expert on Degas. She was clearly a rigorous scholar. You know, one of the interesting things is that, all through the National Gallery, she continues to publish, which almost nobody does. It's really, really difficult to do that.

I think that where she began to experience difficulties was when she had to deal with the politicians and the bureaucracy. Although, she was extremely careful not to name names, she loathed having to go through the bureaucracy. And that's not something specific to her being a woman. All the directors of the National Museums, and any other museum that was getting funding from the National Museums Corporation had to go through those hoops - and Jean protested vigorously.

So, the National Museums Corporation was essentially her undoing. She was looking at a [new] museum [building] that was opening in the mid 1970s, and then adjusted to the centenary of the gallery in 1980, and then she would have had to stay another 7 years… just think of how difficult the history would have looked if she had.

But, she came back. Trudeau brought her back to be the head of the Canada Museums Construction Corporation, and gave her a free hand. She had been very opposed to the site chosen by Public Works and the National Museum Corporation and the NCC on Wellington. He gave her a free hand, a new site, her choice of architect, no competition… but then, the political landscape changes, and [...] in 1985, she's out again.

So, the kinds of things that she ran up against were bureaucratic and political structures that anyone, man or woman, could have run up against. But, strong-willed people are more likely to run up against those obstacles, because they are more likely, even if soft-spoken, to insist on getting their way. And Bernard Ostry said, à propos of her leaving - she could have given in. In other words, she could have agreed to be a team player, and she wouldn't have had to leave. So, it had a lot more to do with the fact that she was so incredibly bent on getting what she wanted - and the Gallery was just one example of that, because she would work very hard to go around just about every structure she had to go around to get the right staff for the Gallery as well [...]. She was, basically, very hard headed. And she was right! That's the terrible thing. You see, she knew she was right, so she wasn't going to let it go.

KC: She didn't want to settle.

DN: No!

KC: And she was ambitious.

DN: She was ambitious. You know, she first applied to be director of the Gallery in 1959. And she didn't even get an interview. But, she hadn't done as much. She hadn't been at the AGT yet, she hadn't done the Picasso show… and she wasn't the first choice in 1966.

KC: Do you know who was?

DN: Well, there's two names… the problem with the press is that they often get it wrong. But the two names are Evan Turner – he had been at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, he had been at Philadelphia, he was at Cleveland, he might very well have been offered it… by the way, Turner was a friend of Jean's. The other name was Robert Wark, who was out in California at the Huntington Museum. The interesting thing is, Turner wasn't a Canadian [...]. The sense at the time was that the director should be a scholar, not somebody like Comfort who was going to get the Chrysler exhibition and show us frauds… but also, a Canadian. Those were the considerations. Perhaps not as strong at that point, but they were strong after she left - that the new director had to be a Canadian, had to be a scholar… hence, Hsio-Yen Shih getting in [...]. With someone in her corner like Judy LaMarsh, I don't think that you can really say that there were obstacles for Jean. What happened was that LaMarsh had a conflicted political career, left politics, and therefore, the whole National Museums Corporation took a different turn [...]. So, there were a lot of things that could have gone differently. But, as long as Judy LaMarsh was there… Judy had been extremely clear: she was looking for women to hire, to fill positions in high places.

KC: Why do you think that Judy wanted that? Was Judy a feminist?

DN: Judy was a feminist. You bet [...]. Like Jean, she had grown up in a family where the father was very supportive of the children's ambitions and didn't see any reason why the daughters shouldn't have careers equal to or even more important than the sons, and the education that went with that. So, Judy went into law practice, though, she knew she had what it took to be a politician – she was always very involved in the Liberal Party. She tells this in her memoir [*Memoirs of a Bird in a Gilded Cage*].

[...]

[1:04:40]

Appendix C

The following is an excerpt from a transcript of an interview with Charles Hill, former Curator of Canadian Art at the National Gallery of Canada, on February 23, 2016.

KC: What do you know about Dr. Boggs, and under what context did you meet and/or know each other?

CH: [...] I met Jean Boggs in summer 1967, when I came as a summer student to the National Gallery, and then I stayed over for that winter as a slide librarian, and then went to the University of Toronto in the fall of 1968 to do my MA. I came back in the summers of 1970, 1971, and 1972. Then, I was hired as assistant curator of Canadian Art, or what they called then, Post-Confederation Canadian Art, in the fall of 1972, and I was here until 2014. So, I knew Jean Boggs, both as director, and subsequently, as head of the Museums Construction Corporation. Certainly, I was very low man on the totem pole, as a summer student in the library, so I didn't see much of her, and wasn't familiar, of course, with what was going on in her office, or even with the other curators, because I wasn't a curator at that point. All I can say is that I think she brought a vision at the Gallery.

[...]

I think the greatest change is in the scope of the exhibitions and original research, and also in terms of publications – quite different types of publications were being done under her directorship, compared to what was being done prior to her arrival. I think also, you see this incredible growth in the Annual Reports – they're huge publications compared to what they were before. I think this reflects her interests.

[...]

Her experience in the States largely influenced her ambitions for the National Gallery. Certainly, I think the creation of the National Museums Corporation was a great deception for her, because she was supposed to be a deputy minister, and with the creation of the National Museums Corporation, she had no access to the minister. Ultimately, it drove her out.

Certainly, what I remember most about when I first arrived was the structure of the Lorne Building [...]. I think the War Collection was on the fifth floor, and had its own floor, at that point. Then, also, the library was on that floor. In fact, when I arrived, in the early summer in 67, the library was moved out of the Lorne Building, to the National Building on Slater Street. And her office, I think. I can't remember which other offices were on Slater Street, but we weren't the only ones. Obviously, the idea was to create more space for the collection, because the usage of the building was limited with demands for office spaces [...]. The so-called 'normalization' of collections between the national museums, which resulted in the transfer of the War Collection to the War Museum, also opened up space in the Lorne Building for other activities, which she wanted to do.

The War Collection, at that point, was used in a very different way than the art collection, so, it was still considered largely related to national defense. So, exhibitions, first of all, would be done on a historical basis, rather than an art basis (commemorating battles, and that sort of thing, or military campaigns), and also, there were loans to officer's messes across the country, shipped in military craft. So, again, this was all in a very non-art world context, and resulted in certain losses and damages, too.

The freeing up of space in the Lorne Building was something that she really pushed, and I think, successfully, in terms of making space. In terms of exhibitions, clearly, the big change was the scale of the exhibitions and the original research done for them, and also, the publications that were being done [...]. If you go through the Annual Reports, you'll see the type of exhibition schedule, and the range of her interests. And, also, using Canadian scholars – as she had done in Toronto with the *Delacroix* show. She was certainly interested in outreach to use people in Canada, not just to bring people from outside. And of course, one often discussed change that she brought was the acquisition of contemporary American art, which again, is something that she had done in Toronto.

She, in fact, brought a number of people from Toronto to Ottawa to work with at the National Gallery: the woman [Ella McLaren] who was in charge of setting up curatorial files, we never had curatorial files before.

KC: Oh really?

CH: What there were, were cards, and they were very useful in terms of location, but they weren't real files on individual works of art. They were handled by Dorothea Coates, who became Registrar, had worked in the director's office under Alan Jarvis, and she managed the collection out of his office. So, there were never curatorial files before. This was all set up under Jean Boggs. Again, there was an increasing professionalization of practice, which she had obviously learned in other institutions.

Brydon Smith came from the Art Gallery of Toronto, where he had acquired the Oldenburg *Hamburger* and some other American works, and he then brought his knowledge and skills to Ottawa. Janine Smiter, who became head of communications, again, came from the Art Gallery of Toronto to work at the National Gallery. I don't know who else she brought to Ottawa.

Some of this, of course, I've learned in retrospect, as I wasn't conscious of what was there before and what changes that were being brought. But, certainly, that was the world which I was introduced to at the National Gallery in 1967 and 1968. At that point, Jim Borcoman, was Head of Education, and I worked for him that winter as slide librarian, he then became initiating the acquisitions of photography, and the Department of Photography, and collecting photography as a fine art, was set up under Jim Borcoman and Jean Boggs [...]. Subsequently, was the expansion of staff. Clearly, she got enough money to expand staff, enough so that there were research curators in both European and

Canadian art, with an assistant. Plus, in Canadian art, there was a Curator of Early Canadian Art. She brought Jean Trudel, from the Musée du Québec, with an assistant. Dennis Reid became Curator of Post-Confederation Canadian Art, and I became his assistant. Pierre Théberge became Curator of Contemporary Canadian Art, with an assistant who was Mayo Graham, who had previously worked in the Registrar's office. You can document all that through the Annual Reports, the expansion of staff.

But it's obviously not just the expansion of staff, but the expansion of ambition, expansion of scope and standards, that was promoted through Jean Boggs. Certainly, my first exhibition, *Canadian Painting in the Thirties*, which I did in 1975, which was only two and a half years after I arrived. At that point, we were required to sign a contract at the beginning of doing the exhibition, of what the scale was, to keep it within the budget, and everything else. I'm sure my show was much bigger, and the publication much grander, than what was ever expected, but nobody balked. It was all supported by Jean Boggs. I'm very grateful to her for that – it wasn't compacted to just a small touring show from the collection, but in fact, became a research project that contributed to the history of Canadian art. That was the sort of thing that she wanted to do.

I think that is true for Dennis Reid's Group of Seven show, in 1970, which was a major contribution to documented history of Canadian art. I can't think of another exhibition that had so many footnotes – and I say that positively, having footnotes gives you the source of the information and justifies your statements. Also, the Morrice show that he did, that went to Paris, and to France, to England, in 1968, again, an international outreach for a Canadian artist, which apart from the biennials, Venice and Sao Paolo, to which the Gallery had been contributing since the 50s (and those were contemporary) [...].

It really was the breadth of her vision, her support of her staff, and also certainly, her political skills about which I know nothing, because I was not involved in any way, on that level. She did this all in the face of having the limitations imposed by the National Museums Corporations, to the point where the National Museums Corporation took over the Annual Reports, so, in fact, there are years where the National Gallery has no Annual Reports, and it was because it was abbreviated and incorporated into the Annual Reports of the National Museums Corporation. I think the ultimate goal for them was to lose the individual identity of the museums – and of course, we were not the only ones, the other national museums were suffering the same fate.

KC: Yeah, that whole part of the history is really interesting, I think. It takes a lot of agency away from the actual institutions.

CH: And it creates a whole other level of bureaucracy [...]. At that point, museums were only allowed to send one representative per museum to conferences. At the last one, before they were to be disbanded, I think they sent 20 people from the National Museums Corporation, to this one conference, to convince people to support the National Museums Corporation. But, I think the outreach program is interesting, in terms of what shows were being sent out.

[...]

Some of it is a change in museum practice, some of it is certainly in the ambitions of Jean Boggs, and how exhibitions were being done, and relationships with other institutions, because not only do we have international outreach, but also national outreach, working with other institutions across the country.

KC: Of course, the sixties and seventies were an interesting time for the museum in general, things were changing a lot.

CH: Yes, of course, and the constant effort for the new building, which had been going on since the twenties. [laughter]

KC: [...] So, from your perspective, did Jean have any kinds of struggles during her time at the National Gallery?

CH: I wouldn't be aware of that, because, again, I was really a low man on the totem pole. I didn't really attend meetings, even acquisition meetings were all Dennis Reid, so I didn't attend any of them while Jean was here. I certainly didn't attend anything to do with administration. I was aware of the National Museums Corporation issues, and then various other issues, but not really... I don't have any firsthand information on that.

KC: That's alright. You mentioned Jean's vision of the museum. Did you want to elaborate on that?

CH: Well, I think, again, it was the standards, the respect for scholarship, using the talents of staff (and other Canadians) who could contribute to exhibitions and research. I think you'd have to compare the acquisitions that she made, to the acquisitions that were made previously... mostly, I would think, in European art, and certainly, in contemporary American art, but that story's been often told.

[...]

It really was, to a certain extent, much more international. I think back to Charles Comfort, and then Alan Jarvis. Alan Jarvis's big issue was contemporary art, and specifically, Canadian art. Both of them addressed themselves more to Canadian audiences, whereas Jean was addressing the Gallery to both a Canadian and international audience. And her involvement with international museum organizations, and sharing exhibitions with other institutions, and abroad. I think that that would seem to me a real change within the institution, rather than just being a national museum, it became an international museum with a national responsibility.

KC: Would you like to speak to your own position within the Gallery, and what that position entails?

CH: [...] I was just amazingly supported. I think she had a good relationship with Trudeau, who opened my *Canadian Painting in the Thirties* in 1975. She was, I think, a well-liked figure. Internally, she was well-liked [...]. I really didn't have a lot to do with her, but she was amazingly supportive, and friendly. I certainly never felt any distance or intimidation from her.

She used to occasionally have parties at her home, for her staff. She was a very good cook. She also had receptions in her office. There was a couple here that did catering, that she would bring in to serve dinners in her office, for board members and other things [...]. Sociable, but also to a certain extent, shy [...]. I think there was a shyness about that, but you can ask other people. I think there was a certain effort that she had to make to be out front, playing the role. She was very soft spoken. Not whispery, just simply, that she was not aggressive in her speech... gentle, and always intelligent, very, very intelligent.

KC: Did you have occasions where you were speaking with her one on one, ever?

CH: Oh yeah, but I mean, it was all the same thing. Sensible. She got to the point, she talked about what she had to talk about. I didn't really have a lot of personal contact. I only arrived in 1972, and then by 1976, if that's when she left... I had done one show, and started the Vanderpant show. I can't remember what year I started that show, but it had come out of the *Painting in the Thirties* show.

KC: So, what was your experience working with the National Gallery?

CH: Oh, it was fabulous. I was very lucky, even as a summer student, and as a slide librarian over one winter before I went back to school... it was a constant learning experience, I was able to constantly learn, and I enjoyed it so much. It was a very pleasant experience for me. Things got more difficult for me, but that's after Jean left. She was amazingly supportive of staff, she really was. On the whole, again, other people's experiences might have been different from mine, but it didn't feel in any way that jobs were threatened or that things were difficult working here. People were very loyal.

[...]

But, I think the most important thing in terms of getting a perspective on what she was doing is to look at what was being done under Comfort and Jarvis, and then also, looking at her American background, and also looking at her time at the Art Gallery of Toronto.

KC: I'm also interested in her work from when she was working for the Canada Museums Construction Corporation, so I move from the director to the corporation.

CH: Well, she went via Philadelphia, you know, which was a major position. I think it's amazing that she even came back, given her experience. I mean, presumably, I don't know, what guarantees she was given by Trudeau [for the Canada Museums Construction Corporation position] ... because, I think, at the time, one of the most important things was that they had dug the foundations [for the new building] before he had lost the [federal] election, and so the Conservative government didn't backtrack [...] but you know, why she was removed from the position, I don't really know much about that and what the conflicts were there.

I think the whole consultative process for the new building plan was based on a consultation with curators and their ambitions. Dennis Reid did the whole initial plans [for the Canadian galleries] for the new building, that was when we were supposed to be on Wellington Street, stuck between the Supreme Court and the Library and Archives [...]. The fact that she did see it through, and she developed a plan, and had a clear understanding... that shows the breadth.

And, the building functions very well. I mean, there are things that are limitations, some of them are architectural, rather than design or conceptual. But how a building works, she knew what was needed for exhibition spaces. The flexibility of the temporary exhibition space, which is contrasted with that to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, where the spaces are not flexible. The temporary exhibition spaces in the Safdie building, those walls don't move. I think it's a real problem for them in terms of design. I think they work with it well, but it's a problem. Whereas ours are very, very flexible.

The whole plan in terms of how it was developed, and her respect for curators, in terms of consulting with them, which I gather Pierre Théberge did not do for the Montreal Museum expansion. I think that all reflects that she really believed in team spirit, and was willing to listen to others, and to come to her own decisions. I think that says a lot for someone to do that.

KC: What was your position when the new building was being built?

CH: I became the Curator of Canadian Art after Dennis Reid left for Toronto. There was a big exodus of curators in the late seventies, under Hsio-Yen Shih.

KC: They left because of her?

CH: Well, it was a combination of things [...]. Part of it was a conflict with Yen, but again, I don't know the details [...]. But essentially, when Dennis left, I filled a vacuum, very luckily for me. [laughter] Hopefully for the Gallery too [...].

What happened was there was an architectural plan for the Canadian galleries, which was really what I knew, for the building that was supposed to be built under Parkin, on Wellington Street. That was reworked by me, for the plan for this Gallery, just reflecting how the collections had grown since Dennis had left.

KC: So, did you have any conversations with Jean, at that point, about the Canadian galleries?

CH: I don't remember a large number of conversations directly with her. You see, Brydon Smith was the head of the building project for the curators. He did a very good job. Again, he's somebody who listened, and didn't come on in an authoritarian way, or impose him own viewpoint. The context would have been more at a higher level. It's the way I've worked in my life, is keep my head low and work on things that I have interest in. [laughter]

[...]

KC: I guess it seems to have worked, I mean, you worked here for over 40 years?

CH: 42 years, less one month. No, it was great for me! Hopefully good for the Gallery. I was amazingly lucky. I just loved it. There are a certain number of frustrating things, but nothing to do with Jean.

KC: Perhaps, before we wrap up... you mentioned that there were a few issues that you've seen with the building itself, do you want to speak to those a bit?

CH: Oh, some of them are really very minor. I mean, the issues are part of the nature of the beast. You build for a certain kind of collection, the collections grow, and then you need more space, both for storage, and for gallery space. The big issue in Canadian art, and really, again, it's just the nature of the beast, but the galleries were built in a certain time frame, in 1988... Contemporary was 1968 to 1988. Now, almost 30 years later, in principle, Historic Canadian Art has to take on almost 30 years of art, if 'contemporary' is only 20 years. Well, as we know now, we're sort of saying that contemporary goes back to 1990. But that means, also, that the nature of the art that was produced in the seventies and eighties, it doesn't fit into the architecture of the Canadian galleries, with the vaults, the natural light, and the fixed walls. Just an example, we wanted to hang a Paterson Ewen at one point – it was too big for the walls, because there is that beam that defines the hanging height, and it would have gone over the beam and looked ugly.

And also, for installation pieces, they were made for the white box, and for the contemporary galleries. The contemporary galleries are the white box, and you can move your architecture, and direct lighting, and check whatever it is you have to do for an installation piece. Well, you can't do that in the Canadian galleries, because it's got a vaulted ceiling. It hasn't got a flat ceiling, it's got the natural light coming in there, and it just doesn't work. So, this has been an ongoing problem [...].

As it is now, one of the galleries in Lower Contemporary is allocated to 'Post-67,' if you will. And then also, now of course, there's a gallery dedicated to Indigenous art, which is a whole new defined collecting area that has happened within the last couple of decades. And so, you're always eating away at the contemporary galleries, to accommodate other collections. And at the same time, contemporary art gets bigger, and bigger, and bigger, and demands more space, and one work can take up a whole room... so, it's an ongoing problem.

[...] The area where the sunken garden is, outside the Contemporary galleries, and I don't know this for a fact, but I think it would have been conceived as an expansion area. And a plan was developed for that, but we've never gotten the budget [...]. But, hopefully, that will be an area that will eventually allow for an expansion of Contemporary, and to deal with this problem – this, what I call, the sort of, 'interim space,' this fluctuating space, which is not well handled here, between the mid 1960s and 1990. It's the sort of stuff that's come back to so-called Historical Canadian. It is no longer contemporary. But these are artists who are practicing now, who deserve to be represented, to show the work when they made their contribution... whatever happened to their careers later. We have to define that art, the art of that period [...]. But we're unable to do it at the moment.

So, that's one area. The other thing, just a small area, is that there is no freight area to the Board Room, so if you have to bring big paintings to the Acquisition Committee of the board, you can't bring them up. It's very difficult, because you have to go up the stairwell [...].

So, I mean, space is always going to be a problem for any institution. You build, and you can get a budget for it, but it's very rare that you get a budget for a space bigger than what you would need at the opening. And, immediately, that becomes inadequate as you grow. But every institution has that. So, no, I don't really think that there are major issues with the building. Certainly, building glass houses in a norther climate is always risky. [laughter] I really can't say that there's a lot that should have been done differently. I think that the building holds up very well.

KC: And, as a curator within the space, did you find that it was adequate for your own needs?

CH: Oh, yeah, especially the special exhibition galleries, I think they work well. No, I think on the whole, the building is great. Thanks to the teamwork of Boggs and Safdie, that they were able to do it. Other people may think differently, but I don't really see a lot of problems with the building, beyond things that were out of their control.

KC: That they probably couldn't have foreseen?

CH: Well, I think they could foresee. But as I say, when you're fighting for a budget, you never get more than you can use at a time. If they had said, "we want double the size," everyone would have said, "why do you need it? We can't afford it." You have to justify what you're getting. I think that, as it was, it was an expensive building, but successful. One thing I would say, look at the other building that she was involved with – the Museum of Man [...]. I think it's a more beautiful building on the outside, but internally, I think it doesn't function as well [...]. But I think, internally, I think this [the National Gallery of Canada building] really works well.

[...]

[44:24]